THE WORLDS OF JAMES JEFFERY, VICTORIAN TEACHER

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in the University of Canterbury

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis closely studies the career of James Jeffery as a teacher, teacher politician and newspaper columnist from the earliest days of the national system of primary education (1879) through to his retirement in 1914, and beyond. It outlines his relationship with his school committees and the inspectorate, showing him to have been an innovative, articulate teacher, actively involved in the educational controversies of that era, but ultimately much less successful professionally than his early promise suggested he might have been.

Recruited newly certificated from Victoria along with others who came to occupy significant positions in the Otago Education Board's schools, he was promoted early (1886) to the headmastership of a suburban Dunedin school. An inveterate proselytizer, self-educated through omnivorous and life-long reading, he aimed at preparing pupils for citizenship by having them think for themselves and form their own conclusions. He advocated and practised studying the world beyond the classroom - the events of the day, their background and the world of nature. As an extension of these aims he conducted two long-running weekly newspaper columns which dealt with those worlds, and which consequently provide an insight into the interests and opinions of Victorian and Edwardian New Zealand.

Throughout he sustained an active role in teacher affairs, being twice president of the Educational Institute of Otago, and of the New Zealand Educational Institute 1904-1905. He was an important and combative figure in many contemporary Otago educational controversies, and nationally in the battle to gain a superannuation scheme for teachers.

This combativeness, coupled with his inability or unwillingness to contain his teaching within the confines of inspectorially approved systems and syllabuses were factors contributing to his failure to be promoted and to his early retirement, aged 56, in 1914.

Wartime secretaryship of the Otago institute, technical college teaching, and patriotic work followed, and finally a brief foray into local politics as a city councillor.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The first acknowledgement must be to the grandfather whom I never knew, but who left such a rich lode of archival material behind him from which to attempt an understanding of his complex character, and an assessment of his professional and public achievements.

The second must be for the staff of the various libraries which I have haunted on and off over more than ten years, most particularly of the Hocken Library at the University of Otago, and the Macnab Collection at the Dunedin Public Library.

My long-time teaching colleague John Fletcher read the manuscript in its later stages, and it will not be for want of punctilious surveying and questioning that errors of grammar and ambiguities of meaning have crept in.

Dr Colin McGeorge, of the Department of Education at the University of Canterbury, has been a patient and long-suffering supervisor of the writing, always ready to enter the lists in defence of clarity and brevity against my orotund style. Such infelicities of usage and vocabulary as unfortunately remain are certainly no fault of his. He has been generous with his time, kindly pointed in his criticism and helpful in suggesting other sources of information throughout.

Finally I must thank my wife, Beverley, not only for reading the manuscript through and confirming John Fletcher's and Colin McGeorge's stylistic criticisms, but also for the long-suffering forbearance of my disappearance into libraries on Dunedin holidays for well over a decade on and off, and recently of the monopoly I have seized over the computer which has often kept her from her own family history writing. She will justifiably rejoice to see the completion of the task.

W.E.J.
Christchurch
February 1995
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1. THE WORLDS OF JAMES JEFFERY, VICTORIAN TEACHER

James Jeffery is something of an enigma. His own schooling was brief and his formal qualifications were modest, but he was an omnivorous reader with a wide general knowledge, and a prolific newspaper columnist. He was headmaster of the Andertons Bay School for 28 years, a notable figure in that Dunedin suburb and a force in Otago and national teacher politics, but he retired under a cloud of official disapproval. It is not clear whether that was disapproval of a gadfly who was impatient at the pettyfogging details of official syllabuses and regulations, or whether it was justified irritation at Jeffery's lack of persistence and attention to detail in his teaching. He may have been a man before his time. He may have been left behind as standards and expectations improved. He may simply have exhausted himself tilting at windmills.

This backwoods school principal's career has a particular interest because official records can be supplemented by the weekly newspaper columns he wrote for thirty four years. These columns place his life and thought in their national and international context and justify this thesis's apparently grandiloquent title.

James Jeffery was born in August 1858 in Ballarat, Victoria, where he grew up, became a pupil teacher to the point of licensing, and in January 1879 joined a substantial migration of Victorian teachers into the employ of the Otago Education Board. After a year and a half as head teacher at Swift Creek (now Heriot) in West Otago, he was an assistant at North East Valley and Mornington in Dunedin, and then in 1886 he became the head teacher of the Andertons Bay school, a position he held until his retirement in April 1914 - on the superannuation, be it said, which had been the most considerable outcome of his career-long involvement in teacher politics. His nine year retirement before his death in August 1923 saw a continuation of his newspaper column writing, with the addition of wartime involvement as secretary of the Education Institute of Otago, general
patriotic work, and a brief excursion into civic affairs as a city councillor.

We gain some idea of James Jeffery's public persona from the tributes published as his twenty five years' service as headmaster of Andersons Bay School was celebrated in 1911, as he retired in 1914, on his death in 1924, and at the school's seventieth anniversary celebrations in 1928.

He was not just a good teacher, said his eulogists, he was a distinguishedly different one. He was, said his Otago Witness obituarist,

... a very successful teacher, who took an advanced view of the possibilities of his profession, with the result that he induced his pupils to take an interest in the important matter of civics before this phase of educational activity was generally recognised as a matter to which attention should be more pointedly directed.¹

To the Evening Star he was

... a successful teacher in the broadest sense ... who endeavoured to give his pupils the broadest views of matters, especially in civics and morals, and, while not neglecting learning for its own sake did his best 'to turn out men.'²

Thomas Somerville, an Andersons Bay community dignitary (and an ex-pupil), spoke at the twenty-fifth celebrations of the

... tendency to give too much attention to the three Rs amongst modern educationalists and not enough attention to character-building ... [whereas] ... this latter branch of true pedagogy had distinguished Mr Jeffery's professional work.³

The Rev. Andrew Cameron, the local Presbyterian minister who was Chancellor of Otago University and was his next door neighbour for 13 years, pointed out that he had not

... followed merely accepted routine of school work ... [but rather] ... set himself to teach children a great deal about current events

¹ Obituary in Otago Witness [OW] 14 August 1923.
² Obituary in Evening Star [ES] 13 August 1923, reprinted in National Education 1 September 1923 p287.
³ Thomas Somerville at the 25th social - ES May 1911.
... [and the cultivation of] ... the faculty of making observations and deductions for themselves ... two of the most important sides of education ... which was a very great thing. The editor of the *Otago Daily Times*, J. Hutchinson, gave it as his opinion that Jeffery's teaching methods had been wise although perhaps original, the proof being the finished product and the affectionate regard of his ex-pupils. One of these former pupils, John Alexander Reekie, delivered a paean to the

... wonderfully patriotic spirit [which] filled [their headmaster's] heart and life ... [and] how that same patriotic spirit was inculcated in us as pupils ... [for] ... the great British Empire [and] the great freedom we enjoy under the good old Union Jack.

"A great Imperialist [who] stood for King and country unflinchingly," opined the local member of the House of Representatives, C.E. Statham, at the memorial tablet unveiling.

This passion for what was happening in civic and world affairs was both fueled and sustained by reading variously described as omnivorous and inveterate, assessments which Jeffery readily acknowledged. Reekie recalled many times coming home late at night long after leaving school and seeing a light burning in the sitting-room of the school house, knowing that Jeffery was still up reading. The passion was informed by Jeffery's own conviction that it was "absolutely necessary that they [pupils] should understand the affairs of life, in order that they might be able to take an intelligent interest in them."

The brass tablet unveiled at the breakup in December 1923 read "Erected by pupils in memory of James Jeffery, their teacher and friend, headmaster of this school, 1886-1914." The title of friend might

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4 Rev Andrew Cameron at the 25th social - ES May 1911.
5 J Hutchinson, editor of the *Otago Daily Times* in a letter to the break-up ceremony at which the memorial tablet was unveiled - *Otago Daily Times* [ODT] December 1923.
6 John Alexander Reekie in *Andersons Bay School Souvenir 70th Anniversary 1858-1928* [70th Jubilee] p10.
7 CE Statham MHR at the memorial tablet unveiling - ODT December 1923.
8 Obituary in ES 13 August 1923, reprinted in *National Education* 1 September 1923 p287.
9 Reekie.
10 James Jeffery at the 25th celebrations - ES May 1911.
seem overstated, but it was indeed used by his ex-pupils. At the unveiling ceremony an early scholarship winner in Jeffery's regime, John Nicol, maintained that he had indeed

... carefully studied the mental and physical welfare of children ... [for] ... during the first winter Mr Jeffery was at the school he allowed the children to enter the schoolroom and sit by the fire and supplied them with hot drinks.¹¹

This indicated “his kindness of heart” and countering a generalized “tendency to misjudge teachers for hardness.” Furthermore, he had taken a keen interest in sport and games and always encouraged the children to play the game in and out of school.¹² Reekie noted that Jeffery detested anything of a mean and underhand nature, and that if his pupils honestly endeavoured to do their best they would not be punished, but rather receive a kindly word of encouragement, be shown where they were wrong, and told to try and do better in future.¹³

Thirty seven years in Andersons Bay, twenty eight of them as headmaster of the school, gave James Jeffery considerable influence there. Thomas Somerville catalogued some of the activities at the farewell retirement social in April 1914. He noted that they had been especially those connected with young people and then commented on the support Jeffery had given the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society and his “leading part in the initiation and successful maintaining of the band and the library.”¹⁴ Not all had been successful ventures, as mention of the ill-fated Andersons Bay-to-city ferry confirmed.

These district activities had added to them city and provincial involvement in the Athenaeum, the Navy League, the Competitions Society and the Educational Institute of Otago, the last being extended into a long and rambunctious involvement with the New Zealand Educational Institute's national affairs. And always there were the columnist activities. From 1888 to 1922 Pater's Chats with the Boys appeared each week in the Otago Witness, while from 1904 to 1917 James Jeffery doubled as "Magister" in the Our Public Schools' Column

¹¹ John Nicol at the memorial tablet unveiling - ODT December 1923.
¹² Nicol.
¹³ Reekie.
¹⁴ Thomas Somerville at the farewell social - OW 15 April 1914.
published in the Thursday *Otago Daily Times* and reprinted in the *Otago Witness*. Two thousand five hundred words or so a week for thirty four years, double that amount for a third of that time. It was surely no exaggeration for Marshall, the director of the technical school, to talk of his "remarkable enthusiasm, his energy and his capacity for work."\(^{15}\)

Considerable claims were made for him. Oscar Flamank, headmaster of North East Valley School, long-time friend and colleague in institute affairs, suggested a tad exaggeratedly that "Mr Jeffery had been in the forefront of all educational reforms in New Zealand."\(^{16}\) Thomas Somerville spoke of his expectations that Jeffery would have the time in retirement to "make his name famous in the educational annals of this dominion."\(^{17}\)

Whatever Somerville or James Jeffery may have had in mind a world war intervened at that point and it was not to be. The career, teaching and wider, had been less successful than might have been expected from such a paladin. He was, when it comes down to it, merely the headmaster, albeit a notably long-term one, of a very modestly sized suburban school. His eulogists indicate some awareness of this and offer some explanations. Andrew Cameron said at the twenty fifth celebrations in 1911 that he felt sure that if Mr Jeffery had looked after his own interests and followed merely accepted routine of school work he would long ago have been in a different position. He would not have been at Anderson's Bay for a period of twenty five years. He would have been moved to a larger school.\(^{18}\)

Oscar Flamank seconded Cameron's view and in almost identical terms.\(^{19}\) On Jeffery's last day at the school Cameron said that he "had set himself quite regardless of his own personal interests to further the interests of the boys and girls of the district."\(^ {20}\) After his death, the


\(^{16}\) Oscar D Flamank at the 25th celebrations - NZJE 5 June 1911.

\(^{17}\) Thomas Somerville at the school farewell - O DT 1 April 1914.

\(^{18}\) Rev Andrew Cameron at the 25th celebrations - NZJE 5 June 1911.

\(^{19}\) Flamank

\(^{20}\) Rev Andrew Cameron at the school farewell - ODT 1 April 1914.
local member of parliament, C.E. Statham, was commenting that he had been ahead of his times and must have felt disheartened because things did not move fast enough for him.\footnote{CE Statham MHR at unveiling of memorial tablet - ODT December 1923.}

There is only one published suggestion that he retired for health reasons.\footnote{Obituary in ES 13 August 1923, reprinted in National Education 1 September 1923 p287.} Rather there were tantalizing hints of conflict with authority which will be explored as best we may, as we also look into the other aspects of his career and life in order to understand something of the shaping influences of the worlds of James Jeffery, Victorian teacher.

And two of those worlds were absolutely and literally Victorian. Firstly he was born in the Australian state of Victoria in 1858, married a Victorian lass who followed him over to New Zealand, and kept close contact with and interest in his family and their home town of Ballarat. He returned on visits at least six times. Then, he grew to maturity and manhood during the apogee of British hegemony, the Victorian Age - in the heady days after the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, compounded by the imperial expansion in Africa and the Far East. An enormous pride in the benificent achievements of British power and culture in this Victorian Age was nevertheless qualified for him by an awareness of the developing challenges to this natural and reasonable superiority.

The world of James Jeffery was also that of an inveterate and incorrigible teacher. Teaching was his life-long professional career, continued part-time after retirement at the technical school. But he not only took an intense interest and a prominent part in educational developments and controversies; his very approach to community affairs was that of a teacher. As a longstanding and prolific newspaper columnist, it was his overtly didactic aim to open the eyes of his readers on all manner of current matters, while his personal involvement in the Athenaeum, technical classes, the Navy League, the Dunedin Competitions Society, World War I patriotic association work and even on the Dunedin City Council always had a proselytising pedagogical strain to it.
2. THE EARLY WORLD

James Jeffery was born in Ballarat, Victoria, Australia on 14 August 1858. His parents, Christopher Rule Jeffery and Eliza Sims had married in the parish church in Camborne, Cornwall, on 23 December 1856, and had immediately embarked at Liverpool on 5 January 1857 on the *James Baines* for passage to Melbourne, where they arrived on 25 March 1857. Listed on the ship's manifest as a farmer, Christopher Jeffery had been noted in the 1851 census as a miner in the village of Illogan near Redruth. He took up mining again in Ballarat, subsequently becoming a mining machinery engine driver.

James was the oldest of ten children. In his newspaper columns he later recalled running messages in a main street which was covered with quartz where boys would search the rivulets for specks of gold after a shower. He also recalled many boyhood evenings in the East Ballarat Library, from which he was often turned out at closing time at 10 p.m. He did not consider himself studious - "for I did not concentrate on any particular subject" - but the library was a great source of enjoyment to him as he could not afford books himself. One of the papers he read regularly in the Ballarat library was the *Otago Witness*, an early introduction to the province and city that he later chose to settle in, providing a familiarity that may have eased his decision to migrate.

Another vivid memory which he wrote about at least three times was his participation as an impressionable nine year old in Ballarat's "furious enthusiasm for Australia's first royal visit" - that of H.R.H Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, the "Sailor Duke," in December 1867. Along with the decorations, bunting, triumphal arches and illuminations there was also a gathering of about 7000 children in the hastily planned and erected £2000 Alfred Hall, built, he recalled, half in West and half in East Ballarat because neither of the councils would contribute to the other's proposal. He remembered the final

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1 OW/PC 21 June 1905.
3 OW/PC 13 August 1913.
practice in a gigantic railway goods shed and then appearing "on the eventful day ... in [navy] sashes and wearing a blue rosette on which was fastened a gilt anchor and cord." His memory of the two-part singing of the National Anthem which they "gave vent to" was vivid. But that was not all, for they filed out between "cartloads of fruit and pastry, and as we passed through the door received a bag of one in the right hand, and of the other in the left." Could it be that a life-long adherence to the crown and empire was constructed on his share of "over a ton of fruit and half a ton of pastry"? Of his schooling we know next to nothing. In his first account of the royal visit he mentions that the choir was trained by the superintendent of the Sunday school he attended. He added a rueful comment that "there was no free education in those days," indicating perhaps that the fees paid at a pre 1872 Education Act denominational or a "national" school were something of a burden on the family. For although we know that he completed the prescribed course for the 5th Class on 19 October 1870 at the age of 12, there is no record of completing the 6th Class. He did, however, retain a connection with the Wesleyan Golden Point Sunday School until he left for Otago because an illuminated address dated June 1879 and consisting of his photograph, and those of his teacher, Mr Murray, and seven mostly bearded and moustachioed fellow scholars, followed him across to Otago "as a token of esteem."

There is an oral family tradition that when he left school, presumably at the end of 1870 or during 1871, he worked in a soft drink factory. Indeed the story goes that he was offered the inducement of ultimate possession of the elixir's formula to stay on, and that it would have made him a considerably richer man than becoming a teacher. A decision to teach was nevertheless made. He was appointed on 13 November 1874 as a pupil teacher at State School 1170, Green Hill at the age of 16. This school opened in October 1872,

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4 OW/PC 10 June 1897.
5 OW/PC 13 August 1913.
6 OW/PC 10 June 1897.
7 All Victorian teaching details come from a record of James Jeffery's teaching career compiled by Walter Spurrell, History Section, Victorian Education Department, July 1978.
8 Contemporary photographed card copy of an illuminated address, Golden Point Wesleyan Sunday School, Ballarat, June 1878.
replacing one which had operated at a charge of one shilling a week in
the days before the passing of the 1872 Education Act in the Wesleyan
Church building from 1864. A little over a year later on 4 January
1876 Jeffery failed the examination for Class 3 Pupil Teacher. He then
absented himself from school on 7 December 1876 to sit for the
examination for the "Licence to Teach," but, as he had not completed
his pupil-teacher training, his promotion was ruled out until he had.
Two weeks later he was noted as short only of the "Art of Teaching" for
qualification as a Class 3 Pupil Teacher. He completed that by 16
February 1877, gaining both Class 2 and Class 3 Pupil Teacher
qualifications by 24 September 1877, back-dated to the beginning of
the year.

On 12 November 1878 Henry Mitchell, the head teacher at Green
Hill from 1878 to 1881, was writing that "Mr James Jeffery ceased duty
in this school at the close of the afternoon meeting on Friday the 8th
instant," because on 9 November he had been appointed temporary
head teacher at either Amherst or Pimpinio, the clerk's figures being
indistinct. But that is of small consequence, for by 31 December 1878
he had resigned "and there is no further record of his employment by
the Department."10

The exact reason for his migration to New Zealand is unclear,
but Victoria was in a state of political and economic turmoil. The
recently elected populist premier, Graham Berry, had had his
programmes blocked by conservative opponents in control of the
Legislative Council. Railing against the constitutional impropriety of
the upper houses's refusal of supply, claiming the need to reduce
expenditure, and in a clear act of reprisal, on "Black Wednesday", 8
January 1878, Berry removed the most senior public servants, all of
them appointees of those political opponents.11 That tender plant, the
confidence of industry and commerce, wilted and "Berry Blight"
ensued.12 Although teachers' positions as such were not in jeopardy, a

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8 Henry Mitchell, letter attached to the Spurrell summary. It would seem from
letters he wrote to the Department of Education that there were only some 30 pupils
in average attendance, and indeed the night school had to be closed.

10 Spurrell.

11 C.M.H.Clark, A history of Australia IV: the earth abideth for ever 1851-1888,

round of retrenchment in government salaries certainly affected them.\textsuperscript{13} James Jeffery can hardly have felt the immediate future in the state of Victoria was secure, while a distrust of radical politicians born of this experience may well have translated into reservations about Richard John Seddon, a politician with whom he was to have some close contact.

Moreover, there seemed attractive alternative employment for someone with his newly acquired qualifications in New Zealand, where the national education system set up by the Education Act of 1877 sparked considerable expansion, no more so than in Otago. As the last remnants of the provincial system abolished just prior to the passing of the Education Act, the education boards remained in control of primary education in matters of recruitment and the staffing of schools for over hundred years, and at this time the Otago Education Board was actively recruiting, in Victoria in particular to the extent that it has been the focus of a paper by David McKenzie.\textsuperscript{14} The connexion arose from the fact that the second inspector appointed in Otago to join John Hislop was a fellow Scot, Donald Petrie. Petrie, who had taught at Scotch College, Melbourne, was familiar with the concept of "standards" and set about looking for teachers versed in their application; where else better than Victoria? Yet another Scot, Patrick Gunn Pryde, rose from a cadetship with the board to succeed Hislop as secretary, but his migration had been by way of Victoria, and he showed even more of a predilection to favour products of that state. Their candidacies were pushed by him with the local school committees who had to make the final choice, one of them in terms which may well have fitted James Jeffery's case when he wrote, "[Mr Bennett's] sole reason for leaving Victoria is the unsatisfactory state of education matters there and the almost impossible chance of ultimate promotion in his profession."\textsuperscript{15} The salary scales in Otago were certainly superior to those in Victoria, as they were to the rest of the New Zealand board districts, although the quid pro quo was that the class sizes were greater.\textsuperscript{16}


\textsuperscript{14} McKenzie 1982.

\textsuperscript{15} PG Pryde to Flag Swamp School Committee, 18 June 1879, quoted by McKenzie op. cit. p30.

\textsuperscript{16} McKenzie 1982 p33.
The considerable number of Victorian teachers became a bone of contention in the furore which followed Pryde's arranging for the appointment in 1882 of his brother-in-law, Peter Goyen, a former Victorian teacher, as a school inspector without advertising the position. They were characterised as the "Victorian family party [of] needy adventurers and beardless youth" being imported from a colony "literally swarming with the species of genus dominorum."\(^{17}\) At the age of 20 James Jeffery was certainly a youth, even if newly bearded. He was, however, in contradistinction to Pryde's defence of his recruitment policies,\(^{18}\) not particularly well-qualified, a fact which was to bedevil him throughout his career.

On 7 January 1879 he left Melbourne on the S.S. *Ringarooma* for Port Chalmers via Hobart and Bluff in the company of 160 passengers. On board were four other Otago-bound Victorian teachers, including his fellow Sunday School scholar and life-long teaching colleague and friend, Walter Eudey, also of Cornish mining stock. They travelled steerage and the seven day voyage cost them £5.\(^ {19}\) On the morning of Tuesday 14 January they left the ship at Port Chalmers and travelled by train to Dunedin. Their visit after dinner to the education board offices fortuitously coincided with that of Mr Fraer, a board member from Lawrence, so that within ten minutes "it [was] decided that I should have the Swift Creek School Tapanui"\(^ {20}\) for a salary of £150. The official noting of this somewhat precipitate action read:

Entered the Board's Service on 1st Jan 1879 and present position [Master, Swift Creek] on same date. He was formerly an assistant in Victoria where he served his full term as pupil teacher. He is possessed of a licence to teach and of several testimonials of a highly satis.[sic] character.\(^ {21}\)

James Jeffery then wrote of his initial opinion of the secretary in terms he was assuredly not always to hold to - "Mr Pryde seems a gentleman in every sense of the word, a man whom any person could put

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\(^{17}\) *Letters to the ODT* in 1882 and 1883 quoted by David McKenzie pp30 and 31.


\(^ {19}\) James Jeffery kept a diary from 30 January 1879 in which he recorded the details of the voyage across and events at Swift Creek up to the visit of the inspectors on 1 September that year, and details come from that account.

\(^ {20}\) James Jeffery, Diary p9.

\(^ {21}\) Teachers' records of Otago Education Board [OEB] pp440-1.
confidence in and know it would not be abused."²²

On the Thursday he was en route to Lawrence by train to be met by Mr Fraer and an ex-Ballarat teacher, Anderson; the next day by coach the 34 miles to Tapanui, crossing the Clutha River by punt at Beaumont. By the Saturday he was at Swift Creek where he had to await the completion of the building of the school, which should have been by Monday 27 January but was delayed until Wednesday 29 January because the inspector had found some faults to be put right. Although James Jeffery had stepped straight into a new school the negotiations to have it built had preceded the passing of the Education Act 1877. At a meeting in January 1877 at Swift Creek a site had been settled on, to be followed by a grant for erection, the premature calling of tenders, and a final grant in September 1878 for the expenditure of £379.11s.4d for a school and residence.²³

The first committee meeting held on the Monday 27 January was a highly irregular one in Jeffery's eyes as they took no minutes, and decided without any ballot that all seven present should be the committee. "If 7 of my scholars behaved in such a manner I would thrash the life out of them,"²⁴ was his tart comment, while his diary comment on the February meeting was that "such a lot of 'ignoramuses' I never saw before - they did nothing but gab, gab, until 11 o'clock and precious little settled then."²⁵ However, the meetings did agree on a concert and ball to be held as an opening ceremony on Friday 21 February, tickets 3/- single and 5/- double, authorising at a later meeting the purchase of lamps, kerosene, a broom and pegs for the school and house. A public meeting of 24 settlers to agitate for an extension of the railway was held on 8 February, the day James Jeffery finally moved into the school house. That meeting also decided to ask for a post office with their new teacher as post master, and it opened on 1 May. When the opening "soiree" was finally held there were 200 there, some from 15 miles away. It went on until daybreak, fuelled by whisky which was planted in the horse traps, under the school and in holes, and partaken of in frequent nips through the night. Nothing

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²² James Jeffery, Diary p10.
²⁴ James Jeffery, Diary p13.
²⁵ James Jeffery, Diary p20.
Meanwhile the roll had been building up from the initial 17 pupils to a maximum of 34, but it fluctuated according to the vagaries of the weather and of the season, dropping as low as 12, a constantly absorbing worry to teachers whose salaries depended on average attendances. As the centenary history of the school said, "inclement weather, work at home, and truancy were bad news for him." Some £6.11s.0d worth of books had arrived for the school prior to its opening, supplemented by a further £16 worth in May. One of Jeffery's personal concerns was the regular supply of meat for his bachelor establishment, and he complained of isolation, homesickness, and the non-arrival of his papers. On 19 February he wrote, "I suppose today is a criterion of how I will spend my time, see no one, cook my meals, eat them, read or study and go to bed." On the other hand he was noting on 14 March that "the Tapanui Courier was forwarded to me today as a return for contributor," so that he had apparently commenced his newspaper correspondent/columnist career immediately. A further note on the same date that he had finished reading Goldsmith adverted to another life pattern firmly established.

Walter Eudey came over from Waipahi one weekend early in March, but they were too far apart to see one another regularly. However, on 14 April they were off together by train to Dunedin for an instructive week which hinted at future activities and interests. The main purpose was to attend the Educational Institute of Otago's meetings in the course of which "Mr White was presented with a splendid microscope." They attended the play Ten Nights in a Bar Room, inspected the machinery at Guthrie and Lanarch's timber works, and James Jeffery "purchased £8 worth of books as the commencement of a library in connection with the district, how it will succeed I don't

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26 Duff p37.
27 James Jeffery, Diary p20.
28 James Jeffery, Diary p24.
29 James Jeffery, Diary p27. This was David Renfrew White MA, born in Edinburgh, who came with his parents to Tasmania and subsequently to Dunedin in 1862. In 1872 he was a candidate in the first public teacher's examination in Otago, in 1878 he became first assistant at High Street, and he was the first teacher in Otago to obtain an A1 certificate. He became headmaster of the Normal School in 1885, and was secretary of Otago Educational Institute for 8 years and a foundation member and president of New Zealand Educational Institute. He became principal of the teachers' college on its foundation in 1905 and was subsequently professor of education at the University of Otago.
know."\textsuperscript{30} An initial meeting with some heavyweights in teacher politics, the theatre, industry inspection and bookshops - a heady cocktail.

On 1 September he made the last entry in this early diary to note that the Quadrille Club was to have a ball, that there had been four snow storms, that he was to receive his class photo from Ballarat shortly, and that he had had a week off school through illness, his first absence. But, more significantly, "I have had a visit from the Inspector who was well pleased with what he saw," as he had also been with Walter Eudey.\textsuperscript{31}

On the basis of this being "well pleased," they were both repatriated from their West Otago isolation, James Jeffery being appointed to be first assistant at North East Valley School in Dunedin on 1 July 1880 at a salary of £162, a school with a head master, three teachers, four pupil teachers and 292 pupils. By 1881 he had transferred as assistant master to Mornington on a salary of £172. This rose to £214 in 1882 and 1883, when the roll hovered around the 385 mark, and to £228 and £252 in 1884 and 1885 respectively with rolls of 430 and 488.\textsuperscript{32}

There is no record of an inspection at North East Valley but in 1883 William Taylor\textsuperscript{33} wrote that "Mr Jeffrey [sic] does smart and effective work and commands excellent attention." Peter Goyen, Pryde's brother-in-law, was not so impressed the next year. He watched well-given and unremarked lessons in singing and grammar and sailed in on a reading lesson where "the blackboard was not used in the correction of errors in pronunciation and this matter of the lesson was poorly dealt with."\textsuperscript{34} He did concede excellent control. Next year he was more generous, praising the great care and

\textsuperscript{30} James Jeffery, Diary p27.
\textsuperscript{31} James Jeffery, Diary p30.
\textsuperscript{32} Figures extracted from reports of Otago Education Board in Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives [AJHR] 1880-1885.
\textsuperscript{33} William Taylor was originally a singing master, appointed as sub-inspector to Hislop in the early 1870s.
\textsuperscript{34} P Goyen, Inspector's Reports [IR] for Mornington School 1883, Hocken Library. Peter Goyen, FLS, was born in St Austell, Cornwall, came to Victoria with his parents at an early age, and trained at Melbourne Teachers' College. He became in 1878 Inspector in Southland when it became separate board, and in 1882 an OEB Inspector. He was a prolific textbook writer in English and arithmetic, and an enthusiastic botanist and arachnologist, becoming in 1888 a Fellow of the Linnaean Society, London.
thoroughness which characterised lessons in reading and composition, and declaring himself "much pleased with the way in which Mr Jeffery made his pupils talk about the matter of their lessons." Order, tone and attention were excellent. In 1885 James Jeffery had not marked the register for the previous day and had that noted, but in 1886 it was recorded that the work was "carried on with great animation and thoroughness", and although "much too large a proportion of answering was simultaneous" in other respects the work was excellent.\footnote{P Goyen, IR for Mornington School 1884, Hocken Library.}

Other circumstances were changing for James Jeffery. In his diary on the first page he wrote in a rather feverish grand-Victorian style:

How I bitterly repent that I did not make more use of my time in gone by years in cultivating a person's acquaintance, but the thought that that person is I believe and trust as true as steel and has a deep sense of my regard.

One of his first actions after securing his post was to buy four postcards of New Zealand Maoris, two of which were despatched to "Aj" along with one knows not how many of the 19 pages of foolscap letter-writing he reported just completing. For this was the girl he had left behind in Ballarat, Sarah Ann (Annie) Johns, also of good Cornish stock.\footnote{P Goyen, IR for Mornington School 1885 and 1886, Hocken Library. At a similar stage Walter Eudey at Kensington School was getting a much rougher ride. The first entry in his teachers' record noted his failure to secure order and he showed a want of animation, while in February 1883 his teaching was not impressive. In June the classes were more attentive and well behaved than hitherto, and he had decidedly improved in efficiency, but the work was not very thorough.} Armed with his permanent appointment to Mornington School and his salary increase to £214, James persuaded Annie to come to Dunedin and marry him. This happened on 7 April 1883 in the house in Forth Street of Mrs Mary Williams, his landlady, witnessed by Walter Eudey and Bessie Young, who took the same step on 20 April, witnessed by James and Annie Jeffery. The first child, Minnie Johns,\footnote{Her parents, Humphrey Cooper Johns and Mary Ann Hosking had married in Uny Lelant, Cornwall on 17 March 1856, and emigrated to Ballarat in time for Annie to be born there in 1857 - direct contemporaries in colonial adventure with the Jefferys and from just four or so parishes westward in Cornwall (near St Ives).}
was born on 22 June 1884.

On 15 April 1886 the minutes of the Otago Education Board record the resignation of "Jas. Jeffery, 1st Assistant, Mornington" and further down the appointment of "Jas. Jeffery, Head Teacher, Andersons Bay vice Hume resigned." The assistantships were finished, the apprenticeship was completed. Now James Jeffery was to have charge of his own school, with one female assistant. He had been prepared to accept a reduction in salary from £252 to £217 because with the Andersons Bay position there came a school house for him and his family, and that meant a considerable saving in rent.

Had he but known it, this move to a suburban school at the base of the Otago peninsula cast the die for his entire future teaching career. This reasonably swift promotion to his own school, certainly compared to the length of time that it took Walter Eudey, was his first and last headmastership.

38 Manuscript books of Minutes of Otago Education Board [OEB Minutes] for 15 April 1886, Hocken Library.
1. Green Hill School, Ballarat, Victoria
   James Jeffery, pupil teacher, stands next to Mr Mitchell, head teacher
   in the doorway of the school

2. James Jeffery, Dunedin, mid 1880s
3. THE TEACHING WORLD I: 1886 - 1896

At Andersons Bay School there were things to be done by a 28 year old newly promoted and out to make a name for himself. He had inherited a set of buildings which the inspector, Donald Petrie, had rated as being "in fair repair," meaning, as inspectors were loath to make comments that would incur expense for the board, that they were fairly disgraceful - there were 60 children being taught in a room 14 feet square. Also the teaching in the school was not in perfect order. Petrie had commented of George Hume, the previous head teacher, that discipline in the upper room was good, that his lessons were "fairly conducted" but that there was poor attention and "methods were in many respects unsuitable." Matters in the lower room were of concern, for discipline, while improved, was still deficient, the timetable needed reorganisation, and a blackboard and easel were required. All of which perhaps reflected the personality of Hume, characterised as "a man of very quiet, retiring disposition." By the next inspection a Mr Richardson had taken over as a reliever and Goyen was pleased to report an improvement in the lower room, but over all there was a good deal yet to be done despite the considerable improvements effected by Richardson.

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1 Donald Petrie was an MA from Aberdeen University and had been a teacher at Scotch College Melbourne. In 1874 he became an OEB inspector and later the senior; moved to Auckland as Chief Inspector. He wrote a number of geography textbooks in the late 1870s and early 1880s.

2 Prue Miller, Anderson’s Bay School Dunedin 1858-1983: district and school remembered; to mark the occasion of the 125th Reunion [125th Reunion], p3.

3 IR 1885, Hocken Library

4 H Duckworth, Early Otago: History of Anderson’s Bay from 1844 to December 1921 and Tomahawk from 1857 to March 1923, Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd, Dunedin 1923 ,p17.

5 Charles Reynold Dalton Richardson BA, who was to be Rector of the Balclutha High School by 1894, an assistant inspector on the death of Taylor in 1895, and an inspector in 1902, becoming one of Jeffery’s latter-day critics. Typified as energetic and indefatigable in the Cyclopaedia of NZ, he was a good athlete and keen angler.

6 IR 1886, Hocken Library.
Buildings

The buildings Jeffery inherited were the second set. The school had opened in 1858 with a roll of 31 in a combined 20 foot by 12 foot schoolroom and residence opposite the Presbyterian Church at the top of Silverton Street. By 1865 these had become inadequate and the Presbyterian church was also being used, so that in 1872 buildings with a cemented brick finish had been erected to replace them at a cost of £350. By 1878 another room had been added at the cost of £290. It was these buildings which the 1885 inspector's report found to be only in fair repair.

However it was the residence that was the first to be tackled because the new head teacher had a two year old daughter and a pregnant wife. The Otago Education Board's finance committee had reported in October that no more money should be spent on repairing the original house. It was to be sold and the proceeds used in improving the school property. By May of the next year the contract for a new residence had been completed at the cost of £302-5s-0d on the site of the old one, which had been sold and shifted.

Attention then turned to the school itself. The board architect's proposal for improving the buildings was agreed to at the April 1888 meeting of the board. In July a piece of land was exchanged with Mr White, and in January the next year new outhouses were approved. However, at the May 1889 board meeting “a communication was received” from the Andersons Bay School Committee concerning “the unsuitability and inadequacy of the present school site and

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7 125th Reunion p3.
6 H Duckworth in Anderson's Bay School Souvenir: 70th Anniversary 1858-1928[70th Anniversary]. p6. The first school was on the site of James Jeffery's school residence, demolished in the 1970s. The second school was later used as the Anglican Church Hall and is still standing
5 OEB Minutes 21 October 1886
10 OEB Minutes 18 November 1886
11 OEB building and maintenance manuscript folio, May 1887. The OEB contract book notes the completion date as 16 May 1887 and the contractor as James Gardner, Forbury.
12 OEB Minutes of 19 April 1888, 19 July 1888, and 17 January 1889. John White was a local solicitor and a long-time school committee member.
buildings.¹³ The board decided to acquire another site and in that well-worn delaying tactic referred the matter to a committee consisting of the chairman, Dr Hislop and Mr McGregor "to inquire and report." Offers of sections by the Begg brothers were rejected at the July meeting, and the matter was not considered by the full board until April 1890.¹⁴ A deputation consisting of the chairman of the school committee, Presbyterian minister Andrew Cameron,¹⁵ and prominent resident Charles Owen, the secretary of the New Zealand Express Company,¹⁶ placed the claims of the district before them. They were met with the reply that the board did not have the necessary funds at that time, but that a school would be one of the first works when a further parliamentary grant had been made. The school committee kept the pressure on by sending the board Mr T.S. Graham's offer to sell sections in the Shiel Hill Township, to which the board responded by giving the chairman and secretary the authority to purchase eight of them "if they could be acquired cheap."¹⁷ This time there was no delay, and at the November board meeting the purchase for £300 was reported and confirmed.¹⁸

Planning moved apace, and it was to be a modern school in every way if a further deputation from the school committee had their way. They proposed in December that a trial "of the dual desk should be made in the new school about to be erected at Andersons Bay." The board referred the matter to its architects who produced a model of a continuous desk with dual seats at the next meeting and had it approved, although the final contract had to be adjusted as late as July to make sure that they were indeed provided.¹⁹ As to the school

¹³ OEB Minutes 16 May 1889.
¹⁴ OEB Minutes 16 April 1890.
¹⁵ Andrew Cameron was chairman of the school committee through until he went overseas on a trip in 1904. He had been a student at Otago University, graduating BA, and became Presbyterian minister at Andersons Bay in 1884 after study at Edinburgh, Jena and Leipzig. He was moderator of both the Otago and New Zealand Presbyterian churches. He was James Jeffery's next-door neighbour from 1900, when the brick manse was built opposite the church, until the latter's retirement in 1914. He was a member of the University of Otago Council, the Vice-Chancellor from 1910-12, and Chancellor from 1912 to 1925. He was on the senate of the University of New Zealand and the Otago High Schools Board.
¹⁶ Charles Spencer Owen was an accountant, secretary and later national general manager of NZ Express, Cameron's successor as chairman of the committee from 1907 to 1910, and a near neighbour of the school.
¹⁷ OEB Minutes 15 October 1890
¹⁸ OEB Minutes 19 November 1890
¹⁹ OEB Minutes 18 December 1890, 14 January 1891, and 16 July 1891.
itself, the architect's plans were approved in January and the contract let to L.W. Lyders. Work commenced on 13 April 1891 with a contract price of £918, and with a completion date of 25 June - as always a vain hope for it was not actually completed until 15 February 1892.20 Immediately the committee asked for improvements, and the February board meeting approved a pound-for-pound subsidy on asphalting, then under way, and for fencing between the closets and a coal shed, but the formation of a road was deferred and forms were declined.21

The school was now re-sited on more spacious grounds up towards Shiel Hill township, and was housed in a building of the latest board design. It had a steeply pitched, gable-ended, galvanised-iron roof, was weatherboard clad, and consisted of four rooms with twelve foot studs and high sash windows set six feet from the floor atop a vertical ship-lap dado. The only decorative feature beyond vestigial finials in the three gables was the small bell-tower astride the central ridge. This building, with a classroom and office added in 1914, stood until 1973.

The school committee wanted more. When they heard that the board had gained the Minister of Education's permission to sell the old Silverton site a deputation, with John White added to Cameron and Owen, waited on the board to urge that the proceeds should be used at the school for a playshed, a gymnasium and a cookery classroom.22 The board asked them to provide more details about these proposals - and their concerns about truant children - but at their August meeting they turned them down, regretting that "funds would not allow a subsidy meantime."23 Yet another deputation came to the May 1893 meeting with the same proposal. This time the board acceded, and agreed on a pound for pound subsidy up to £100.24 In July they appointed Perpetual Trustees to sell the old school site and buildings, and the gymnasium went ahead. In the meantime the school committee undertook to canvass the district in four sections, 400

21 OEB Minutes 17 February 1892, and OEB building and maintenance manuscript folio.
22 ODT 22 July 1892. Andersons Bay School Committee Minutes [ABSC Minutes] 28 April, 12 May 1893.
23 OEB Minutes 17 August 1892.
24 ABSC Minutes 28 April 1893 and 12 May 1893. OEB Minutes 17 May 1893.
circulards having first been distributed.\textsuperscript{25}

The new addition was opened in March 1894 with the ceremony and celebration befitting the effort which had gone into raising the local component of the £220 that it had cost. There had been subscriptions, entertainments and a jumble sale organised by James Jeffery and his infant mistress, Marion Cowie,\textsuperscript{26} which raised £35.18s.3d and which was still being talked about by ex-pupils in 1928.\textsuperscript{27} Sixty feet by twenty feet, the gymnasium incorporated a Shacklock No.1 Orion range for teaching cooking donated by H.E. Shacklock himself, and it was immediately let for a young men’s gymnastic class and dancing during the winter.\textsuperscript{28} The Andersons Bay Literary Society donated a third (unspecified) of its bank account, two powerful kerosene lamps were given, and Jeffery obtained at auction the apparatus of the South Dunedin Youth Club for £10.17s.0d.\textsuperscript{29} It proved “quite a boon for the school” in historian Duckworth’s words, despite the evening gymnastics class’s being annoyed “by some young fellows” the next year when the committee moved to “take steps to abate the nuisance.”\textsuperscript{30}

The minutes of the school committee suggest that they were instrumental in prodding the Otago Education Board into granting pound for pound subsidies for equipment, and into appointing a gymnastics instructor for Dunedin schools.\textsuperscript{31} When “Instructor Hanna” was appointed the annual report congratulated “Mr Jeffery, to whom the credit belongs.”\textsuperscript{32}

Although clearly a considerable asset to the community,\textsuperscript{33} the hiring out of the gymnasium was to be a perennial problem, figuring constantly in the school committee’s minutes. Twice the local

\textsuperscript{25} ABSC Minutes 2 June 1893
\textsuperscript{26} Marion Bain Cowie, assistant from 1889 to 1894.
\textsuperscript{27} ABSC Minutes 29 December 1893. Duckworth p19 and 70th Anniversary, p7.
\textsuperscript{28} ABSC Report 1894. Duckworth p7.
\textsuperscript{29} ABSC Minutes 30 October 1893, 27 April 1894, 26 April 1895.
\textsuperscript{30} Committee minutes quoted by Miller p4.
\textsuperscript{31} ABSC Minutes 14 June 1895
\textsuperscript{32} ABSC Report 1896
\textsuperscript{33} And so it continues - the only of Jeffery’s school buildings remaining a century after its opening, and shortly to be extended at the cost of $80,000 by the current board of trustees.
constable was written to about trespassers, while the rules were regularly revised and strict adherence to them demanded.\(^{34}\)

**The Standard Pass System**

When it came to matters curricular, the bane of any teacher's life was the standard pass system which held the country's primary schools in thrall for twenty years from 1878. The regulations of that year established six standard classes and an infant department. The curriculum was prescribed in detail and inspectors were required to conduct examinations and tell individual pupil whether they had passed or failed in reading, writing, dictation, arithmetic, grammar, composition, geography, history, excluding initially only singing, drawing and sewing which were "class" as opposed to "pass" subjects. Butchers' summary of the standard pass's effects was that "for almost a quarter of a century they held the whole machinery of the schools - inspectors, teacher, and scholars alike - in a strangling grip.\(^{35}\)

The system persisted firstly because the central government's Department of Education did not at that time have the control over curriculum matters which would allow it to dictate the kind of modifications there was increasing pressure to make. The education boards, the last vestigial remnants of provincialism, insisted on sharing control over the curriculum. It is also a matter of debate whether it was ever the wish and purpose of the first Inspector-General, the Rev. W.J. Habens, to make changes, for rising percentage passes were always to him his best hope of wresting funds from a reluctant and cash-strapped legislature. Secondly, the standard system provided a measure of control and supervision which politicians, boards and inspectors wanted for their own purposes, while the teachers took time to organize themselves and gain support for their somewhat different opinions and interests. Then again, the idea of standards was the new orthodoxy - it was widely agreed that there were such things as standards, that these could be set, that they could

\(^{34}\) ABSC Minutes 13 July 1900, 11 April 1902, 7 April and 20 May 1905, 9 March 1906, 29 May 1907.

\(^{35}\) A.G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie Ltd, Dunedin, 1930 p52
be assessed accurately and fairly, and that they meant something. Beyond that, the English codes had been operating since 1862, and had been transplanted to Canada, some Australian states, and several New Zealand provinces. This was therefore no new-fangled notion, but tried and true and distinctively British, to which immigrant teachers such as James Jeffery from near-at-hand Victoria could attest.

The final foundation for the over-long acceptance of a rigid standards system was the fact that the teaching force inherited from the provincial systems differed widely as to its standards of qualifications and experience. The percentage of pupil teachers in the workforce was always shamefully high, at 22% in 1888 and still 12% in 1894, while their training by head masters was often inadequate, and the teachers' college alternative was crippled by the dropping of their annual grant in 1888 because of financial stringency.36

W.C. Walker, the minister of education at the end of its dominance, would have it that the system had been "carrying out perfectly the wishes and desires of the people of the colony."37 His summary may have been closer to the truth than the received wisdom of educational historians such as Butchers or Ewing. They see an unimaginative Habens defending standards with stubbornness and tenacity against immediate, steadily mounting professional and lay criticism about aspects of the system and its administration - in particular of Habens' "penchant for examination statistics" which bedevilled the system from the start.38

J.G.L. Scott, one of the professional critics, used his presidential address to the North Canterbury institute in 1899 to speculate that in the future there would be astonishment

... that on a stated day each year there was a parade of all the pupils in each school, who were then marshalled before an inspector and made to exhibit a little of their knowledge and a great deal of their ignorance to him, and that upon the result of their efforts that day depended their chance of progress for the

37 Walker was opening the first ever joint conference of education boards, inspectors and the New Zealand Educational Institute in December 1899 which led to the system's radical curtailment. AJHR, E-1c, 1899
38 Ewing p15.
next twelve months.\textsuperscript{39}

All James Jeffery's writings and utterances confirm that these were his views as well and that he felt constrained by the narrowing of teaching methods and teachers' horizons caused by the need to prepare pupils, at every level initially, for this superficial, haphazard, capricious and tyrannical assessment method. He particularly abhorred the rote learning that it engendered and wrote in June 1896 that "most teachers find teaching rather dreary work when it comes to drilling the last 20\% up to the standard required."\textsuperscript{40} In one of his last columns, when long retired, he returned to this theme with passion, using words such as "horrible torture" and "hate" to express his feelings on the rote teaching of history and geography, and he commented that this "would be vomited into the inspectors' laps when opportunity offered."\textsuperscript{41} He knew a teacher "in the percentage days," who achieved good percentages with fewer books than he then had on his table. He also saw to it that the school committee made its (and his!) opposition to the "vicious system of cramming" known to the Otago Education Board, along with their support of the Hon. J Macgregor's attempts to have the inspectors' methods of reporting modified.\textsuperscript{42}

A sporadic chorus of inspectorial disapproval began from the time the regulations were promulgated in the \textit{New Zealand Gazette} in September 1878. An examination of their 1880 and 1885 reports establishes five themes to their fugue.\textsuperscript{43} Firstly, the statistics would be abused, and Hodgson of Nelson Marlborough talked of the "preposterous custom now becoming increasingly prevalent, of publishing, with a flourish of trumpets the results in a school directly after the examination," when such results were "partial and distorted." Secondly, the inspectors wrote, the standards were too rigid and rigorous; thirdly, far too many subjects had been included and standards were falling because of time diverted from the basic subjects; and fourthly, there was the effect on small schools expected to teach

\textsuperscript{39} Christchurch Press [Press] editorial 26 May 1899
\textsuperscript{40} OW/PC 18 June 1896
\textsuperscript{41} OW/PC 15 February 1921
\textsuperscript{42} ABSC Report 1893
\textsuperscript{43} AJHR H-1A, 1880 pp5-37 and AJHR E-1B, 1885, pp3-46.
every subject whether the teacher was trained or not. Finally, they pointed up the lack of training for teachers and its corollary, the general inexperience of staff.

Very slowly modifications were made - more precise definitions, reducing the number of "pass" subjects, de-emphasising and simplifying the way percentages of passes were calculated. "Explanatory notes" were issued in 1881, which drew a comment from H. Hill, an inspector but writing as editor of *The New Zealand Schoolmaster*, that he could not remember any scheme which was issued with 18 pages of explanatory notes which only made things worse. Teachers quickly cottoned on to the ploy of excluding students from the examinations to bolster the percentage of passes and had to be prevented from so doing in 1884. In 1885 drawing was added to the pass subjects and Habens showed himself reluctant to dilute uniformity or reduce the breadth of the curriculum. In 1891 minor exchanges from pass to class subjects were made, but any easing of the burden on James Jeffery and his ilk represented by this was outweighed by unrealistically stiffening the requirements in drawing, while head teachers' authority to place children in classes and to group classes was in effect cancelled by the inspectors' retention of the right to overturn such classification. The changes made after an 1894 conference left the curriculum virtually unchanged but discontinued the preparation and publication of Habens' over-elaborate percentages.

Habens' notes - or homilies - are perhaps the most interesting part of the 1891 regulations. Misusing the percentage passes "is hereby declared to be highly reprehensible;" it should be remembered that the syllabus was designed for the development of "childish and youthful intelligence" not "adult mastery"; any descent into the pursuit of mechanical and superficial knowledge indicated that "the spirit and real meaning [of the syllabus] have not been clearly manifest as they ought to have been"; and because of its "important bearing on the morals of the children," pupils should be made to understand that "the inspector is not a severe and frowning critic bent on probing their

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44 *The New Zealand Schoolmaster* [NZSM] Vol 1, No 2, September 1881, p29.
45 Butchers p55.
ignorance, but that he comes as a courteous and gentle friend."46

James Jeffery would have agreed with every sentiment, but equally would have maintained that inspectors and teachers were not swayed by them.

Curriculum ideas and innovations

The Andersons Bay gymnasium was to be used for the teaching of cooking, for gymnastics, and for evening classes. In a sense it exemplified James Jeffery’s different approach to the curriculum of the school, and to the way that pupils were treated at the school. We have already heard John Nicoll’s memories of being allowed inside to the fire during that very first winter, and in a very early column Jeffery was extolling what he called the “school coffee club” at “one school not 3 miles out of Dunedin” where at 11 o’clock two large kettles were put on to be ready by 12, “easily managed” by a squad of girls each day of the week to make tea and coffee and wash up.47

Jeffery had a passionate belief that scholars should know what was going on in the world: he aimed to make them good citizens.48 To this end he encouraged them to read periodicals and newspapers which he purchased out of his own pocket and made available in the schoolroom. He advocated “periodical clubs” where eighteen or so could subscribe perhaps two shillings a year and receive monthly such publications as the Boys’ and Girls’ Own Papers, Harper’s Young People and Good Words.49 He endorsed Sir Robert Stout’s 1890 recommendation that British reviews should be read, suggesting the Graphic, the Sphere and the Illustrated London News.50 Scholarship and Free Place candidates should devote a little spare time daily to reading the newspaper.51 The lead up to the 1904 curriculum found

47 OW/PC 4 July 1889.
48 Duckworth p17.
49 OW/PC 4 July 1889.
50 The family maintained his subscriptions to the latter papers long after his and Annie’s deaths, sharing them round and reading them avidly.
51 OW/PC 12 June 1890, 1 March 1894, 16 September 1903 and 6 January 1909.
Jeffery musing about whether teachers would be allowed to make up their own geography syllabus "or be confined as heretofore to a book syllabus." A great deal more and better geography and history could be taught with the Otago Daily Times and Witness as textbooks than could be taught from the books used at that time, and he wondered how many sixth and seventh classes could interpret phases of the moon, sunrise and sunset times, barometric pressures, weather reports or the commercial columns. In later days he suggested that spelling, dictation, civics, geography, history and arithmetic could also be based on the newspaper.

Jeffery tried where he could to give his pupils practical experiences. He conducted a mock election through his column at the time of the watershed general election of 1890 which saw the Liberals triumph, and repeated it again in 1903 at least. He claimed this was but an extension of what he had done at his school. All elections there in connection with cricket, football and rounders were carried out in secrecy. And all were preceded by adjurations to the effect that the favourite pupil was not necessarily the best captain and a "hail fellow" not necessarily the best administrator.

From an early stage he was anxious to see the magic lantern used as a teaching aid, noting in 1892 that several people in Otago owned lanterns and slides and suggesting that a local society should be set up to organise their exchange, perhaps by winning concessionary rates from both the railway authorities and the slide manufacturers. Not that these occasions were to be mere frivolous entertainment because they would have to be backed by oral examinations to drive the points home! The power of the magic lantern lecture was a theme he was to return to time and time again, and he read a paper on "The Lantern as an Educational Aid" to the annual meeting of the Educational Institute of Otago in 1894. His continuing advocacy of this and other public demonstrations was illustrated when Dr de Lautour demonstrated the new-fangled X-rays to members of the

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52 OW/PC 16 September 1903.
53 OW/PC 27 April 1904, and 4 November 1919.
54 OW/PC 15 April 1903.
55 OW/PC 18 February 1892.
56 Minutes of annual meeting of Educational Institute of Otago [EIO/AM], 5 July 1894.
Anderson's Bay church congregation using, at Jeffery's suggestion, 14 year old Robert Luke's right hand, recently pellet-peppered from rabbit-shooting, to show their diagnostic powers.57

Nothing if not ambitious in his belief in the search for knowledge of his fellow professionals, he took the opportunity of an extension to the Otago Museum to take up with Professor Benham the possibility of using the newly constructed lecture theatre on summer Saturday mornings with groups of up to 30 from the senior standards.58 His idea was that the teachers would have a precise idea of the teaching to take place and ask to have specimens put out so that they might conduct their own classes in zoology and botany.

That he himself would have brought his pupils in is not to be doubted, for the school committee had agreed with Andrew Cameron early in 1894 "that it was advisable to give Standard V, VI and VII pupils the opportunity to inspect prime industries in and around Dunedin," to be accompanied by the head teacher and a member of the committee if possible. Wilkie and Company's printery and Donaghy's rope work were visited within the next months, and John Reekie remembered visits to the Otago Daily Times, the Evening Star and the city's dairy factory.59

But Jeffery's most constant plea was that children should read books. The early habitue of libraries in Ballarat continued the habit, becoming a member of the Dunedin Athenaeum and Mechanics Institution and graduating to the committee at the 1898 Annual Meeting.60 He also haunted bookshops, his visits being "rather many from my purse's point of view." This was the source of considerable family friction when his sons were of an age to dispute the amount of money which went on books and was denied his wife Annie for housekeeping expenses.61 On the other hand as such a good customer

58 OW/PC 16 September 1908. Benham was Professor of Biology at Otago University from 1898 to 1937
59 ABSC Minutes 9 February and 20 April 1894; Reekie, 70th Anniversary, p 11.
60 Minutes of Dunedin Athenaeum and Mechanics Institution Vol II 1882-1899, 31 January 1898. James Jeffery gained one more vote than PG Pryde and together they were the last two elected.
61 OW/PC 4 June 1896. His son William recalls a bill which he saw for "£28 for books when mother couldn't get money," and remembers her crying over it. Notes of conversation with W.E. Jeffery 30 August 1984.
he found that

... some of our booksellers at times generously allow me to peruse the more expensive volumes because they know full well they will get the book back as clean as when it leaves their premises and within a minimum time taken to dig out the most important parts.\textsuperscript{62}

He was quick to reinforce the 1896 advice of the Rev Rutherford Waddell to buy lots of books rather than borrowing them, adding that they should, however, be well-chosen.\textsuperscript{63} When he went on to insist that they would get greater pleasure in reading them for themselves rather than relying on other folk to skim the cream off the books for them; this was in line with his wish that every school should have every book quoted from in the reading lessons.\textsuperscript{64}

His views on reading led naturally to his advocacy of school libraries and what should go in them. In 1900 the chairman of the Andersons Bay school committee was writing to the Otago Education Board asking for a pound for pound subsidy for a school library,\textsuperscript{65} and that James Jeffery was behind this is quite clear because there was a library at the Andersons Bay school by 1893. That year's annual report speaks of its 250 volumes, the result of "substantial support from parents and friends."\textsuperscript{66} In the 1894 report it was confidently claimed that the library, for the size of the school, was the "best in Otago, and its circulation cannot fail to have a beneficial effect" on a habit much neglected.\textsuperscript{67} Throughout the 1890s the reports continued to feature the library. Nationally, it was one of the first issues he took up, for when the question arose at the New Zealand Educational Institute's 1901 annual general meeting he seconded a motion on the matter.\textsuperscript{68}

The Otago board's reply was, as ever, "no funds." Jeffery believed that all small schools could have a good little library, and in 1905 he wondered if Andrew Carnegie would give him £1000 to spend in Otago

\textsuperscript{62} OW/PC 9 June 1915
\textsuperscript{63} OW/PC 23 June 1896.
\textsuperscript{64} OW/PC 16 September 1903.
\textsuperscript{65} OW/PC 19 September 1900
\textsuperscript{66} ABSC Report 1893
\textsuperscript{67} ABSC Report 1894
\textsuperscript{68} Minutes of Annual Meeting of NZ Educational Institute [NZEI/AM] 2-4 January 1901
schools, going on to recommend the *Witness* and the *Sphere* "and perhaps a good American paper."  He further suggested that the educational institute should have lanterns and 5000 slides to lend, along with perhaps 50 stereoscopes and 5000 stereoscopic views. Carnegie did not respond but the *Otago Witness* editor offered a guinea to the boy or girl who produced the best school library list, and Jeffery himself listed the books bought "by a Dunedin teacher [himself no doubt] for a country library." The sixpenny "cheaps" included Rider Haggard, Conan Doyle and Robert Louis Stevenson from the 1880s and 1890s; those listed as from one shilling to one shilling and six pence tended to be "heavier" material from George Eliot, Scott and Dickens, leavened with the juvenile favourites Fenimore Cooper, R. M. Ballantyne and Thomas Hughes. He acknowledged that his list was thin on biography, history, travel and poetry, but the overall impression is that his purchases were heavily mainstream Victorian with the only nearly contemporary volumes being Kipling's 1899 *Stalky and Co* and Jack London's 1903 *Call of the Wild*.

**A Summary - The 1896 Presidential Address**

James Jeffery's presidential address in July 1896 at the end of his term at the head of the Educational Institute of Otago provides an idea of his outlook on some basic educational questions of this early part of his headmastership.

He tackled "Cram - the curse of teacher and taught" as the first topic. Why did they cram, he asked? The system required it, the education board demanded it, the school committees asked for it, the parents gauged a school by it, and teachers' positions depended on it. Jeffery believed that the board and committees singled out "percentage men" and insisted that "teachers have resigned in Dunedin rather than face the relentless crushing out of all individuality in teacher and taught, the intense pressure put upon the least capable, and the

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69 OW/PC 21 June 1906.
70 OW/PC 12 December 1906
71 ES 9 July 1896.
almost inevitable breakdown." He maintained that the inspectors admitted that from 20 to 30 per cent of pupils were incapable of facing the yearly ordeal.

We make about 50 percent of our children of our children recapitulate their work with drearismone monotonv; they lose interest, and work aimlessly and by routine, and we make from 20 percent to 30 percent grind up what they have no earthly interest in, and never will. About 50 percent become aimless and 30 percent rebellious.

The result, he believed, would be seen in the next generation where the present pupils "seeing the inutility of, and the injustice connected with, school life will not be over-anxious to put their children through the same ordeal." He pointed out that nearly a third of Otago children did not present themselves for the fifth standard, let alone pass it, and that over a half did not face the inspector in the sixth.

He went on to talk about the related topics of keeping-in and home lessons. As to the former, he was of the opinion that "if we do our duty in school the children work to their limit, and we have no right to expect them to make up deficiencies by overtime." The question of home lessons had him reiterating an opinion from an early column that teachers set too many.72 "It is so much abused ... I think all work should be covered in school hours, even if we have to extend them a half an hour to do so. ... Have children no rights? Have they nothing to do but school work?" He believed that people supporting home lessons were those to whom learning was comparatively easy and always pleasureable, although he agreed that home lessons inculcated neatness, and gave parents an idea of the progress of the child. But he balked at the argument that it kept them off the streets, asking if the provision of cocoa should be extended to teaching children to cook, then extended to feeding and clothing, or making desks convertible into cubicles, whereupon "the irresponsibility of parents would be complete." On the other hand he should like to see each school as a centre for the past pupils to gravitate to with a school club started - "illustrated papers and a magazine or two, draughts and chess, parlour bagatelle etc. could be provided and things made generally more pleasant for those whose homes are not the tidiest or most comfortable."

72 OW/PC 4 July 1889.
If this has given us some insight into James Jeffery's thoughts on matters educational, we must now investigate how the performance of his headmasterly responsibilities was assessed by the inspectorate.

In the first two reports both Taylor and Petrie found much to commend under "methods and quality of instruction," and "order and discipline." Taylor found him teaching with skill, energy and to good effect, while Petrie thought the pupils were well employed, showed a fine spirit of work, with intelligent and well applied methods taught with great vigour and care - particularly in arithmetic - although in grammar he was thought not to be "deeply versed." In 1890 Taylor repeated his approval of the good methods applied with "spirit, intelligence and satisfactory effect," but he thought Jeffery was disposed to speak too much himself and to elicit too little from the class. Moreover, the timetable which Petrie had criticised previously as not showing the work in sufficient detail was still "undergoing alterations." The 1890 examination report compiled by Petrie noted that the Standard Seven pupils had done a large amount of extra work. The over-all percentage pass was 42, compared to 37 when Richardson was there in 1886 and Albany Street school's current 47%. Petrie generally approved of the teaching of geography, arithmetic and history, the last being taught "with full knowledge and effect." Moreover the teaching notes showed that a great deal of supplementary information of a suitable character was being given, and he detected better attention and spirit of work than the last time. However, the timetable was not on the wall as required, too much of the work was thrown on the hands of the headmaster, and there was hardly any map work. Petrie's over all summary reiterated that "the working spirit is distinctly better than last year." Having criticised the state of the "outside offices" in 1887 and the lack of ventilation in 1888, the fact that the new school was being erected was mentioned in 1891. Of the

73 IR 1887 and 1888, Hocken Library. The reports for 1889, 1892, 1895, 1898, 1899, 1903, 1904 and 1908 are not among the Hocken collection. Walter Eudey was being roasted in 1889 for want of preparation and carrying out work in a very leisurely way.
74 IR 1890
75 OEB Examination Reports [ER] 1890, Hocken Library.
assistant mistresses under Jeffery's supervision, Miss Kingston was assessed as teaching in a patient, careful and fairly skilful manner, while Miss Cowie needed to spend more time on reading, but had much better attention being paid her by pupils on a second visit in 1891.

The insufficiently detailed timetable surfaced again in Petrie's 1893 report, compounded by insufficient variety of work shown on the lower room's timetable. Better arrangements were felt necessary for mental and blackboard arithmetic. But Jeffery was felt to have "very good acquaintance with the subject dealt with in the lesson," and taught with great care, intelligence and "very fair thoroughness." The pupils were attentive and well behaved and it was noted that the buildings were new and in excellent order, the grounds having been improved by planting numbers of trees. In 1894, Goyen found both Jeffery's and Miss Cowie's departments well managed and well taught, with all the subjects well treated by the latter. The children were working well and showing a great interest in all that was done. The committee had done a good deal of work on the grounds of the school, but the inspector "could not discover much improvement in the teacher's 'garden'"!

When he was president of the Otago Education Institute and commencing his career in national teacher politics, James Jeffery was a 38 year old journeyman head teacher. Ten years on from his initial appointment he had charge of a school of 156 (119 when he took over), he was supervising a pupil teacher as well as an assistant and was earning about £226. His house was new, although it now needed additional rooms for a family of two girls and three boys (with one to come). His school grounds were spacious and being developed with tree planting; his buildings were virtually brand new and had attached an innovatory community gymnasium, so that the pupils enjoyed the most modern of facilities in every way; his success in winning local support for these improvements had made him something of a local figure and his school something of the local resource centre which he aspired to make it. His performance as a teacher and educational

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76 IR1893, Hocken Library.
77 IR 1894. Walter Eudey was now receiving positive remarks for good methods, painstaking manner, considerable skill - but the work was going on rather slowly.
manager was generally approved of by the authorities, and he had
developed his educational ideas both in practice in the classroom and,
more theoretically and disputatiously perhaps, through his increasing
involvement in the affairs of the educational institute.

The next chapter deals with Jeffery's work in that wider world.
3. The second Andersons Bay school, Silverton, built 1872
This is the school which James Jeffery took over. It became, and remains, the Anglican church hall.

4. The Gymnasium
Built in 1894 by public subscription & education board subsidy, it remains virtually unaltered, the only one of the 'original' buildings of James Jeffery's headmastership.
It is to be enlarged, again by public appeal, in 1995
4. THE WORLD OF TEACHER POLITICS I: 
THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE OF OTAGO

The Early Days

When James Jeffery took office as an executive member of the New Zealand Educational Institute at the Nelson annual meeting on 4 January 1903 it was the culmination of a 20 year apprenticeship, worked initially through the activities and offices of the Educational Institute of Otago, and, from the late 1890s onwards, through attendance at the annual meetings of the national body.

We have seen that in April 1879, within three months of arriving in the colony, James Jeffery and Walter Eudey had taken the opportunity of travelling to Dunedin to a meeting of the institute. It had been operating since 1864 as a forum for all those with an interest in education, although its earlier years were shaky until the amalgamation with Stout's Otago Schoolmasters' Association in 1866. Monthly meetings began in 1870 for the discussion of educational papers, with business limited to quarterly meetings. The aims developed for it by William Fitzgerald from his experience of the Educational Institute of Scotland were firstly to raise the standard of education, and secondly to improve the conditions of schools and schoolmasters.¹ Around the time of the passing of the 1877 Act Fitzgerald managed to both widen the basis of the institute and focus its attention on current issues.² The broadly-based membership is shown in the 12th Annual Report for the year 1888-1889: listed as members of the Dunedin branch were professors Black, Shand, Parker, Scott and Ulrich of the very young University of Otago; inspectors Fitzgerald and Bosssence; Mark Cohen, the editor of the Evening Star newspaper; and the august Sir Robert Stout, twice premier of the colony, the second time as recently as the previous year.³ Stout had

² Stuart C Ross, Education and educationists in Otago, Wise and Caffin 1890, p 129-30
³ Annual Reports of the Educational Institute of Otago [AR/EIO] 1888-9, Hocken Library
been the institute's second president in 1868, succeeding Shand, and Black had succeeded him, to be followed in 1884 by Fitzgerald.

The early activities of the institute centred around the annual meeting and the delivery of papers by such notables as those mentioned above, a feature which was preserved down through the years. However, more and more the institute moved towards discussing the practicalities of furthering the interests of education and of teachers, guided by the philosophy of Fitzgerald and the energy and administrative skills of David White, who together were driving forces in the founding of the New Zealand Educational Institute. In January 1883, a body of teachers met in Christchurch to set up the New Zealand Educational Institute, with the first annual meeting of the General Council held the next year in Wellington.

As these weighty matters were afoot, James Jeffery figured for the first time as an officer of the Otago institute, having been the secretary of the Dunedin branch in 1883-4. Subsequently and increasingly he helped to run the provincial institute's organisation both by involvement in the minutiae of its concerns for teachers' conditions of employment and by contributing to its discussions of wider educational issues. Most particularly, in view of the pivotal part he was to play in the gaining of a satisfactory superannuation scheme for teachers, he gained experience in the institute's growingly sophisticated programmes and campaigns in pursuit of the dual aims.

The most pressing of the concerns and problems of teachers tended to surface at the annual meeting where they were discussed, and the shape of programmes and campaigns decided in outline. The detailed planning was done in the committee of management, the minutes of which are increasingly substantial from 1886 onwards.

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4 Simmonds p12
5 AR/EIO 1883-4
Jeffery seems to have relinquished the post of branch secretary quite quickly, and his name next appears as a member of the 1887 committee of management. As such, and under White's presidency, he was quickly embroiled in activities such as drawing up a revised syllabus for consideration at the next annual meeting. But most immediately a riposte was needed to the dangerous and draconian proposals contained in a circular from a parliamentary committee on education. This suggested that retrenchment could be undertaken without unduly impairing efficiency, that the New Zealand system was too costly, that the age at which capitation grants for children were paid might be raised, that fees might be paid in the higher standards, and that the capitation grant itself could be reduced. The institute rebutted each of these points in a circular which they went to the expense of having printed for distribution. Retrenchment would surely affect efficiency, they averred, and the taxpayer received more for his money from the New Zealand system than his New South Wales counterpart; there were good reasons for not raising the capitation age; the principle of free education for the whole course should not be touched; the system could be worked more economically by reducing the capitation grant for school buildings because "boards uselessly multiply schools."

That the institute had cause for concern about these proposals was borne out by the Otago Education Board's establishment of a Retrenched of Expenditure Committee at its October 1887 meeting. It reported in November, recommending a reduction in the number of teachers, reduced payments to teachers receiving more than £200 a year, and a fifty percent reduction in grants to school committees. The same meeting heard of the central government's withdrawal of capitation grants for children below the age of six and beyond Standard 6. The axe fell in January 1888 with a 7.5% cut in the salaries of the secretary and architect, and a graduated reduction for teachers above

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6 Minutes of Annual Meeting of Educational Institute of Otago [AM/EIO] 22 June 1887.
7 Printed report over Duncan White's signature, November 1887.
8 Report of EIO on circular, printed and pasted in with Committee of Management EIO minutes [COM/EIO] 24 November 1887.
These were not expansive days for education.

Appointment of teachers 1888

The appointment of teachers has always been a contentious issue, but it was particularly so for teachers in the nineteenth century, feeling as they did that they, their families and their careers were at the mercy of often capriciously prejudiced laymen. There was also tension between the local school committee and the education board, each jealously guarding their powers and rights, the locals to make a choice from the short list prepared by the board, the board members to ratify the final appointment.

The 1887 annual meeting of the NZEI had passed what Simmonds finds to be a rather surprising resolution trying at least to limit the appointments to the short list. But in this as in many other areas of dispute teachers were quite simply divided. Some profited, or felt they did, from whatever system applied. And for this reason, as in the other areas of dispute, the issues recurrent and resurfaced.

By November 1887 the Otago institute's committee of management had picked up the question. Dr Hislop successfully moved that, as the headmaster was responsible for the management of the school, the board was "not bound absolutely" to appoint the assistant recommended by the school committee unless the headmaster had been consulted and had assured them in writing that he concurred. This was sent to branches for comment and the Dunedin branch passed a motion confirming that the present system should be adhered to, a motion which James Jeffery had seconded pro

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9 OEB minutes 20 October 1887, November 1887, 19 January 1888
10 Simmonds p27
11 COM/EIO 24 November 1887
forma. The affirming of a system which they were so critical of speaks volumes for the difficulty of devising an acceptably fair system of appointments. It was a case of the known devil it would appear.

James Jeffery was not directly affected then, although he was probably as worried as other teachers about partiality in appointments, but he certainly suffered later. But he was involved in the deliberations of the institute and must have been encouraged by their collective response when the matter leapt into the public arena in 1888.

A dispute arose over the appointment of the fourth assistant at Arthur Street School and was editorialised about in the *Otago Daily Times* and the *Evening Star*. The biggest eruption came when David White, by now not only the headmaster of the Dunedin Normal School but also the national president of the NZEI, had the temerity to use the term "favouritism" in the letter to the Otago Education Board which he wrote as convenor of a committee set up during the 1889 Otago institute's annual meeting. This committee's report spoke of many unsatisfactory appointments and cases in which the most highly qualified teacher was not appointed, and it complained of the arbitrariness of the selection of the three to five names forwarded to a school committee. The classification of schools and the use of a classification system for appointments were recommended, along with advising committees to consult headmasters. A deputation was set up to meet the board, but the thirty year old Jeffery was not sufficiently senior in the ranks of the institute to be included. In the event the furious board refused to meet the deputation; instead the board asked White to account for himself, found his written reply to a special meeting on 25 July evasive, and determined to censure him at the next meeting. That they did not do so was really because it was clear to all that as an employee he was simply the most vulnerable of a whole raft of critics. There were leaders on the matter in the *Otago Daily Times* and the *Evening Star* from April through to September that

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12 NZSM 16 April 1888. They then set up a committee to report on the pupil teacher system as requested by the NZEI which included Jeffery, Fitzgerald, White and six others.

13 ODT 2 and 11 February 1889; ES 1 April 1889

14 AM/EIO 2 July 1889.

15 OEB Minutes 17 July 1889
year, and J. McKenzie, a Member of the House of Representatives as well as a board member, had talked of the “partial and improper manner in which appointments were made.” Moreover, the institute rallied to White’s support and held a special meeting on 31 August 1889 to consider the board’s criticisms. The matter cooled, without any modification of the system on the one hand or apparent damage to White’s career on the other.

The *Otago Daily Times* returned to the issue of appointments in an April 1890 editorial, while the board itself had recurring internal debates over the years, as in the instance of Dr Stenhouse’s recommendation in October 1893 that town school committees should select candidates who had spent long terms in remote country schools, the basis of his concern being the health of the teachers. The debate threw up contentions that it would be better if the board appointed directly, and talk of promotions always occurring from within “the charmed circle.”

**Legal Assistance to NZEI Members 1890**

In 1890 Jeffery was unsuccessful at the elections for the committee of management, but gained a delegate’s position in the ballot for the NZEI Council meeting the next January, the fourth out of five successful candidates. By November he had in fact joined the committee of management in place of J.R. Don, and seconded a motion that the replies they had received from rural candidates for the parliamentary elections should be sent to the *Times*, the *Star*, and the newly established working class paper, the *Globe*. Candidates’

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16 Herald 17 May 1889
17 Minutes of special meeting EIO 31 August 1889
18 OW 26 October 1893
18 There was a semi-personal coda in that in 1902 there was a brief contretemps between the board and the committee of the Tapanui District High School where an assistant mistress had been appointed without consulting the school committee. The committee came to close the school and were only forestalled by the foresight of the headmaster in having prompted a telegraphed direct instruction from the board to open the school, faced with which the committee ‘retired.’ The headmaster? Newly appointed Walter Eudy. ODT 24 October 1902.
20 AM/EIO 29 July 1890.
21 COM/EIO 22 November 1890.
opinions had been sought on alterations to the standard course of instruction, technical and manual training, raising the school age to 7, whether free education should be limited to Standard 4, and their stance on the Private Schools' Bill. The smoke and shot of the 1888 retrenchment had not dispersed, it would seem. Having sought in this way to educate the electorate on education in that pivotal 1890 election, Jeffery also sought to educate teachers by having papers read by "gentlemen outside the profession" at the annual meeting, and sending a copy of the institute's annual report to every teacher in the province.²²

At the 1891 annual meeting he was elected to the new position of librarian, a post which he made uniquely his own, for he held it until 1906. The only interruption came in 1895 when he was president of the Otago institute, and when he became president a second time in 1902 he continued to be librarian as well. From his point of view it was ideal. It was an executive position which carried with it membership of the committee of management, and he was the primary influence as to which journals were subscribed to and which books bought. That the library was given some importance by the institute is attested to by a debate involving seven speakers at the annual meeting of 1901 after which the spending of £20 "putting the library on a satisfactory footing" was unanimously agreed to.²³

The White controversy highlighted was the exposed position in which even the most distinguished teachers found themselves in any dispute with their local or provincial masters. The peril its president had faced encouraged the 1890 NZEI Council meeting to set up a committee, convened by Fitzgerald, to investigate the establishment of a legal assistance fund. But although the sub-committee recommended such a fund the council confined itself to giving the instruction that all cases of dismissal or undue interference with members were to be enquired into and "substantial sympathy and support" offered.²⁴ In addition the NZEI began to lobby for a court of appeal for teachers against dismissal.

²² COM/EIO 2 May and 20 June 1891.
²³ AM/EIO 24 June 1901
²⁴ Simmonds p35.
The Otago institute discussed legal assistance at its 1891 annual meeting and a court of appeal in 1892. The next year, Pope, the headmaster of the Balclutha High School was dismissed at three months' notice. He was given institute support. The matter of the court of appeal was considered by a committee which was set up during the 1894 annual meeting and reported on favourably on the third day. James Jeffery had been a member of that committee, so it was no surprise that it was on his motion at the annual meeting of 1895 that the decision was made to print a circular supporting the Court of Appeal Bill then before parliament. The same meeting agreed to a farthing in the pound levy on members to support Miss Wrigley in her cause celebre - her battle with the Auckland board who had refused to pay her the £75 she had been awarded for wrongful dismissal, plunging her into bankruptcy. Yet another Otago circular was printed and ten guineas despatched to the fund.

Simmonds notes that there was a significant growth in personal cases during the 1890s, and the fact that teachers seemed so prone to arbitrary dismissal was often put forward as one of the reasons for the already worrying reluctance of men to become primary teachers. The 1896 NZEI annual meeting finally established a compulsory legal defence fund, levying members one shilling a head to build it up. They also instructed branches to register themselves under the newly passed Teachers' Incorporation and Court of Appeal Act 1895, and it was Jeffery who moved that Otago should comply.

The cases in Otago continued, and Jeffery was usually at the forefront in urging institute support. In the Waipori school case in 1898 he suggested that the NZEI secretary be written to, in the Jack case in 1900 he was selected to interview the teacher concerned about the charges and reported to the committee of management that he did indeed have a case. The NZEI secretary wrote to the Otago board
secretary, Pryde, asking that counsel should be provided but he declined and did not involve the institute representative in proceedings. That Jeffery was the representative would seem to be borne out by the request which he had the July committee of management meeting send to the education board to have institute representatives at any inquiry against teachers.\textsuperscript{33} When Miss McGill of North East Harbour came into collision with her employers in March 1900 a special meeting decided to provide legal assistance, confirmed by the committee of management on Jeffery's motion.\textsuperscript{34} He was also on the sub committee set up to review the case, and he and four others subsequently made a presentation to the education board. The final decision was that further action by the NZEI was not appropriate.\textsuperscript{35} 

As Simmonds concludes, "the Institute had demonstrated to school committees, parents and boards that while teachers were in a vulnerable position, with several apparent masters, they had better be treated fairly and responsibly."\textsuperscript{36} James Jeffery was one of the foot soldiers in the front line of such demonstrations.

**Classification of Teachers 1892**

The "classification" of teachers bore on the subject of appointments. The 1877 Education Act gave the Department of Education the responsibility of certificating and classifying teachers, and five broad classes A to E for qualifications were established. There were then five sub-classes for "teaching experience and assessed efficiency" for each of the A to E grades, categorized 1 to 5. The qualification and efficiency scales overlapped and an A3, a B2 and a C1 were regarded as equivalent to one another.\textsuperscript{37} If the the teacher held a master's degree with first or second class honours he was certificated Class A, a bachelor's rated a B, a partial degree a C. In 1888 only three quarters of the teaching force were in fact certificated at all, and the

\textsuperscript{33} COM/EIO 14 July 1900.
\textsuperscript{34} COM/EIO 31 March and 12 April 1902
\textsuperscript{35} COM/EIO 16 August and 11 October 1902.
\textsuperscript{36} Simmonds p49.
\textsuperscript{37} See diagram in Butchers p11, incorporated in Figure 12.
bulk of those were at the E level, which meant that they were at least 19 years old, had been teaching for four years and had passed subjects at about the Standard 6 level.  

There was a good deal of criticism of inspectors' assessments of children, but there is little recorded criticism of the way they assessed teachers' efficiency. It seems that "experience", which simply meant length of service, came to determine a teacher's progress from 5 towards 1. This does not seem to have been a contentious issue with teachers or with their professional association. Rather the sore point with them and the Department was, according to Simmonds, that boards in making appointments paid little heed to these certificates. In advising on the making of appointments inspectors were board officers with no responsibility to the Department and often they acted quite parochially. A local would normally win against outsiders even if they were similarly or even better qualified.

Certainly the basis on which candidates were compared was suspect and it was this that finally converted the teacher union to recognising the need for strict uniformity. The fairly lengthy process was only completed at the 1899 annual meeting.

The initial thrust came from Otago on the initiative of William Davidson. He had been born in Jeffery's home town of Ballarat and in the same year, but from that point onwards there is a sense in which Davidson was always one step, and often a country mile, ahead of Jeffery. Davidson trained full time at Melbourne Teacher' College while Jeffery was qualifying as a pupil teacher, he became headmaster at Cromwell in 1883, then at Waitati in 1885, an hour's train ride north of Dunedin. In 1892, while president of the Educational Institute of Otago, he had returned to Victoria to survey matters educational there, and when he returned he devised a scheme for the classification,

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38 Ewing p7.
39 Simmonds 85
40 Davidson became headmaster of Mornington school, the suburb directly above the centre of Dunedin city, and stayed there until his retirement in 1917. He edited the New Zealand Journal of Education from 1899 to 1918, he was president of the Educational Institute of Otago in 1892, and the NZEI in 1897-8. He was a teacher representative on the Royal Commission on Teachers' Salaries in 1901, was elected to the first Teachers' Superannuation Board in 1906, served on the Cohen Commission on Education in 1912, and was a member of the Teachers' Appeal Board in 1917 when grading of teachers was introduced.
appointment and payment of teachers which he presented for the first time to a committee of management meeting, drawing support for it from an Otago Daily Times leader.\textsuperscript{41}

Davidson's scheme was presented as a paper on "the Classification of Schools and Salaries" to the 1892 annual meeting, which decided to send it to the Otago Education Board.\textsuperscript{42} But before that happened the Dunedin branch of the institute held a special meeting on 6 August 1892, adjourned because of the amount of discussion to 15 August.\textsuperscript{43} In the course of the latter meeting there was a spat between James Jeffery and J.M.E. Garrow which hints at the reason the former seems to have fallen out with several prominent contemporaries, Davidson included.\textsuperscript{44} In supporting the scheme as admirable, Jeffery rounded on Garrow and suggested that he "had descended to sarcasm and concentrated his ability in an antagonistic direction." There was, he said, "nothing friendly in what [Garrow] said," and the details of the scheme were far from hard and fast. After this outburst Chapman of Arthur Street school gave it as his opinion that Jeffery had been "particularly severe on Mr Garrow," while Mathews of Union Street school said that younger teachers were "afraid to speak for fear of getting sat on." Thus chastised Jeffery was reported as saying he "was sorry if he had said anything to wound Mr Garrow's feelings. He had not intended to do so."\textsuperscript{45} But he had doubtless done just that, as well as upsetting those who had to witness his attack.

There was no recorded response from the Otago Education Board to the scheme, but on 13 October 1894 the Dunedin branch returned to the discussion, and with modifications it was commended by Mark Cohen to the Otago Education Board in November.\textsuperscript{46} Both the Otago Daily Times and the Evening Star approved of what was suggested.\textsuperscript{47} A Dunedin branch meeting in early December attracted sixty teachers,

\textsuperscript{41} ODT 4 April and 7 April 1892.
\textsuperscript{42} AM/EIO 14 July 1892.
\textsuperscript{43} ES 6 August 1892, ODT 15 August 1892
\textsuperscript{44} JME Garrow was born in Scotland in 1865 and came to Port Chalmers as a child. He qualified through pupil teaching, gained a BA in 1896, was president of EIO 1898-9, went into business and then became registrar and librarian of the University of Otago. He wrote a regular column for Davidson and the New Zealand Journal of Education.
\textsuperscript{45} ODT 15 August 1892
\textsuperscript{46} ES 23 November 1894.
\textsuperscript{47} ODT 28 November and ES 29 November 1894.
and James Jeffery, emphasising again that the scheme was open to modification, suggested that the opinions of country teachers should be sought because:

... it was one of the advantages of the scheme that the country teachers would have an opportunity of getting into or near a town but they all knew that although positions were advertised in the Dunedin schools, or in schools a few miles from Dunedin, the school committees did not take into consideration all the certificates sent in, but said: We believe that the teachers in our own schools ought to be worked up when vacancies occur.\(^{48}\)

Davidson said in a letter to the Times he was grateful to have been supported by Jeffery, and was present to explain the scheme at the December education board meeting, at their request.\(^{49}\) Andrew Cameron raised the matter at the February 1895 conference of the Dunedin and Suburban School Committees.\(^{50}\) The annual meeting of the Otago institute took another step by suggesting a Board of Classification consisting of the chairman and another member from the education board, an inspector, and an elected certificated teacher, and on the motion of Davidson it suggested that committees be told by the board that it was their duty to select the most suitable candidates. Jeffery took part in the debate around sending the names and information on such suitable applicants to the committees.\(^{51}\)

When the Otago Education Board debated the matter ten days later P.B. Fraser expressed a concern that introducing something which emanated from Victoria might lead to an outflow of teachers from their district such as had happened when Victorian teachers came to Otago. However, Mark Cohen pointed out that that was because Otago had offered "better inducements in the way of salaries."\(^{52}\) The education board did not come to a decision, but classification was on the agenda at the school committees' October conference and the Star ran a series of favourable editorials, the first of them entitled "On the Right Track."\(^{53}\)

\(^{48}\) ES 5 December 1894.
\(^{49}\) ODT 8 and 20 December 1894.
\(^{50}\) ODT 13 February 1895.
\(^{51}\) AM/EIO 10 July 1895.
\(^{52}\) ES 20 July 1895
\(^{53}\) ES 23, 31 October, 6 and 12 November 1895.
Board members, officials and inspectors were all wary of a classification system and uniformity in appointment; and Otago teachers feared that they might lose their advantage in salaries. This resistance was slowly wearing down, but there was still a long way to go and the salary scales to accompany a truly national system of classification would demand detailed discussion.

Readers 1894

Discussions about class readers and school textbooks recurred spasmodically from the mid 1880s onwards, but did not occupy the Otago institute nearly to the extent which might have been expected, given the press controversies. It seems to have been another topic which teachers found it difficult to come to any kind of unanimity about, and while controversy swirled around in the newspaper columns about sweated labour and picketing schools, the teachers' official statements were measured and even vague.

The standard readers which accompanied the establishing of the standards system as the basis of the new national system of primary schooling were described by Ewing as "a mixture of literary extracts, some good and some jejune, informative articles either avuncular or didactic in style, and poems." He added that they were "well flavoured with conventional Victorian morality." The 1877 Act specified that such books had to be approved by the Governor in Council, but the actuality was that it was inspectors employed by education boards who approved them, and that readers were simply another battlefield in the war against uniformity and centralisation. The NZEI's view was that teachers needed to change textbooks regularly, "to keep up with professional developments," and they held to their professional right to judge what those developments might be and which readers might suit them.\(^\text{55}\)

\(^{54}\) Ewing p64

In 1885 the Minister of Education, Stout, responding to criticism about frequent changes, asked the education boards for lists of texts in use, and the Otago Education Board decided in 1887 after initial resistance that they would have to engage in some curtailment or have it forced upon them. That decision just anticipated the circular which appeared from the Education Department asking if it was desirable to limit the number of approved readers.\textsuperscript{56} The education board passed the enquiry on to the institute to consider and their report stated that it was "highly desirable to have a uniform series of textbooks in reading, English, grammar, arithmetic, geography, and history."\textsuperscript{57}

The education board thereupon passed a new regulation in 1889 restricting the number of books, the list to be revised in 1893. But immediately there was a modification to allow the \textit{Southern Cross Readers} to be used as supplementary readers on the inspectors' suggestion - against the opposition of the institute who felt the series had a bias towards natural history and used words "beyond the intelligence of the children to be taught."\textsuperscript{58} The readers were published by Whitcombe and Tombs, and a major political controversy broke out because that firm had been one criticised by the Sweating Commission and boycotted by the Trades and Labour Council as a result. Whitcombe and Tombs lobbied the education board, but a picket of the North East Valley school convinced the board in early September to delay the next reader's introduction for six months.\textsuperscript{59}

McGeorge's assessment is that the most successful books of the late 1870s and 1880s had been written by inspectors or teachers, but it was the former who predominated and they were roundly criticised throughout debates such as these.\textsuperscript{60} The gist of the complaints was that teachers used books because they feared refusing to comply, a point articulated back in 1888 in connection with the appearance of an arithmetic book by Goyen and a geography book by Petrie. As the

\textsuperscript{56} Circular dated 6 June 1888

\textsuperscript{57} ODT 10 February 1891 - quoted in connection with the \textit{Southern Cross Reader} controversy.

\textsuperscript{58} ODT 10 April 1891

\textsuperscript{59} Mackay p143

\textsuperscript{60} Colin McGeorge, \textit{Schools and socialisation in New Zealand 1890-1914}, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Canterbury 1985, p302. For more specific details about individual readers see Hugh Price's bibliography of New Zealand textbooks.
Times had said, "Those who recommend ... [are] ... those who wrote them." 61 Other voices suggested that "teachers stood to benefit from introducing them because they had shares [in Whitcombe and Tombs]." 62 Perhaps influenced by such arguments the Otago Education Board drew up new regulations "which gave the individual teacher a choice in which supplementary reader he used," and approved them at the 26 February 1891 meeting. 63

The institute's preference during these 1890-1 consultations had been for the Royal Star Readers, the third in a line of the "enormously successful" Thomas Nelson and Sons series exported to meet the needs of New Zealand schools after the passing of the 1877 act. 64 They were the most notable and pervasive of McGeorge's "third generation" readers until they were superseded in popularity by the Southern Cross books at the turn of the century with the appearance of the Imperial Readers. The Otago consultations were part of a debate which "flickered and flared" because "there was a general demand that local texts should be used in schools, partly for reasons of relevance and interest, and partly because they would provide local employment." 65 These arguments did not sway the Otago institute, for Nelsons Royals figured in the next recommendations in December 1894, although with Longman New Readers now given first place and Royal Crown as an alternative, along with Longmans junior composition, Goyen's exercises, Horsburgh's Zealandia Geography No 3, and, unchanged, Arnold's History Readers Numbers II to VII. 66 The task of making the recommendations had been passed on to the committee of management by the 1894 annual meeting, and although Jeffery had not attended the meetings in September, October and November he was there to take part in the final recommendation. 67 In the meantime the Dunedin School Committees' Conference had given the thumbs down to a single

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61 ODT 17 August 1888. Goyen was having to do some quick explaining much later on 21 June 1900 when the Evening Star reported his reassuring the board that he received royalties only on his readers sold outside the province.

62 McGeorge p304

63 Mackay pp144-5

64 Hugh Price, Reading books and reading in New Zealand Schools 1877-1900, in Reinterpreting the Educational Past: essays in the history of New Zealand education, (ed) Roger Openshaw and David McKenzie, Educational Research Series No 67, NZCER 1987 p182.

65 McGeorge, p297 and p304

66 COM/EIO 11 December 1894

67 AM/EIO 5 July 1894
series of readers on the voices, a circumstance reported by the
Andersons Bay committee as being "no doubt owing to the
representations of the [Andersons Bay] committee's delegates."68 They
also agreed at this juncture to Jeffery's buying in the New Longman
Geographical Reader.69

In 1896 Jeffery was in the chair at the Otago institute as
president, and his presidential address put the matter on the agenda.
Along with the other contentious issues which he raised, he
commented on the "series of readers colonially published being
advocated by the government."70 This was a reference to the ill-fated
New Zealand School Reader, developed stutteringly from 1891 in
response to continuing criticism in parliament of costly changes, and
charges that teachers and booksellers were in collusion.71 William
Pember Reeves, the minister, had circulated education boards and
received replies that indicated that one school reading book could be
developed, but when it appeared at the end of 1895 aimed at Standards
5 and 6 it was a total failure. What Jeffery said about it was no doubt
fairly typical of the opposition it aroused. He began by saying that he
supported a series that "contained a good selection of lessons dealing
with the discovery of New Zealand, with its flora and fauna, with the
history of the Maoris, our wars with them, the settlement of each
province, and so on." Indeed, he thought lessons dealing with New
Zealand and adjacent colonies and islands could well be substituted for
much of the history and geography "we wearily wander through now."
But he was strongly in favour "of the lessons being appended to one of
the series of Readers now being published at Home." He thought too
much was made of the expense of a new book, for most of the
objections came "from those would go to no expense at all if they could
help it," and "one of the main objects of compulsory education is to get
at such." He rejected the "support local industries" cry as self-serving,
stated that supply by the government would be "a monopoly of the
worst form," and believed the books of the "Home firms" to be works of
art, quite apart from their helping to keep touch with the Home
Country and continually introducing selections by new authors. He

68 ABSC Minutes 29 June and 28 July 1894
69 ABSC Minutes 3 January 1894
70 ES 9 July 1896
71 Mackay p147. The MP was Earnshaw.
ended this section of his speech with his notice of motion:

That in the true interests of education, it is not advisable to have a colonial series of Readers printed by the New Zealand Government, or to be bound down to any Reader printed in the colony, unless, perhaps, as a supplementary set.

Later the annual meeting went into a committee of the whole to consider the question of school books, and then passed the matter on to the committee of management. The New Zealand School Reader was conspicuous by its absence from the list of recommendations which the Books Committee made to the August committee of management meeting. Small wonder. Although Ewing maintained it deserved a better fate, he conceded that it did not fit the standards system, lacked spelling lists, and was regarded suspiciously by private publishers. What the Otago teachers did recommend was for the standard classes the Longman New or Nelson's Crown Readers, in that order, and for the infants Nelson's Crown or Chamber's Fluent or Longman Ship Readers, without preference. Still no Southern Cross, it will be noted.

The 1898-99 Annual Report detailed the recommendations made by a committee set up following a meeting of headmasters and matrons on 25 March 1899 which had been called at the invitation of the Otago Education Board. The committee included James Jeffery, White, Eudey, Garrow, Chapman and two others. Having considered a range of readers at three meetings, being helped by a committee of matrons as regards the infants' books, they recommended unanimously Nelson's Royal Crown Series, followed, in order, by Longman Ship, the New Readers, and the Southern Cross Imperial Readers. The named four were then appointed to confer with a committee of the board and inspectors, but found themselves at loggerheads. The result? "Owing to a decided difference of opinion between the inspectors and the teachers" the board committee "did not feel justified in giving a decision and remitted the question to the Board."

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72 AM/EIO 8 July 1896
73 Ewing p68
74 COM/EIO 1 August 1896
75 ODT 21 April 1899
76 EIO Annual Report 1898-9
77 EIO Annual Report 1898-9
The board's decision displeased the institute because it was in favour of the *Southern Cross Imperials*. At the August 1899 committee of management meeting it was decided to write a letter to the education board protesting that so little heed had been taken of the proposals of the reading sub-committee. But they did not leave the matter at that. Rather they used a ploy which they had had recourse to before and were to perfect in the coming tussles over salaries and superannuation. They enlisted the support of the school committees to advance the institute's position as their own, and in October 1900 we have the Dunedin and Suburban Schools Committees Conference requesting that *Star* and *Crown* readers be approved rather than the *Southern Cross Imperial* readers. The board was unswayed.

**Bible in Schools 1896**

If Jeffery was merely a bit player in the institute's reaction to educational discussions to this point, he was centre stage during the 1896 Bible in schools controversy. Indeed he triggered it off by raising it in his presidential address. There were immediate indications that institute members did not welcome this recrudescence of such a potentially divisive topic, for although James Reid tabled a notice of motion that the question be put to a vote of all teachers, an amendment from Davidson that such a vote was inadvisable was carried by the meeting.

The inclusion of the "secular clause" in the 1877 Act had been a compromise which left the aims of both opposing pressure groups unsatisfied. It represented a defeat for those church education authorities and politicians who had striven to have denominational education state-funded, but it had also outraged those who believed that anything as powerfully important in the moulding of character as education should have its foundation in the Christian religion. So the schools and their teachers were sniped at and chivvied from both

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76 COM/EIO 12 August 1899  
79 ODT 18 October 1900.  
80 AM/EIO 8 July 1896.
flanks, and campaigns were mounted at recurring intervals right through Jeffery's teaching career.

In the 1890s there was a "coalescence" of Protestant churches to have scripture textbooks used in schools. The "Irish" texts were the chosen vehicle, described by Ian Breward as heavily Old Testament, prophetic and miracle emphasising.\textsuperscript{81} An association for this purpose was set up in Dunedin in 1893, no doubt given a fillip by the resurfacing of the state aid arguments as an election issue. This had led to an editorial in the \textit{Times} which maintained that the question of national versus denominational education had been thrashed out 16 years before and which found Bishop Moran's regurgitation of the "godless schools" soubriquet "as disingenuous as it is wearisome."\textsuperscript{82}

James Jeffery entered the debate in the guise of Pater in 1893. Acknowledging that it was a delicate question but pointing out that it was the only political question in the current election campaign he had not taken up, he felt that he had "as perfect a right to assist in moulding the characters of my young friends as any one else discussing public questions."\textsuperscript{83} The more he read, he wrote, the more he became convinced that the Bible could not be introduced into schools without discord. In theory it should be able to be done, but in practice, given "man's liability to err," there could be no agreement. He believed it was hard to accept literally that there was a hell, that heaven's street were shining gold, or that the world was made in six days. Furthermore, even if Protestants were to agree, he did not think "our Catholic friends would fall into line" because they wanted the state to subsidise their teaching of a creed. He believed "in respecting to the utmost all beliefs that teach the highest of morality, but mine must be respected in return," and because his experience taught him that that would not be the case, bitter feelings were certain to be roused. Consequently he believed that parent, preacher and Sunday School teacher must supply religious teaching, not the schools.

It would appear he was a liberal in theology but clearly cleaved to

\textsuperscript{81} McGeorge p435-6. They were called "Irish" because they had been developed and agreed to by Protestant and Church of Ireland (Anglican) church authorities there.

\textsuperscript{82} ODT reprinted in OW 26 October 1893.

\textsuperscript{83} OW/PC 23 November 1893.
the consistent and conservative NZEI line of avoiding teaching the Bible in schools. The 1877 status quo was what they had repeatedly voted for at council meetings, for they believed that secular education protected the religious liberty of children and the consciences of teachers, while any change would endanger the national system by making the schools “Protestant” and giving the Catholics a strong argument for state aid for their schools.\textsuperscript{84} However, as McGeorge notes, teachers were far from unanimous.

Jeffery clearly thought about the issue for some time before he gave his presidential address to the 1896 annual meeting in July. A parliamentary committee had heard evidence in 1895, and at school committee elections of 1896 some candidates openly advocated Bible in schools.\textsuperscript{85} In May Jeffery wrote another Pater column, this time about denominational education in Manitoba, commenting that there was a great deal being said just then about religious instruction in schools, “a subject which for various reasons I take an interest in.”\textsuperscript{86} Surprisingly, in view of his 1893 stand, he went on to say that he was in favour of the introduction of the Bible, but then set two conditions, the patent improbability of agreement on which meant he was in fact restating his opposition. They were that the Bible must be commented on, and that all must agree that there should be no attempt to introduce denominationalism. His first point arose because the reformers, out of a wish to avoid straying into doctrinal matters, had plumped for using the Bible without note or comment, a fact which McGeorge found “pedagogically odd,” for without comment children would surely be left uncomprehending.\textsuperscript{87} Jeffery stated his belief that the clergy were the main agitators because their Sunday schools were ineffective. The answer was to reorganise the Sunday schools. As far as he was concerned “education and morals must in no way be connected with the variants of the Christian Church.”

At the July annual meeting, having spoken his mind on cram, keeping in, home lessons, and readers, President Jeffery waded into a question which he believed would again be one of the test questions at

\textsuperscript{84} McGeorge p429-30.
\textsuperscript{85} McGeorge p437.
\textsuperscript{86} OW/PC 28 May 1896
\textsuperscript{87} McGeorge p431
the elections later that year. The schools were not godless and were never meant to be so. Clergymen came into them, teachers could and did mention God, they were not breaking the spirit of the 1877 act, and teaching was wearing down "creeds and excrescences." The Bible was shut out not because it was to be shunned but "because its presence would lead to that bigotry which has shed oceans of blood in the past, and which is very much alive yet." He favourably compared morality in the schools with what he called the commercial morality of the average congregation, which condoned speculation akin to swindling and price monopolies.

He then tackled three reasons put forward in favour of Bible-reading. Firstly, that it was the foundation of morals, which he admitted it to be. But he asked whether the ethical could be separated from the spiritual, and the spiritual from the dogmatic. He stated that neither the Church of England nor the Roman Catholics would be satisfied with the Irish National School Books, while "only people with no vitality, characterless, colorless [sic], backboneless people will be content with simple reading," the outcome as it was "of bigotry and a determination to choke free thought and the free expression of opinion." Secondly, he questioned the claim that the Bible was a classic of English prose, for although the Authorised Version might have been good English in the reign of King James I it was not good English in 1896, and the Revised Version failed because it was a revision and not a re-translation.

The third reason, that it could not be taught in the home because of a lack of time, he rejected out of hand as a sham, and he moved on to "a reason or two why many of us object to the Bible in schools." He said that he believed that morality could be taught without the Bible, because "we may have the morality and not be interested one iota in the many creeds and dogmas and forms of church government thought to be derived from the Bible." How could the teachers retain the respect of pupils "as they look back and picture us as dummies standing in front of them ... turning off chapter by chapter without comment." Furthermore, he said, it was known that teachers had been appointed or refused appointment on account of their religious opinions, and the Bible in schools would intensify this

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86 ES 9 July 1896. Also reported in ODT 6 July 1896
injustice and the conscience clause be rendered invalid. The remedy for the failure of Sunday schools was "not to shift the burdens on to shoulders already overweighted" for "religious teaching is the work of Sunday schools, churches and of parents."

Both the Otago Daily Times and the Evening Star ran editorials, the Star taxing Jeffery's whole paper as extremely pessimistic in tone: "many statements that were much exaggerated, others were decidedly injudicious, and some of the references were by no means in good taste." It noted that the teachers hurried the subsequent discussion on the Bible in schools and did not put it to a vote. One can only agree that there were some very injudicious comments made, the condoning of speculation, the implied laziness of the clergy and bigotry among them. One can imagine the sound of minds snapping shut all round the room.

Correspondence ensued in both papers which predictably concentrated entirely on the Bible in schools issue and indeed on side-issues within that. The furore arose because the Star reported that Jeffery had said:

We object, many of us at any rate, to Bible-reading because even with comment we would not be allowed the same freedom as in criticising or explaining any other book. For my part I think it better if we do not believe in the Fall of Man, the Resurrection, the Trinity, a material hell, everlasting punishment, and a score or so of debatable points. Then it is just as well to let children know it.

In the Otago Daily Times he was attacked for lack of judgement, theological crudity, and for bringing the Bible, Christianity and even Christians into contempt, two of his assailants being members of the clergy, Robert C. Morrison and Isaac Jolly. In the Evening Star he stood accused of attacking the fundamental facts of Christianity and being unable to distinguish between liberty and licence. "Truth Seeker," "Sincerity" and "Sweden" rose to his defence, the first grateful for his courage, the second applauding the telling of a little of what intelligent adults believed about the Bible to children, and the third defending his right as a teacher both to hold and to express an

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69 ES 14 July 1896.
90 ODT 11, 14, 16 July 1896
91 ES 13, 16 July 1896.
opinion.\textsuperscript{92} But the argument really revolved around what he had said or intended to say in those three quoted sentences. In vain he fired off letters to both papers protesting that it was all a matter of punctuation, and that the second and third sentences as printed in the paper had been delivered as one. The editor was not listening, nor were his critics, especially not the clergy, one of whom, Anglican Bishop Nevill, had in a sermon transmogrified what had been said into “There are people who said in their hearts ‘There is no God.’”\textsuperscript{93}

This storm in a teacup is instructive, not so much in its demonstration that newspaper or media controversy seldom concentrates on the issue raised and that it was ever thus, but in what it says about James Jeffery. At the end of his speech he had said, “I am sorry that untoward circumstances have prevented me from spending as much time on my paper as the importance of the occasion deserves.” And in his presidential address to the council of the New Zealand Educational Institute he ended by saying that his remarks had been “penned at rather high pressure.”\textsuperscript{94} On arguably the two most important formal occasions of his professional career he shows the same lack of careful preparation. Moreover, the \textit{Star} was right when it said Jeffery had been injudicious. He paraded some fairly advanced theological views without scrupulously considering his words and phrases, and at several points attacked the clergy in a “swaggering, bellicose style” for their lack of energy and their bigotry, a challenge which an articulate group responded to readily.\textsuperscript{95} He was hardly helping teachers by providing explicit ammunition for suggestions that their freedom of expression would be abused and should be curtailed.

It was not one of his better moments, and there is some doubt as to whether he learned from it, given the intemperate language sometimes used in the newspaper and journal exchanges which erupted in the course of the teachers’ superannuation debates.

What is more his intervention was ineffective. Not only was he not supported by institute members at the meeting but in August the

\textsuperscript{92} ES 13 July 1896, and ODT 16 July 1896.
\textsuperscript{93} ES 14 July, ODT 20 and 21 July 1896.
\textsuperscript{94} Minutes of first session of 22nd Annual Meeting of NZEI, 8 January 1905 [AM/NZEI].
\textsuperscript{95} ODT 21 July 1896
matter came up at the school committees' conference and despite strong opposition to the conference's making any statement on the subject, T.K. Sidey moved that the minister be asked to put the matter to a referendum. This followed a resolution to the same effect at a "largely attended" public meeting on 27 July, which had also endorsed Bible lessons in the school curriculum and the use of the Irish National School Books.96

Discipline 1896

Jeffery now resumed the position of the librarian and member of the committee of management. That body was confronted with the need to consider regulations on corporal punishment which had been suggested after a meeting between representatives of the school committees and a committee of the education board. At the former's conference in August T.K.Sidey had moved that corporal punishment other than on the hand should not be inflicted "except in extreme cases," and for girls there should be none except in the same circumstances and then only administered by the head teacher.97 It provoked the biggest debate of the conference with stories of kicking and "knuckling" bandied about, plus a comment that teachers "thrashed them instead of teaching them." There was even a proposed amendment to abolish corporal punishment altogether and dismiss teachers who transgressed. The chairman dodged that by putting the motion hurriedly without amendments. The suggested regulations made the head teacher responsible over all, prevented pupil teachers from using it, and required assistants to report to the head teacher before inflicting severe punishment.98 The strap was not to be used about the head "on any consideration," and a register was to be set up "to record severe punishment for gross breaches of discipline." Punishment for other than trivial offences was not to be given in front of girls nor were girls to be punished in front of boys. Any excessive punishment was to be reported by the head teacher to the board.

96 OW 6 August 1896.
97 OW 6 August 1896
98 COM/EIO 17 October 1896
The Andersons Bay committee agreed that the regulations were necessary but asked the education board to consider "the moral effect of recording punishment against a child in a permanent way," and hoped committees would not have access to the register. In a Pater column James Jeffery noted that "just now in Dunedin we are mildly agitated on this question." He gave it as his opinion that teachers had to be most severe where home discipline was lax. Any thought that the right to punish should be confined to the head teacher would not work in schools which could have up to 700 pupils, and at any rate it should "depend upon fitness, not upon the accident of position." He agreed that head teachers should be held directly responsible for all punishments but he himself was against punishment registers. Within a year he was himself in the hottest water of his career with his own committee over to discipline and punishment.

The next year corporal punishment was one of the grab bag of concerns which a delegation of headmasters raised with the committee of management. Jeffery moved that they should be received, and discussion proceeded on the deletion of the need to record minor punishments, and a series of matters concerning pupil teachers - the reduction of payments for their instruction, their log book "with its system of espionage," and the inconvenient timing of their examinations. He was then appointed along with White, Eudey and Moore as a deputation to confer with the inspectors and the board's committee on these matters.

Although the junior scholarship syllabus was among the delegation's topics there is a surprising lack of discussion let alone action by the Otago institute on matters to do with the curriculum - at least until the major flurry surrounding the Hogben reforms in 1903-4. It is true that the annual meeting of 1887 had set up a committee, which as a fledgling headmaster Jeffery was on, to draw up a detailed syllabus and submit it for consideration to the next NZEI Council meeting. But there were no other concerted actions. Rather there were some very small steps such as the association of Jeffery and

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90 ABSC Minutes 9 October 1896
100 OW/PC 20 August 1896
101 ABSC Minutes 5 November 1897 - dealt with in Chapter 8.
102 AM/EIO 22 June 1904
Moore with the Dunedin sewing mistresses to develop a report on the subject in 1897.\textsuperscript{103} This they did, had the report sent to sewing mistresses for comment, and had to admit that there had been only 54 responses to 260 sewing circulars, and on scholarship matters only 38.\textsuperscript{104} Nevertheless, a heavyweight deputation was set up of White, Moore, Davidson, Eudey and James Jeffery to take the matters to the Otago Education Board.\textsuperscript{105}

**Salaries 1899**

The question of salaries, like appointments and security of tenure, was always in the background as a matter of prime importance to Otago teachers as to any others. Frequent comment was made about the difficulty of attracting young men to the profession and always the poor salaries were mentioned as one of the major causes. Otago teachers were no exception although the fact that they were paid rather better than their confreres in other provinces dampened their enthusiasm for the developing idea of a "colonial scale."

At the 1888 annual meeting of the NZEI the colonial scale was mentioned for the first time when a committee reported briefly about it without recommendation.\textsuperscript{106} As Simmonds comments, given the retrenchment then going on there was very little chance of securing the extra funds which would be needed to bring the smaller boards' scales up to those of the larger, and sacrifices would be called for by teachers in the better paying board areas. In 1890 the national body decided to bring the low rate of salaries paid by the smaller education boards to the minister's attention, and they returned to the same theme in 1891.\textsuperscript{107} But it was not until 1893 that they came out with a firm, unqualified decision "that a uniform scale of salaries be adopted throughout the colony."\textsuperscript{108} This was a significant shift from the

\textsuperscript{103} COM/EIO 10 July 1897
\textsuperscript{104} COM/EIO 21 August, 9 October 1897
\textsuperscript{105} COM/EIO 9 October 1897
\textsuperscript{106} Simmonds p30
\textsuperscript{107} Simmonds p34 and 37
\textsuperscript{108} Simmonds p41
position enunciated by president David White in 1890 that a uniform scale was not a guarantee in itself that salaries would be higher, and might indeed result in robbing Peter to pay Paul. For Peter read Otago, and the Otago institute continued to oppose the uniform scale, their delegates reporting back somewhat plaintively to their own 1894 annual meeting that all the other institutes were in favour.

The Otago institute concentrated their energies on their own scales and some adjustments were made to them in 1896. But they did not apply to all teachers immediately, leading the school committees' conference to suggest that in view of the satisfactory financial position of the Otago Education Board they should consider bringing all teachers under the new scales forthwith.\textsuperscript{109} The agitation for improvements continued and this saw the institute's setting up a committee in March 1899 to consider a new scale of salaries.\textsuperscript{110} It was Jeffery who moved that they ask the board to appoint a committee to consider the matter with them, but they were rebuffed both in May and June.\textsuperscript{111}

National moves could not be ignored, for the joint conference in Wellington of education board representatives, the inspectors and the NZEI executive in July 1899 agreed on suggesting to the minister that there should be a uniform scale of staffing and salaries.\textsuperscript{112} From a mere mention in the 1898-9 report, salaries became the topic of major debate at the Otago institute's 1899 annual meeting because the finances of most education boards had reached a critical state, and the Otago board's reaction had been to give all teachers notice of termination with an offer of re-engagement at a new and reduced scale.\textsuperscript{113} James Jeffery's was one of eleven substantial contributions to the furious debate on this outrage.\textsuperscript{114} In August, in Jeffery's absence, Davidson, as a member of the NZEI executive, was reporting to the committee of management that a colonial scale had to be established, and it was decided that a report should be sent to teachers - the first

\textsuperscript{109} OW 6 August 1896
\textsuperscript{110} COM/EIO 11 March 1899. The committee consisted of Davidson, Garrow, Jeffery, Eudey, Smith and Valentine.
\textsuperscript{111} COM/EIO 13 May and 16 June 1899.
\textsuperscript{112} Simmonds pp57-8
\textsuperscript{113} Simmonds p61
\textsuperscript{114} AM/EIO 11 July 1899
product of a new technology, a spirit duplicator.\footnote{COM/EIO 12 August 1899}

By the next meeting of the NZEI council the furore caused by reductions of salary all round the country had the minister promising to introduce a bill for a colonial staff and salary scale in the coming 1900 session. Jeffery was nominated by that meeting as the Otago "organiser in support of the efforts of the council to obtain a colonial scale of staffing and salaries" - to keep the minister to his promise.\footnote{AM/NZEI 2-4 January 1900} But when the bill appeared it did not have a scale attached to it, and the working out of this proved a major hurdle.\footnote{Simmonds pp61-2} The capitation grant was increased and the extra funds earmarked for teacher salaries, but boards baulked at being told how that money was to be distributed - the provincial/central tug-of-war again. In August 1900 the committee of management, guided by Davidson, was urging the board not to alter the salaries because the minister was considering the matter of a scale, and the Otago Education Board reassured them on this point.\footnote{COM/EIO 11 August and 15 September 1900}

The institute, influenced by the setting up early in 1901 of a Royal Commission to sort the matter of the colonial scale out, passed a motion moved by Davidson and seconded by Jeffery to allow the board to distribute the money granted under the 1900 Act, on a "graduated percentage basis" in the words of a further motion moved by Jeffery.\footnote{COM/EIO 16 March 1901} Between April and June the commission toured the country with Davidson as one of the commissioners. He gained considerable kudos nationally and regionally from his membership, justified by the grasp of the issues he showed right from opening when he was responsible for a very skilful cross-examination of Hogben on the effect of his proposals on the various grades of school, particularly in Otago.\footnote{Simmonds p63} Davidson made sure through his editorials in the New Zealand Journal of Education and by its reportage that he was given full credit for his efforts.\footnote{NZJE 1 May 1901, 1 June, 1 August, 1 September 1901}

Six teachers had been selected to give evidence on behalf of
Otago members.122 Jeffery was not one of them. But he seconded the report to the Otago Institute's July annual meeting which contained the institute's objections, including their concern about the disparity between men's and women's salaries.123 However, Hogben had produced a revised scale by the time the commission arrived in Dunedin, one which would have not a single Otago teacher taking a salary reduction.124 A measure of the institute's continuing suspicion that they might be the losers probably lay behind Jeffery's moving at the June meeting that a vigilance committee should be set up to deal with the question of the colonial scale and salaries when it went before parliament.125

The government moved swiftly to implement the report of the commission, although with the lower Scale No. 1 salaries rather than the more liberal Scale No. 2 which the commission and the NZEI wanted. The machinery clause which protected salaries for two years from the implementation date of 1 January 1902 drew most of the remaining teeth of the Otago opposition, although both the board and the institute fought a rearguard action, the latter on the question of the salaries of second assistants, on which topic they set up a committee which included Jeffery.126 But a long meeting came to no conclusion on a matter, and it was still being discussed three years later, with Jeffery and Smeaton asked to draft an appropriate letter on the matter.127

New Zealand Educational Institute

During the 1890s James Jeffery had been steadily becoming more involved with the central, national issues and with the annual council meetings in January of each year. He had made his first appearance as a delegate at the Auckland meeting in January 1891, his

122 COM/EIO 15 May 1901
123 NZJE 1 July 1901
124 Simmonds p64
125 COM/EIO 15 June 1901
126 COM/EIO17 August 1901
127 Special Meeting/EIO 6 September 1901 and COM/EIO 3 September 1904
appetite perhaps whetted by the holding of the 1890 meeting in Dunedin. He was elected to both the syllabus and standards of examination committee, and the position and payment of teachers and inspectors committee, but is not noted as taking any other part. His first action of any influence was very much a remote one in terms of place and time. At the November meeting of the Otago committee of management he seconded a motion that “no district institute shall bring [forward] any matter affecting the teachers of the colony as a whole except through the Executive of the New Zealand Educational Institute.” Simmonds noted its addition to the constitution at the 1892 NZEI Council meeting two months later as Fitzgerald’s “last official contribution to the constitution of the organisation that he had been responsible for establishing nine years earlier.” Interestingly the same motion with the same seconder went down to defeat at the Otago institute annual meeting the following July! Nevertheless, this clause “has been very carefully observed as fundamental to the Institute’s operation as a national body,” according to Simmonds, and Jeffery clearly favoured it.

His next appearance on the national scene was in 1899, although we know from the minutes of the Otago institute that it was not for want of trying. He had been nominated but not elected in 1893 and 1894, and he took part in a debate at the 1895 annual meeting where they were discussing having two Dunedin and two outside delegates. In 1896, the year of his presidency, he was elected a delegate but appears not to have attended. He was again elected for the 1899 meeting, gaining 110 votes, the fourth highest behind Garrow, Eudey and Davidson. This time he did attend the Christchurch meeting, the records of which mistakenly put him down as having a B.A.

He moved that holiday railway fares should be granted to teachers and pupils, an issue which had also been the subject of a resolution of the annual meeting in 1889. This was a not inconsiderable matter because the cheaper concession rates on the

128 AM/NZEI 6 January 1891
129 COM/EIO 28 November 1891
130 Simmonds p39
131 AM/EIO 21 July 1893
132 COM/EIO 12 November 1898
133 AM/NZEI 3 January 1899
railways over the Christmas and immediate post New Year period were instrumental in having the annual meeting held so early in January each year, and it was felt that their wider application would allow teachers to travel more, to the ultimate benefit of their pupils. The matter had been discussed in Otago when Garrow, Eudey and James Jeffery were instructed to draw up a letter to the Minister of Railways back in August 1898. At the next council meeting he moved a vote of thanks to the minister for his prompt action on excursion fare concessions and followed that with a revival of the plea for extended holiday railway fares. Otago continued to pursue the matter at home and in April 1902 Jeffery was moving that a deputation attend on the minister, Sir Joseph Ward, while he made a speech on the benefits of teacher travel to the annual meeting that year. As we have seen he was also nominated at that meeting to act as organiser in Otago in support of the efforts to obtain a colonial scale of staffing and salaries.

Jeffery gained election as a delegate to the 1901 annual meeting of the council, fifth of five, out-polling by Miss Hooper, Macdonald, Flamank and Gray. He was very vocal and active in a range of causes during the meeting. In matters concerning the inspectorate he moved a motion which was carried unanimously asking the Department to issue inspectors with instructions as to the conduct of examinations, and he seconded the motion reaffirming the desirability of a centralised inspectorate, both issues of considerable debate over this period. He also successfully moved that there should be a closed session each year to “discuss questions concerning the profession.” He seconded motions proposing small annual grants to school libraries and for clerical assistance to the secretary.

Elected a distinct second to Flamank (63 to 78) as a delegate to the New Plymouth meeting of 1902 he remained silent and unsung in the minutes. They tell us only that he was there, and he was on a committee elected to group remits. This points up the misleading nature of formal records, because the Journal of Education’s account has him speaking to a motion about sending a record of voting on

134 Simmonds p31
135 COM/EIO 13 August 1898
136 COM/EIO 12 April 1902 and AM/EIO 23 June 1902
137 AM/NZEI 2-4 January 1901
138 AM/NZEI January 1902
motions to members, the mystery disappearing with the additional note that the motion was withdrawn. But the inference is that some council delegates wanted the way voting went known by a wider audience, and James Jeffery was one of these. He is also noted as taking part in a "somewhat heated discussion" on the inaction of the Executive on "certain motions," a theme to be reiterated constantly in letters to the rival New Zealand Schoolmaster during the superannuation debate. The official minutes also do not tell us that he was a candidate for the presidency, and that he had "considerable support."

The constitution of the New Zealand Educational Institute had been developing over the previous decade, firstly by creating some authority to deal with important matters in between annual council meetings, and then by wresting some of the dominance of Wellington from that authority. At the 1891 annual meeting, Jeffery's first, the decision was made to set up an executive consisting of the officers and 3 members resident in Wellington, elected by the council. The secretary became a paid officer. In 1896 an important change was made to the election of the president. Instead of simply being the president of the institute in whose area the annual meeting was held he was henceforth to be elected by the council from nominations by the district institutes. What is more, a thorough-going revision of the constitution was undertaken, aided by notes from the Otago and Auckland institutes. Jeffery had been on the committee set up in February 1898 in Otago to draw up a circular on the constitution, and he moved the adoption of the section dealing with the officers at the Otago institute's annual meeting in July of that year. In the July 1899 annual meeting, which he dominated to the extent of moving eight of twelve motions put to it, he proposed that the Otago institute's president and secretary should automatically be delegates to the annual NZEI council in order to ensure continuity of

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139 NZJE 1 February 1902
140 NZJE 1 February 1904 - editorial about the 1904 elections. Jeffery had considerable support in 1902 at New Plymouth and was beaten by only 1 vote at Napier 1903.
141 Simmonds p37
142 Simmonds p52. William Davidson thus became the first "elected" president for 1897-8.
143 AM/EIO 12 July 1898
representation.\textsuperscript{144} This motion was ruled out of order. The decision at the national level was to circulate a draft constitution stating the objects as those long held to by the Otago institute - to advance the cause of education and to uphold and maintain the claims of its members.\textsuperscript{145} It also described the functions of the executive and had the district institutes governed by constitutions drawn up by the NZEI. At the 1902 New Plymouth meeting the new constitution was approved, and a newly structured executive set up - the three officers and six others, two from Wellington, two from the rest of the North Island, and two from the South Island.

At the 1903 NZEI Council meeting in Napier Jeffery was prominent in discussion on a motion to bring the difficulties experienced by teachers in the recent epidemic to the notice of the Health Department and on the transportability of membership from one institute to another.\textsuperscript{146} He moved a series of remits on secondary education, by this time a matter of national debate, and also a series of amendments on the Teachers Superannuation Bill. He stood again for the presidency, and this time was defeated by the treasurer over several years, Thomas Hughes of Christchurch, by one vote. But he was elected as one of the two South Island members of the executive for 1903-4, the other being J. Harkness of Nelson.

The apprenticeship

Now a member of the national executive of the New Zealand Educational Institute, Jeffery's long apprenticeship was over, while superannuation, the main agenda item for the council meeting, was to be the main agenda item for the executive for the year.

What he had learned over the twenty years we can only surmise, but to anyone interested in influencing public discourse, as he undoubtedly and unashamedly was - we have his statements on

\textsuperscript{144} AM/EIO 11 July 1899
\textsuperscript{145} Simmonds pp52-3
\textsuperscript{146} AM/NZEI 4 January 1903
moulding children’s characters and patriotism as proof of that - there
had been many lessons to absorb. What is more he was a member of
an active and strong branch institute, arguably the strongest in the
country, with previous and current leaders of weight and distinction
who had led and organised campaigns on diverse topics. Right from
the time of the retrenchment controversy of 1887 and later with the
Court of Appeal Bill of 1895, he had participated in drawing-up
circulars to inform the membership. In the 1890 election campaign the
Otago institute listed questions to submit to candidates and repeated
that in subsequent elections. They were prepared to draw up schemes
and submit them to the Otago Education Board as was done with
Davidson’s classification scheme of 1892. If the board was negative or
slow to respond, they enlisted support from the board’s electorate, the
school committees, in particular the Dunedin and Suburban Schools’
Conference. They did that over classification in 1892, and over school
readers in 1895. They asked for and were eager to consult with
committees of the board on the same reader question in 1894, and on
discipline and curriculum matters. To gauge support within the
profession they were prepared to submit issues to a vote, as with the
sewing teachers - not always gaining much in the way of response or
support, but such is democracy. Public platforms were used, and
letters to the editor columns - usually much more positively than in
the 1896 Bible in schools controversy. And individual cases of
injustice to and unfair dismissal of teachers were carefully investigated
and assistance offered and given where the cases were substantiated.

James Jeffery had participated in all of these activities, and with
his columnist activities could be rated as an experienced publicist.
Both he and the Educational Institute of Otago needed to employ their
honed skills and their ingenuity to swing teacher opinion to their point
of view in the teachers’ superannuation debate which was to absorb a
great deal of attention in the coming months. Closely studied and
intensively debated at home, the reception of the Otago
superannuation ideas in the debates at the 1903 NZEI annual meeting
indicated their growing appeal to teacher opinion throughout the
country.

Now Jeffery was a national executive member and could
orchestrate their promotion. Or such was the expectation.
Figure 1A. PRIMARY SCHOOL STAFFING - DECEMBER 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HEAD OF SCHOOL</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOLE TEACHERS</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSISTANT</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL ADULTS</td>
<td>1222</td>
<td>1446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUPIL TEACHERS</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>771</td>
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</table>

Adapted from Table K, Appendixes to Journals of House of Representatives 1902, E-1 p viii

Figure 1B SALARIES & ALLOWANCES OF TEACHERS - DECEMBER 1901

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UNDER £100</th>
<th>£100 - £200</th>
<th>£200 - £300</th>
<th>£300 - £400</th>
<th>£400+</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TEACHERS</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Sewing Pupil</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>1397</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchrs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from Table L, Appendixes to Journals of House of Representatives 1902, E-1 p viii
In the beginning....

The superannuation campaign entered upon by the NZEI and its provincial branches and institutes in earnest in 1903 was the opportunity for James Jeffery to emerge as a major figure in national teacher politics. Superannuation was an issue which had long been of interest to teachers in general and to the Otago institute in particular. The achievement of a national salary scale brought it into the realm of practical political consideration, and Jeffery's role as a leader of the Otago institute ensured that he would take a direct interest in it because it was being discussed around him by teachers who had made themselves experts. As a result of those discussions, he developed an impressive grasp of the issues involved. He also offered skills as a practised polemicist of pen and platform, along with the seemingly unshakeable conviction of the rightness of his cause which is the hallmark of many a successful campaign organiser.

That superannuation was an important issue is attested to by A.G. Butchers' assessment that its achievement in 1905 contributed more than any other single thing to "confidence and contentment in the service."\(^1\) This sentiment was reiterated by the compilers of the NZEI's fiftieth jubilee history who wrote that "it is probable that nothing the Institute has done has been so valuable or has had such beneficial effect both for the education system and for teachers engaged in it."\(^2\) E.J. Simmonds sees the culmination of long discussion within the NZEI in an active campaign which had to be sustained for much longer than its members would have wished or could have felt comfortable with. Simmonds suggests that that campaign reinforced the operating practices developed over the years by the NZEI: formulating policy at the annual meeting, preparing material, encouraging branches to win public support and to influence

\(^1\) Butchers p254

politicians. However, his conclusion that "the battle was won quite early in the campaign" and that it "merely took a few years to overcome the financial fears of the legislators," rather undersells the drama and fascination of the power struggles which went on within the NZEI itself. It also minimizes the changes which were effected by the obduracy of the Otago faction led by James Jeffery.

Within Otago teacher politics we see the national debate in microcosm, with its twists and turns, proposals and counter-proposals, rage, acrimony and resignations, as teachers wrestled with the question of whether to accept what was offered when it was palpably less than was merited, and arguably less than other public servants had already gained. "Members of the Otago Branch took a leading part in pressuring for more favourable terms" is how the NZEI summarized it in 1933. The reason may well have been, as Simmonds says, that they "better understood the importance of the operation, and worked more effectively than others," but this understanding did not come without considerable and continuing internal tension, centring on two powerful and experienced Otago teacher politicians, William Davidson and James Jeffery. As one of the major ideas men of the institute on many educational topics, superannuation among them, Davidson advocated one line of action: he then found within his own branch institute executive a revolt mounted against his national executive line by Jeffery. As editor of the New Zealand Journal of Education Davidson was well placed to publicise his point of view. On the other hand Jeffery found the New Zealand Schoolmaster a readier publicizer of his views. The decisions arrived at in Otago meetings, and the energy with which they were promoted, ultimately influenced national policy and the resultant superannuation law.

Superannuation was one of the first matters which engaged the attention of the infant Department of Education, which issued an information-seeking circular on 26 June 1878. An Otago institute

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3 Simmonds p81
4 Simmonds p82
5 NZEI Jubilee p16
6 Simmonds p82
7 Butchers p253
deputation to the minister, William Rolleston, followed in January 1880, but the pension bill which Rolleston circulated to the teacher associations during 1880 was not well received and was abandoned. There were two rocks on which it foundered: the very uneven effect on different classes of teachers of the high contribution levels needed given low teacher salaries, and the fact that they were education board and not government employees. We find the Otago institute, in the course of their fourth annual conference in June 1881, claiming that it was mainly through "the instrumentality of the Institute that the bill was withdrawn," an indication of their early interest and perhaps of their power.

Butchers comments that the teachers would have been advised to accept the principles in the 1880 Bill and ask for changes, for the principles were very similar to those actually adopted 25 years on. But that is a facile remark. Figures 1 and 2 indicate a situation which obtained throughout the early years of the national system of appallingly low salaries and a heavy preponderance of female teachers whose careers were very brief. This and the multifarious employing authorities meant that early schemes and suggestions were never remotely realistic. Moreover, the principles might be similar, but they were assuredly not the same, and the sticking points later were exactly the matters of the percentage of salary to be contributed, the pension age, and the method of calculation of the pension, all endlessly debated throughout the whole process.

After the 1880 failure the question of teachers' retiring allowances had surfaced spasmodically in parliament in questions to ministers in 1887, 1889, 1890, and 1891, while NZEI annual meetings kept returning to the issue. At the third annual meeting in 1886 the desirability of a superannuation scheme was confirmed, while all council meetings from 1887 onwards expressed great concern that older members were being forced to remain in the classroom long beyond a

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8 ODT 30 January 1880
9 Butchers p253, Simmonds p69
10 NZSM August 1881, p 15
11 Butchers p252
12 NZPD vol 58 1887 p87, vol 65 1889 p466, vol 68 1890 p592 (14 August), vol 81 1891 p245 (4 September). The first 3 were questions from C.Cowan MP for Hokonui to Geo Fisher and T.W. Hislop, the 4th from C.H. Mills, MP for Waimea-Picton, to W.P. Reeves
time when their health and abilities had ceased to be sound enough for them to cope. In this situation younger colleagues had to carry them, and there seemed "no alternative to a destitute old age." In 1887 the NZEI's pensions fund committee reported that the proposal to establish a pension scheme under the control of the government seemed impracticable, the main difficulty being the wide variation of salary scales. The committee believed that the adoption of a colonial scale of salaries was a prerequisite to any practicable superannuation scheme. They suggested that attention should turn to establishing a benevolent fund administered by the NZEI, but they were reporting to the 1888 meeting that the time had not arrived for such a venture.

The 1890 annual meeting "took a positive stance" on the matter of pensions, outlining a scheme which would require deductions from salary at source, a government subsidy, control by the New Zealand Government Insurance Association, and payment of a pension on retirement. The NZEI annual meeting in January 1891, which James Jeffery attended for the first time, heard of the abject failure of their representations to the minister. The meeting decided to form a teachers' benefit society, a proposal for which would be prepared for the 1892 meeting.

The 15th annual meeting of the Otago institute in July 1892 referred a superannuation scheme to the committee of management with power to act, although subsequent minutes of that body do not take up the matter. Nor was there any optimism at the NZEI annual meeting in January 1893, where W.T. Grundy of Wellington, the recently appointed secretary, noted that while schemes of all descriptions had been put forward during the last 10 years, nothing satisfactory had been arrived at. The government could not help, and the only recourse for teachers seemed to be to make their own

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13 Simmonds p24  
14 Simmonds p27  
15 Simmonds p26  
16 Simmonds p29  
17 Simmonds p35  
18 Simmonds p36  
19 AM/EIO 14 July 1892
arrangements with insurance companies. Later in 1893 details of a fully fledged scheme developed in the southern North Island were brought to Reeves' attention in the House, producing the ministerial swerve of "having to await official notification of the scheme."21

To this point there had been some relatively consistent factors influencing events and exchanges on superannuation. The first stemmed from the laissez-faire economic and social attitudes which had heavily influenced the thinking of middle-class Britons, the background of the overwhelming majority of legislators - thrift and self-reliance, standing on one's own two feet, and so on. But by the end of the century United Kingdom teachers and local government employees had begun to win pension rights, while large employers such as railways and some manufacturing firms also entered the field.22 The second major factor was the depression which bedevilled New Zealand itself all through the 1880s, providing successive governments with a convenient and largely unanswerable excuse to resist new drains on the public purse. The upshot was that any schemes proposed had to try to avoid or minimize such a burden. Nevertheless, and despite the sneers of state nannying or the unattractiveness of a Bismarckian contributory scheme because of its Germanic origins, there was a growing tide of opinion in the United Kingdom in favour of some national system of pensions, and this was reflected in colonial thinking - as what was not at this stage of New Zealand's development!23

Harry Atkinson had indeed proposed a plan for compulsory mutual insurance in 1882.24 Then in 1890 the reforming Liberal government was elected with pensions as another possible avenue of social legislation. When the 1898 Old Age Pension Act finally passed

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20 He suggested urging the department to set up a fund for aged and infirm teachers. J. Smith pointed out that the Hawkes Bay Education Board had done just that by building up money from capitation grants to the level of £5000, whereupon they used the money to build schools! Simmonds p41

21 By JG Wilson, MP for Palmerston North. NZPD Vol 81 1893 p345 (25 August)

22 Leslie Hannah, Inventing retirement; the development of occupational pensions in Britain, Cambridge University Press 1986, pp7 and 10

23 Hannah p15

24 It foundered on the two objections that firstly it could only cater for those who could sustain payments, and secondly that it would encourage idleness and thriftlessness. Thaddeus McCarthy, Social security in New Zealand: the report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Social Security, Government Printer, Wellington, 1972, p41
the pension was set at £18 a year, with means and residential tests and provided from revenue, not a fund.\textsuperscript{25} The enormous battle to achieve the pension explained the mind-set of that major player in the coming clashes, Richard John Seddon. William Pember Reeves makes the point that Seddon took care that the scheme was well and economically administered, "and its success was complete."\textsuperscript{26} Throughout, the premier had had to deal ad nauseam with the accusation of being a reckless spendthrift, and he was not going to contemplate wearing such a tag for any but the most worthy social and most productive political causes. As a consequence, any scheme proposed to him had better be fiscally sound and administratively practical or it would get short shrift, and proponents of benefits for various governmental occupational groups found that Seddon saw a considerable difference between the deserving elderly and them. And so it was that in most stages of the teachers' superannuation debates any suggestion of government funding or subsidy met little encouragement. Nevertheless, in 1899 one similar occupational group led the way - the police officers' provident scheme was established with some governmental support.

There was another significant happening towards the end of 1899 in George Hogben's appointment as Inspector-General - the appearance of another important player in the drama, albeit on this issue much less dominant than was his wont. A very different man from his co-religionist, Habens, Hogben was an activist, "a modernist in outlook and method," with, in Butchers' assessment, a receptive, initiative, adaptive mind, and a quick grasp of essentials.\textsuperscript{27} As to his attitude to superannuation, Herbert Roth talks of his absorption in any mathematical problem and his being moved by a letter he received

\textsuperscript{25} After a "famous battle in which 1400 speeches were made"(Keith Sinclair, A History of New Zealand, Penguin Books 1959, p183) and an uninterrupted 90 hour sitting. McCarthy p43

\textsuperscript{26} William Pember Reeves, The long white cloud: Ao tea roa, 4th edition, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London 1950, p298

\textsuperscript{27} Butchers p145
from an elderly retired teacher. There can be little doubt of Hogben's sympathy with the cause, but there is no evidence that he placed the matter as a high priority, and he figures surprisingly little as an active player. But as an administrator and a mathematician he would have been difficult either to deceive or seduce.

The superannuation proposals of the NZEI from 1880 to 1901 had all founded on the prior need for a uniform scale of salaries for teachers, but, Simmonds points out, as such a "colonial scale" became more possible, the interest of members grew. The build-up was slow, however, until the salaries question was finally settled. At the 1899 annual meeting of the Otago Institute a remit emanating from the Lawrence representatives was presented, no doubt encompassing the ideas of long-time district high school headmaster and superannuation advocate, John Stenhouse. It was withdrawn when it was pointed out that the executive of the NZEI was considering the matter.

The defensive bunker which the minister, Hall-Jones, dived into to avoid a July 1901 attack in the House was that superannuation was no doubt desirable but it presupposed a colonial scale of salaries. He felt that it was as well to go one step at a time "instead of rushing into liabilities which might lead to difficulties after." That defensive position was destroyed by the Public Schools Teachers' Salaries Act 1901, which created the colonial scale, but left a number of salary issues hanging - particularly the commission's more generous "Scale 2" which was dangled as a future possibility in addressing the continuing scandal of the less well paid and more junior teachers. Scale 2 will re-emerge as a supposed *deus ex machina* later in the story. Still the energies and attention which had necessarily been centred on the salaries issue were now released for other educational matters.

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28 Herbert Roth, *George Hogben: a biography*, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1952, p.98. Mathematical problems were there in full measure when it came to working out the effects of various proposals and the testing of the advice of the actuaries. Roth talks of the thousands of equations that he worked on to "get the curve" for the superannuation scheme, which curve is preserved in the report of the Parliamentary Education Committee [AJHR 1905 E-1]. The letter reads: "I have always been a most careful man, with a most prudent wife, yet we have only been able to buy a cottage, and perhaps enough to live on for a year to come, but after that, except the Pension Scheme is applicable, we have nothing."

29 Simmonds p69

30 AM/EIO 11 July 1899

31 NZPD Vol 111 1900 p257 (4 July)
superannuation among them.

The Wellington members' superannuation committee had reported to the 1901 annual meeting of the NZEI that no pension scheme for any similar body could be made to apply to teachers, that no layman could draw up an alternative, an actuary being required, and that the cost to teachers would be too great. The report suggested that teachers would get better terms by joining an existing insurance company scheme. However, as they pointed out, this assessment was based on the assumption that all the money for the scheme would have to be contributed by teachers, and if the government would start with "a substantial grant, the matter would assume a different phase." To the authors the report was realistic and cautious: to many beyond the capital, James Jeffery among them, it was defeatist and negative, the sort of approach coming to be expected from Wellington functionaries who preferred there to be no boat rocking.

There was little superannuation activity during 1901, a year dominated by the colonial scale discussions, apart from an editorial in the New Zealand Schoolmaster of 15 June 1901 on pension schemes, and the reprinting in the December issue of the fledgling New Zealand Journal of Education of the superannuation fund of Victoria - a scene-setter for the January 1902 annual meeting of the NZEI.

What began then was an extraordinarily elaborate mating dance in which there were no fewer than four of Simmonds' cycles of policy, publicity, support and political influencing. In 1902 the cautious Wellington and Executive approach, ignoring Otago protests, produced a draconian, ungenerous and stillborn bill. At Napier in 1903 the annual meeting decided, at the urging of Jeffery, to stiffen their demands, but the executive ignored this approach, over his and Otago's protests. The NZEI house was divided, and they failed. In 1904 Jeffery and the activists were given the chance to try their policy, and they too failed. The house continued divided. In 1905 they cobbled together a policy and pursued it; and it was again an election year for Seddon.

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32 Simmonds p69
33 NZSM vol XX no 11 15 June 1901
34 NZJE 2 December 1902
The major interest at that 1902 annual meeting was in the possibility of a teacher's provident fund, not surprisingly as its chief advocate, G.W. Murray of Auckland, was the president. In his presidential address he urged teachers to support its setting up as a temporary measure and as an excellent example of self help leading towards desired goals. It would, he said, show the public and parliament that teachers were serious.\(^{35}\) As an earnest of his sincerity Murray took it upon himself to push the matter ahead personally, and to that end we find him writing in March to both the *Christchurch Press* and the *Otago Daily Times* pointing out that teachers had been trying for 20 years to get some pension or superannuation rights.\(^{36}\)

The NZEI annual meeting resolved "that a superannuation scheme, promoted by the Otago district institute, should be submitted to the executive, with power to act."\(^{37}\) This was the first sign of an Otago initiative to counteract the executive's inactivity and followed a well-attended November 1901 meeting of the Dunedin branch at which Charles G Smeaton presented an "able and interesting paper," which "bristled with statistics." He had regretted the rejection of what he called the "Stenhouse scheme" of some years' previously which would have now amounted to a fund of some £100,000.\(^{38}\) He then outlined a scheme with contributions "proportionate to salaries or age," and benefits on retirement at 60 or because of illness. Deductions would be made by education boards, remitted to the Inspector-General and administered by the Public Trustee. The advantages of such a scheme would be the encouraging of younger teachers, not only through the prospect of security in old age but also through the greater opportunities for promotion with the retirement of older teachers currently hanging on to their positions - a much repeated theme hereafter. Following discussion in which some members stated their

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\(^{35}\) Simmonds p70. The voluntary contributions would be at the rate of one half of one percent of salary. Any teacher would have the right to submit a claim, but preference would be given to contributors and NZEI members, while the target groups were to be aged and infirm teachers, orphan children and widows. Nearly all the education boards were said to be willing to cooperate

\(^{36}\) Press 19 March 1902; ODT 21 March 1902

\(^{37}\) Simmonds p70

\(^{38}\) ODT 4 November 1901.
preference for insurance schemes or questioned the idea of compulsory retirement, a Davidson motion confirming the desirability of a superannuation scheme was passed unanimously.

The scheme which the NZEI annual meeting endorsed was skeletal, and the Otago institute launched into a series of investigations and discussions to flesh it out. In the course of these divisions began to emerge, centering around a troika of dominant personalities - Smeaton, Davidson, and Jeffery. About Smeaton little is known, apart from his single-minded, long-standing interest and expertise in the superannuation question. He took part in local institute affairs but he had not been president of the Otago Education Institute, and he did not take any prominent part in national teacher politics other than attending the 1903 annual meeting to have his expertise on hand as the bastions of conservatism were stormed.

Simmonds comments on the sharp divisions of opinion which now began to appear between those who wanted to settle the matter quickly and were prepared to make concessions to get the fund established, and those who were insistent on getting certain conditions even if it meant delay. Davidson and Jeffery personified these different approaches both locally and nationally. Davidson was for the bird in hand (or almost); Jeffery believed that they could and should do better. They began a series of struggles in which they both showed ingenuity, tenacity and considerable skill in media manipulation. The twice royal commissioner Davidson was the real heavyweight of the two. Jeffery was a much lesser figure, but on this issue and at this time he was Davidson’s match - on occasions more than that. Smeaton seems to have acted as something of a trimmer, siding with one and then the other, despite which he seems also to have been universally admired and trusted.

In February, after considerable discussion led by Smeaton, the Otago committee of management deferred further consideration until after “desired information” was received from the Education

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39 He began teaching in 1884, moved from being a sole teacher at Leith Valley on the outskirts of Dunedin in 1894 to an assistant mastership at Macandrew Road school in the Dunedin suburb of South Dunedin by 1899, serving there until he retired in 1922 having served the OEB for 38 years. He was an applicant for the headmastership at Andersons Bay on Jeffery’s retirement.

40 Simmonds p71
Department. In March a superannuation committee was set up with Smeaton, Davidson and Jeffery on it, along with four others, the most notable of whom was Oscar Flamank, the Otago institute secretary. The active campaigning was already under way, for second class fares were voted for Jeffery and Smeaton to talk about superannuation in Balclutha, while Flamank was instructed to write "to Sir J.S. Ward for any information on the Government Railway Scheme, and ask for 12 copies of his bill." By the April meeting the twelve copies had arrived, and Smeaton was requested to travel to Palmerston and also to submit superannuation matters which he wished raised at the next meeting. A request was made to the Otago Education Board for details of the South Australian scheme. Others were added to the superannuation committee, along with representatives from smaller areas in North and South Otago, clearly to be used as local organizers.

In May the committee heard that Hogben had turned down a request for the ages of teachers, while the sincere, plodding Murray was asking to have provident fund circulars sent to Otago teachers. James Jeffery brought the matter of the provident fund to the Otago institute's annual meeting in June. He and Smeaton moved that it be heartily recommended to teachers, supporting Murray's belief that it would be a good argument if the teachers could be shown willing. But the Timaru papers had said that Otago teachers were bitterly opposed to the scheme, and the meeting voted 18 to 17 to leave it to individual teachers!

The substantive issue at the Otago annual meeting in July 1902 was superannuation. It was a straw in the wind, perhaps, that Jeffery had been elected president of the Otago institute again, but it was

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41 COM/EIO 15 February 1902
42 Flamank was ten years younger than Jeffery, and was at this stage headmaster of Sawyer's Bay school near Port Chalmers. His role was much less public and spectacular than his friend Jeffery's, but to him fell many of the clerical and secretarial burdens involved in writing to chivy along the national executive, in circularizing other district institutes, school committees, and members of parliament etc. The value of these services was recognized in the form of a gold watch presented when he retired after 8 years as secretary at the annual meeting of the Otago institute in June 1909. He went on to become president of the NZEI in 1912-13.
43 COM/EIO 15 March 1902
44 COM/EIO 12 April 1902
45 COM/EIO 17 May 1902
46 COM/EIO 23 June 1902
47 NZSM Vol XXI No 10 15 May 1902
Smeaton who led the discussion of various superannuation schemes, with tables worked over on the blackboard showing the details of the scheme which he proposed. The contribution of an invited guest, Mark Cohen, the editor of the *Evening Star* and a leader in the Dunedin and Suburban School Committees' Association, was unconsciously prophetic when he urged that any scheme should "stand the test of actuarial scrutiny," a harp string often plucked in the months to come. He expressed his confidence that a scheme would be translated into legislation if teachers unanimously supported it - something they were spectacularly *not* about to do. When the matter was taken up again the next day a smaller committee consisting of the 'troika' and three others was set up "to draw up a scheme of superannuation to be submitted to the Executive of the NZEI and through that body to the teachers of New Zealand." Smeaton was to be the convenor, and the motion was carried unanimously.\(^{48}\)

That evening there was an attempt to organise a petition to parliament. It was proposed that this be presented for signature to every adult teacher, and would ask for the pupil capitation to be raised to £4.2s.6d from £4, and the extra money to be used as a government subsidy for superannuation. In other words it suggested foregoing the Scale 2 better salaries for more junior teachers. The proposal was lost.\(^{49}\)

The first major rift had appeared, for this had been seconded by Smeaton. The full import became obvious at a largely attended meeting of the Dunedin branch in July 1902.\(^{50}\) There were rumours that a bill was ready to be sent to parliament but these were scotched by Smeaton and Davidson. Davidson had the meeting declare the matter one of extreme urgency and seconded Jeffery in proposing that the secretary of the NZEI be requested to call a special meeting of the executive immediately, and to associate Smeaton with them. Then the combination and the harmony fractured, because Jeffery "surprised the meeting" (the *Journal of Education*’s phrase) by producing a motion, which Smeaton seconded pro forma.\(^{51}\) It expressed disapproval of the

\(^{48}\) COM/EIO 25 June 1902
\(^{49}\) COM/EIO 25 June 1902
\(^{50}\) ES 19 July 1902
\(^{51}\) NZJE 1 September 1902
proposal to set aside the increments which would come to lower paid and junior teachers with Scale 2, arguing that salaries would be inadequate to support superannuation contributions even with Scale 2 achieved, and insisting that the government was morally bound to implement Scale 2 if there was money available.

Right from the beginning of the renewed superannuation discussions it had been posited that a government contribution to the fund would have to be made in launching any scheme. That the fund should come from teacher contributions alone was, as Simmonds makes quite clear, quite unacceptable to the NZEI, and in this they were backed by the education boards.\textsuperscript{52} The NZEI pushed for a foundation government grant, and had to face the timeless question - "where is the money coming from?" Davidson had seen a ready source of funding for this initial government subsidy through a temporary diversion of the extra 2/6d in capitation. This had been hanging as an imminent requirement for government to consider and perhaps meet since the Teachers' Salaries Act 1901 had plumped for the royal commission's Scale 1. Davidson told the meeting that if they achieved Scale 2 for salaries "they could take it as gospel they would not get a subsidy." The country could not stand it. They would only get a superannuation subsidy by sacrificing Scale 2. The meeting disagreed to the tune of 22-8, whereupon Davidson tendered his resignation as a member of the special committee, seeing this as the "right, honest, honourable and fair" thing to do, and lambasting Jeffery's action as "detrimental to the best interests of teachers."\textsuperscript{53} The president of the Dunedin branch, Owen Hodge, the headmaster of Albany Street school, saying that Jeffery's motion had "killed all that had been done," followed Davidson's lead and likewise resigned. They were not the last resignations over superannuation principles and tactics. The Evening Star's account concludes at this point, but the New Zealand Schoolmaster and the Journal of Education had it that Smeaton then changed his mind, explained why, and the meeting thereupon reversed its stand and favoured giving up Scale 2.\textsuperscript{54}

Jeffery had sewn dissent and gone down to defeat but was

\textsuperscript{52} Simmonds p70
\textsuperscript{53} NZJE 1 September 1902
\textsuperscript{54} NZSM vol XXII no 1 15 August 1902 and NZJE 1 September 1902
unrepentant on this matter so fundamental to the debate. And his view was not without influential support, in the gaining of which his close contact through his column-writing with the Fenwick brothers who ran the Otago Daily Times and Witness Company must surely have helped. The Otago Daily Times commented that virtual unanimity had prevailed until Jeffery moved his resolution, but supported his action because “teachers should not be committed to a surrender they have had no opportunity of expressing an opinion about,” while urging Davidson to continue his work. The direction of the latter’s thinking was outlined in the August issue of the New Zealand Journal of Education. The urgently needed scheme, for which a government subsidy was essential, must have benefits dependent on teaching service and not on contributory service, highlighting the question of recognizing back service noted by Simmonds as one of the problems for the initial fund. Davidson suggested immediate steps should be taken to contact the Inspector-General, the minister and members of parliament to draft and then introduce a bill which would include not only teachers but other education service workers.

The same issue of the Journal indicated that the process had already begun, for it carried a report of a deputation to the minister, the details of which the Evening Star carried on 30 July. The four teachers who presented the NZEI-approved scheme were three members of the executive - Gill, the current secretary, Grundy, an ex president and secretary, and Davidson - plus Smeaton. Smeaton’s inclusion, suggested by Jeffery at the Dunedin meeting, recognized the pre-eminence of his grasp of superannuation at this stage, the result of eighteen months’ concentrated study of the issue. The four teachers were given a guard of honour of no fewer than thirteen members of parliament at the deputation, itself some indication of interest in the matter, or its political sensitivity! Davidson led off, talking about inefficient aged teachers’ blocking promotion and the impossibility of five to ten percent contribution rates given low teacher salaries. He suggested the subsidy could come from diverting Scale 2 salaries - pace Jeffery. Smeaton talked of a contribution range from two and a

55 ODT 25 July 1902
56 NZJE August 1902
57 Simmonds p70
58 ES 30 July 1902
half to five percent of salary, with benefits to the medically unfit, widows, and orphan children, and to those retiring at 60 for men and 50 for women. Pensions would be limited to £150 per annum and salary above £250 would not count, while administration could be kept to under one percent as the profit requirement of an insurance company scheme would not be a factor.

The minister, William Walker, intoned about actuarial soundness, cabinet decisions, guarantees of deficits, not paying lump sums, and his own great sympathy. The Evening Star had characterized this as "a sympathetic reply from the Minister," and Davidson and Smeaton repeated their presentation on 4 August to a meeting of the North Canterbury branch on their way south, the meeting resolving that the executive be asked to print the draft bill. The Christchurch Press reported that the Timaru branch had been unanimously in favour of the proposed bill, and similarly, the Wellington branch's annual meeting on 1 August had pledged branch support "to do everything possible to forward the scheme."

But the home patch was still in turmoil with the Otago Daily Times, prompted by a letter from Jeffery, returning to what had happened at the Dunedin meeting, according to the Times the only meeting in the colony decisively against the proposal "fathered by Mr Davidson," a comment somewhat at variance with the Journal of Education account. The Times noted that locally Davidson was hurt and retiring, yet he had gone to Wellington in a dual capacity as member of the executive and member of the superannuation committee "purporting unanimity among teachers." The editor again supported Jeffery's contention that the scheme's "injustice to so many" by diverting Scale 2 "will be a cause of much disaffection." And further support for Jeffery's stance surfaced in letters to the editor in August. George Carrington maintained that it was possible to devise a scheme without subsidy and gave details of how that might be done. "Head Teacher" wrote of the debt they owed to the Times for resisting the surrendering up of those on lower salaries. "I should like to add," he

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59 Press 4 August 1902; ODT 21 August 1902
60 Press 4 August 1902
61 ODT 1 August 1902
62 ODT 16 August 1902
wrote," that the country teachers admire the way in which Mr Jeffery stood up for the rights of the poorly paid teacher."63

Meanwhile in the House of Representatives, W.J. Napier, the member for Auckland City, wanted to know if the government intended formulating a superannuation scheme for teachers that session, reporting that throughout the Auckland Provincial District teachers were feeling that some steps should be taken. The Honourable Charles Houghton Mills replied for the minister that it would "receive the consideration of the Cabinet."64

Late in August the Press was carrying a report of a Christchurch meeting where J.G.L. Scott, the national treasurer, moved that they strongly support the scheme proposed by the Otago institute (read Davidson). The motion was withdrawn in favour of a much less specific reiteration of the urgent necessity for some scheme proposed by long-time treasurer and soon to be national president, T. Hughes, who was to be in Jeffery's corner in a post-presidential election maelstrom at the 1904 NZEI annual meeting.65 This Canterbury action seems to have been something of a rebuff to the executive's position on Scale 2 and an indication of grass-roots support for Jeffery's position wider than just Otago.

Division continued in Otago. True, Mark Cohen persuaded the Dunedin and Suburban School Committees' Conference to support superannuation and to encourage individual committees to do likewise.66 But the Otago institute held a special meeting to consider a North Canterbury recommendation that the government be asked to bring in Scale 2 salaries, which would have negated that as a subsidy source. There was a long debate and a decision to express no opinion "until after the introduction of a draft Superannuation Bill by the Minister."67 Simmonds mentions a special September meeting of the Otago superannuation committee where Smeaton presided and explained the reasons for his changed stance, and where a motion favouring the Scale 2 subsidy was passed. He also reports a meeting

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63 ODT 19 August 1902
64 NZPD vol 121 1902 p158 (30 August), vol 121 1902 (5 August)
65 Press 30 August 1902 p8
66 OW 3 September 1902
67 Special Meeting minutes/EIO 6 September 1902
of assistant teachers which supported the same proposal.\textsuperscript{68}

In moving the introduction of the promised bill on 1 October 1902, Sir Joseph Ward, the acting premier, said that it was being circulated so that during the recess all parties concerned would have an opportunity to examine it and to "furnish their views" before the next session.\textsuperscript{69}

The details of the bill as outlined in the \textit{Christchurch Press} the next day under the headline "Important Measure" showed that the government had been persuaded to provide for teachers close to retirement age by guaranteeing any deficit, but to do so they had set an ascending scale of contributions ranging from 5 to 10 percent of salary. A male teacher of 60 with at least 35 years' service would be eligible for a pension calculated on eigtieths of his average salary over the last 10 years of his career up to a limit of 50\% of that average salary. For female teachers the figures were to be 50 years of age, 24 years' service, and sixtieths of the last 10 years' average. Widows were to have a pension, but children were not included. The commencement of payments was to be delayed for 5 years to allow the fund to build.

At the next Otago committee of management meeting Jeffery moved two motions.\textsuperscript{70} The first one asked the national executive to obtain all the data collected for superannuation purposes from the Inspector-General. This was undoubtedly so that teachers could work on the figures themselves, for the conviction that actuaries were far too conservative had already surfaced with a vengeance, as Simmonds notes.\textsuperscript{71} The second motion requested the NZEI executive to circulate a comparative statement showing the main features of the police, railways and teachers' schemes. By the next meeting on 22 October they had authority from Gill, the secretary, "to print a comparative statement as suggested."\textsuperscript{72} Basically Jeffery's work, this statement appeared as a supplement to the November \textit{New Zealand Schoolmaster}.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{68} Simmonds p73
\textsuperscript{69} NZPD vol 122 1902 p845 (1 October)
\textsuperscript{70} COM/EIO 11 October 1902
\textsuperscript{71} Simmonds p74
\textsuperscript{72} COM/EIO 24 October 1902
\textsuperscript{73} NZSM Vol XXII no 4 15 November 1902
The reason for the Otago teachers' activity was a growing resentment that they had been short-changed in comparison with other government servants, and this was the theme of the *Otago Daily Times* editorial of 24 October 1902. The editor reminded readers that in July and August several of his leaders had been severely critical of "the insidious attempt to make teachers surrender Scale 2" when those directly concerned had had no opportunity to discuss the matter, and he noted that this line of approach had apparently been abandoned. He then compared the teachers' "illiberal terms" with those of the railways, an organisation with none of teaching's recruitment problems, highlighting firstly the 3-7% graduated scale of railway workers' contributions as compared to the 5-9% to be required of teachers, and secondly the two thirds maximum pension as against 50%.

This editorial and reports early in November in the *Christchurch Press* are an indication that Jeffery's comparative circular had been quickly distributed, and that branches had already begun lobbying local candidates for the House of Representative elections due later in November. We find the *Press* reporting two meetings. Firstly, at a Christchurch meeting the comparisons with other funds were noted and a Scott/Hughes motion of general approval was passed. Secondly, at a meeting the next day in South Canterbury their candidates in the up-coming elections were to be asked if they were in favour of a superannuation scheme for teachers as liberal as that for the police and the railways. The same day the Otago institute was reporting that their lobbying of the Otago election candidates had met with affirmative responses from all thirteen.

The first full year of concentrated struggle for superannuation ended with a *Journal* editorial objecting to the higher contributions being asked for and the wait of 5 years, while observing that satisfaction that a bill had been introduced was qualified by the knowledge that it died with the proroguing of parliament prior to the

74 ODT 24 October 1902
75 Simmonds p74
76 Press 3 November 1902
77 Press 3 November 1902
elections, and would have to be re-introduced in the next session. Indeed it would be another election year before real progress was made, a fact which few of those striving for a teachers' superannuation scheme would have believed possible, given the progress that had been made and the shaping which had taken place. 1902 had seen the failure of the Davidson-led executive to achieve superannuation by the temporary sacrificing of an increase in salaries for lower paid teachers, which had been so effectively protested against by the Otago institute led by Jeffery and Smeaton. The residual bad feeling and personal animosities of that opening round bedevilled the NZEI's performance over the several rounds to go. Certainly it affected the executive's performance in a most frustrating 1903.

1903 - Paradise withheld

The expectation for 1903 was that a bill incorporating NZEI requested revisions would be reintroduced and passed. What eventuated was continued caution and conservatism from the executive, counterbalanced by vigorous agitation from Otago. The plan collapsed because of continued dissension within teacher ranks, despite directions to them from the annual meeting concerning the revisions to be sought, and despite, or perhaps because of, Jeffery's election to the executive.

From the NZEI point of view any revisions to the 1902 bill should have been in line with a series of Otago amendments moved at the annual meeting by Jeffery. The first two were crucial, insisting as they did on sixtieths of salaries in place of eightieths as the basis of pension calculations, and on maximum pensions of three fifths instead of half salaries. Pensions of £25 for widows and 5/- a week for each child were also stipulated, along with more sympathetic treatment for teachers whose salary had contracted, and a maximum pension of £150 countervailed by no contributions on salary above £250. But they also

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78 NZJE 1 November 1902
79 AM/NZEI 4 January 1903
agreed to accept the higher rates of contribution, which was not a Jeffery proposal.⁸⁰

At the elections for the executive Hughes became president in a contest with James Jeffery, but only by one vote. Scott and Gill remained treasurer and secretary respectively, and Stewart, Grundy and Watson of the old executive stayed on.⁸¹ The new element of an expanded executive were first-time members J.K. Law of Manaia in the Coromandel, J. Harkness of Reefton, and Jeffery, the latter two elected as the South Island representatives. The upshot was an executive which included dissidents but was very much dominated by the experienced "old guard" who had agreed with Davidson's initial thrust. But it was without Davidson's guiding hand. His letter of resignation from the executive complained that Smeaton had not called the superannuation committee together and urged that there should be a special executive meeting and a personal appeal to Hogben.⁸² When the executive waited on the minister (still Walker), his message, no doubt on the advice of Hogben and his equations, was bluntly that the amendments proposed at Napier would "render the scheme financially unsound."⁸³

When Walker resigned as Minister of Education because of ill-health, Richard John Seddon, Premier, Colonial treasurer, the Poo-Bah of the Liberal Government, took up yet another portfolio. Seddon had emerged as the government's spokesman on education in the debates about the Marlborough High School Bill in 1899. The keen interest in education ascribed to him by Roth had been there from the beginning - he was the son of a teacher, and his stepping stones into politics had been through election to a school committee and then an education board.⁸⁴ His acute political sensitivities had convinced him back in 1899-1900 that there were votes to be won from such things as free secondary education. The introduction of the Teachers' Superannuation Bill in October 1902, the month before an election,

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⁸⁰ Simmonds p74
⁸¹ T.H. Gill M.A., LL.B. of Wellington, secretary since 1900 in succession to Grundy; RD Stewart of Auckland, executive member since 1899; WT Grundy of Wellington, secretary 1893-99, president in 1900, and executive member since; C. Watson of Wellington, executive member since 1900 at least.
⁸² NZJE 2 February 1903
⁸³ Report of the NZEI Executive [Exec Report] for year ending 31 December 1903
⁸⁴ Roth p104
has every hallmark of the opportunist. His biographer, Burdon, admits this epithet as not entirely unmerited.\textsuperscript{85}

Seddon's assuming the control of the Department of Education was greeted by the \textit{Journal}'s assertion that 99\% of teachers would have placed him first on their wish-list after his work on the 1901 Salaries Bill, where he had shown "complete sympathy with teachers.\textsuperscript{86} It was certainly an advantage to be talking to the Colonial Treasurer when matters with the considerable fiscal dimensions of a superannuation scheme were under discussion. But a Colonial Treasurer had budgets to balance, and the July deputation of the Executive received an even more emphatic rebuff than they had received from Walker.\textsuperscript{87}

Even before this deputation was in prospect, there had been a flurry of activity by the Otago committee of management. The Tapanui Branch, led by Walter Eudey, had questioned Davidson's sending of an amended proposal to the minister, to be informed at the May meeting that the \textit{executive} had done this and not Davidson.\textsuperscript{88} At the June Otago committee of management meeting Jeffery raised again the circumstances that members of the executive and others were also talking of certain proposed amendments to the bill not discussed at the Napier meeting, and that the NZEI secretary had written to say that this was done with the authority of the majority of the executive.\textsuperscript{89} Jeffery protested that he had not been consulted - perhaps unsurprisingly - and that the executive had refused to associate Smeaton with them or to call a meeting in Wellington. The Otago meeting passed a unanimous resolution, to be telegraphed to Gill, asking for both of these things to be done. Jeffery also indicated at this meeting that he had brought the question of superannuation before all the Dunedin and suburban members of the House of Representatives.

The annual meeting of the Otago institute in July 1903 held a

\textsuperscript{85} R.M. Burdon \textit{King Dick: a biography of Richard John Seddon}, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd 1955 p302
\textsuperscript{86} NZJE 1 July 1903
\textsuperscript{87} Exec Report 1903
\textsuperscript{88} COM/EIO 2 May 1903
\textsuperscript{89} COM/EIO 27 June 1903
closed session on superannuation in which they asked for modifications to the bill which would have the scheme operating in one year and not five for teachers with sufficient service, would change the 80ths calculations into 60ths, and increase the maximum pensions to three fifths instead of one half of the average salary. All of these things were to be telegraphed to Gill, with a "respectful" request that a meeting of the executive should occur at an early date.⁹⁰

This developed as a deputation to the premier/minister on 16 July. They were greeted with the blunt statement that the actuary's report on the scheme outlined in the bill was unfavourable,⁹¹ It would seem that comparisons with the railways fund were rebounding because Seddon was now saying that its state was unsatisfactory.⁹² Given Seddon's recurrent theme-song about "actuarial soundness," there was no way in which modifications increasing the initial costs of the fund would receive any support from him. The Christchurch Press commented that teachers might feel disappointed with the attitude of the premier to the deputation because it would seem that there would need to be a government lump sum or even larger contributions than the 1902 bill had required, the latter being an impracticable proposal given the teachers' "gentlemanly beggary."⁹³

Seddon faced a barrage of questions in the House on 24 July 1903.⁹⁴ Buddo from Kaiapoi wanted to know whether old teachers trained in the United Kingdom would be included, and he was assured that they would be; Steward, Waitaki, asked if he intended to proceed, was told it was with the actuary, and on pressing for an answer was told that "a great deal would depend upon the result of the actuarial examination." F.E. Baume pressed even more closely for a date, saying he had the authority to say that the NZEI was quite prepared to accept the terms offered in the 1902 bill if there was provision for aged teachers. Seddon's reply was that the bill had been slightly revised to include suggestions by the NZEI "which it appeared possible to incorporate without endangering the stability of the scheme." His final point was to reiterate that it was in the hands of the actuary of the

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⁹⁰ AM/EIO 9 July 1903
⁹² Press 21 July 1903
⁹³ Press 21 July 1903
⁹⁴ NZPD vol 123 1903 pp759, 763, 775 (24 July)
Government Insurance Department for examination and report.

While all this had been going on the Otago institute had been circulating a "manifesto" urging other district institutes to insist on the Napier amendments as an "irreducible minimum." As the 1903 annual report of the executive puts it rather tersely, "Just at this juncture...the teachers of Otago issued a pamphlet on superannuation which they distributed throughout the colony." The Auckland institute contested the passage of an act simply "in line" with the Napier decisions, but not to "imperil the introduction of the Government Bill by insisting on amendments," so Baume's comments in the House were in line with the Auckland thinking. The North Canterbury institute suggested the Otago letter would "have a tendency to endanger the present Superannuation Bill" and they were not in favour, a point of view reiterated by South Canterbury.

Otago were neither deterred, nor deflected. In August the bill was indeed introduced, and Seddon received thanks in the September Journal. As the session drifted on into October without further progress the district institutes, at the behest of the NZEI executive, tried to exert pressure to move on it. A special Otago meeting, with Jeffery and Smeaton in tandem, decided to telegraph their urgings to all Otago members of the House of Representatives; the North Canterbury branch wrote to the minister and to all the district members of parliament, insisting that "something be done for teachers going down the hill of life"; the Ashburton branch members signed a petition mentioning "imperative necessity" and sent it to Wellington. All was in vain. The House rose without passing the bill. At the last minute, as Simmonds recounts it, Seddon became convinced that it was both actuarially and financially unsound, that a large deficiency would need to be met, and that it would have to be reconsidered. It was also not an election year!

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95 Exec Report/NZEI 1903
96 COM/EIO 22 July 1903
97 NZJE 1 September 1903
98 OEI/Special 17 October 1903
99 Press 19 October 1903
100 Simmonds p75
A year later, a member of the executive, Clement Watson, summarized the activities of 1903 in these terms:

If the Executive had been allowed to deal with the Bill... as the majority of the Executive wished, that Bill, or a very similar one might have been passed... But what happened? Just then appeared the Otago pamphlet on Superannuation. Undoubtedly, that cleverly timed pamphlet gained the end for which it was written. And it did more - something the writers did not foresee. It indefinitely postponed Superannuation. 101

1904 - Position is power?

The yearly cycle of moving from district remits, to annual meeting resolutions establishing policy, to keeping the executive to the pursuit of that policy, entered yet another round. The plan remained the same; the ingredients changed because the executive was somewhat radicalised and Jeffery was elected president; the result was yet again dissension and disillusionment.

1903 had been a year of disunity or disloyalty or dissembling, depending on your viewpoint as a district institute member or a Wellington executive member or an “outsider” executive member. Add to that the frustration of the bill and its lapsing, and the atmosphere of the Nelson annual meeting was bound to be tense.

The tension is well captured in an article in the Journal of Education under the title of “First impressions of the Teachers’ Parliament” by “Freshman” - worth quoting at some length because of its impartial stance:

As a new man, I had been somewhat astonished at the amount of talk about nothing, at the waste of time on small points of order; but the morning spent in committee on this report [superannuation] surpassed all previous records ... The members of the Executive did not attempt to enlighten the teachers present on the question before them, but, splitting into two hostile camps, talked at one another and blamed each other for

101 NZJE 1 November 1904
the failure of the Napier proposals. The only point of difference seemed to me to be this: the new party had advocated an aggressive policy; the older and more experienced members pleaded for caution. The former, the new members on the Executive, seemed to be working in the best interests of the teachers in trying to secure the best possible terms in the proposed bill: the old hands asserted that, if teachers persisted in such claims, they would imperil the chances of any bill at all being carried. Time only will prove which party is right.\textsuperscript{102}

The election for president saw a direct battle between Freshman's "two hostile camps." Gill, the national secretary for four years, stood against James Jeffery, who had been a candidate at New Plymouth in 1902, and as we have seen had lost to Hughes by only one vote at Napier in 1903. Jeffery was elected by 28 to 25. The flow-on effect was mildly sensational. Interpreting the vote as one of no confidence in the executive, Stewart, Grundy and Watson immediately resigned, while Gill refused nomination for the secretaryship and Scott for the treasurer's position. Gill had resigned from the secretaryship in expectation of his elevation and the coronation regalia, a case of silver fruit knives and forks, had to be presented simply as thanks for the way he had conducted a case.\textsuperscript{103} Because they were on the previous executive and allowed themselves to be re-elected one must suppose that Hughes (the immediate past president), Law and Harkness were of Freshman's "new party." The new faces were Erskine - who became secretary for that year only - and Foster, both of Wellington, and James Aitken of Wanganui.\textsuperscript{104} Greeting Aitken as "a born fighter who hits hard but fights fair," the Journal editor took an oblique jab by implication at some other members of the executive.\textsuperscript{105} Recycled veterans were George MacMorran of Wellington, president as far back as 1888-9, and editor Davidson himself.

Freshman's comment on the election was that the "voting for the office-bearers of 1904 practically endorsed the policy of the aggressive members," and he hoped that "Mr Jeffery and the new Executive may be able to claim a satisfactory Superannuation Bill as the result of their efforts." Davidson dented his editorial impartiality even further.

\textsuperscript{102} NZJE 1 February 1904

\textsuperscript{103} ODT 9 January 1904

\textsuperscript{104} Hughes defeated Oscar Flamank, a Jeffery acolyte, for the position of treasurer; Foster was also secretary 1907-11; Erskine became president 1914-15; Aitken was president 1907-8

\textsuperscript{105} NZJE 1 February 1904
in his account of the "intense interest and excitement caused by the elections." He noted that Jeffery "held opinions and strongly expressed them on the question of superannuation directly opposed to other members of the Executive," and he gave it as his opinion that the "phenomenal progress of the past few years [has] received a decided check." Moreover, there is no biography of the new president published and no congratulations extended. Both of these things had been offered in the two previous years, and the tradition was resumed in the following year and carried on from there.

That there was animosity between the two Ballarat and Otago men arose not just from the differences of opinion they had on superannuation, but also from Jeffery's actions in raising the question of whether the NZEI should have an official organ, rather than a couple of columns in the New Zealand Journal of Education - a campaign he waged throughout this superannuation debate and long beyond. The Journal was a commercial enterprise which was edited by Davidson and had been published by S.N. Brown and Co of Dunedin since March 1899. Jeffery had persuaded the Otago committee of management to put through a remit to the 1903 annual meeting suggesting an official monthly "Educational Journal" covered by the subscription, because Davidson was advocating proposals of his own through the Journal editorials. A year later Jeffery had issued a circular on this matter, initially on his own volition but subsequently unanimously supported by the Otago committee of management. It was moved by Angus Marshall and seconded, extraordinarily, by Davidson himself, which somewhat damages the conflict theory. In the December 1903 issue Davidson printed a letter from the publishers regretting "the attempt to discredit you in the eyes of your fellow teachers." In the event the 1904 annual meeting took no action, but the debate was carried on by Jeffery, and then by Eudey and Flamank, until ultimately National Education was launched in 1919.

In contrast to the Journal of Education, the rival New Zealand Schoolmaster evenhandedly published portraits and biographies of Jeffery, Gill, Hughes, and Scott, while its editorial endorsed the policy

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106 NZJE 1 February 1904
107 COM/EIO 20 September 1902
108 COM/EIO 10 October 1903
of holding out for better terms.\textsuperscript{109} The editor of the \textit{Schoolmaster} was now James Hight, returned from a five year secondary teaching stint in Auckland to become a lecturer in political economy and economic history at Canterbury. There can be little doubt that James Jeffery found James Hight and his magazine more generous and supportive of his views and preferred to use its columns to those of Davidson’s journal.

The January 1904 annual meeting of the NZEI saw little that was new on superannuation, except that, with a bill seemingly on the way, it was decided to close the Teachers’ Provident Fund.\textsuperscript{110} In his presidential address Hughes felt that “one of the finest opportunities to attract desirable candidates [to the profession] had been missed when the Teachers’ Superannuation Bill had been shelved last year,” continuing an oft-repeated argument for superannuation, that it would encourage young men to join - an argument which the \textit{Otago Daily Times} clearly accepted in commending a conference resolution along these lines in an editorial.\textsuperscript{111}

The annual meeting over, James Jeffery was now the titular head of the NZEI, but as it turned out his more aggressive views were really of no consequence in speeding the achievement of a workable and acceptable superannuation scheme. Instead 1904 was a year in which the “two hostile camps” continued to battle one another inside the organisation, particularly in the columns of the two rival professional magazines, while they crabbed towards agreed positions on the desirable details of any scheme.

In March the Dunedin newspapers returned to the issues, firstly with a letter to the editor of the \textit{Times} by “Superannuation,” who accused the actuary of delaying six months and then designing his report to kill the bill, when the sum needed to make the fund solvent over and above subscriptions would be only £59,400 - a mere fifth of the actuary’s £297,000 - “not a very deadly sum on which to guarantee the interest.”\textsuperscript{112} Two days later Mark Cohen was encouraging the

\textsuperscript{109} NZSM vol XXIII no 6 15 January 1904
\textsuperscript{110} Simmonds p71
\textsuperscript{111} ODT 29 January 1904
\textsuperscript{112} ODT 14 March 1904
School Committees' Conference to "lend the weight of their influence to getting a teachers' superannuation scheme passed into law without delay," using the arguments of "the duty of the State to retire into honourable old age men and women who had given the best years of their lives to the service of the State." He pointed out that the fact that many ought to have retired long ago touched parents directly because their capacity to teach was impaired, they blocked promotion, and it was little wonder that the cleverest youth avoided teaching. "We were fast Manning [sic!] this service with women - an undesirable state," he said.\textsuperscript{113}

April provided an opportunity for proselytising, because the householders' meetings to elect school committees were to occur. A circular was sent out on 12 April to school committees asking their chairmen to bring the question before these meetings. Over 300 passed motions in favour and sent copies to the premier.\textsuperscript{114} Davidson was claiming this as backing by public opinion in the May Journal editorial, but could not resist the lament that had it not been for want of unanimity among teachers in July 1902 superannuation would already have been an accomplished fact.\textsuperscript{115}

Suggestions on how to uninstall matters continued to flow. There was a special Otago institute meeting in May\textsuperscript{116} to consider a Wellington proposal "to put widows and orphans out of consideration" which had emanated in the first instance from ex-executive member R.D. Stewart of Auckland in the New Zealand Schoolmaster before the annual meeting.\textsuperscript{117} This was another of the trimming operations of the cautious and conservative wing. Otago dismissed it out of hand, and moved to instruct their superannuation committee to reply with a strong protest against the effort which they perceived the executive was making to have a scheme devised entirely by an actuary. James Jeffery picked up both the ignoring of widows and orphans and the acceptance of the actuary's estimate as items to attack in the May Schoolmaster while defending his willingness to limit surrender values to the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[113] ES 16 March 1904
\item[114] Exec Report/NZEL 1904
\item[115] NZJE 2 May 1904
\item[116] Special/EIO 27 May 1904
\item[117] ODT 29 January 1904
\end{footnotes}
returning of premiums and even apparently to give up part of Scale 2.\textsuperscript{118}

Throughout 1904 the Journal featured letters on the issue, and a major contributor was Clement Watson, one of the January resignees. He urged a more realistic attitude by accepting that teachers who did not pay higher rates must accept fewer benefits, and endorsing the dropping of payments to widows and orphans.\textsuperscript{119} In September he was criticising "our enthusiastic but incompetent amateur friends," who dabbled in the field of actuaries, and was suggesting that the much-touted, shining example South Australian scheme was making 55% reductions in its benefits.\textsuperscript{120} Davidson and Smeaton both countered, the former to point out that "any scheme approved by actuaries required contributory rates that teachers could not afford or benefits that were not worth accepting," while Smeaton replied that the South Australian scheme had been under actuarial control from the beginning, showing that they too could err.\textsuperscript{121} Back Watson came in November with the assertion that we quoted before - that a bill could have been achieved in 1903 if the Otago institute had not fomented disunity. He and his supporters did not want a shaky, low pension scheme, liable to become a political football, and if Smeaton and his friends wanted state aid for their scheme they should say so.\textsuperscript{122} "Who then are the obstructionists?" he asked. "Certainly my side cannot be proved to be blocking the road. The worst that can be said of us is that we are too ready to accept what is offered."\textsuperscript{123} Smeaton concluded the year with the contention that it had been quite apparent from the discussions of the NZEI in the past two years that there had been "a good deal of unnecessary partisanship displayed," with arguments directed at the man behind the principles rather than the principles themselves.\textsuperscript{124}

He could well have been thinking back to June when in an editorial in the Journal summarizing the situation to date. Davidson suggested the executive should issue circulars which would emphasize

\textsuperscript{118} NZSM vol XXIII no 10 15 May 1904
\textsuperscript{119} NZJE 1 May 1904
\textsuperscript{120} NZJE 1 September 1904
\textsuperscript{121} Simmonds p77
\textsuperscript{122} Simmonds p77
\textsuperscript{123} NZJE 1 November 1904
\textsuperscript{124} NZJE 1 December 1904
that superannuation was a way to remedy the problem that very few boys entered the service. He suggested these terms: a minimum contribution of 5%; a maximum annuity of 36/60ths of salary (railways 40/60ths); minimum ages for retirement of 55 for women and 60 for men; no refund of contributions for those leaving before 5 years and full refunds for those leaving after 10 years and more; annuities for widows; and service from 1877 to count. Whether he was saying these things directly to the executive or not is doubtful, because the July issue featured an exchange between him and Jeffery, who accused him of removing from the bill one of its main features, the subsidy, and modifying the female retiring age of 50. Pointing out that the Journal was supposedly the “organ of the NZEI,” Jeffery maintained the institute had “the right to demand that editorials not in any way traverse the policy of the Institute, nor make proposals embodying radical change.” While admitting he had suggested modifications himself, he naively denied that it was in any official capacity - although he was president! With the last word which editors always have, Davidson replied that Jeffery had made a blunder through careless reading and was misinterpreting his motives in his anxiety to have a “tilt” at the Journal. He insisted that the modifications were merely intended to provoke discussion and bring about “common agreement among those responsible for the progress of the movement.” Here was yet another example of the clashes of personality which got in the way, with faults on both sides; but Davidson’s comment was also quite disingenuous, failing to separate his roles as an ideas person, editor, and elected member of the NZEI Executive. Small wonder that the annual meeting of the Otago Education Institute found itself adopting, on Jeffery’s motion, the report of a Flamank-convened committee suggesting yet again a separate and NZEI owned journal.

Much of Jeffery’s own detailed writing in defence of his views was done through the columns of the New Zealand Schoolmaster. In June he was urging three things - allowances for widows and children, contribution rates of 60ths and a maximum annuity of 60% of salary - while speculating that his opponents had no family responsibilities,

125 NZJE 1 June 1904
126 NZJE 1 July 1904
127 AM/EIO 12 July 1904
were on the verge of retiring age and had either good salaries or independent means.\(^{128}\) In September he made reply to the charges that Clement Watson had levelled at him in the Journal and defended the South Australian scheme, the actuarial unsoundness of which was being used as a stick to belabour his party's credibility. He complained bitterly that in 1903 "I was blocked at every turn, and hardly a postage stamp was used in disseminating information or in organising."\(^{129}\) Watson sprang back into the attack in the October Schoolmaster, castigating Jeffery's "delightful optimism" and asking what proof he had given "that he has had the necessary mathematical and technical training to entitle his opinions to any weight?"\(^{130}\) Given space in the same issue to reply Jeffery asked what previous executives had done to meet actuarial objections and to glean data from other schemes, and insisted that if teachers had to find the money they should surely be given the right to criticise the scheme. In the same issue, Stewart was belabouring Jeffery for his support of the suspect South Australian scheme, while chanting the conservatives' mantra that he had "not yet seen any evidence that the Government wish to treat us unfairly, quite the contrary." The tone of the exchanges was increasingly sharp. In November Watson was taking exception to Jeffery's use of terms such as "contemptible," "animus," and "ignorance," along with his constant sneers at his predecessors in office, while Jeffery was peppering Stewart with no fewer than fourteen quick-fire questions, pillorying him for his opposition to any agitation.\(^{131}\)

Yet despite this destructive internecine sniping, 1904 had seen some progress - there had been further refinement of arguments and some constructive rank and file action. The annual report to the 1904 annual meeting of the Otago Institute in July criticised the lack of government movement and asked if the time had come when teachers must adopt the organisation and aggressiveness of trade unions.\(^{132}\) When Jeffery opened the discussion on superannuation he outlined a plan of campaign which Smeaton and Davidson both commented on. The motion which passed recommended the executive "to advocate as

\(^{128}\) NZSM volXXIII no 11 15 June 1904  
\(^{129}\) NZSM vol XXIV no 2, 15 September 1904  
\(^{130}\) NZSM vol XXIV no 3, 15 October 1904  
\(^{131}\) NZSM vol XXIV no 4, 15 November 1904  
\(^{132}\) Simmonds p77
strongly as it can for 60ths, 60%, and allowances to widows and children,” and immediately circulars were sent to headmasters of primary and secondary schools for “signature lists”, while a circular to all members of the House of Representatives giving lists of the householder resolutions in favour of superannuation followed on 9 August. On 5 October the secretaries of district institutes were wired to forward their signature lists to Members of the House of Representatives.

On the provincial front the Otago Education Board was persuaded to include a superannuation scheme with compulsory retirement among the educational reforms it decided to push for at a special meeting. The September committee of management meeting received a petition with 156 signatures on it from Clyde and resolved that they and the superannuation committee and representatives of the school committees’ conference should meet “with a view to united action being taken re Superannuation and salaries of second assistant teachers.”

But despite all this activity Davidson mentioned in the August Journal of Seddon's talk of the need for a large sum of money “calculated to cool the ardour of members.” In the October issue, having noted that parliament had been in session for three months without a bill appearing, he called for one to be introduced, referred to the Education Committee, and witnesses called. That did not happen but between 9-16 October several members raised questions in the House which elicited the response of the premier “that the question was engaging the attention of Cabinet, but increases in salaries were of paramount importance and must receive first consideration.” Indeed teachers' salaries had been the major 1904 issue along with the newly introduced curriculum.

In November the Journal editorial noted that despite newspaper

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133 AM/EIO 12 July 1904
134 Exec Report/NZEI 1904
135 ODT 9 August 1904
136 COM/EIO 3 September 1904
137 NZJE 1 August 1904
138 NZJE 1 October 1904
139 Exec Report/NZEI 1904
support, the sympathy of the public, and approval of the parliamentarians, the executive had failed to bring about even the introduction of any measure. There were a variety of causes Davidson suggested, including the unfortunate illness of the Inspector-General, and a want of unanimity. But he believed that the "splendid work of the executive in the 12 months was not ... in vain." The education of the people on the subject had been completed, and "public opinion is now fairly with the movement."140

The report of the Education Committee to the House of Representatives at the end of 1904 to an extent bore out this up-beat note when it concluded that "the efficiency and permanence of the primary system depended on improved teachers' conditions, a superannuation fund being seen as the means best calculated to encourage teachers."141

But no bill, and we can sense James Jeffery's frustration in seeing his presidential year coming to a close with so little to show for all his advocating of action. At the end of his letter in the November Schoolmaster he had this to say:

I say plainly that, as we have been agitating for years for reasonable salaries and a reasonable superannuation scheme, and haven't got either, and as M.H.R.'s and Governments are largely opportunists, and amenable to pressure only, it is time that in the interests of education more than our own interests we should organise. What was done in 1902? What in 1903? Look at the balance sheets and ask the District Institutes what instructions they received. There was certainly an Executive meeting in Wellington last year. But called for what? To send me to Coventry; but foolishly, I didn't take my whipping quietly. I dared to cross those who had been controlling affairs, and wanted to know the why and wherefore and to outline some action on superannuation.142

140 NZJE 1 November 1904
141 Simmonds p77
142 NZSM vol XXIV no 4, 15 November 1904
5. Delegates to Council of NZEI, Napier 1903

James Jeffery is third from the left in the back row, with CG Smeaton in front of him to the left.
T Hughes is third from the left in the third row. In the second row are WT Grundy, JG Scott (treasurer)
GW Murray (president - between women), TH Gill (secretary - third from right).
O Flamank is fifth from the left in the front row.

1905, Executive

6. NZEI Executive, 1905

Standing: J Aitken (Wanganui), JH Harkness (Reefton), WHL Foster (Wellington), JK Law (Taranaki)
Seated: W.Davidson (Otago), T Hughes (N.Canterbury), James Jeffery (president - Otago),
A Erskine (secretary - Wellington), G McMorran (Auckland)
6. SUPERANNUATION SUCCESS

1905 - Paradise Regained

The 1905 round was the last. Slowly and grudgingly and incompletely compromises between the competing parties within the NZEI were worked out. It was far from harmony. The skirmishing crackled, on with Jeffery at its centre as often as not, but something approaching an agreed position was put forward, a circumstance which marked the 1905 round off from the three which preceded it. And again it was an election year, as it had been in 1902.

The twenty second annual meeting of the New Zealand Educational Institute was at Wanganui, and when the mayor opened the conference on 3 January 1905 he advocated a superannuation scheme. The president, James Jeffery, tackled three questions: superannuation, a journal for the NZEI and protecting teachers from roll fluctuations.

He began by asking why “brainy lads are not entering the teaching profession in sufficient numbers,” and answered by suggesting that they needed the inducements of better salaries, the removal of roll-related fluctuations to those salaries, and superannuation. Most of his speech was on superannuation, and he emphasized the need to have a scheme which was the equal of that of New Zealand Railways by including annuities for widows and children. He criticized the actuary’s report on three grounds: that he had used three and a half percent when the fund could attract better interest than that; that he assumed retirement at sixty when, based on the fifty years’ experience of the London and North-Western Railway, and also the police fund, twenty five percent would go on; that he assumed teachers would retire as soon as they could - say at 56 having made 36 payments. All of these “unnecessarily conservative estimates very materially increase the actuarial deficiency,” Jeffery maintained.

1 AM/NZEI 3-5 January 1905
2 ODT 5 January 1905
3 AM/NZEI 3 January 1905 p11
He then ran through some modifications "which will probably be agreed to by teachers," but were really an outline of his own standpoint. He favoured contributions based on an average salary and not the higher later years, with 60ths used until a pension of £90 had been reached, when 120ths should be used, with current teachers limited to the same £90 pension until their contributions earned more. The minimum retirement age should be 60 for men and 55 for women, with premiums paid up to retirement or at least 60 (55), and with the retirement of currently employed teachers phased in by retiring those at 65 first and dropping the age back to 60 over 5 years up to 1911. Service prior to 1877 should not count, and a percentage of contributions should be forfeited by early leavers. He was now prepared to see a portion of Scale 2 used as an initial contribution as long as second assistants and country teachers also received a portion of what they were due - this was a considerable modification of his adamantine 1904 position, and highly impracticable it would seem - the barest of steps towards a compromise with his opponents.4

The other two matters, the non-fluctuating salaries and the journal, were little more than postscripts. On the latter the meeting decided yet again that "the time was not ripe."5

Once more there were election flurries. Jeffery was again a candidate for the office of president for what would have been an unprecedented second term. He was opposed by Gill, making his second attempt to enter into his birthright. This time Gill succeeded, by 29 votes to 28. The Schoolmaster's comment that Jeffery's "chances were no doubt lessened by the fact there is no precedent for a man holding on two successive years," was echoed by the Otago Daily Times' report.6 What difference there might have been if the Auckland delegation had not been prevented from attending by the weather is unclear - probably not much, given their attitude during the previous year. This was a victory for the cautious and conservative. Erskine had declined the secretaryship; Aitken had been defeated by R.D. Stewart. Grundy may have been beaten out of the secretaryship by Foster, but he gained a seat on the executive. Treasurer Hughes,

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4 AM/NZEI pp15-17
5 NZJE 1 February 1905
6 NZSM vol XXIV no 6 14 January 1905; ODT 4 January 1905
Davidson, Law and MacMorran retained their positions, and the return of Stewart of Auckland meant that the executive had a strengthened conservative element. The *Otago Daily Times* is clear that "Mr Jeffery on account of the constitution of the new executive refused to allow his name to go to the poll," so that Harkness was re-elected as South Island representative.\(^7\) It was not a fit of pique, but a rational assessment that it would be 1903 all over again and he and his activist views would be in a minority. The outcome of the elections and the resuscitation of ultra-veterans MacMorran and Stewart may have been behind the resolution later in the meeting that no executive member should hold a position for more than four years.\(^8\)

All of this created a constitutional imbroglio later. At the end of the discussions on superannuation, having avoided restricting the executive to pursuing a scheme similar to the railways with a resolution that they simply "endeavour to secure a superannuation scheme on the most favourable terms possible," the meeting proceeded to debate who should wait on the minister. The meeting wanted Jeffery to go, but he was not now an executive member, so they had to declare that the subsequent meeting would be a "conference" which would allow him to be coopted as a member. One specific decided on was that a circular setting out the details of the London and North Western Railways, the New Zealand railways and police, the Queensland and the Tasmanian teachers' schemes should be produced by a sub-committee consisting of Jeffery, Davidson, Foster and Hughes.\(^9\)

The over all effect was that of the members of the executive who had self-identified themselves as conservatives by resigning the previous year - Gill, Grundy and Stewart - had made it back to join Davidson, so that if the "new party" held sway again it would be only by the barest of margins and without the chief gadfly. They had been given a fairly free rein because the parameters of the institute's views were generally clear. Davidson's post annual meeting editorial stated that the institute had been wise not tying the hands of the executive - and he proceeded to give the new president his congratulations and a half column biography, both denied Jeffery the previous year!

\(^7\) ODT 5 January 1905
\(^8\) ODT 5 January 1905
\(^9\) AM/NZEI 1905
The Otago institute swung into action on 23 February by having its heavyweight experts at the Dunedin and Suburban School Committees' Conference, a gathering which claimed to represent one twelfth of the population of the colony, as Simmonds points out, and one at which all the local members of parliament were present. Jeffery and Davidson spoke and impressed with their very reasonable attitude - even if Davidson did say so himself in the March Journal report. The conference set up a joint committee to further the superannuation cause with Jeffery as a member, while a resolution was passed urging the government to pass a bill in the 1905 session. The Journal urged other districts to do likewise, and the Otago committee of management in March had a letter before it from the NZEI secretary urging it to do all in its power to further the cause. The Schoolmaster noted that discussion had to be taken in committee "because of the differences existing between Messrs Davidson and Jeffery." But they elected another committee with Smeaton as convenor and the power to expend up to £5, and they also decided to "respectfully request" that the Otago Education Board use its influence in favour of getting a bill passed. The board did indeed include superannuation as one of its five resolutions on issues educational at a special meeting held in early May. It read, "That in order to relieve the department of those teachers who had passed their years of usefulness, a superannuation scheme be passed by the Government."

The "conference" of the executive and Jeffery duly met in Wellington on 22 and 24 April, prior to their meeting with Seddon. On 25 April they approved of a series of resolutions which outlined their negotiating stance, and these were subsequently circulated to all district institutes. Contributions were to be a flat 5%, with pensions calculated at 60ths of a salary averaged over the whole service up to 36 years, and up to a maximum of three fifths of that average salary. Retirement was to be optional at 60 and 55 and compulsory at 65 and 60. Voluntary withdrawalees would get 75% of their contributions

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10 Simmonds p78 & NZSM vol XXIV no 7, 15 February 1905
11 NZJE 1 March 1905
12 NZJE 1 March 1905
13 COM/EIO 11 March 1905
14 NZSM vol XXIV no 8, 15 March 1905
15 ODT 6 May 1905
16 Letter from Foster, NZEI secretary, 29 April 1905
returned, the medically unfit all their contributions at less than 10 years' service and an annuity at 10 years plus. Broken service would count if the fault was not with the contributor, and unspecified provision would be made for widows and orphans. So ran the NZEI wish list.

The meeting with the premier on 25 April also covered salaries, staffing and a centralized inspectorate. On superannuation Stewart and Jeffery spoke on the institute's behalf. Seddon told the deputation that what he hoped was a workable measure was on the way to the actuaries, providing for aged teachers, about meeting whose needs he was adamant. As to state assistance to begin the fund, that long-debated point, he was "inclined to ask Parliament to provide a given sum of money with which to start..."- a very major concession on his part. He also agreed to convene a conference on the matter. Seddon said he was confident that the bill would be carried that session if for no other reason than that "members wished to stand well with their electors at the coming General Election." He went on, "I make no apology for this statement, because it is in accordance with the facts, and it only proves the advantage of placing members of Parliament before their constituents every three years." This outrageously open acknowledgement of electoral massaging was so blatant you have almost to admire it!

The Christchurch Press did not. It tut-tutted in an editorial two days after the meeting, commenting that the insinuation might be perfectly justified, but it hardly came well from a man in his position. It saw the reason for his positive announcement in the householder-meeting support from last year, now bearing fruit. It pointed out that Seddon talked about his sympathy with teachers but did not usually go beyond that, as the totally inadequate additions to salaries the previous year witnessed. The paper believed that the treatment of teachers was a scandal and it was no wonder that the best brains were deterred from joining the profession.

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17 Jeffery had the temerity to interrupt Seddon when he was in full flight about how salaries were quite sufficient to attract any number of pupil teachers by saying "it may bring them there but it will not keep them there." NZJE 1 May 1905
18 Simmonds p78
19 Simmonds p78
20 Press 27 April 1905
The Dunedin papers were not convinced of the government's liberality either. The *Evening Star* considered superannuation should be additional to the salary bill because teachers were not sufficiently well paid, and, moreover, was "strongly of the opinion" that an annual subsidy would be better than the initial lump sum Seddon now proposed.\(^{21}\) The *Times* relayed a rumour that the Inspector-General had let it be known in Dunedin that teachers would have "to pay higher premiums for superannuation than railway employees and accept reduced benefits," a principle which, the paper said, would not be accepted by younger teachers. It called upon the education board, in the light of its recent resolution, to see "teachers received as liberal treatment as employees of a Civil Service Department."\(^{22}\)

Jeffery and Davidson faithfully reported back to the School Committees' Association in May, and the hope was expressed that the leaders would in "no way slacken their efforts and that nothing would dissuade the premier from giving the fund a fair start" by lump sum or annual grant for a specific period. Meanwhile the Otago institute's committee of management, on receipt of the Foster letter with the details of the executive resolutions, had heartily commended them, and stated that "the thanks of the teachers of the colony are due to Mr Jeffery, who is no longer a member of the Executive, but who has been most untiring in his efforts to secure a scheme which will give general satisfaction to all concerned."\(^{23}\)

On 21 June the conference promised by Seddon at Easter met in Wellington. The NZEI was represented by Gill, Foster, Hughes, Davidson, Grundy, Harkness, MacMorran, Stewart and Jeffery.\(^{24}\) It was an interestingly composed delegation, basically half "cautious" men and half "new party," indicating a coming together of the two factions as the results of compromises and changes of position on the many segments of the overall superannuation question. They met with the Inspector-General and the government actuary and between them hammered out a suggested scheme. Of the conclusions the institute had come to in April several were accepted as recommendations to the

\(^{21}\) ES 8 May 1905  
\(^{22}\) ODT 13 May 1905  
\(^{23}\) NZJE 1 June 1905 reporting on COM/EIO 13 May 1905  
\(^{24}\) NZJE 1 July 1905
government - the retirement ages, calculations on the basis of 60ths of the average salary of a whole career, provision (unspecified) for widows (but not children), and for retirement for medical reasons. The institute's major lack of success of the institute was that the range of contributions remained at 5-10% , rather than their hoped for 5%: It was finally decided to recommend that the government subsidise the fund with a statutory grant in perpetuity to meet any annual deficit.25

During the Otago institute's annual meeting in July another combined meeting with members of the School Committees' Association was held at which Jeffery gave a detailed account of the Wellington conference. He pointing out a couple of weak points, namely the omission of house allowances in calculating the salary and the lack of a definite allowance for widows, the latter point being seconded by the association's spokesman, Barnett.26 Smeaton declared himself in favour of most of the tentative provisions, while Cohen returned to his theme of not asking too much, getting the scheme and then agitating for needed reform. The discussion concluded with a Jeffery/Barnett motion picking up those points, and with a vote of thanks to Jeffery, Davidson and the members of the school committees' association "for their labours in the cause of Superannuation."27

At an immediately following committee of management meeting yet another combined Otago superannuation committee was elected with Smeaton convening. Jeffery was empowered to purchase and distribute 150 copies of the Schoolmaster with a superannuation article in it to members of the House of Representatives. They were also to be given copies of the annual meeting resolution, as were district institutes, the Inspector-General, education boards, and school committee associations.28

Meanwhile, when Seddon moved to set up a parliamentary education committee which would deal with superannuation among other matters, a major debate was set off where member after member

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25 Simmonds p79
26 NZSM vol XXV no 1, 15 August 1905
27 COM/EIO 11 July 1905; NZSM vol XXV no 1, 15 August 1905
28 COM/EIO 14 July 1905
attacked the department's record, predominantly in failing to provide improvements to the schools in their areas.\textsuperscript{29}

Then on 21 July 1905 came the second reading debate on the long-awaited, much-debated, much-anticipated bill, and it proved something of a disappointment. Seddon used the occasion to make another of those Press -complained-about sympathy-without-action speeches, along the lines that children of the country would be to a great extent what teachers were, and therefore their remuneration should be increased because "the salaries of our teachers are not commensurate with their responsibilities and not enough to maintain them."\textsuperscript{30} He said that he felt there would not be a bill that session which would have greater or more favourable attention devoted to it. The delays had been because of almost insuperable difficulties, which he did not specify. It was far from perfect, but it went "as far as can be gone with anything like safety," placing great responsibility on the taxpayers as it did - the old fiscal caution note yet again. By 1931 there could be a taxpayer obligation of some £3 per teacher in the service. Somewhere between 40-50 men and 25-30 women would retire without having made any contributions at all, and if it had not been for this difficulty they could have worked the bill through more easily.

He also said that he would soon introduce a bill raising teachers' salaries, and as one by one some thirteen members rose, one of their complaints was that if the new levels of salaries had been known they would have been better able to judge the "actuarial soundness" of the proposition. They picked up on the high retirement age for women, and the low pension for old men - £52 would not encourage them to retire. But the speakers were all careful to welcome the bill and to declare themselves in favour of action being taken.

Some of the details of the bill were carried in a Christchurch Press report the next day. The contribution range was 5-10%, with pensions calculated in 60ths per year over the whole of a 40 year male and 35 year female career, producing a minimum pension of £52.

\textsuperscript{29} NZPD Vol 132 1905 p25 (28 June) Tommy Taylor, always a trenchant critic of Seddon, interposed in his catalogue of shortcomings about buildings and general maladministration the comment that "teachers were crying out against the procrastination that the Government has displayed for years past" over superannuation, having made "ridiculously modest demands."

\textsuperscript{30} NZPD Vol 132 1905 p826 (21 July)
Those retiring medically unfit after up to 15 years of service would have their contributions refunded without interest. Governmental support was to be provided by an initial £5000 and the promise to cover any deficiency.31

Immediate Christchurch teacher reaction was that it was "less liberal than had been talked about in the [June] conference," while a South Canterbury meeting on 22 July expressed great disappointment, particularly with the percentage contributions to be required, and the low minimum of £52.32 In an editorial the Christchurch Press was critical of what it saw as the anomalies: the low minimum pension which was "absolutely illiberal to older teachers" who would retire on £52 whether they had been earning £300 or £150; the maximum pensions of £150 compared to the railways maximum of £300 and the police maximum of £240; and the 5% required of younger teachers compared with 3% in the other schemes. The Press's conclusion was that "a scheme that contemplates such an anomaly stands condemned."33 On 31 July the Press carried reports of Christchurch and Wellington teacher meetings.34 The motion which was passed in Christchurch confined itself to thanking Seddon for carrying out his promise, and that too was the motif of the Wellington reaction.

The Journal of Education reaction was muted, with Davidson limiting himself to the comment that teachers were being asked to contribute more and receive less than contributors to other funds.35 But the New Zealand Schoolmaster ran a three column piece by Jeffery which reported a comment by Seddon to the Civil Service Conference delegates about the difficulties of a teacher scheme with a small number of contributors and a good many coming on to pensions.36 Jeffery thought that the "old age" segment was being used as a stalking horse, as he calculated that only 60 to 70 were over retiring age at that moment, and pointed to the actuarial alarm bells sounded in the past against old age pensions as well as against the police and rail schemes. To Jeffery the defects were clear: the £52 maximum "until it is

31 Press 21 July 1905
32 Press 24 July 1905
33 Press 27 July 1905
34 Press 31 July 1905
35 NZJE 1 August 1905
36 NZSM vol XXV no 1, 15 August 1905
earned," the lack of annuities based on 60ths for the medically unfit retiring after 15 years, and the lack of precision about the position of widows. After reading the bill the Otago institute held a meeting as a result of which he and Davidson had been sent in deputation to Wellington, although "for reasons of his own, Mr Davidson did not go." Jeffery talked to members of parliament individually and collectively, and had had an interview with Seddon himself, at which the latter stated his intention of referring the bill to the Education Committee of the House of Representatives. These actions were taken on his own responsibility, "for it appeared to me that the Wellington members of the Executive had not done, and were not doing, what was in our best interests...[with]...the timidity and want of initiative characteristic of the past." Despite the deputation's careful congratulations Seddon was apparently annoyed by the hostile reception the bill had received, and Gill had told him "the opinions expressed by the Institutes were not the opinions of the Executive." Jeffery's sarcastic gloss on that was "I have thought the Executive should represent us." The main point which he had pushed with the Education Committee was that "there should be a definite allowance for past service plus what was earned by contributions," while his over-all summary was that "though the Bill was not satisfactory for those past middle age, I would prefer the Bill to go through as it is rather [than] have no Bill at all." He ended his article with a summary of the police superannuation which, he said, "showed what a 5% fund is doing."

The article is instructive in revealing the endemic rift between the outlook of the two "parties" as to the prosecution of superannuation, and one is left wondering yet again whose attitude was correct. Once before there had been a bill before the house, imperfect as it might have been, and its failure to proceed might well have stemmed from the boat-rocking which had occurred. One can imagine the chagrin and the terror of the "cautious and conservative" capital-ites when the Otago bull-in-the-china-shop appeared within the portals of the parliament buildings at this delicate point.

Whether Jeffery's personal intervention did any good cannot be assessed, but the next step was the hearing of evidence by the select committee on the bill, chaired by Frederick E. Baume. The report of the committee, dated 14 September 1905, reveals that evidence was
given before it by eleven teachers, all of them members of the New Zealand Educational Institute, five members of the current executive, five women, and James Jeffery. The table [Figure 2] gives some idea of the things on which the teachers tried to influence the committee and the issues they raised. The over all impression is that they were largely resigned to accepting what was offered.

The only topic they all commented on was the female retiring age. The great bulk of their evidence was for reducing it to 50, only Mary Hall breaking the line with 52. As to other matters, the lack of recognition of back service was the most common theme, with nods towards defining "medically unfit" and including the house allowance as salary. But, although some commented on the small initial pension, most apparently accepted that it must be, and they all adhered to the institute line of foregoing salary increases to provide for the initial back-up to the fund. Only Jeffery and Hughes insisted that there must be some direct state capital contribution. Comparisons were drawn with other funds or with the hopes held out at the June conference, and there was a general consensus that the scheme before the committee was better for younger teachers than for those who were older. Only Jeffery mentioned the absence of provision for orphans, suggesting that amounts not claimed by widows should be handed to them.

Too late to influence the report of the committee the Dunedin papers editorialized about the bill. The *Times* stated that it did not think that the fund would need nearly the support "of any sum approaching that anticipated by the actuary," going on to point out that the English teachers' superannuation fund had cost less than half

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37 AJHR Vol 2 1905 1-14. The executive members: Gill, the president; Davidson, Mornington; Law, Manaia; Hughes, Waltham; Harkness, Reefton. The women: Margaret Lorimer, Mt Cooks [sic] Girls' School, Wellington; Margaret Craig, South Wellington; Mary Hall, Sydenham; Jane Hooper, Kensington [Dunedin].

38 The evidence of the women makes depressing reading for any ardent latter-day feminist as they pretty much concentrated on this one issue, and all agreed that women's physical strength was not up to it at either 50 or after 30 years' service. There was not much striving for recognition of equality here, apart from Mary Hall's comment that men teachers were paid more for the same work, or Margaret Lorimer's suggestions that women were very poorly represented in the Otago and Canterbury educational institutes and that Dunedin women teachers' opinions were influenced by male teachers. They did point to the fact that although two thirds of the teaching force were women (an exaggeration if adult teachers are compared; it was rather 55%) - the bulk of teachers over 50 were male, so that there was a de facto earlier retirement age for women.
of what was anticipated. The Star also supported a little assistance in the form of a temporary annual subsidy. Meanwhile Jeffery was keeping up his drumfire of criticism of the executive through the columns of the Schoolmaster, complaining in the September guest editorial that he did not know what the policy of the executive was and suggesting that a division should be called in the house "so that we may know who acts what he talks."

The concerted campaign to lower the female retirement age had produced that as a major concession in the 14 September 1905 report of the select committee, along with the addition of 1/120th per year of service during all the years of service to add to the 1/60th computation and thus increase the pensions of long-serving teachers. In the Christchurch Press report the retiring-age concession was noted, along with the fact that widows would at least get back the contributions without interest, plus £200. There had been an exchange between Seddon and Massey during the report back on the capital liability of the fund. Because of all the concessions, the premier maintained that this had increased to £140,000. The editor picked this up in his comment, saying he was aware that an annual payment of £17,000 had been recommended by the committee over Seddon's opposition at two separate stages, and wondering why he was so opposed when "it was the only feasible method of placing the fund on a satisfactory basis." He again reiterated that actuaries were notoriously "and quite rightly pessimistic," concluding that "if the scheme falsifies their expectations it will but repeat experiences of numerous well established and flourishing schemes in the Old Country." When he returned to the topic two weeks later he was still belabouring Seddon about not granting the £17,000 annual subsidy recommended, seeing it as evidence of his lack of earnestness in having the fund properly established. The simpler explanation was that as Colonial Treasurer, and facing an upcoming election, he had no wish to provide Aunty Sally ammunition against himself.

James Jeffery continued to use the Schoolmaster columns to

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39 ODT 14 September 1905
40 ES 15 September 1905
41 NZSM vol XXV no 2, 15 September 1905.
42 AJHR I-14 1905
43 Press 21 September 1905
berate the executive's lack of activity in bringing "the amendments or further amendments under the notice of members," and castigating them as "a weak-kneed body." He reiterated his assertion that when they met a premier, angry about ungrateful telegrams after the bill was brought down, "Mr Grundy, with oriental humility, said that the telegrams did not represent the views of the Executive." Right to the end Jeffery sought to have amendments made even if it made teachers unpopular. His less than generous summary?

I must express my satisfaction to see, thanks to the Right Hon. the Premier, a much better scheme than the Executive worked for or expected; but, at the same time, I cannot help expressing contempt for the timidity shown by those who should have stood by the Institute's proposals or resigned.

Things were rushing to a conclusion. The October editions of the Journal and Schoolmaster both noted that superannuation was in sight, and reported that there had been a special meeting of the Otago institute regretted that the bill could not be better but thanking Seddon for lowering the optional age of retirement, and declaring their general support. But the Otago teachers were still dubious and sceptical enough at their October meeting to reconstitute the troika of Davidson (convenor), Smeaton and Jeffery as an emergency committee "to watch over the interests of superannuitants in connection with the Teachers' and Civil Service Superannuation Bills." They also billed the NZEI for no less than £50 in part payment of "expenses incurred in furthering the cause of Superannuation." The Schoolmaster summary was that

Otago has done its share in agitating and spending money and time in advocating a scheme that will allow for the retirement of seniors in the profession and be attractive to juniors.

This time the bill became an act. There had been a significant late amendment after bill was reported back: the widows were now to

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44 NZSM vol XXV no 3, 14 October 1905.
45 NZJE 2 October 1905 & NZSM volXXV no 3, 14 October 1905
46 COM/EIO 14 October 1905. $10,000 in 1994?
47 NZSM vol XXV no 3, 14 October 1905
get the contributions returned and an £18 pension, with five shillings a week for each child under 14. The same conditions applied to an annuitant's widow, with the deduction of any annuity paid out. Those permanently employed on 1 January 1906 could apply to be members and were given six months to elect to do so, while membership would be compulsory for those joining the profession after that date. The government would guarantee any deficiency in the fund. The third reading debate occurred on 27 October, and was marked by an attempt to have the £17,000 annual grant suggested by the Education Committee written in to the act.48 No one was prepared to oppose the measure, but the leader of the opposition, Massey, questioned the lack of a firm capital backing. The debate revolved around this, Sir Joseph Ward making the point that the railways fund had accumulated £90,000, so that it was not a critical issue. J. Allen of Bruce talked of “unrest” and “dissatisfaction” that the scheme still did not match others where contributions were less and benefits higher. J.A. Millar of Dunedin City was quite unconvinced about the capital backing question, talked of the “fever” that was afoot, and the unpopularity of anyone who dared to question the viability of the fund. He cited the evidence of Morris Fox, the actuary, about the failure of other unsound schemes. Seddon concluded the debate by passing off the capital backing need, pointing out that the actuary had only suggested £10,000 to back the fund. He pointed out that in England the government had been running schemes for 50 years. There had been liabilities all that time, yet the taxpayer had paid out absolutely nothing. He ended with the assertion that there was nothing unsafe about the scheme for the liability between then and the next year was only £10,000, and the £5,000 grant would be sufficient. He was himself convinced. He convinced the House. The bill was given its third reading.

The November Journal saw Davidson thanking and congratulating Seddon in fulsome terms for a scheme for teachers that was the best and most liberal in the British Empire, and with which they might have been thoroughly satisfied if the railways, police and civil service schemes had not been there as comparisons. He lamented the lack of real recognition of back service but believed that that might

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48 NZPD Vol 132 1905 p1167 (27 October)
be achieved at some later date.⁴⁹

The battle was won, and the Otago institute went on record with a vote of thanks to the press and to the School Committee's Association.⁵⁰ Yet in typical fashion James Jeffery was unwilling to forgive or forget. Again using the columns of the Schoolmaster he continued to rail against those who resisted "the efforts made to obtain a reasonable scheme" and who had him "branded as the disturbing element."⁵¹ As to the "fulsome flattery" about Seddon's influence on the process, he used his rhetorical trick of quick-fire questions again, this time nine of them, their theme being that if he was so wonderfully skilful why did not he gain the higher scale for teachers, wasn't the education committee's bill more liberal than the premier's. Wasn't "the Bill made more liberal as much by the persistent efforts of Opposition members as by the efforts of Government supporters?" Nevertheless he thought that every teacher should join the fund because it gave better investment for money than any other form of insurance. And he ended:

Next year - or three years hence, when another election is coming off - a Civil Service Bill may be made law ... [when] ... we should help to get better provisions inserted, and to have a clause added allowing us to come in under the Bill in the same way as the police."

This revealed the letter for what it was - a manifesto for election to the Teachers' Superannuation Board.

Dust and ashes

Those things remaining to be done were really in the nature of a few mopping-up improvements, and, given the heat and rage of the two previous annual meetings, it is remarkable how as a topic it had sunk without a trace at the 23rd annual meeting in Invercargill. Gill did not even mention it in his presidential address, though he "spoke

⁴⁹ NZJE 1 November 1905
⁵⁰ COM/EIO 25 November 1905
⁵¹ NZSM vol XXV no 4, 15 November 1905
eloquently of the hard burden borne by those who had grown old in the service."52 The Christchurch Press editorial on the meeting said that it compared very favourably "both in the tone of its debates and the interest attaching to its proceedings generally" with "similar gatherings held in previous years." The special correspondent for the Journal reported "the absence of the bitter feeling of antagonism, almost acrimony, of recent years."53

James Jeffery was not there! He was making a trip to Victoria and in terms of harmony it would seem to have been an advantage, for he was immediately on the attack in the Schoolmaster on his return. Noting that very little had been said on the question of superannuation, with heavy sarcasm he mused that it would have been "very interesting to know what untried efforts were made by Messrs Stewart, Grundy and Gill to get the Bill placed before the Education Committee of the House."54 He also noted that the executive, unbidden, had recommended that the annual meeting agree to reimbursing the Otago Institute £10 for the expenses James Jeffery had incurred in going independently to Wellington to lobby for the bill's referral to a committee. Surely, he wrote, "the Executive should have moved that the Council censure the Otago Educational Institute for acting so independently as it has done during the past three years."

Interest then moved to the elections for the teacher representatives on the Superannuation Board, two of whom were to be South Islanders. Three of the four nominees - Hughes, Davidson, and Jeffery - had impeccable credentials in terms of their active involvement in the campaign. Harkness had been on the executive but does not seem to have been an activist to anything like the degree of the other three. When the voting went Hughes 237, Davidson 219, Jeffery 198 and Harkness 123, Jeffery felt hard done by, especially when it came to light that 40 voting papers had been posted after the poll had closed. The Otago Daily Times reported that many of them would have been from Otago because some had been received there after the due date,

52 Press 4 January 1906
53 NZJE 1 February 1906
54 NZSM vol XXV no 7, 15 February 1906
having taken a week to get from Wellington to Dunedin. The Otago institute held a special meeting to determine what should be done and protested to the Secretary of Education, who replied giving reasons why the voting papers were late in Otago and outlining the steps which would be taken to prevent a recurrence - cold comfort to Jeffery. In a bitter letter to the Schoolmaster in May Jeffery noted that he had not canvassed for votes and a majority had decided he was "not worthy of their confidence and I bow to the decision, though I think I merited better treatment." He thought that the election should be declared invalid and that the "Official Organ," edited, as he pointed out, by one of the two elected candidates, should "speak out most emphatically" on the matter.

Whatever might be said about his great energy and single-mindedness in pursuit of a superannuation scheme, he showed himself a very sore loser, and he displayed now a mean-spiritedness that had been hinted at throughout the debate and which surely must have contributed to his defeat. However, at the conclusion of the annual meeting of the Otago institute in July 1906, Otago teachers ensured that some amends were made. Jeffery was presented with a gold watch inscribed: "James Jeffery Esq., from Otago teachers in recognition of his efforts in connection with the cause of Superannuation for Teachers." The Journal account noted that it was a gift from teachers, not necessarily members of the institute, who felt election to the board would have been a reward for his "unceasing energy." In his reply Jeffery said that in singling him out they should not forget three others who had been prominent in the struggle - Stenhouse, who had commenced the agitation 20 years before, Smeaton and Davidson - also deserving of the teachers' best thanks." The Journal stops at this point but the Schoolmaster's account carries on with what amounts to his personal apologia, when he gave his

... sincere thanks to those who had trusted him, when he stood almost alone in advocating what he believed to be improvements.

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55 ODT March 1906
56 Special/EIO 7 April 1906
57 COM/EIO 19 May 1906
58 The post script to Jeffery's disappointment was written in April 1909 when a three way tussle for seats on the Superannuation Board, without Harkness as a spoiler, saw the incumbents re-elected - Hughes 593, Davidson 572, Jeffery 421.
59 NZJE 1 August 1906
in the Bill. He was told he was going to wreck the prospects of the Scheme, but events had justified the position he had taken up.\footnote{NZSM August 1906}

\textbf{The meaning of strife}

Do the events described support Simmonds' conclusion that the internecine arguments prevented an early resolution to the superannuation question as good as those eventually achieved? Which of "Freshman"'s two hostile camps triumphed; which was right?

What we have seen is that in the superannuation battle Simmonds' progression of developing policy, supplying material, gaining support, and achieving success was palpably \textit{not} the way things went.\footnote{Simmonds p81-2} Four times the yearly cycle was undertaken, and in three of those years there was no result, despite the fact that each of the steps was undertaken with some success. Throughout, the local institutes, and we have closely examined only the Otago one, took up the challenge, made the contacts, put their case, convinced the local school committee representatives, and received generally favourable backing from the press.

What went wrong? The basic conclusion must undoubtedy be that the teachers were never in fact unified because they never agreed on that fundamental strategic question of whether to accept what was offered and then change it, as Freshman's "older and more experienced" party wanted to do and knowledgeable outsiders like Mark Cohen counselled, or to hold out for a better initial scheme - Freshman's "new party" strategy.

They did not make this decision for a number of very powerful reasons. The first was the very structure of the decision-making process within the national body. In many ways it was a federation of independent institutes, several with longer histories than the national
body, and with parochial instincts sharpened in provincial times, the power of which are almost illogically still felt a century and more after abolition, and not just on the rugby field. The compounding factors to these endemic separatist feelings in the specific instance of the teacher organizations were constitution and geography.

The constitution had changed over the years. It began with the leadership provided simply by the officers of the institute - a secretary, a treasurer and the president, by tradition the president of the branch hosting the next annual meeting. An executive was invented in 1892 by adding three elected members to the three officers, and creating a paid secretaryship, an office which Grundy occupied for the first seven years, and Gill for the next six. These secretaries were Wellingtonians and their continuity in office gave them power and influence, bolstered by the continuing presence of Wellington executive members, who formed a cabal. In 1896 the office of president was given more national clout by having him elected by delegates at the annual meeting from branch institute nominations. Clearly there was still a sense of Wellington domination, and in 1902 constitutional changes tried to counteract this by forming an executive of six elected members, two from Wellington, two from the rest of the North Island, and two from the South Island, voting for whom was in the hands of all the annual meeting delegates.

But there remained geography to combat. New Zealand's long, attenuated shape meant long lines of communication, and the expenditure of time as well as brass if there were to be special meetings of the executive, the consequence was that there were few. Again the Wellington johnnies-on-the-spot were advantaged through their easy access to both politicians and departmental officials.

On the particular issue of superannuation the Wellingtonians tended to be of the "older and experienced party," so there was an almost inevitable feeling in such provinces as Otago that they could not be trusted to put forward views contrary to their own. The evidence is pretty clear that this suspicion was fully justified. It was

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62 Simmonds p37
63 Simmonds p52
64 Simmonds p53
all very well for the annual meeting to set a policy - the executive had to carry it out. However, the executive hardly ever met, the prosecution of the policy fell to those at the centre, and they dragged their feet - to the chagrin of the Otago institute and the "new party" activists such as Jeffery. Contrary opinions could only be expressed in correspondence, in newspaper battles, to local members of parliament, to peregrinating politicians and in fleeting and spasmodic visits to the capital. It was a recipe for frustration, and part of the bad-temper and ill-will of the superannuation debates must have stemmed from just that.

What is more, the NZEI had always been concerned to limit contact between institutes with dissident ideas and the department and minister. As long ago as the 1892 meeting they had put a motion on the books to that effect.65

What did you do to change matters if the executive stonewalled even on agreed policy, as Otago maintained it did on superannuation? The result was endemic, entrenched tension.

Then there was the "policy" itself. The whole question of superannuation was so complex that in fact there never was a really cogent, accepted, and acceptable policy. Even the complexities of salary matters paled into insignificance beside them. The NZEI managed to form some general consensus on salaries, and pursued an effective and controlled campaign, while the itinerating of the royal commission was a focus for provincial and even divergent input. This campaign culminated in the 1901 salaries act which had just preceded the opening shots in the superannuation battle. There were no doubt heady expectations that superannuation would go the same way. The other main contemporaneous issue for the NZEI was the curriculum, where theirs was a predominantly reactive response to proposals drawn up by the Inspector-General.

But superannuation was different. The NZEI had to draw up its own policy and the system of annual meeting debates on the basis of remits proposed by district institutes simply could not take the strain. Those district institute remits were the result of similar debates during

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65 Simmonds p39
which, as the Otago details make clear, there were divergent views. The result was that the remits tended to be generalized pieties and hopes rather than precisely shaped proposals. Moreover, superannuation was not a single answer to a single question but a compound of the answers to many questions. There was never time to work them out fully, either at district or national level, hence the continuing propaganda from protagonists and antagonists beyond the annual meeting, with the "policy" open to interpretation and bending. So it was that the most informed and committed members of the institute continued to argue throughout with one another in the most public way over who was to be included, what the rates of contribution were to be, how the pensions were to be calculated, how back service was going to be recognized, what the retiring ages should be, how much government support they would need, and how much it would all cost, particularly if dependents were to be included. And, affecting every one of those issues, just how to grapple with the effect of the large, low paid, short-careered female element in the profession. [Figures 1A and 1B]

In these circumstances the pressure on the politicians was much less intense than it might have been. Indeed an over-riding impression is that the whole matter rested throughout pretty firmly in the hands of the politicians, and particularly those of the government. The yearly round was largely dictated by the political timetable. The "policy" and information stages were cranked up in the first school term, and carried through the second with a boost about the time of the mid-year district institute annual meeting. By then the parliamentary term had begun. The major thrust was applied around August-September, and if there was to be substantive response it had to be at that time or the parliamentary session had flown; and at any rate the school year was winding up. When the tune for the political harp was being written by a "mere opportunist and demagogue" such as Seddon you were up against an operator who was going to move at his pace and to his and his party's advantage. And that is exactly what he did, and what Jeffery for one saw that he did. There were so many loose ends and unresolved problems surrounding teachers' superannuation as election time in 1902 approached that Seddon could safely and indeed sensibly ignore the issue and teachers. After all, they had been granted the

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66 Burdon p302
"Colonial Scale" the year before. There was no electoral advantage again until 1905. By then the issues had been worked through, some general modus vivendi had been arrived at, and, less cynically, there was far more experience with the administration of other superannuation schemes. Teacher superannuation was then seen as something that, from the general clamour raised in the intervening years, would indeed be of electoral advantage. So it happened, along with some extra salary adjustments! You cannot but admire the barefacedness of the rogue.

Try as he may, even an energetic, articulate, less-than-sensitive activist and boat-rocker such as James Jeffery found it impossible to shake or shame into action either the conservative Wellington cabal of the profession, or the unashamedly populist and pragmatic politicians holding on to Seddon's coat tails. Give him his due, he continued to try, and it may well have been that his solo trip to Wellington late in 1905 to lobby on his own and the Otago institute's behalf was of some influence in having the bill referred to a committee from which it emerged modified and strengthened. It is pretty clear that the Wellington executive members were not disposed to lobby for this.

The chief weapon that the teachers had in the end was that other government servants had been granted superannuation, and the clear injustice of refusing them conditions that had been given to others. A major factor in the foot-dragging was of course the strange demographic composition of the profession. On the one hand there was a large number of poorly paid new entrants, the great bulk of whom were professionally short-lived females making little monetary contribution to the scheme; and on the other hand there was a forbiddingly large number of long-service teachers recruited in the growth days of the early national system, and now not too far removed from possible retirement to drain the scheme. Although there are few figures easily available about the ages of teachers, the figures that are give some indication of the very bottom-heaviness of the distribution of salaries from which contributions to the fund would come. The actuary, the Inspector-General and Seddon had rather more imponderable elements to consider than was the case with the other state funds.
And then there were the difficulties with those other funds which were adverted to at various stages, both by the official/political side and the press - the railways fund in particular seems to have had teething troubles.

The gradualists, the "older and experienced," the Mark Cohens and William Davidsions, were probably right. The NZEI should have accepted the 1902 bill with all its imperfections, because those anomalies would have spoken loudly by comparison with the railways, the police and the emergent civil service schemes, as indeed they increasingly did towards the end of the campaign. The obstructionists, the "new party", the James Jefferys, were probably wrong. But in a sense the argument was quite academic. Yes, the James Jefferys created the sound and fury of opposition which seemed to indicate great disunity, which seemingly delayed matters, which provided Seddon with ammunition to explain delay. But all of that was largely immaterial, and when the 1902 bill was withdrawn because Seddon believed it was "actuarially unsound" and he was remaining true to his fiscal convictions. From which point, time could be taken to debate and work through some of the difficulties, and then seize the political moment.

It was not a successful campaign of the New Zealand Educational Institute in the terms which Simmonds writes of it - a kind of logical and inexorable march - despite all the energy and words expended upon it. But on the other hand some significant shifts were made. Not on the contribution rates, for the 5-10% range was always much higher than the NZEI argued for and wanted. But a shift from 1/80ths to 1/60ths as a calculation base for the pension was made; the female retirement age was reduced from 55 to 50; widows and children were included, if parsimoniously; back service was recognized, if ungenerously; retirement on medical grounds was won; the fund received governmental backing, which in the end it proved not to need. But that is hindsight.

Looked at in those terms there were significant changes, and James Jeffery and the Otago institute were on the right side of most of those arguments. So he and his colleagues could take considerable credit for shaping the resultant grace-and-favour (of Richard John
Seddon) Teachers' Superannuation Fund Act 1905.

But for James Jeffery the national glory days were over.
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<th>Margaret CRAIG</th>
<th>William DAVIDSON</th>
<th>Jane Dunlop HOOKER</th>
<th>Marj HALL</th>
<th>Marj LAW</th>
<th>James K. LAW</th>
<th>Thomas HUGHES</th>
<th>James R. HARKNESS</th>
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### Figure 3. TEACHERS' SUPERANNUATION - 1880-1909
Details of proposals made & legislation passed

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<tr>
<th>ROLLESTON BILL 1880</th>
<th>NZEI BILL 1902</th>
<th>RAILWAYS BILL 1902</th>
<th>JEFFERY BILL JAN 1905</th>
<th>NEZI BILL APR 1905</th>
<th>NZEI/I-G CONF JUL 1905</th>
<th>BILL OCT 1905</th>
<th>ACT 1905</th>
<th>AMNDMTS 1905/9</th>
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<td>% of salary</td>
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<td>2.5 - 5%</td>
<td>3 - 10%</td>
<td>5 - 10%</td>
<td>All 5%</td>
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<td>Calculated at each year</td>
<td>60ths</td>
<td>60ths</td>
<td>M.80/F.60th</td>
<td>60ths £90; then 120th</td>
<td>60ths calculated on the average salary over the whole of a teachers' career</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>up to age 60</td>
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<td>F years</td>
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I. THE COLUMN

While the public James Jeffery had been establishing himself as a headmaster and as a provincial and national figure in teacher politics, he had also been engaged in a pseudonymous activity which was in many ways his most considerable achievement - that of newspaper columnist. For 34 years, and with scarcely a miss, he was "Pater" conducting a weekly column in the Otago Witness. He touched on 2300 topics in some 1700 columns of from 1000 to 1500 words each - perhaps two million words in all! From 1904 to 1917, as "Magister," he also organised Our Public Schools Column, printed initially in the Otago Daily Times and reprinted each week in the Witness. But in this chapter we will confine ourselves to a discussion of the "Pater" column up to the outbreak of World War I, and leave details about the "Magister" column and the last years of "Pater" to be covered later.

To provide any reasonable analysis of such a mass of material, or indeed to do justice to the sustained labour it must have involved for Jeffery, is extremely difficult. Tables and graphs will give some idea of the range of topics dealt with over this long period, while the pattern of topic selection within a year and over time can be hinted at by summarizing the subject matter of three individual years each a decade apart, with a detailed account of 1899. This is intended to give a feeling for the fare which James Jeffery offered his readers during a single year. The world affairs scanned are also summarized, but an initial comment can be made that the line hewed to was strictly supportive of British moves where imperial interests were engaged. Pater's world view comes through most clearly in respect to certain topics in the "Issues" category, and they are analyzed more closely because of that.
The Otago Witness was a weekly paper established in 1851, published by the Otago Daily Times and Witness Company each Thursday, priced at sixpence, and edited from 1879 to his death in 1906 by William Fenwick, the brother of the proprietor and editor from 1877 of the Otago Daily Times itself, George Fenwick. The Witness described itself on its masthead as “a weekly journal of art, manufactures, science, commerce, agricultural and pastoral pursuits, mining, sporting, music &c.” Along with extensive advertising the paper published news items, reprinted some material from the daily paper and augmented it with regular features and columns throughout. In the back half of the 56 page issue of 2 February 1899, for instance, are the sporting columns by “Mazeppa” on racing, “Amateur” on athletics, and “Demon” on cycling, merging into “Angling”, “The Stage”, “The Novelist”, “The Ladies’ Page” (by “Emmeline”), and “The Sketcher.” Finally (page 51) comes “Our Little Folks”, a page and more containing a children’s story - “A Brave Princess” - and letters from children to “Dot”. Although Fenwick had greatly strengthened the farming and literary interest of the Witness since he became its editor he is best remembered for this page which “led children’s journalism in New Zealand and was hugely successful.”¹ And on this page, as practically always from 1888-1928, we find “Pater’s Chats with the Boys” - in this instance a review of Sven Hedin’s journey through Thibet [sic].

This was the regular placement for James Jeffery’s column, begun as “Chats with the Children” in the 17 August 1888 issue. Jeffery set out the column’s aims:

I am going, with the editor’s consent, to keep this column to give information to my school children friends, and to have quiet little chats with them. When any of you hear or read anything that will be particularly interesting to other school children, I want you to write all about it to me, and we shall see if we cannot improve one another and other folk too. ... I’m not going to confine myself to anything in particular. If any of you want a little information, write, and I’ll try and give it, or get some of my young friends to supply it.²

¹ George Griffith in entry on George Fenwick in Claudia Orange ed. The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vol 2 p141. Griffith was himself an ODT journalist.
² OW/PC 17 August 1888
He then went on to discuss the Bastille, governments, crime and sin, Armstrong guns, Baku, and the Armada - a pastiche of geography, history, civics and technology with an overlay of moral and ethical comment. In effect this first offering was in microcosm the column as it developed and grew as a forty year fixture in the paper.

James Jeffery had established himself early after his arrival in New Zealand as a contributor to newspaper columns, noting in his diary in March 1879 receipt of a copy of the Tapanui Courier "as a contributor." What further writing he may have done cannot be ascertained, but it is reasonable to assume that he served some kind of apprenticeship before his column in the Otago Witness was launched with that August 1888 issue.

Although Jeffery always talked about his column as a service to older primary-aged children and those just left school, and although it was another avenue for his compulsive urge to educate and enlighten, Pater's Chats were not an act of philanthropy. He was paid, and quite well paid, for his journalistic efforts. Each column earned him ten shillings, so that a year's output netted £26, a very useful additional tenth of his teaching income, which hovered around £225 per annum.4

Pater's column was published for forty years from 1888 to 1928, and for the first 34 of them it was written by Jeffery with hardly ever a gap in that enormous weekly sequence. But it did not develop exactly as he had planned. At an early stage he was commenting that it was "not meant for wee folk, but upper standards and those not long left school," and also wondering whether the title of "Chats with the Children" was "dignified enough."5 The heading was changed to "Chats with the Boys." In the process of rejecting a letter for publication from an adult he further defined its audience as "boys and lads aged up to 17 or 18,"6 but in 1894 he was again pondering the title wondering if he ought perhaps to change the heading to "Boys and Girls."7 He never

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3 James Jeffery's Diary p24
4 Otago Daily Times and Witness Co cashbooks 1909 - 1923 in several volumes, Hocken Library. A further discussion of his income from journalism is given in Chapters 8 and 10.
5 OW/PC 12 September 1889
6 OW/PC 31 July 1890
7 OW/PC 4 January 1894
The column includes little correspondence despite his early intentions. Nor did his attempts to get participation from his readers on various issues meet with an overwhelming response. In March 1889 he proposed that his readers should write some essays about the Dunedin and South Seas Exhibition to begin the next November, and in June he printed some of them. But a mock election held at the time of the 1890 general elections found him lamenting that more had not sent in votes, while there were not many essays on women’s franchise when he asked for them in 1892, and the issue drew no votes at all! On the other hand his suggestion of an exchange of syllabuses for “mutual improvement societies” drew fourteen replies. He printed the one he himself was engaged in drawing up for Andersons Bay.

In the main, however, he settled into the pattern of proselytising pedagogy we have commented on previously as an all-encompassing character trait. At the turn of a year he sometimes looked back. In 1901 he was musing that he was getting “quite patriarchal, and boys who read my first Geographical Chatter are, some of them, bronzed, tanned and bearded, and in a fair way to see another generation of boys springing up.” By 1903 and the fifteenth year he noted that there had been “a great deal of history making” to comment on. In 1910 he was again thinking back to 1888 noting that “in those days the cables were not annotated as they are now,” and that he began by “telling where places were which were mentioned in the cables, with explanatory remarks where I thought them necessary.”

James Jeffery wrote that “this column is my pastime just as striplings take to football.” He clearly enjoyed the platform the column provided. The column’s durability rested on William Fenwick’s great interest in young folk and the almost weekly contact the two had.

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8 OW/PC 7 March, 13 and 20 June 1889
9 OW/PC 6 November 1890
10 OW/PC 29 October, 19 November 1892
11 OW/PC 19 March, 14 May 1891
12 OW/PC 24 December 1901
13 OW/PC 7 January 1903
14 OW/PC 5 January 1910
15 OW/PC 26 June 1901
over the 18 years up to Fenwick's death in 1906. That Fenwick's brother offered Jeffery a second column in 1904 to write as "Magister" about specifically educational matters was also a sign of success. In 1898 J.R.Kemp of Bald Hill Flat took the trouble to write to the Otago Education Board recommending that Pater's Chats in the Otago Witness should be read at schools by advanced students because they would enlarge the ideas of children on many subjects. The Board may have merely received the letter without comment, but in 1905 Pater was writing of his pleasure that G.M. Thomson had made a "kindly reference" to the column at the Otago institute's annual meeting by stating that portions of it were regularly read in some schools, more especially by country schools, and appreciated by both pupils and teachers.

**Topics**

A series of tables and charts has been developed which give some idea of the range of topics dealt with. Figure 4, the contents of Pater's Chats 1888-1922, attempts this. The graphs drawn from it in Figure 5 give some indication of the changes in emphasis that occurred over the 34 years. It should be emphasised that one column often included more than one topic. The categories are imprecise and overlapping, and neither "Events" nor "Issues" is a completely accurate or adequate label. "Events" has been used when there was a discussion of a crisis or development currently in the news, or thrust into prominence at that moment by the publication of books and memoirs. An "events" categorisation is given to an article or part article which stayed fairly close to a current news topic. The "Issues" category is reserved for more discursive material, usually, but not necessarily triggered by some current happening, but linked to wider themes and dealt with in a didactic manner. "Issues" encompasses comment on civics, politics, economics, patriotism and military (and naval) matters. Together these are the two categories on which Pater focusses most heavily. The

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16 OW/PC 3 October 1906  
17 ODT 17 February 1898  
18 OW/PC 26 July 1905
space and emphasis ratio between them tended to reverse over the years as his tub-thumping became more insistent. The numbers and percentages in the tables and graphs are indicative only, and they will be handled as such in the discussion which follows.

In the initial five years of the column Europe contributed most topics to the "Events" section, in particular any of Russia's manoeuvrings east or south towards Afghanistan or the Mediterranean. Indeed until the Russians were humiliatingly defeated by the Japanese in 1904-5, Pater continued to show extreme suspicion of their motives and moves - a good child of his upbringing post Crimean War. Then over the years Africa and Asia came to predominate, until the lead up to the Great War saw European crises leap into dominance again. There were some preliminary rumblings in South Africa from 1888 to 1892 as the final flutterings of the scramble for Africa worked through, and as the Boers established their independence. From 1893 to 1897 the latter and the French probings towards the Nile ensured a similar level of column interest, although there was a considerable falling-off in the "geographical chattering" overall, from half of the total number of topics to around a third. Interest in Africa was dominated by affairs in South Africa which reached their peak during the next half decade (1898-1902). Pater followed the Boer War with exasperation as the British botched the campaign and thereby dented the myth of imperial invincibility. India had always provided a steady centre of interest as the North-West Frontier problem rumbled on, while the Boxer Rebellion, followed in 1904-5 by the Russo-Japanese War over Manchuria, were both given attention. The 1905 Russian Revolution was a source of comment, after which there was a conspicuous falling away of attention - there was not much threat to the beloved Motherland and Empire from a strife wracked and humiliated nation. In following years events in the Turkish Empire obtruded as there was a revolt in Turkey itself in 1908 and the beginning of the Balkan rumblings which eventually triggered the Great War. As to other areas of the world, there was always some perfunctory comment about the Americas, particularly if events happened such as the Spanish American War in 1898, the Panama Canal construction around 1902, or the San Francisco earthquake of 1906. But of the United Kingdom, the Pacific, Australia and New Zealand we hear very little. There is some coverage of expeditions to the North Pole 1898-1902 and to the
South Pole just prior to World War I.

The "Issues" category came approximately to equal discussions about "Events" in space, and the major influence in this, as we will see when we discuss this in more detail, was Pater's rising alarm at the challenges to British power which he saw developing. As a result, we find an increase in attention to military, and in particular to naval, matters, while the patriotic drum is pounded more and more vigorously. Alternatively, what begins as a high degree of interest in economic matters, particularly the cooperative movement, trade union affairs and currency theories fades over time, surfacing in relation to particular events such as strikes. The same can be said about Pater's interest in things political - events such as current elections or women's franchise both in New Zealand and the United Kingdom, or the imbroglio over the 1909 People's Budget in the latter stimulate him to comment, but he can hardly be seen to be keeping up the running fire of comment which he did early on in the 1890s over economic affairs, or later over threats to Britain's hegemony. As to the issues of liquor and tobacco, they surfaced and were conventionally moralised about, but not often, while the handling of religion was very seldom specifically denominational and was relatively uncontroversial when it occurred. Neither category was addressed at all frequently.

The borderline between the categories of patriotism and the history of the United Kingdom is often indistinct as the historical figures selected are often imperial heroes and statesmen, with many of those heroes generated by colonial wars, especially in India. From 1893-97 there seem to have been a considerable number of memoirs produced either of the Mutiny forty years on, or of more recent alarums such as those Lord Roberts had sorted out for his Queen and countrymen. Pater turned his attention to New Zealand history really only at the time of Otago's fiftieth and sixtieth jubilees in 1898 and 1908, and when his interest in the Maori Wars was stimulated by a visit to New Plymouth to attend the 1902 NZEI annual meeting. European history surfaced in relation to international conferences during the initial years of the column, and then the build up to the outbreak of war in 1914.

Pater's continuing interest in reading and in books is the
governing element in explaining why the language and reading category increased and became an important ingredient of the columns. The references were frequently to individual books, and he often suggested purchases to provide basic libraries for individuals or for schools. The book selections seem solid and conventional, heavily weighted towards the classics, but with a goodly smattering of "ripping yarns" by established writers such as Stevenson, Rider Haggard, and Kipling. Many of the books reviewed have not stood the test of time, so that it is difficult to comment on their suitability for the target audience, although a general impression would be that the book selection was somewhat above the heads of adolescents. Pater even acknowledged that on occasion. He did not initially deal with educational matters to any great extent, the attention of the analyst being attracted to them because he knows that this is a teacher writing the column. The arrival of the 1904 Hogben curriculum wrought a change in that, for there is a sudden jump in his comment about education, and very considerably so in nature study and science topics. The change in balance between categories that this induces shows up quite clearly in the tables and graphs, and must have been an important element in having the Fenwick brothers decide that the time had come to launch another column. The emphasis of the new column was on education, as the title Our Public Schools Column indicates, and, within that, particularly on science subjects. What developed were regularly contributed columns within Magister's overall column.

The new column certainly eased the pressure, and the relationships between categories returned to the original pattern until the coming of war in August 1914 changed it yet again.

**Pater's Chats with the Boys 1899**

An analysis of the topics dealt with in the year 1899 gives some idea of the diet Pater offered his readers. There are synopses of the columns for that year and also for the years 1889 and 1909 in Appendixes 1 to 3, giving details of the weekly sequence of topics and permitting some comparison of the content and the development of the
column over the years. Figures 6 and 7 show that over the decade James Jeffery had reduced the space which he devoted to "Events" compared to his earliest columns, but that these still remained the predominant feature, by then much more concerned with African and Asian affairs than the very Euro-centric first columns. Likewise he had increased the number of "Issues" topics, so that he was spending about a quarter of his columns writing about politics and economics. The enormously changed emphasis in this section was in the number of times he brought up issues concerned with the Empire and the need to be vigilant about threats to it. About the same emphasis as before was given to history, less to science and nature study topics, but a significantly greater amount to books and reading.

Indeed the year opened with book reviews. Two columns concluded the account by Robert Edwin Peary, the American naval officer who was ultimately to be first to the North Pole, of one of his preliminary expeditions, from his book *Northward over the Great Ice.*\(^{19}\) Then, having for two chats dealt with the poetry of the Victorian non-great Walter Savage Landor, he moved on to devote the whole of February to the travels of Dr Sven Hedin *Through Asia*, in particular through the Pamir mountains, an area of fascination to James Jeffery through which Russia had mounted her challenge to British India.\(^{20}\)

In April Pater was posing the question "What is a gentleman," some answers to which he had found in the life of Henry Drummond, the widely travelled Scottish evangelical theologian who had attempted to reconcile Christianity and Darwinism. This would have made his writings of interest to Jeffery, given the degree of scepticism his presidential address of 1896 had indicated.\(^{21}\) In May he was recommending with discrimination and prescience, *The Cruise of the Cachalot*, a book by the ex sailor, Frank Thomas Bullen, which had been published the year before and was destined to become a classic addition to sea literature.\(^{22}\)

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\(^{19}\) OW/PC 29 December 1898, 5/12 January 1899

\(^{20}\) OW/PC 2-23 February 1899. Hedin travelled constantly from his post at the Swedish-Norwegian embassy in Persia from 1890 to 1908, producing the first detailed map of Tibet. Pater notes that the book cost just twice as much in New Zealand as it did at Home.

\(^{21}\) OW/PC 6 April 1899.

\(^{22}\) OW/PC 4 and 11 May 1899. Bullen had been a sailor until 1883
He followed with one of his periodic "suggestions for a cheap library," pointing out that Shakespeare could be obtained complete for 1/- or 1/6d, Milton for 6 pence, and Waverley novels for 6 pence each.\textsuperscript{23} He bemoaned the fact that "parents do not recognise the value of books more than they do," begrudging 2/6d for a book when a pound of tobacco cost six shillings and a bottle of whisky five. He went on to say that manhood and womanhood suffrage might have arrived, but if they had come to a rising nation of non-readers they had come before their time. Then more "modern" books were suggested, although the first of these, Kingsley's \textit{Westward Ho} and \textit{Hereward the Wake}, George Eliot's \textit{Scenes from Clerical Life}, the Alice, and the Jules Verne books, all date from the 1850s, 60s and 70s. Still, in recommending the Sherlock Holmes books of Conan Doyle, Stevenson's \textit{Treasure Island} and \textit{Kidnapped}, Rider Haggard's \textit{King Solomon's Mines}, and Barrie's \textit{Window in Thrums} he at least made it through to the 1880s and 1890s. A final recommendation was the suitably imperial and patriotic non-fiction book, \textit{With Kitchener to Khartoum} by G.W. Steevens, which he had reviewed back in April as one of "a very few books so picturesquely written," published at 6/- and one which his readers must "buy, beg or borrow."\textsuperscript{24} Again with an eye to economy, he warned his readers away from \textit{A Prisoner of Khaleefa} by insisting that Baron von Slatin's \textit{Fire and Sword in the Soudan} was cheaper and better.\textsuperscript{25}

On educational matters the columns of 1899 are virtually silent. He wrote about examination howlers, and several times on cricket, in the course of which he said he liked to see schoolboys playing cricket every afternoon after school, reiterating his opposition to more than five hours of schooling.\textsuperscript{26} His consideration of what weather reports might teach straddled the boundary with the science category. He also celebrated fifty years of telegraphy, and spoke of liquid air.\textsuperscript{27}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{23} OW/PC 18 May 1899
\textsuperscript{24} OW/PC 27 April 1899. Jeffery recommended this book in columns several more times, and purchased it as a class reader for the school [ABSC/ Minutes 9 June 1899] His own Nelson's edition of this book, now in WEJeffery's bookshelves, is crammed with February 1910 cuttings from ODT about Kitchener's visit to Dunedin, pasted in along with his chat about it from the \textit{Witness} and his stand pass to the review of cadets.
\textsuperscript{25} OW/PC 14 December 1899. Baron Rudolf Carl von Slatin was an Austrian soldier in British service under Gordon and others.
\textsuperscript{26} OW/PC 2and16 March, 11 May, 28 September 1899
\textsuperscript{27} OW/PC 13 April, 15 and 29 June, 13 July, 26 October 1899
\end{flushleft}
national political issue, the old age pension controversy. Having acknowledged that he was "largely at variance with the Premier" in political matters, he was nevertheless in favour of the pension, and indeed felt that as proposed it did not go far enough.\textsuperscript{28} He commented that he was afraid he himself would be too blunt a speaker for electioneering, his 1896 presidential address and superannuation utterances suggesting that this was indeed the case. He concluded by showing his opposition to the trend to organised political parties by giving it as his opinion that "electors want measures, not men, whereas men, not measures ought to be their study." In June he returned to political matters with a chat on party government in contrast with the Swiss system of referenda, coming down firmly in favour of that and against party government again.\textsuperscript{29} The bitter controversy about prohibition was still raging and Pater from his abstainer's stance attempted to explain that he was not a prohibitionist in the ordinary sense, but rather against the evils of the liquor trade.\textsuperscript{30}

He had picked up on the Fashoda crisis with France on the Nile, and had not forgotten to keep an eye on the British and Russian rivalry in the east.\textsuperscript{31} Nor did he let the "disquieting schemings" of the Germans about Samoa slip by unnoticed.\textsuperscript{32} The defence against these threats was, as ever, vigilance and patriotic duty, and Pater offered firstly chats on Rudyard Kipling, quoting his \textit{Flag of England} and \textit{Recessional}, secondly an account of how a school "not 100 miles from Dunedin" had kept St George's Day "right royally," and lastly the millenary of that defender of English independence, King Alfred, to be celebrated in 1901.\textsuperscript{33} He later recommended that Alfred Thayer Mahan's \textit{Life of Lord Nelson} and a life of Lord Roberts of Kandahar should be in any boy's library, along with J.A. Froude's \textit{Elizabethan Seaman}.\textsuperscript{34} But the future must be looked to as well. Developments in Australia raised the question of wider federation, and Jeffery indicated that he was in favour of an Australasian federation, even perhaps the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{28} OW/PC 9 March 1899
\item \textsuperscript{29} OW/PC 1 June 1899
\item \textsuperscript{30} OW/PC 6 July 1899
\item \textsuperscript{31} OW/PC 18 May and 22 June; 25 May 1899
\item \textsuperscript{32} OW/PC 20 April 1899
\item \textsuperscript{33} OW/PC 25/30 March; 27 April; 4 May 1899
\item \textsuperscript{34} OW/PC 10 August and 12 October 1899
\end{itemize}
Anglo-American one suggested by a correspondent, for it was federation or isolation in Pater's view.\textsuperscript{35} Certainly 20 June 1899 was seen as being a red letter day for Australia as they moved to the polls on their domestic federation question.

But the dominant issue of this year and the next emerged in July, when Pater followed the discussion of federation with a consideration of the situation in the Transvaal.\textsuperscript{36} Times were critical there, he wrote, for the question was whether South Africa was to be controlled by Boer or Briton, and if the British did not treat the natives kindly, the Boers were even worse. Olive Schreiner, previously commended for her \textit{Story of an African Farm}, now came out with a vindication of the Boers, and there was a page of cables in every \textit{Otago Witness}, including ones reporting the massing of German armaments.\textsuperscript{37} Pater's column went on to consider Australian naval pioneers, whether the Pacific was becoming a Yankee sea, Egyptian history in the nineteenth century, developments in Morocco, and the Dreyfus case, entering yet another phase in France.\textsuperscript{38} But matters were coming to a head in South Africa, and it was there attention turned for the latter part of the year.

Pater commended the \textit{Witness} on 5 October for the map of the Transvaal it had produced, going on to write about the Orange Free State, whose public support for Transvaal on 27 September had been the trigger for the Boer ultimatum that expired on 9 October.\textsuperscript{39} Seddon had yet again offered military assistance, which this time had been accepted on 7 October, so that by the time war was declared by Britain on 11 October Auckland and Canterbury detachments were already embarked for Wellington.\textsuperscript{40} By 19 October's column, under the heading of "The Crimson Thread of Kinship," Pater was reporting that he had been one of two to three thousand at the Garrison Hall who had seen off the first Otago contingent.\textsuperscript{41} But he was not at all pleased about the manner in which the farewell was conducted. There was no guard

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item\textsuperscript{35} OW/PC 23 February, 9 March, 6/13 July, 17 August 1899
\item\textsuperscript{36} OW/PC 6 July 1899
\item\textsuperscript{37} OW/PC 27 Jul and 7 September 1899
\item\textsuperscript{38} OW/PC 24/31 August; 14- 28 September 1899
\item\textsuperscript{39} OW/PC 5 October 1899
\item\textsuperscript{40} Burdon p218
\item\textsuperscript{41} OW/PC 19 October 1899
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
of honour, and no band. He was not proud of Dunedin on this occasion, and it had been done better in the north. However, he pitied the obstinate and narrow Boer now that war had been declared.

In the next column he was talking of "The War," and the ethics of war, while the following week he was using the story of heroism in the defence of Chitral in India in 1895 to encourage a fortitude with which to bear the war casualties which were already being reported.\footnote{144} He was also encouraging his readers to keep cuttings about the war from the newspapers, and asking "What's in a Flag," to which he returned the next week with a chat on the origin of both the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes.

He was attacked by a correspondent about his inconsistency over the Boers, a reference to his castigation of the motives of Dr Jameson and his companions at the time of his infamous "raid" back in 1895, where he maintained they were "working for personal aggrandisement, and therefore ... not trusted by the majority."\footnote{43} But he could also point to a column from the past, one of several, where he had spoken of the outrageous behaviour of the Boer "whose religion is bloodshed and whose rifle is his companion."\footnote{44} So now he wrote a column on why New Zealanders were fighting the Boers which was as firmly pro British as any true patriot could have wished.\footnote{45}

Pater has to be placed along with the large and noisy section of the British public whose "swaggering aggressiveness" had grown markedly worse after Omdurman and whose call for Boer blood had, in the view of R.C.K. Ensor, convinced the Boers to attack in order to defend themselves.\footnote{46} But his and their imperial arrogance was as quickly punctured by the initial reverses of the Transvaal campaign. The year ended with Pater recounting some of these setbacks, writing with mounting fury that Buller should have long retired, and that the British government should be pilloried.

Imperial myths were badly dented. His themes for coming years

\footnote{144} OW/PC 26 October and 2 November 1899
\footnote{43} OW/PC 4 June 1896
\footnote{44} OW/PC 27 February 1894
\footnote{45} OW/PC 23 November 1899
were well established.

The table and graph details for the year 1909, a decade on, round out this overview of “Pater’s Chats with the Boys” from 1888 through to 1914. They show that his treatment of the United Kingdom events of 1909 which raised major constitutional storms give a somewhat unbalanced and untypical indication of Pater’s usual level of interest in things political, and also account for the heavier interest in British history in that year. An unusual taking-up of Shakespeare and literature in July and August overinflates the language category, but the science and education categories have returned to previous levels following the opening of the “Magister” column with its emphasis in these fields. However, the most notable feature is the extent to which the column had become a platform for the discussion of “Issues” more than “Events.” The two categories have neatly changed places as to the number of topics from each which are taken up, so that now “Issues” stands at 40% and “Events” at 25%.

The trend towards more “proselytizing pedagoguery” was set to continue.

II. JAMES JEFFERY AND THE WORLD

What does all this mass of writing reveal about the way James Jeffery saw the world, and to what extent was his view idiosyncratic or typical? These are the questions which must now be explored by looking at what he had to say on a number of key issues of the times.

Economics

At an early stage in the life of the column Pater was bold enough to use the word “socialist” in a heading to introduce the ideas of the
now obscure and forgotten H.H. Champion, then in Melbourne.\textsuperscript{47} He was quick to disclaim any wish to make his readers into socialists "as the word is generally understood," but this was one chat in a series towards the end of 1890, the year of that great watershed election when the Liberals ended the run of conservative governments of the depression-ridden 1880s. It was a time of debate in which there were many radical ideas afloat.

Pater wrote about trade unions and cooperatives back in July, listing thirteen disadvantages in promoting the former, rather contradicting his statement the previous year that "I think they are a positive gain."\textsuperscript{48} He had been asked to counterbalance the newspaper coverage which had only dealt with the advantages, and he came back again and again to cooperatives over the next months, dealing with the topic in the context of a wider discussion of economic matters covering trusts, combines, corners, syndicates, pools, and bounties, along with participation in profits.\textsuperscript{49} Since the advent of machinery, and in "this age of the working man" proclaimed by Gladstone, the complaint was that profits had not been equally divided, "and often enough with reason," wrote Pater.\textsuperscript{50} The question of trade union strikes could not be avoided, so the current one affecting the Union Steamship company was referred to, and essays invited on "what influence strikes have on the moral character of those engaged in them."\textsuperscript{51} He was to return to economic matters in 1893 when he presented a series of chats on what he termed "The Currency Question," canvassing money, coinage, barter, and the "bimetallism" which farmers supported but which he did not believe viable.\textsuperscript{52}

He maintained his interest in and support of cooperatives, returning to a discussion of them in conjunction with trade unions and trusts in 1903, for instance.\textsuperscript{53} But, truth to tell, his interest in things economic was never as intense again, and he turned his attention to advocating preferential trade for the purposes of

\textsuperscript{47} OW/PC 11 September 1890
\textsuperscript{48} OW/PC 12 September 1889 and 24 July 1890
\textsuperscript{49} OW/PC 31 July, 14-28 August and 4 September, 1890
\textsuperscript{50} OW/PC 7 August 1890
\textsuperscript{51} OW/PC 4 September, 2 October 1890
\textsuperscript{52} OW/PC 9 and 23 February 2/9 March, 11May - 8 June 1893
\textsuperscript{53} OW/PC 8 April 1903
strengthening imperial links along the lines proposed by Joseph Chamberlain. The conversion from free trade was during the Boer War's unsatisfactory stages in September 1900.\textsuperscript{54} By 1903 preferential trade was being directly and strongly advocated.\textsuperscript{55}

Socialism still attracted his notice and comment. He must have often had to wear the label as a criticism of his ideas, although he rejected it. In the early days of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom he wrote about John Burns' ideas dismissively - "the economics they possess is very crude and the discontent is not always 'healthy'."\textsuperscript{56} But, on the other hand, in June 1906 he reviewed the newly published muck-raking book on Chicago meat-packing houses by Upton Sinclair, \textit{The Jungle}.\textsuperscript{57} He expressed himself impatient at the critics, and went on to say that although he was not going to preach socialism, "I am simply going to state that our competitive system and want of Christianity ... has caused and is causing many to seek reform by methods which seem absurd and many laugh at."\textsuperscript{58} He maintained that he never laughed at earnest people because reforms had always been carried through by enthusiasts. The Chartists had been called fools but all of their programme except annual parliaments had been brought in. He spoke with some support of what he had heard the "Yarrowbankers" in Melbourne advocating - peace, opposition to militarism and imperialism, unimproved land tax, the eight-hour bill, just wages, old age pensions, free education.\textsuperscript{59}

Industrial unrest continued to concern him and early in 1912 he was writing that it was seething throughout the industrial nations of the world. Without personally favouring either side he believed that history proved, as he had pointed out years ago, that there could not be peace as long as there was labour on one side and capital on the other in direct antagonism.\textsuperscript{60} But then of course, he said, industrial conciliation was effective only if labour was winning, which was not

\textsuperscript{54} OW/PC 12 September 1900
\textsuperscript{55} OW/PC 9 and 30 September, 21 October, 18 November 1903
\textsuperscript{56} OW/PC 19 February 1893
\textsuperscript{57} OW/PC 6/13 June 1906
\textsuperscript{58} OW/PC 20 June 1906
\textsuperscript{59} "Yarrowbankers" [sic] used unoccupied land along the Yarra River in Melbourne as a kind of Hyde Park Speakers' Corner. Jefferd had been in Melbourne over the 1905 Christmas period.
\textsuperscript{60} OW/PC 14 February 1912
saying anything against labour, but merely stating a fact. The January chats on Lord Shaftesbury and the Factory Acts showed just what the factory system had been like.\footnote{OW/PC 3-24 January 1912} In March he was considering two specific strikes, and deciding that sometimes they were indeed justifiable - not in the Queensland case, but certainly in the case of the coal strike in Britain, for there could be no industry if an adequate minimum wage could not be paid.\footnote{OW/PC 13-17 March 1912} But when the strikes were directly to hand, as they were in 1913 waterfront dispute - the "industrial upheaval in the dominion" - there was scarcely a comment except quite obliquely in a column reviewing a book entitled " Syndicalist Utopia" with a foreword by Tom Mann of the 1889 Dockers' Strike.\footnote{OW/PC 12/19 November 1913}

**Politics**

It was the function of the column as first conceived to deal predominantly with overseas cable news, so that New Zealand political affairs were not discussed with great freedom or at great length. However, there are sufficient passing references for us to build up some idea of how James Jeffery viewed politics in general, and some political issues in particular.

He was not a great democrat. In the course of his 1890 series about economics he slipped in his firm belief about the franchise - that one-man-one-vote should have followed the education of the masses and not come before it.\footnote{OW/PC 20 October 1890} The attempt at a mock election that year was not a success and the general election results did not please him at all. He was sorry to see Allen "turned adrift" and "it was a disgrace to the electors of Dunedin that such men as Fish and Dawson should be elected."\footnote{OW/PC 11 December 1890} This was about the last direct New Zealand electoral comment he made in the long history of his column, but it is revealing. James Allen was a conservative who had sat for a term from 1887 for
Dunedin East, having defeated none other than Stout. Henry Smith Fish and William Dawson were supported by the Otago Trades and Labour Council as Liberals and were returned for Dunedin South and Caversham respectively. Jeffery apparently was not a Liberal and party government man, and the 1890 election results confirmed in him these predilections. At the time of the 1896 elections he gave over three December chats to the elections, but he confined himself to talking about the hours he had spent among the crowds in Dowling and Princes streets as “cliques and knots of electors favouring this [candidate] or that voiced their opinions.”

Such comment as he makes about this time seems to indicate that the political issue he was most personally concerned with was prohibition. He himself was an “abstainer” but “not a prohibitionist in the ordinary sense,” opposing the evils of the liquor trade, “not that a man drinks a glass of ale.” He had rejected a letter on the matter in 1891 as too “preachy,” but in 1893 he wrote about the “liquor traffic,” commenting on the large prohibition vote in Otago in 1894 and about the bitter controversy raging in 1899.

It was a combination of interest in this “single issue” and a philosophical objection to party government that led Jeffery to advocate over a long period the advantages of the referendum as practised by the Swiss. He first raised it back in 1890, and continued to propose it, often at a time when the franchise in general was under discussion. It came up in the context of women’s franchise in 1891 and 1894, about which issue he was lukewarm at best, although his wife Annie’s name appeared on the great petition. He was prepared to concede at least that women could study as hard and as successfully as men.

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67 AH McLintock, The History of Otago: the origins and growth of a Wakefield class settlement, Otago Centennial Historical Publications 1949 p731
68 OW/PC 3-21 December 1896
69 OW/PC 21 November 1895 and 19 November 1902
70 OW/PC 19 November 1891
71 OW/PC 30 March 1893; 5 April 1894; 6 July 1899
72 OW/PC 12 June 1890
73 OW/PC 17 September, 1 and 29 October 1891; 4/11 January, 6 September 1894.
74 OW/PC 25 January 1894
It was in 1896 that he most closely argued the balloting process, pointing out that there had been 104,000 votes cast in favour of successful candidates in the local area but 114,000 against them, and in fully 23 electorates there were more than double the candidates required.75 "Now that should not be in a democracy," he wrote, advocating the German system which reduced the numbers on the ballot.

At the same time he was saying that party government should give place as far as possible to referenda, because "recent events only confirm me in my dislike for party government." This followed comments in September 1894 that "our Parliament is doing a bit of blind plunging," and in November 1895 that, although he did not often comment on parliamentary matters, he felt parliament were "puppets dancing to a tune piped by King Richard."76 Of course fellow Otago Education Institute member Robert Stout’s inheritance from Ballance had been usurped by the rambunctious Richard John Seddon, the ex-publican from the West Coast. Seddon had also masterminded the passing of the 1895 Licensing Act which in his own words neither pleased the trade nor the extreme prohibitionists, but had the effect of putting licensing off the political agenda for many years to come.77 The Liberal victory of 1896, in the aftermath of which Pater wrote, confirmed Seddon in power and dashed the last of the prohibitionist hopes.

The basis of a chat in October 1895 had been that party squabbling had led to the overthrow of the Liberal government in Britain, and we have already noted his 1899 comment that electors should be voting for candidates and not for policies. He returned to the anti-party theme late in that year.78 As he himself became involved in national politics through the superannuation rumpus he made comments in his column about attending debates in the House, listening to "the dreariest drivel" in July 1903 from a seat in the Speaker’s Gallery.79

75 OW/PC 21 December 1896
76 OW/PC 27 November 1894 and 14 November 1894
77 Burdon p123
78 OW/PC 3 October 1895, 9 March 1899 and 14 December 1899
79 OW/PC 29 July 1903 and 2 August 1905
His agreement with Seddon over old age pensions was noted as an aberration from their usual "variance," and his antipathy to the premier continued. In 1901 he was writing that Seddon took "too much importance to himself," while the next year there was the somewhat forlorn prognostication that he was "afraid our Premier will have to fall one of these days." When Seddon died in 1906 he duly received a column comment under the banner "the Passing of an Empire Builder," but the bulk of what was said reflected Pater's concern that the ministry did not have a wide enough view and was "too trusting of nations waging a deadly industrial war."

Racism

One of the most difficult things to come to terms with a hundred years on is the overt, indeed proud, racism in James Jeffery's writings. His was not an aberrant view. "[The white races] were the most civilised, enterprising and intellectual of the three great types of man, and possessed for the most part a pure and enobling religious faith," a school text book proclaimed, supporting McGeorge's contention that to the Victorian the white race was best and best on all counts. Malone points out that the statement in the *New Zealand School Journal* that "Britons have carried Christianity and civilisation to all ends of the earth, redeeming from barbarism many of its dark places," was merely one of the assertions of British moral superiority made regularly over the years. From the same publication Jenkins quotes Lord Meath's 1914 Empire Day comment that "we are educating the coloured races, and, as they become educated and worthy of government, we give them that government".

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60 OW/PC 9 March 1899
61 OW/PC 13 February 1901 and 12 February 1902
62 OW/PC 27 June 1906
63 McGeorge p373, quoting from *Longman's Primary Physical Geography Series Book V* p103
Back in 1896 Pater had been informing his readers of the cruelty, infanticide and contempt for women, along with the filial piety, of the Chinaman, but in 1898 he thought there was no real fear of the “Yellow Agony” for “John Chinaman is wanting in originality” and “must go down before the superior civilisation and religion of the West.” In February 1908 Pater was exercised by the possibility that when the “natives of China, India and Japan feel their strength” it would be unreasonable to expect them to keep to their own crowded shores while Australia remained largely unoccupied. The map showed that the white man owned large areas “which he says that no yellow or brown shall inhabit.” But excluding Asians was for the three reasons adduced by Archibald R Colquhon F.R.G.S.: the moral one, in that they were inferior civilisations; the patriotic one that they would swamp the whites; and the economic one that the democratic opposition to the landed and wealthy classes required the raising of wages and therefore the exclusion of cheap labour. However, the victory of the Japanese over the Russians raised the question of whether the white races could successfully oppose the coloureds. Colquhon was of the opinion that if the whites did not mend their ways, especially the socialists who talked antimilitarism, the East would soon be able to defy them.

But if much of this contempt for the coloured races was shared with his contemporaries, Pater carried it further by extending the strictures to all non-English nations and races. To Pater it was always clear that the Anglo Saxon “race” ought to rule the world, but would it? Even the co-inhabitants of the British Isles were looked at askance. He was in trouble with a reader in 1902 for reviewing a book called The Unspeakable Scot, even although he did not recommend its purchase. Another accused him of “sinister historical bias” when all he was doing was to forewarn that the Scots might move into rebellion.

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86 OW/PC 26 March 1896
87 OW/PC 13 October 1898
88 OW/PC 29 March 1905
89 OW/PC 19 February 1908
90 OW/PC 26 June 1901
91 OW/PC 8 October 1902
like the Boers.\textsuperscript{92} The Irish were almost continually in that state, and in the final stages of the column were dismissed with the comment that "any class ... that murders its way to get what it wants is unfitted to have power."\textsuperscript{93}

As to others, the Boer was a class of man typified by Kruger, coarse, uncultivated, brusque, contemptuous of England, not worth wasting ink over.\textsuperscript{94} The crowning of the Czar was a "barbaric ceremony," and the Germans were increasingly hysterically to be distrusted.\textsuperscript{95}

\section*{Patriotism}

Patriot was a label which James Jeffery was proud to wear all his life. From the very beginning he was quick to respond to perceived threats to British interests, the first being German influence in Samoa in November 1888. "You will - if you are a patriotic young New Zealander believing that New Zealand is to be a grand nation in the future - feel annoyed that the British Government did not allow us to take possession [of Samoa] when we wanted to," he wrote.\textsuperscript{96}

His chat in 1893 on "A True Citizen and Patriot" spoke of the necessities of private duty, citizenship and patriotism, and he was constantly returning to these themes.\textsuperscript{97} When the Dean of Canterbury cathedral, F.W. Farrar,\textsuperscript{98} preached a sermon on the destiny of England at the time of his elevation in 1895, Pater seized on his suggestion that Britain and its colonial offshoots should rule the world and spread Christianity.\textsuperscript{99} A little later he was bemoaning the fact that "the younger generation do [sic] not know as much history from a patriotic

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{92} OW/PC 3 June 1908
\textsuperscript{93} OW/PC 3 May 1921
\textsuperscript{94} OW/PC 19 July 1894
\textsuperscript{95} OW/PC 11 June 1896
\textsuperscript{96} OW/PC 2 November 1888
\textsuperscript{97} OW/PC 27 July 1893
\textsuperscript{98} Frederick William Farrar had been chaplain to Queen Victoria and wrote the best-selling school story, \textit{Eric, or Little by Little}
\textsuperscript{99} OW/PC 10 October 1895.
\end{flushleft}
point of view, as the French, Germans, Italians and Yankees." At the end of 1896 he was reminiscing about the "Jingo song" which he remembered was prevalent 20 years before and over which the audience at one meeting he had attended "almost went frantic."

In 1897 he seized upon a letter by a James Abernethy in the Otago Daily Times asking for Pater's support, and getting it, for his suggestion that the children should assemble and sing "God Save the Queen" and wave flags on the Queen's Birthday, 24 May. Pater went on to describe a "school near Dunedin" where the Union Jack was hung on the walls of the rooms - "framed, not pasted" - with coloured diagrams explaining its components. The next year he thought that parliament should provide schools with flags, and then wondered a little incongruously if he was being a little bellicose! In 1901 he was claiming that he had been "instrumental in getting a flag for one of our schools, long before it became the fashion - indeed I think I pioneered the movement in New Zealand." Perhaps he had forgotten that it was his committee-man, C.S. Owen, who in 1894 had persuaded the senior classes to promise one penny a week, and that it required the 1897 Diamond Jubilee to produce a national flag, a red ensign and a flagpole.

By 1907 and the arrival of Dominion Day to join Empire Day he was no longer ahead of the field. The change in national attitude had been wrought by the chequered course of the Boer War. In 1890 Pater had reminded readers of Boer outrages since 1877, and he had complained in 1897 that Britain's vacillating policy was merely encouraging them. When hostilities began he was avid for news and eager to comment, mostly condemnatorily. We have noted the tenor of

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100 OW/PC 17 September 1896
101 OW/PC 31 December 1896. He quoted some of the lines from memory: We don't want to fight, but, by Jingo! if we do, We have the ships, we have the men, we have the money too. We've fought the Bear before, and while we're Britons true The Russians shall not have Constantinople
102 OW/PC 10 June 1897. He also commented that the walls were sadly in need of distempering, but covered with pictures.
103 OW/PC 10 November 1898
104 OW/PC 11 December 1901
105 ABSC 27 April 1894 and 3 June 1897. The unfurling took place at 10 am on Trafalgar Day, 21 October, with a bonfire at 7 pm.
106 OW/PC 16 January, 27 February, 6 March
107 OW/PC 11 February 1897
these criticisms in the 1899 columns, and this pattern continued in
1900, but it might be pointed out that he was as unrealistic in his
expectations of swift victory as the unwashed, given the initial figures
of a force of 50,000 mounted infantry on the Boer side against a mere
14,750 British troops.\textsuperscript{108} To Pater it was a case of the population of a
single city holding the Empire at bay for twelve months, of having to
accept colonial troops, of “incapables retained in command through
aristocratic and plutocratic influences,” of refusal to face conscription,
and the appearance of more numerous enemies.\textsuperscript{109} The solution? A
standing army for the Empire of a quarter of a million.

James Jeffery revelled in the patriotic atmosphere which the war
generated within New Zealand, and in the rein given to expressions of
loyalty. At a “patriotic meeting” at Andersons Bay reported in the
\textit{Otago Witness} along with eight pages of war news - “Buller Forced to
Retire” - the schoolroom was filled and John White of the school
committee occupied the chair.\textsuperscript{110} Before the meeting began £12 had
been promised. Proceedings opened with the National Anthem,
followed by the songs \textit{British Lion} and \textit{Soldiers of the Queen}, a short
speech by the local doctor, and recitations, including Kipling’s \textit{Fuzzy-
wuzzy} greeted by a fusilade of coins, 30 shillings being picked up.
When \textit{Sons of the Sea} was to be sung and a volunteer asked for “Mr J.
Jeffery filled the breach and the audience lent vigorous assistance.”\textsuperscript{111}
The Rev. Andrew Cameron spoke of “lessons” to be drawn, a committee
consisting of Miss Somerville and Messrs Somerville, Wilson, White
and Jeffery was elected, the horse the district was providing was named
“Cintra,” the proceedings concluded with \textit{Rule Britannia}, and in all
£60.16s.1d was raised.

Andrew Cameron’s speech had been about the shortcomings of
the mother country, and the war shocked all out of any complacency

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{108} Ensor p251
\item \textsuperscript{109} OW/PC 3 October 1900
\item \textsuperscript{110} OW 15 February 1900
\item \textsuperscript{111} The sentiments of the words of the chorus were such as Jeffery would have thoroughly
approved of and sung with complete conviction:
\begin{quote}
Sons of the sea, all British born,
Sailing every ocean, laughing foes to scorn.
They may build the ships, me lads,
And think they know the game,
But they can’t build the boys of the bulldog breed
Who made Old England’s name.
\end{quote}
\end{itemize}
they may have had about British superiority. The nation was roused to its danger and duties, and the celebrating of Empire Days became something of a vogue, albeit rather half-hearted and short-lived.\textsuperscript{112}

But James Jeffery had long been expressing concerns about Britain's power and position and discussing the solutions which were proposed. The first, the maintenance of her naval supremacy, he supported without qualification, setting his ideas out most fully in 1894. He pointed out that there had been several articles in magazines such as \textit{Fortnightly} and \textit{Nineteenth Century} about the determination of autocratic Russia and democratic France to weaken the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, the effect of which would be to "reduce Great Britain to the position of a second-rate Holland."\textsuperscript{113} He talked about the anti-British feeling running high in France and the giant strides being made by both France and Russia in fleet building - "the mercurial Frenchman and the surly Muscovite." Russian and French movements were being made in Asia in an open display of power, and Russia was showing her contempt for the Treaty of Paris with her ironclads in the Mediterranean. A trial of strength was impending or intended and Gladstone was "not the statesman to grapple with unquiet times abroad," being averse to a stronger navy. Naval power had saved Egypt and India from Napoleon, whereas Spain and Holland had lost all when they lost command of the seas. He surveyed the line-up of naval power in the Mediterranean centred in Gibraltar and Malta; it was a black picture. The magazine writers had said the British public was apathetic, dreaming, asleep, but Pater hoped that they were mistaken for the blood of Vikings still coursed in British veins. The next chat insisted that the fleet was needed to protect her colonies, and details of the navies of the world were given later in the year.\textsuperscript{114}

These themes, and variations on them, he returned to time and again over the next years, becoming more and more insistent during the Anglo-German "naval race" of the early 1900s. In 1905 he was noting that the Navy League had been set up, with sub-branches in six

\textsuperscript{112} Keith Sinclair, \textit{A Destiny apart: New Zealand's search for national identity}, Allen and Unwin, Wellington 1986, p177
\textsuperscript{113} OW/PC 1/8 February 1894;
\textsuperscript{114} OW/PC 8 February 1894; 21/28 June 1894
schools, Andersons Bay unsurprisingly one of them. In 1906 Pater was saying that the headmaster of Andersons Bay school had received a proposal for exchanges between schools of the Empire in a "Children's Imperial Navy Guild." In 1907 he remarked that many schools had now developed quite a ceremonial, but he would hold a higher opinion of their patriotism if "in addition to saluting the flag, more was done in supporting the Navy League ... or in teaching of the growth and decay of nations." He concluded by quoting Kipling's *Lest we Forget*.

The next solution, for which his endorsement was qualified, was an "Imperial or Britannic Federation," where all the colonies would join the Mother Country in formal and strengthened bonds. Beloved of New Zealand politicians, supported by every premier from 1883 to 1912, it was nonetheless in Sinclair's words "a term with no single meaning." Pater had added this ingredient to his naval strength recipe in the 1894 chats, explaining why there should be a formal union. By 1897 he was talking in terms of a common citizenship and what that might mean, while in 1898 his purview had expanded to encompass the possibility of including America, the choice being federation or isolation, he believed. The federation taking place in his native Australia kept the idea to the forefront over the next three years.

In April 1900 Pater was berating New Zealand for its insular complacency and its seeking immediate commercial advantage without considering sentiment and kinship. Perhaps in sending a few hundred troops to South Africa we could be said to be waking up, and Joseph Ward might be talking of an Empire parliament, but the federation of the colonies into groups would have to precede such an arrangement. He was not against Britannic Federation, he was just

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115 OW/PC 26 April 1905
116 OW/PC 15 May 1907 with follow-ups on 22 and 29 June 1907
117 OW/PC 6/13 October 1892
118 Sinclair 1986 pp98-9
119 OW/PC 15 February 1894
120 OW/PC 3 June 1897
121 OW/PC 27 October and 3 November 1898 with correspondence on Anglo-American union 23 February 1899
122 OW/PC 17 August and 19 October 1899; 5 and 26 April, 24 May 1900
123 OW/PC 5 April 1900
able to see it in perspective, and he "did not like to see our Premier using our patriotism to further his own ends," actuated as that gentleman was by popularity and not by sincerity, as shown by his refusal to provide the funds for the troops out of colonial revenues. More should be done to defend the colony with modern weapons and overcome the shortage of efficient officers.

Given Pater's paternalism and inherent racism, imperial union was, of course, confined as a concept to the "white" dominions. When it was apparent that support was small he transferred his enthusiasms to preferential trade along Chamberlainian lines, his most concentrated advocacy of which surfaced in 1903.\textsuperscript{124}

**The German Menace**

As the early twentieth century rolled on, Pater's concerns, forebodings, and suspicions about threats to Britain and Empire began to concentrate more and more on Germany. She had always figured as one of the challenging powers, but her danger to British interests intensified remarkably in James Jeffery's eyes. Figure 8 shows, albeit crudely, how dramatically the mentions in the columns multiplied, from not much more than one or so a year during the 1890s to three and then five. In the early years Russia was still the main concern, and Germany was included alongside her as one of the "coming nations,"\textsuperscript{125} or as a provoker of general European tensions.\textsuperscript{126} The Kiel Canal construction, von Moltke and the Army, patriotism, colonies in Africa, naval building, the supply of arms to the Boers were all canvassed over the years.

The first celebration of Empire Day was on 24 May 1903, but not as a public holiday, which counted against public enthusiasm for its celebration.\textsuperscript{127} But Jeffery was predictably enthusiastic and drew

\textsuperscript{124} OW/PC 13 May, 10 June, 9 and 30 September, 21 October, 18 November, 2 and 30 December 1903
\textsuperscript{125} OW/PC 26 June 1901, and 8 July 1908
\textsuperscript{126} OW/PC 18 July 1889, 17 August 1893, 23 November 1904
\textsuperscript{127} Sinclair 1986 p177. 24 May had been Queen Victoria's birthday.
attention with approval to Hogben's circular about the "Imperial and patriotic character of the day." "Amen," wrote Pater, but went on in the same chat to consider Great Britain and Russia. It required the amazing, and to Pater almost inconceivable, victory of Japan over Russia in 1905, to release him from his fixation about Russia to concentrate on the rising menace of Germany.

This he did forthwith. In July 1905 he was wondering if Holland might be "Germanised," and in May 1906 he was writing about Imperial Germany, its aggressive policy and the need for an Empire army and navy. In July 1906 he was in full flight. Perhaps some might think he was suffering from Germanophobia, he wrote, but "as one who thinks he is patriotic" he was afraid "that the majority of us do not realise what the definite aims of Germany are," and how they were being furthered by the uncertain policy of the British Government. There had been newspaper reports of a reduced naval vote despite agreement that Germany was determined to dominate the seas as she already dominated Europe. The Otago Daily Times, which was never hysterical, said Pater, had quoted Lord Avebury's saying that Germany could not be trusted. You only had to recall that Frederick the Great had stated that "the world is governed by skill and trickery." Germany had made ceaseless efforts to sow discord between her neighbours - between France and Belgium, between Russia and Poland. She was the strongest opponent of international arbitration and a most unwilling member of the Hague Peace Conference. Bismarck had said that she would pursue a world policy subsequent to the Franco-Prussian War and she had. The German press was saying unequivocally that she could not entertain the idea of disarmament, and announcements had been made that dreadnoughts would be built. Then there was the report in the Forthrightly Review of the impudent proposals of German publicists that readymade colonies should be wrested for her from Great Britain and France.

No one is keener to see the sword changed to a pruning hook than I am, but I am not going to weaken my armament until I see my rivals are going to parallel my action. I am not going to LEAD the way and so place myself in their power. ... I must study patriotism first and internationalism after.

120 OW/PC 19 July 1905, 28 February and 23 May 1906
120 OW/PC 4 July 1906
In November 1908 he was comparing the two schools of opinion "here and at Home" - that Germany had a fixed idea of crippling Britain's sea power or that she was "sublimely bland and innocent." Pater did not belong to either school, he maintained, but that did not prevent his thinking that there was a German menace. She was a rising nation, densely populated, with manufacturing industries that must have markets. She had already fought wars with Austria, Denmark and France, and what she had done in the past she could do again. Nations full of ambition and virility must compete with older and more decadent nations. Germany was more populous than the British Isles, she had a magnificent army and perhaps already naval equality. The British navy and army commanders were convinced of the menace and were making preparations; the King was busy making trips. In Morocco the attitude of Germany was decidedly ugly and would have been uglier if she had had the navy to challenge Britain and France.

From then on Pater wrote a succession of columns warning of dreadnought building, trade threats, and Krupp of Essen, "Germany's War Factory." In 1912 he reviewed What Germany Wants was a book by W.N. Willis which quoted Baron Marshal von Bieberstein as an authority, and also The German Empire and the Peace of the World by Alfred H Fried. "Germany Must Close with Britain" was the headline of one 1911. By 1913 his warnings had become baldly "Germany and the Next War," with the words of General Bernhardi as his proof.

The war itself would offer Jeffery new avenues of activity; the anti-Germanism became almost obsessive. His pre-war apologia came in early 1913 when a correspondent said that he had had enough of war and accused Pater of being bellicose. He insisted that he was not, but "I feel that there is a crisis imminent and that the British Empire is in danger of being tried by fire." And so it was.

120 OW/PC 4/11 November 1908
131 OW/PC 14 April 1909; 26 January 1910; 30 November 1910
132 OW/PC 11 and 25 December 1912
133 OW/PC 12 April 1911
134 OW/PC 8 January 1913
Shallow Judgement

A fortnight after the war broke out Pater was blaming the Kaiser and the Germans for it, and he was tackled about this by a correspondent who accused him of shallow judgement.\textsuperscript{135} That some of the statements he makes are far from "politically correct" now is, of course, quite beside the point. But if they were outrageously gung-ho and purblind in their contemporary setting they would be really embarrassing to descendants. As far as we can judge they were not. Indeed conventional is perhaps the term which we might more aptly and accurately apply to James Jeffery's views.

We can say this with some confidence because we have a corpus of writing which covers the final years of the section of the column surveyed here, and aimed at roughly the same audience - the senior two standards of the primary schools. The \textit{School Journal} appeared monthly from 1907 free to public schools, and the third of the three parts was for Standards 5 and 6.\textsuperscript{136} Malone is quite clear that it provided through its pages a deliberate programme of indoctrination in a pattern of concepts about the British Empire which he terms an imperialist ideology.\textsuperscript{137} He goes on to speak of a "well matured doctrine of not only the relationship of the individual to the state, but of member nations of the Empire towards the 'Mother Country'," which were in many respects as moral in character and dogma as any religious doctrine. Jenkins in his much earlier survey wrote of clear indoctrination and a highly emotional nationalism.\textsuperscript{138}

Jenkins also found a heavy emphasis on items he summarised as "King, War and Empire," setting his proportion of the contents of the \textit{Journal} given over to this category at 55% in 1911, as against the Malone analysis of 30%.\textsuperscript{139} Jenkins found the tone to be strongly national, Malone "strongly exhortatory."\textsuperscript{140} They found a diet of royal family biographies and their visits, battleship visits, the genesis and

\textsuperscript{135} OW/PC 7 October 1914
\textsuperscript{136} Ewing p124-5
\textsuperscript{137} Malone p12
\textsuperscript{138} Jenkins p 25
\textsuperscript{139} Jenkins p4; Malone p14
\textsuperscript{140} Jenkins p21; Malone p14
symbolism of flags, famous battles and British heroes, with special treatment reserved for Nelson. In line with the doctrine of racial superiority inculcated before the war, the British race was the only one mentioned, and Maoris played no part. There was an insistence on discipline, on thinking less about the rights and privileges of citizenship and more of punctuality, industriousness and loyalty to employers, of subordination of the individual to the needs of state and Empire. Malone notes that the moral concept of the Empire which was peddled was that it was founded on liberty and justice. The inference was that the reader should be prepared to sacrifice even life, but by implication only in the interests of the Empire - there was no room for humanity for humanity's sake.\textsuperscript{141} McGeorge asserts that the view of the time was that "war is a central feature of British history and true Britons are never found wanting when the drums beat and the flags fly." Openshaw finds in all of this a "romantic idealism" and a smug confidence in British military superiority and racial destiny which the South African War did not dampen.\textsuperscript{142} The Empire was a good thing and British rule would make the world a better place because British history was a long struggle to preserve ancient freedoms, which could then be exported through the growth of Empire - such is a further judgement of McGeorge's survey.\textsuperscript{143}

So James Jeffery writing his columns in the manner we have described was by no means out of step with his contemporaries. Indeed McGeorge finds that there was almost universal applause for efforts to inspire patriotism in school children, and Jeffery certainly did this.\textsuperscript{144} He did go further than the \textit{School Journal} under the "liberal imperialist" guidance of Hogben was allowed to venture.\textsuperscript{145} Jeffery defined exactly who the "enemies" were whereas an Empire Day message such as Lord Meath's in the June 1914 \textit{School Journal} only talked of struggling against nameless forces.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{141} Malone p14
\textsuperscript{142} McGeorge p341; Roger Openshaw, Patriotism and the primary school curriculum 1900-1930, \textit{Delta 24 June 1971}, Education Department, Massey University, p43
\textsuperscript{143} McGeorge p582
\textsuperscript{144} McGeorge p580
\textsuperscript{145} Malone p18 using Hogben biographer Roth's epithet
\textsuperscript{146} Malone p16
James Jeffery the newspaper columnist knew his mind and was given large freedom to speak it because his opinions meshed with those in authority, civic, educational and journalistic. We do not discover many radical departures from the conventional views of his time in what he wrote, but the record he left is none the less valuable for that. We are granted insight into the thinking of a very conventional Victorian teacher, who had a unique opportunity to take his teaching beyond the classroom and into the homes of many hundreds of young people over a very long period. And we can very reasonably claim that he equipped himself well for the task by reading widely and eclectically. He purchased books and journals for himself, for the Educational Institute of Otago and for the school. He borrowed them from the Athenaeum, on whose committee he sat, from the school and institute libraries which he ran, and from the booksellers to whom he was an habitue and who allowed him to browse shamelessly. Likewise he made sure he was a witness to any ceremonials of major importance in the city so that he could write of them first hand. All of which witnessed to that energy which he is purported to have had, for this was a prodigious labour. He churned out a column of a thousand words each week for thirty something years, and twice a week for twelve of them.

But it is not the time to label this Pater's column as his epitaph, because it has a further eight years to run in his control, and we have not spoken about James Jeffery as "Magister" at all.

147 OW/PC 23 June 1915
148 Including:
The Diamond Jubilee celebrations 1897 [OW/PC 1 July 1897]
The provincial 50th and 60th jubilees of March 1898 and 1908 [OW/PC 24/31 March 1898 and 25 March 1908]
The departure of the Otago contingent to the Boer War in 1899 [OW/PC 19 October 1899]
The children's demonstration for the Duke and Duchess of York [future George V] in 1901 [OW/PC 26 June and 3 July 1901]
Kitchener's inspection of cadets and scouts in 1910 [OW/PC 16 February 1910]
Baden-Powell's visit in 1912 [OW/PC 29 May 1912].
### Figure 4. PATER'S CHATS WITH THE BOYS - 1888 - 1922

Topics categories mentioned in columns over 5-year periods as numbers & percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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Figure 5. PATER'S CHATS WITH THE BOYS - 1889 - 1922
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Figure 6. PATER'S CHATS WITH THE BOYS - 1899

Topic categories mentioned in columns over three individual years a decade apart, compared with the other years 1888 - 1922.
Figure 7. PATER'S CHATS WITH THE BOYS - 1889, 1899, & 1909

Topic categories in columns in those individual years as percentages, compared with other years & the column as a whole.
Figure 8. PATER & THE GERMAN MENACE
The number of mentions of Germany in the columns in 5-year periods

Figure 8 - PATER & GERMAN MENACE
Number of mentions about Germany in Pater's Chats

- MENTIONS
A. COMMITTEEEMEN

While James Jeffery became a leader of the Education Institute of Otago and of the New Zealand Education Institute, and while he was pursuing and expanding his journalistic activities, his career as a journeyman primary school principal continued.

Of his relationship with his school committees he made a revealing comment in a column which he must have been penning in the very last days before he retired. At one level it is superficial, simplistic and hyperbolic, but, given the point at which it was written, it may well be a bitterly heartfelt survey of one of the most important relationships of his working life:

I have heard committee men complain that they have nothing to do but look after the cleaning of schools and outhouses. They have the opportunities to do a great deal if they wish. ... But let me emphasise a point: don’t ask the teacher to do this, that and the other, and then in the annual report say “the committee etc etc.” If the lion’s share of raising the money falls upon the teacher give him ... the pleasure of spending it.

Andersons Bay School Committees

The extant minutes of the Andersons Bay School Committee provide a record of the years from 1893, and are a counterpoint to the Otago Education Board records on the one hand and the inspectors’ reports on the other. Initially they are recorded in James Jeffery’s handwriting, for he acted as clerk to the committee until the meeting of 22 February 1901 when an education board memorandum forbidding a teacher to be the committee clerk came into effect. Until then they

1  OW/OPS 29 April 1914
2  ABSC Minutes 22 February 1901
are his minutes, and he also wrote the letters going in the committee's name to the Otago Education Board. From 1901 onwards the minutes become less expansive, less literate, and certainly often less grammatical. But they still recount the matters which came before the seven men elected by poorly attended annual meetings late in April each year. The complaint in the 1894 annual report that many parents were unacquainted with the teachers and that there were “miserable attendances at the householders' meetings” was singularly unsuccessful in ensuring a better turn out the next year - only 13 came - and in 1899 the number had declined to 10, while 1910's attendance of 31 was quite atypical. If a committee of seven and a schoolmaster are deducted the attendances of the general public were miserable indeed.

Some 25 men formed the committees for the twenty years of Jeffery's headmastership covered by the minutes, and included were some who gave impressive service to the school and the community: William Somerville, teacher from 1856, chief clerk of the Supreme Court, businessman, and session clerk of the Presbyterian church; Andrew Cameron, Presbyterian minister and chairman through to 1904; Adam Nichol, building contractor and committeeeman from 1877 to 1896; John White, solicitor, 25 years treasurer until he resigned in 1903, to be succeeded until 1908 by another long-serving stalwart through all these years, William Edward Macadam, a roading contractor. When Cameron resigned William George Lawless filled in as chairman for two years - a manufacturers' agent and importer, who, as a “Bay” resident only from 1902 to 1909, was the odd-man-out - unlike Charles Owen, secretary of the New Zealand Express Company, and the chairman from 1907 to 1909. The chairmanship then passed to Alex Youngson, a market gardener who had voluntarily given lessons in gardening to senior boys in the winters of 1908 and 1909. The other members of the committee were a changing amalgam of residents: a blacksmith, a carpenter, a commission agent, a builder, a manager, an insurance inspector, a marine engineer, a clerk, a coal dealer and a

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5 ABSC Minutes 23 April 1894, 26 April 1895, 24 April 1899, 25 April 1910
4 Somerville was a businessman with J Wilkie and Company in retirement, superintendent of the Sunday School for 30 years
6 He erected the original wooden manse.
5 Macadam was a large-scale roading contractor - what else with such a name! - His successor-son put the road through the Kawarau Gorge, a not inconsiderable engineering feat.
7 ABSC Minutes 8 May 1908 and 9 July 1909
couple of labourers. From 1910 there was a certain squaring of the circle when James Somerville, the son of William, became secretary and treasurer.  

With this rather disparate group James Jeffery seems to have been on generally good personal and professional terms, and he had their backing for schemes he proposed or supported. But he could and did run into problems. On the matter of the disciplinary regulations whose formulation he had been involved with, Jeffery was in the hottest water of his career with his committee. The precise details are tantalisingly unknowable, but this would seem to have been the incident which was referred to during the 1912 householders’ meeting when it was stated that in 20 years “there had been only one complaint of any sort. (Applause)” A slight exaggeration, for in 1893 a Mr Bone had written to the Otago Education Board complaining that his son had been “cruelly treated by the Head Teacher, Mr Jeffery, on the occasion of a recent concert,” occasioning an explicatory visit to the board by Messrs Cameron and Barmby, and a referral back to the school committee. And Jeffery had omitted, “due to an oversight,” to report the expulsion of one Vernie Hall to the committee in 1896, which had resulted in three special meetings before the matter was cleared away. Throughout that affair the committee had supported his action.

But at a special meeting at the schoolhouse on 5 November 1897, and recorded in chairman Andrew Cameron’s own hand, the committee received a letter of complaint from a Mr Hart, which he “supported” personally. Mr Jeffery was also “heard,” and the committee resolved:

> to call Mr Jeffery’s attention to the Board regulations regarding punishment, which the Committee expects to be observed. Further the Committee advises Mr Jeffery to refrain from inflicting corporal punishment for anything but a breach of school discipline. Copy of the above to be sent to Mr Hart.

---

6 James CH Somerville, salesman, later general manager of Coulls, Somerville Wilkie Ltd, and long-time chairman of the school committee.

6 ABSC Minutes 22 April 1912

10 OEB Minutes 16 August 1893; ABSC Minutes 15 August 1893

11 ABSC Minutes 28 November 1896, and 29 January, 1 February, 9 February 1897

12 ABSC Minutes of Special Meeting 5 November 1897
Whatever he had done, Jeffery had clearly transgressed quite badly on this occasion, and although it went no further, this reprimand by his neighbours and friends was unequivocal. Moreover, Mr Hart returned to the attack the next year when he accused Jeffery of not promoting his daughter, who had missed the examinations, although other girls had been promoted. This time the committee supported the head teacher to the hilt because the Hart girl, unlike the others, had not been present even half the time the school had been open.

Not until 1910 do the minutes record any further questioning of Jeffery's discipline. In that year the Kelly girls had not received "proper treatment" from the head teacher according to the father, but the chairman was deputed to convey the explanation which had convinced the committee. Likewise they backed the return of the expelled Harold Nicholson only if his behaviour was good, minuting their belief that "the parents were much to blame." This was also Jeffery's conviction, for in replying to the 1912 annual report's accolade about his proud record he thanked them for their "eulogistic remarks," going on to say that he had tried to maintain a strict standard of discipline which he thought had become too lax in homes, "resulting not infrequently in lawlessness."

So the record in handling disciplinary matters over the years confirms that the 1912 expression of satisfaction was pretty much justified.

"The cleaning of schools and outhouses"

This is not to gainsay that there were tensions. However, they did not rise over buildings because with the completion of the new school and the gymnasium there was not much even in the way of maintenance to create them.

13 ABSC Minutes 12 August 1898
14 ABSC Minutes 14 October 1898
15 ABSC Minutes 18 February 1910
16 ABSC Minutes 5 August 1910
17 ABSC Minutes 22 April 1912
With the school grounds there was levelling, and then asphaltling. Loads of excavated clay disappeared to Carisbrook, and the 1896 annual report pointed to the need for £60 for the asphaltling.\textsuperscript{18} The committee immediately requested an inspection and advice visit from the board's architect, and by November that year the board had approved the asphaltling on a subsidy basis.\textsuperscript{19} A further £12 subsidy was wrung out of the board in 1899, and in the 1904 report the committee could declare that "the grounds are now dry and comfortable in all weathers," which did not preclude their request for a further £132.10s.0d for asphaltling in 1909, a request only partially met.\textsuperscript{20}

The school committee, undoubtedly spurred on by Jeffery, backed by Owen in particular, set about a considerable programme of planting trees both prior to and in conjunction with the commencement of Arbor Day activities in Otago in August 1893.\textsuperscript{21} The trees, bought from donations raised from the children, were planted in March and July, and were joined by 40 macrocarpas and bulbs donated by Mr John Every at the initial August Arbor Day celebration. A further 40 native shrubs were planted by the children on the bank below the school. On Arbor Day 1894 upwards of 150 trees were planted between 3pm, when operations opened with an address by Andrew Cameron, and 5 o'clock.\textsuperscript{22}

But in 1895 the committee decided that there would be no planting for that year, and the 1898 report noted that enthusiasm for the measure had died down.\textsuperscript{23} Not Jeffery's. He made good his Pater exhortations in 1897 that teachers could give it more support now that the enthusiasm for Arbor Day of four or five years before had become a dead letter.\textsuperscript{24} Fifty trees were planted in 1898 on the new slope which the Andersons Bay Road Board had been cajoled over the years into

\textsuperscript{18} ABSC Minutes 28 July 1894 and 3 January 1895; Annual Report 1896
\textsuperscript{19} ABSC Minutes 27 April and 28 November 1896; OEB Minutes 20 May 1896
\textsuperscript{20} OEB Minutes 20 November 1899 and ABSC Minutes 9 February 1900; ABSC Report 1904; ABSC Minutes 12 February 1909
\textsuperscript{21} McGeorge p 234. The idea originated in Nebraska in 1872, the brain-child of Stirling Morton, Grover Cleveland's Secretary of the Interior. It was picked up in Victoria in 1890, and the first circular sent round NZ school's by the Department of Education in 1892
\textsuperscript{22} ABSC Minutes 29 June and 29 July 1894
\textsuperscript{23} ABSC Minutes 9 August 1895 and ABSC Report 1898
\textsuperscript{24} OW/PC 7 October 1897
creating below the school.\textsuperscript{25} This completed the planting programme at the school and the children were taken to the Cemetery Reserve on Arbor Day 1900.\textsuperscript{26}

The pejoratively symbolic “outhouses” of Jeffery’s 1914 parting comment were certainly matters of contention, for the committee waged a running battle with the board over the lavatories at their new school right from 1894 when they first declared them “not satisfactory.”\textsuperscript{27} They became more noisome from the end of 1896, and in July 1897 the “janitress” was instructed to flush them twice a week.\textsuperscript{28} In their 1898 report the committee congratulated themselves that there had been “a great and necessary improvement” wrought by the education board during the year in their provision of “self acting water closets,” but by the beginning of the next year they were insisting that the architect should come and see them because they were defective and had to be closed.\textsuperscript{29} The problem was defined as being the use of too fine sand, and the rectification of this and the use of hot soda water to scrub the urinals seems to have fixed the matter to their satisfaction.\textsuperscript{30} But not to the satisfaction of the Health Office. In September 1905 the Otago Education Board took in committee a report “alleging that the outhouses and drainage system at the Andersons Bay school were in an insanitary state.”\textsuperscript{31} Reports from both the committee and the board architect took “strong exception” to the statements, particularly as they had already undertaken to erect a concrete tank to carry water to the urinals.\textsuperscript{32} The board resolved to send these reports to the Health Office and at the same time to complete the works recommended by the architect.\textsuperscript{33}

Another tedious saga revolved around improvements to the

\textsuperscript{25} ABSC Minutes 9 June 1899
\textsuperscript{26} ABSC Minutes 13 July 1900. The only other mention Arbor Day is in 1911 when the Andersons Bay Town Board is thanked for a two guinea donation for trees. [ABSC Minutes 4 August 1911]
\textsuperscript{27} ABSC Minutes 28 July 1894
\textsuperscript{28} ABSC Minutes 9 July 1897
\textsuperscript{29} ABSC Reports 1898 and ABSC Minutes 27 January 1899
\textsuperscript{30} ABSC Minutes 17 February and 19 June 1899
\textsuperscript{31} OEB Minutes 20 September 1905
\textsuperscript{32} OEB Minutes 16 August 1905
\textsuperscript{33} Completed in November - OEB Building and Maintenance Manuscript Folio [OEB B/M]
schoolmaster’s residence. The matter was raised first in 1895 when the family had grown to four children with another on the way. The board turned down the request for additions and repairs, as they continued to do from January 1896 to July 1898 despite two deputations by Cameron and White.\textsuperscript{34} After the second the board decided that two extra rooms should be added at a cost of £120 but, no doubt due to the acute financial embarrassment of the board at the time, nothing in fact happened.\textsuperscript{35} At long last in 1900, after a five year campaign, and an increase in Jeffery’s family from four to six, the board agreed that the additions to the residence should proceed.\textsuperscript{36} Two days later a tender for £67.10s.0d was let to J. Hellyer.\textsuperscript{37} Round two was another five year campaign beginning in 1903 with plans to put the “Head Teacher’s residence in repaire at probible coste of £25.0.0 [sic].” Visiting board members finally agreed to this in November 1908; but even then the repairs were not completed until July 1909.\textsuperscript{38}

This compendium of minutiae, on subjects which collectively are “cleaning and outhouse”-ish, may be tedious, but it is also graphically illustrative of the frustrations with which committeemen, not to mention teachers, had to put up in dealing with an education board habitually strapped for cash. That there was no similar tale to tell about the school buildings is because the roll did not rise significantly or swiftly enough until 1910 to occasion a request for another room. The acute embarrassment that the roll rises caused at that time triggered another round of request and denial which doubtless contributed to James Jeffery’s decision to retire early.

\textsuperscript{34} ABSC Minutes 18 October 1895 and OEB Minutes 13 November 1895; ABSC Minutes January 1896, OEB Minutes 20 May 1896, OEB Letter Book 21 May 1896, and ABSC Minutes 19 June 1896; OEB Minutes 19 November 1896; ABSC Minutes 25 April 1898

\textsuperscript{35} ABSC Minutes 25 July 1896, OEB Minutes 19 May and 15 June 1898

\textsuperscript{36} ABSC Minutes 14 April 1899

\textsuperscript{37} OEB Minutes 19 September and 21 September 1900

\textsuperscript{38} ABSC Minutes 26 June 1903; ABSC Minutes 12 August 1904, 8 November 1905, 9 March 1906; ABSC Minutes 13 and 27 November 1908; OEB Minutes 25 and 26 November 1908; OEB B/M 58
"The raising of money ... the pleasure of spending it"

The complaint of education authorities at all levels and through all ages has been shortage of funds. This endemic, perennial condition rankled sufficiently with James Jeffery for him to comment on it in his indirect farewell to committees and committee men. Or rather he commented that he was constantly a mendicant, cribbed and confined by lack of money on the one hand, and by needing to seek permission from the committee to spend it on the other.

It was all the more galling given the very considerable energy Jeffery put in over the years to raising funds. There had been that enormous effort over the gymnasium; he and Miss Cowie had netted some £35.18s.3d from the jumble sale and concert - over a third of the committee's half share of the £200 that the building cost them. In 1894 and 1895 and 1896 there were concerts and sales of work and entertainments which well justified the hearty vote of thanks to the teachers given at the June 1896 committee meeting.

The dire circumstances immediately prior to the salary commission required action from the teachers again, and it was at this point that Jeffery was given the "pleasure of spending" half of what he raised, in anticipation of which he swiftly organised a series of events for the winter months. As the 1901 school year began he was asking the committee to consider establishing a permanent committee for raising school funds, but nothing eventuated. In March he announced his lantern lecture on the geography and history of Scotland, and in September he was organising a bazaar with a newly elected committee.

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39 ABSC Minutes 29 December 1893. This was worth something like $7000 in 1994 money.
40 ABSC Minutes 11 May 1894 and 14 June 1895; ABSC Report 1896 and Minutes 19 June 1896. The 1896 report stated that the teachers had raised £55 of the £60 needed to asphalt the playground - with the addition of the proceeds of the sale of work and entertainment held that April a total of £71.3s.3d
41 ABSC Minutes 24 April 1899
42 ABSC Minutes 12 May 1899: the local doctor, de Latour, for May and August, a concert in June, Mr Morris and friend for July, Mr Manson and the Trinity choir, and for October a lantern entertainment
43 ABSC Minutes 22 February and 22 March 1901, which he hoped committee members might at least attend
member. A concert was in prospect for the next month.\textsuperscript{44}

There then followed a two year hiatus - Jeffery's growing involvement in national teacher politics and in superannuation may well have been behind that. Be that as it may, the inadequacy of the grant for "incidental purposes" was raised by the committee in March 1903, and a letter of complaint sent to the education board.\textsuperscript{45} Their reaction was to "express regret at the financial situation of the Committee" and to inform them that the board could not "deal exceptionally with an individual Committee" but would gladly reconsider the question of allowances to committees if parliament would grant the board the means to do so\textsuperscript{46}

Jeffery loyally organised another concert for 1904 which brought in £5.1s.6d, despite the call on his time which his year as president of the NZEI and the public controversy about superannuation must have been making.\textsuperscript{47} But in 1905, in the frustrated aftermath of his presidency, during the distraction of the final superannuation campaign, and six months after the vacating of the chair by his long-time mentor, Andrew Cameron, a contretemps erupted over materials needed for the new curriculum. Cameron's successor was W.G. Lawless\textsuperscript{48} who had only joined the committee in 1904, and held the position through 1905 and 1906 before Charles Owen took it on. A special meeting was held in July at which "the Headmaster was present to explain several matters [to do] with the request for materials in connection with the Natural History subject he intended to take up."\textsuperscript{49} The committee decided to meet the requests in a modified form when finances permitted - a phraseology of rejection well learned from the education board. Meantime he could to purchase small quantitites without their express authority but he must report these and any "requisitions" to the monthly meeting. This did not resolve the issue and they invited him at the next monthly meeting to "confer with the

\textsuperscript{44} ABSC Minutes 5 September 1901  
\textsuperscript{45} ABSC Minutes 17 March 1903  
\textsuperscript{46} OEB Minutes 20 May 1903  
\textsuperscript{47} ABSC Minutes 8 October 1904  
\textsuperscript{48} Lawless had only lived in the Bay since the early 1900s, and had departed by 1910 - not a local!  
\textsuperscript{49} ABSC Minutes 21 July 1905.
Committee re stationery."

The measure of the committee's distrust of Jeffery's judgement about how to spend money was seen the very next month when he proposed that he should be able to keep half of the takings of a "Lantern entertainment" along the 1899 arrangement lines. They agreed, but their formal written permission given to him was hedged by a clause that he must advertise that he would be spending half of the takings on his own school projects. The tension simmered on, and at the November meeting his explanation about the sale of writing blocks was generously "considered satisfactory," while his requisition for blotting paper was approved but limited to 12 shillings. But at the same time the clerk was again instructed to write formally to him to say that the committee could not comply with his request to be paid for readers and other school papers purchased without their authority, although they were always willing to meet to consider such requests.

Hitherto there had very seldom been the formality of the clerk's writing to the headmaster, and a palpable frostiness was developing in the relationship. Suffice it to say there was no concert in 1905, although two lectures on Anderson's Bay were given, the second of which was for school funds, and the committee themselves organised an auction sale.

However, there was an entertainment in 1906, and in 1907, with Charles Owen in the chair, Jeffery had returned with some enthusiasm to his organising of a winter lecture series, although unfortunately for the committee exchequer the receipts just covered costs. A community bazaar in September 1908 grossed no less than £135, of which the school's share was £81, increased by donations to £87.

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50 ABSC Minutes 27 April 1894, 30 August 1905, 10 and 30 August 1905, and 14 May 1909 - this further special meeting insisting, as they had a decade before, that it was his responsibility to collect pen and ink money, a burden not lifted until 1909

51 ABSC Minutes 24 April 1899, 20 September 1905
52 ABSC Minutes 8 November 1905
53 ABSC 10 and August 1905
54 ABSC Minutes 12 June and 13 November 1906; 13 September 1907
55 ABSC Minutes 30 September 1908
Harmony had been restored.  

"Opportunities to do a great deal."

Despite his professed belief that committceemen had "opportunities to do a great deal" there is scant evidence that the Andersons Bay School Committee grappled with major educational issues on a regular basis.

Jeffery’s minutes were punctilious in noting the care with which the committee approached the appointing of staff - a major local educational issue to be sure, given the endemic tug-of-war over the years between education boards and school committees over their respective rights. They “discussed and examined the certificates and testimonials” of Miss Janet Johnston Walden before she was given the nod to succeed Miss Marion Bain Cowie in February 1895. In 1898 it was only after “long and careful consideration” from among the eight candidates whose credentials were forwarded by the Otago Education Board that Miss Margaret Elizabeth Kirkland-Taylor was recommended - the disparity between her D2 classification compared with the nearest rival Miss Sinclair’s B2 no doubt requiring that care. Miss Taylor’s recommended replacement, after “long discussion,” was Miss Margaret McKenzie, and when she departed in May 1905 the committee recommended the appointment of Miss Elizabeth Jane Gunn. The previous year the Otago Education Board had made one of its periodic attempts to curtail the powers of school committees, but the Andersons Bay committee had “strongly disapproved of the suggestion of limiting the School Committee’s power of selectting [sic] teachers.”

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56 ABSC Minutes 13 November 1908 - but Jeffery had yet another collection task - for boys’ games, a total of 15/- being raised and subsidised shilling for shilling by the committee.
57 ABSC Minutes 22 February 1895.
58 OEB Minutes 19 October 1898 and ABSC Minutes 24 October 1898. Elizabeth Gunn was one of the 7 defeated - her time was to come. That the committee were justified in their selection is borne out by the fact that Miss Taylor was one of four teachers recommended by the Otago Education Board for service as teachers in the South African “concentration” camps in 1902.
59 ABSC Minutes 18 July 1902 and 20 May 1905. Miss Gunn was to remain at the school until 1924.
Although they were not excluded, committees had henceforth to put up two names to the board for the board to choose from.\textsuperscript{60}.

In 1906, with the roll hovering at 119, the committee made an attempt to have a second assistant mistress appointed, but although Victoria Kate Hopcroft spent the year in that position her appointment was not confirmed for more than three months of 1907, and then lapsed because the roll had not stayed high enough, despite a visit by Messrs Owen and Duthie to the board secretary, P.G Pryde.\textsuperscript{61} When the roll had climbed to around 130 in 1908 and a permanent second assistant mistress could be appointed, the committee's usual "careful consideration" expanded to amendments which had to be defeated before the names O'Shea and Greaves were decided on.\textsuperscript{62} The board appointed Miss Eliza Agnes O'Shea, and one is left speculating as to the possibility that the defeated amendment before the committee had something to do with incipient religious intolerance.

The committee had some other important regular tasks, and approving the purchase of readers was one of these. The 1894 report mentions that they had purchased the *Citizen Readers* and *Round the Empire* which they believed would help inculcate the "principles of citizenship and create a feeling of patriotism."\textsuperscript{63} These were followed over the years with additional readers suggested by Jeffery, including a supply for "night reading for the upper two standards" of Steevens' *With Kitchener to Khartoum* and Pember Reeves' newly published New Zealand history *The Long White Cloud - Ao Tea Roa*.\textsuperscript{64} With the 1900 authorization of the purchase of 24 copies of *Deeds that Won the Empire*, followed by the supplementary readers *Fights for the Flag* and *The New Zealand Empire Series*, a clear and consistent patriotic bias in the purchases is apparent.\textsuperscript{65}

Throughout the 1890s the yearly reports also reflected clear and

\textsuperscript{60} ABSC Minutes 19 February 1904
\textsuperscript{61} ABSC Minutes 27 January, 9 March and 13 November 1906; 12 February and 9 April 1907
\textsuperscript{62} ABSC Minutes 4 February 1908
\textsuperscript{63} ABSC Report 1894
\textsuperscript{64} ABSC Minutes 9 June 1899. Reeves' book had been published in 1898.
\textsuperscript{65} ABSC Minutes 24 August 1900 and Report 1901
consistent support by the committee for the kind of school library often advocated by Jeffery as both Pater and Magister. It had 250 volumes in 1893 and was regularly said to be being made more use of, well patronised, or retaining and increasing its popularity. In 1900 there was the need for more shelving, and carpenter committee man William Robert Gall obliged with a "handsome bookcase," which was acknowledged at the same meeting as the Otago Education Board told them that there were no funds for school libraries.

Then in 1904 the committee came out with a firm apologia for Jeffery's approach to using books and newspapers in a broad education:

The Head Master seeks to inculcate a desire for a wide range of reading, and he makes use of the latest literature, the daily and weekly illustrated papers, in showing to the children the application of their school work to everyday affairs of life.

The usual ready support given to his educational views had made the querulous note struck in 1905 all the more difficult to explain and to stomach.

Patriotic activities provided another "opportunity to do a great deal" to which the committee responded. As early as 1894 Charles Owen extracted a promise from the scholars of the upper standards to give a penny a week for the purchase of a Union Jack and the amount had risen to 25 shillings within three months. But a flagpole to run it up had to wait until the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of 1897, when a red ensign and a New Zealand flag were added through Owen's offering to subsidize the amount raised by the children. They planned an unfurling ceremony at 10 am on 21 October (Trafalgar Day) with a bonfire at 7 pm. In the meantime children from Standard 3 upwards were presented with medals and transported in two horse-drawn buses to the Octagon for the civic celebrations, while senior students attended the celebration concert sponsored by the Kaitangata Coal

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66 ABSC Reports 1893, 1896, 1898, 1899, and 1900
67 ABSC Minutes 24 August 1900
68 ABSC Report 1904
69 ABSC Minutes 22 April and 28 July 1894
70 ABSC Minutes 4 June 1897
Company, the 1900 report insisted that patriotism was a "marked feature" of the school, with three ex-pupils having gone to the Boer War; and an earnest of 14 dozen bronze medals were issued to commemorate Peace Day - at the cost of 1/9d per dozen. The committee were as excited as Jeffery by the "Children's Demonstration" at the time of the visit of the heir to the throne, describing it in their 1902 report as "that unique event," while Andrew Cameron and James Jeffery presented all the children with medals commemorating the coronation of King Edward VII. In 1908, however, they were reining in Jeffery's bellicosity by insisting that he get the permission of parents before enrolling the boys in the rifle club which was to use the proposed rifle range.

It has already been noted that several of the issues which surfaced in teacher politics seem to have had initial airings as Jeffery tried out his ideas with his school committee, or as he guided his committee men in their response to controversies raised by and with the Otago Education Board. This was apparent in their "vicious system of cramming" comment in support of the Hon John Macgregor's 1893 criticism of inspectors' reports, and in the belief that their delegates had had a significant influence on the decision by the Schools' Committees Conference not to support a single series of readers in 1894. Likewise Jeffery had paid attention to the home front while the superannuation wrangles were on, so that the 1904 householder's meeting approved a motion "affirming the principle [sic] of a Superannuation Fund for Aged and Infirm Teachers, the same to be forwarded to the Premier." The committee meeting held after the same occasion the next year acknowledged the receipt of a memorandum from the "New Zealand Teachers Institute re superannuation scan [scheme?] for aged Teachers" which the chairman was authorized to sign and forward to the premier.

71 ABSC Minutes 16 June 1897
72 ABSC Report 1900 and Minutes 29 June 1900
73 ABSC Reports 1902 and 1903. Jeffery had of course been part of the very substantial organising committee.
74 ABSC Minutes 12 February 1908
75 ABSC Report 1893
76 ABSC Minutes 28 July 1894
77 ABSC Annual Meeting 25 April 1904
78 ABSC Minutes 25 April 1905
But for someone as opinionated as Jeffery, as vocal as his Pater and Magister personas, and as eager, apparently, that committeemen should "do a great deal," there is but scant evidence that the great educational issues of the day surfaced at committee meetings. The considerable debate about the provision of free secondary education had a preliminary airing in October 1898 when they responded to the Otago High Schools Board's decision to restrict free tuition to those gaining 60% of the marks in the scholarship examinations. The committee's suggestion that the cut off should be at 50% was rejected. In 1902 they passed a resolution asking the Dunedin and Suburban Schools Conference to take immediate steps to form a free secondary education league to open the door to both high school and university.

As to the related topic of technical education, Jeffery's enthusiasm for and advocacy of more practical education was behind the campaign to have cookery classes at the school. That donated Shacklock range had been installed when the gymnasium was built, but regular classes had not been set up then. In 1902 the board was asked for the "rules or laws on the conduct of cookery classes," and in the annual report Jeffery's recommendation that they should begin was stressed, not just for Andersons Bay pupils, but for pupils from all the Otago Peninsula schools. The board acted, but the classes were not compulsory and were not established at Andersons Bay School, facts which were bemoaned in the 1904 report. The same report stated that accommodation should be provided for all who were eligible to attend technical classes, but when it came to supporting the building of a separate technical school the committee was "adverse" [sic] to that.

The committee minutes of the period give the impression of a school prepared to move with the times, and perhaps slightly ahead of them. The building of the gymnasium had been followed by advocating

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79 ABSC Minutes 14 October 1898
80 ABSC Minutes 9 December 1898
81 ABSC Minutes 10 October 1902
82 ABSC Minutes 28 February, 11 April, 28 April 1902; Report 1902
83 ABSC Report 1904
84 ABSC Minutes 20 September 1905
that trained physical education instructors to use the facilities, although Instructor Hanna's visits to the school dropped from the hour between 3 and 4 pm each week in 1896 to once in three weeks by 1898. The committee's objections may have influenced the appointment of increased gymnasium staff for the Normal School, and they continued to press for more instruction at the school.\textsuperscript{85} From 1896 onwards Andrew Cameron was given three quarters of an hour for religious instruction first thing each Wednesday, although that had fallen away to the second Friday of each month by 1899.\textsuperscript{86} Kindergarten work was taken up in 1896 and supported by the committee to the extent of £12.\textsuperscript{87} Dressmaking was taught in the gymnasium for a fee for a time from 1904 onwards.\textsuperscript{88} Chairman George Youngson, the gardener, picked up on Jeffery's enthusiasm for gardening for the young.\textsuperscript{89} Of course not everything proposed met with success - the suggestion at the 1894 annual meeting that typing and shorthand were needed in the curriculum did not surface again, and the French class that was "only fairly well" supported in 1899 seems to have petered out.\textsuperscript{90}

Apart from the "annus miserabilis" of 1905 - it does not quite merit the epithet "horribilis" - Jeffery's relationships with his committeemen were, on this accounting, very good. They supported him loyally and he them; together they were responsible for building up a modern and progressive state primary school, showing foresight, initiative and persistence. They had their ups and downs, and 1905 was the most significant of the downs - but that was a year of great distraction for Jeffery. He strove to create an interesting and lively classroom environment with his appeal for pictures and engravings to hang on the school walls, and he sought and won permission to purchase moulding from which to hang them.\textsuperscript{91} He retained his enthusiasm for a broad and outward-looking, worldly education, with the visits to industrial establishments, the Otago Daily Times,

\textsuperscript{85} ABSC Minutes 19 June 1896, 13 May and 10 July 1898, and 10 October 1902  
\textsuperscript{86} ABSC Minutes 26 August 1896 and 24 April 1899  
\textsuperscript{87} ABSC Report 1896 and Minutes 19 June 1896  
\textsuperscript{88} ABSC Minutes 8 October 1904  
\textsuperscript{89} ABSC Minutes 8 May and 12 June 1908 and 9 July 1909. Jeffery's enthusiasm was strictly for others to be involved - not himself - the teacher's garden had been criticised in Goyen's report back in 1894  
\textsuperscript{90} ABSC Minutes 23 March 1894 and Report 1899  
\textsuperscript{91} ABSC Report 1896 and Minutes 20 October 1899
warships, the A and P Show, the Christchurch International Exhibition.

Whatever soured him into writing what he did at the time of his retirement it had not happened by the end of 1908.

B. CURRICULUM

The 1904 Syllabus

The curriculum matters dealt with by the Andersons Bay school committee were but bubbles in the national torrent of curriculum reform in which James Jeffery had both a provincial and national role, albeit the one pseudonymous and the other almost accidental. It was not that he was uninterested. As far back as 1887 his name appears alongside White’s as a member of an Otago institute committee to draw up a detailed syllabus to submit to the NZEI Council. His Pater columns refered to curricular matters occasionally, although mainly to teaching methods and the use of resources rather than subject content.

Hogben’s primary school syllabus, gazetted in 1904, came into force from 1 January 1905. It “was almost entirely the result of Hogben’s own effort” according to Roth, but it was influenced by and part of a world-wide trend. Robert Morant in England and Frank Tate in Victoria had undertaken sweeping changes, adumbrated as far back as 1888 by the Cross Commission. Hogben was further convinced that the syllabus needed reforming because the freedom the 1899 regulations were supposed to have wrought in the standard pass system – by limiting the inspectors’ examination to Standard Six – had in practice been subverted. Initially he was distracted by the need to

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92 ABSC Report 1905; Minutes 13 November 1906 and 12 June 1908
93 Minutes/EIO 22 June 1887
94 Roth p118
95 Ewing p97
deal with free secondary education, by technical education reforms and by relations with the inspectors, although some tentative steps to recast the geography prescription to include nature study and observation of the local district were taken at the 1901 inspectors' conference.96

The NZEI had been concentrating particularly on salaries and on improving the standard pass system through the issue of detailed instructions to inspectors along the lines of the English code, the latter being a matter which Jeffery raised at the annual council meeting in 1900 and again in 1901.97 There were some curriculum discussions on those occasions and in 1901 he seconded a motion calling for New Zealand history to be included in any history scheme.

As has already been mentioned, at the Napier annual meeting of the institute's council Jeffery joined the executive as one of the South Island representatives. When institute representatives called on the minister in April 1903 they were told that the old syllabus was past revising and that a new one was almost completed - without prior consultation with teachers.98 The word of what was in the wind ensured that the curriculum had almost equal billing with superannuation at the Otago institute's annual meeting in July 1903. The conference opened with a business session with 30 members present and Jeffery in the chair. By the afternoon, when chief inspector Peter Goyen was speaking about spelling and reading, the audience had swelled to 150, and the same number attended the next afternoon when he continued on writing, arithmetic and geography, a full hundred staying on to hear him and the redoubtable Miss Hooper talk about kindergarten work at the evening session.99 Jeffery was again involved in the Otago reaction to the October 1903 draft of the new syllabus and regulations after their approval by the Education Committee of the House of Representatives.100 Forty members attended a special meeting which wired its emphatic disapproval of the draft

96 Ewing p98
97 AM/NZEI 2 January 1900 and 2-4 January 1901. He also seconded a motion reaffirming the desirability of a unified inspectorate in 1901, which was reported to be the unanimous opinion of the institute after the next year's meeting - the meeting at which he stood for the presidency for the first time.
98 Simmonds p97
99 AM/EIO 7-8 July 1903
100 Ewing p104
after an in-committee discussion. A deputation, convened by Flamank and including Jeffery, SMEaton, White and Davidson, was to wait on Seddon when he was in Dunedin.

"Some Dunedin Headmasters ... considered it [the syllabus] unworkable in the time available," while Canterbury teachers were labelling it very revolutionary and in parts inoperative, reported the Witness's editorialist in December 1903. There would be a heavier burden on teachers than ever, and it would require a complete change in methods, although, because it was based on a United Kingdom code, the paper had "no particular objection." Cultural cringe indeed!

Against this background the Nelson annual meeting of the NZEI, which Ewing rates as "probably one of the most important in its history," undertook a lengthy debate complaining about "excessive" prescriptions in geography and too many compulsory subjects. Eventually those present were persuaded to support the general lines, but they took a strong stand on the principle of consultation, and asked for a conference of teachers and of inspectors. This met on Tuesday 9 and Wednesday 10 February: 11 inspectors and 11 NZEI members, led by their newly installed president, James Jeffery, who proposed that the Inspector-General, Hogben, be the chairman. The institute's resolution approving "of the general lines of the new syllabus, seeing that it is in conformity with the ideas of modern educationists" was agreed to, as was the drawing up of a code of instructions on examinations for the guidance of teachers and inspectors. The detailed resolutions which followed over the next days were, in the words of Simmonds, "directed to curtailment, simplification, and differentiation of work for the several classes of the schools," with the programme for the small country school modified. Peter Goyen had charged in the preliminary inspector's meeting that the programmes in geography, history, elementary science, nature study and health were "in excess of what can be done in the

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101 COM/EIO 12 December 1903
102 OW 17 December 1903
103 Ewing p110
104 AM/NZIEI 5-7 January 1904
105 AJHR E-1c p18-23. The NZEI delegation was James Jeffery, T Hughes and L Watson (Canterbury), W Fosler, G. MacMorran and A Erskine (Wellington), GW Murray (Auckland), JA Johnson (South Canterbury), JK Law and J Aitken (Wanganui), and Miss Lorimer
106 Simmonds p98
circumstances in which our schools have to work,” and he also railed against the reduction in grammar, on which he had written a number of texts.\textsuperscript{107} He carried the day, and it is interesting to speculate as to how much Goyen’s innate conservativism as opposed to Jeffery’s somewhat unfocussed innovatism, highlighted at this conference, was a root cause of the increasingly testy nature of their professional relationship over the next years.

At the end of the Wednesday session James Jeffery moved a vote of thanks to the inspectors and to Hogben for his conduct of the business of the conference and “for the assistance he had given to teachers in dealing with the syllabus.”\textsuperscript{108} The amended regulations and prescriptions agreed to at the conference were gazetted in April, to come into force from the beginning of 1905.

The discussion and criticism blazed on in educational and parliamentary circles. Some teachers continued the complaint that there was too much to be done. Some inspectors played down the flexibility, selection and correlation possibilities, and their attitudes were “not unpalatable to those teachers who had little liking for change, or to the many who believed that their success would continue to depend on examination results.”\textsuperscript{109}

Jeffery was not one of the latter. At the 1904 Otago institute annual meeting, released from the trammels of the chair, he took full part in the discussions which followed the keynote addresses: Goyen on “The Spirit of the Syllabus,” Tannock on “Agriculture as an Educative Subject,” and Fitzgerald on “The Interpretation of the Syllabus.”\textsuperscript{110} He gave a keynote address himself on climatology, showing how physics and mathematical geography might be taught from the information contained in the weather columns of the daily paper - correlation of subjects indeed. It was already a well-worn theme in his columns, and Angus Marshall, vice principal of the

\textsuperscript{107} Ewing pp111-2
\textsuperscript{108} AJHR E-1c p21
\textsuperscript{109} Ewing p116
\textsuperscript{110} AM/EIO 12-14 July 1904
teachers' college, pronounced it "instructive."\textsuperscript{111}

**Magister and "Our Public Schools" Column**

But even before this Jeffery had launched a second newspaper column, the main purpose of which was to tackle the problems of the ambitious sweep of the syllabus and the breadth and flexibility which teachers claimed, quite reasonably, they had no training to deal with.

It began abruptly on 24 February 1904 as *Our Public Schools*’ *Corner for Boys and Girls* conducted by "Magister," "to whom all communications must be addressed. The column was published on a Thursday in the *Otago Daily Times* and reprinted, as was often the case with *Times* articles, by its stablemate the weekly *Otago Witness*. Its publication in the daily newspaper meant a slightly wider and different audience for it. By 1907 the column was "for Seniors and Juniors," and its title changed to *Our Public Schools*’ *Column*. At the end of the year Magister was writing that "my columns are assuming a magnitude I had not anticipated."\textsuperscript{112} He should have, given the announcement which by then headed each column:

Magister will be glad to receive Nature notes, marked papers containing educational articles, diagrams, details of experiments etc., of scholastic interest to teachers and pupils. Correspondents using a pen name must also send name and address.\textsuperscript{113}

He was printing up to eleven or twelve letters a week, averaging six or seven, and flooded with specimens and examples to identify, issuing instructions about using damp moss, pressed leaves, and bark as packing and making sure that roots were unwrenched.\textsuperscript{114} The post often produced mysterious little packets and boxes which intrigued the

\textsuperscript{111} Angus Marshall - educated at Dunedin TC and BA at OU, taught in South Canterbury, the 1st assistant at Dunedin Normal, and Vice Principal of the TC 1902. Long time advocate of technical classes - assistant superintendent of Dunedin Technical Classes Association in 1903 and director of the Technical College in 1911

\textsuperscript{112} OW/OPS 6 November 1907

\textsuperscript{113} OW/OPS 1 January 1908

\textsuperscript{114} OW/OPS 10 December 1913
younger members of the family as they were opened to reveal leaves, plants, rocks and insects to be identified.\textsuperscript{116}

However, that this column was anticipated to involve even larger effort than the Pater one was indicated by the remuneration granted for it. The usual monthly payment made was £6.10s.0d, sometimes rising to £7.11s.0d, paid quite separately from the £2 a month for Pater contributions.\textsuperscript{116} Given that Jeffery's teaching salary had historically stood about £225 and only rose to a maximum of £260 at the very end, the extra £107.3s.0d earned in 1910 or £100.10s.0d in 1916 made a significant contribution to the family exchequer - in 1910 it represented 43 percent of what teaching was bringing in.\textsuperscript{117} It is small wonder that he kept the columns flowing in so religiously even when he was off on those Australian trips, nor that he kept on writing them for as long as he did.

He explained something about the column's origins and his motivation when he wrote at the end of 1912:

When I originated these columns ... it was for the purpose of supplying what I thought was wanting, a regular means of publishing Nature Notes. I thought ... that teachers, who ought above all to be interested in Nature, would give one another through my columns a large amount of assistance, but I must say I have been rather disappointed in this respect.\textsuperscript{118}

He pointed out that he had been helping himself and was not being altruistic. He had tapped information of an exact and scientific nature through the "ungrudging assistance" of Dr Benham,\textsuperscript{119} Dr Marshall,\textsuperscript{120} Mr G.M. Thomson,\textsuperscript{121} and others, including information "the other day" on the feudal system from Sir Robert Stout, the Chief Justice, and in that day's issue from the director of the Meteorological Service. He was aware that the Thursday issue of the \textit{Otago Daily Times} was sent to other parts of the dominion and even beyond.

\textsuperscript{116} The youngest son, William Harold, was six and John Ruskin seven when the column began, and one package disgorged a live guinea pig on a memorable occasion.
\textsuperscript{117} ODT Cash Books 1909-11 and 1915-16
\textsuperscript{118} OW/OPS 4 December 1912
\textsuperscript{119} Benham was the professor of biology from 1898 to 1937.
\textsuperscript{120} Lecturer and later professor of geology at Otago University
\textsuperscript{121} Thomson was briefly a member of parliament, and was behind the movement to provide continuation classes in Dunedin from 1888 and the Dunedin Technical School in 1889
I am told my columns are interesting; if so it is partly that they are unconventionally put together, partly because I have read perhaps more than the average man and have a better library and means of access to books than many, but it is mainly because busy gentlemen, specialists in subjects, always manage to find time to give me their assistance when asked.

Professor Benham was not only a contributor but also gave Magister an honourable mention at an Otago Institute meeting for pointing out that native birds were being displayed freely in Dunedin shop windows, leading the Acclimatisation Society to take action to preserve them.\textsuperscript{122}

As Pamela Wood notes in her study of the Canterbury inspectorate, the main criticism of the syllabus among teachers focussed on the requirements in elementary science, especially the inadequate preparation of teachers and the paucity of equipment.\textsuperscript{123} As to the former, Jeffery was unconvinced that even the opening of the new training college in May 1909 would help, because the course undertaken by the students would not be “sufficiently on the lines of the new education” - biology, geology, agriculture, horticulture and botany would not be given a sufficient run, although physiology, hygiene and mental health would be well looked after by his personal science consultants, along with the newly arrived J. Park, the head of the School of Mines.\textsuperscript{124}

But Figures 9 to 11 show to just what extent Jeffery set out to try to fill the scientific knowledge gap. After the first year, that is, for there was not too much to differentiate Magister’s column from Pater’s in 1904, except for a heavy dose of “the Art of Reading and Speaking,” lots of poems and consonant exercises for that purpose, and a certain amount of bird study, entomology and astronomy. In 1905 he tried to stimulate the keeping of school records in nature study, concentrating mainly on weather notes,\textsuperscript{125} and by 1906, no doubt in response to his own needs and the requests of his considerable correspondence, a much greater proportion of the column was given over to science topics.

\textsuperscript{122} ODT 11 June 1913.
\textsuperscript{124} OW/OPS 19 May 1909
\textsuperscript{125} OW/OPS 10 and 31 May, 21 June, 5 and 26 July, 9 August 1905
The burdens that these demands placed on the self-acknowledged unscientific Jeffery, even with the assistance of his "busy gentlemen," became such that he devised a method of coping with them by encouraging regular monthly contributions - columns within the Magister column. The first of these was the entomological notes of "Alpha" which began in December 1908 and carried on to March 1911. There followed the regular feature of Meteorological Notes from October 1910 right through to the demise of the column in 1916, and the absence of a contributor's pseudonym and that July 1904 lecture to the institute suggests that the contributor may well have been Jeffery himself. With the final column we have a name, that of J.F. Morris of Catlins and then Clyde, who contributed some general astronomical notes from May 1913 (under the title of “Southern Stars” from May 1914) to the end of 1915.

As to the rest of the column, Figure 9 gives an indication of the extent to which it proved a complement to Pater's Chats. There was sometimes by-play between the two - in February 1905 Magister referred to the nature notes which Pater had presented that week on rabbits; in December 1905 he said he had left voting by ballot to Pater to deal with; at the end of the next year he was sure that Pater would not mind his poaching a bit about libraries from him; in February 1907 Pater was writing a comment headed "Oh the flies" and remarks that Magister had one the previous week, "Oh the dust."\(^{126}\)

"Events" figured a little to begin with but then faded away, while the twin drums of patriotism and preparedness were pounded as firmly and insistently as they were in Pater's Chats and make up the bulk of the "Issues" dealt with, virtually taking over the entire column in 1915 and 1916. There was much more emphasis given to educational matters by Magister, as was to be anticipated given the nature and purpose of the column, but curiously enough Jeffery probably made more comment about current educational issues in his guise as Pater. The "Language" component evens out at about the same level overall, while "History" topics increased during the 1910 and 1911 constitutional crises in the United Kingdom and the build up towards World War I. The comparison of four individual years in Figure 11 tells

\(^{126}\) OW/OPS 22 February and 6 December 1905, 12 December 1906. OW/PC 27 February 1907
the same basic story, but highlights the changing emphases: the rise to dominance of “Issues;” the rise and dominance of “Science;” the dipping in educational topics as the syllabus bedded in; the steadiness of language and of history, although to a much lesser level; the obliteration of all but science by the war topics making up “Issues”.

Once again the comment must be made that Our Public Schools’ Column was by itself a considerable commitment of time and effort over the eleven and a half years it was operating - and during those years it was just a half of Jeffery’s journalistic output. He was not unique, because Davidson had earlier begun to edit Schoolmates, a paper circulating in schools with teachers as agents - a situation criticised at the board table\(^{127}\) - and also the monthly New Zealand Journal of Education. But, in Jeffery’s case it was remarkable that the column began when he was the newly installed president of the NZEI, and during its first two years he was also waging a newspaper and journal war for teachers’ superannuation.

C. TEACHING

In theory

At the turn of the century the major national issues for primary teachers were undoubtedly salaries and the colonial scale. But they were not unaffected by the debate which was going on about the possibility of providing free secondary education for all who wished it. Jeffery spoke in the debate which followed the “timely and interesting” paper by the Hon J MacGregor at the 1898 annual meeting of the Otago institute on “Class X and the Boys’ High School.”\(^{128}\) Most of the larger schools by this time were running Standard 7s. There were 15 in Dunedin itself in 1897, while in the next year 1253 pupils were enrolled in these classes against a high school enrolment of only 350.\(^{129}\) They prepared pupils for matriculation, civil service and teachers’ entrance

\(^{127}\) ODT 14 July 1898

\(^{128}\) AM/EIO 12 July 1898

\(^{129}\) McKenzie 1973 pp202-3
examinations, and Jeffery acknowledged that such classes were competing with the high schools. In his view there was great dissatisfaction at that time, and primary schools were more efficient than the high schools because they were under more direct supervision by the inspectors.  

He proposed a meeting of the Dunedin branch where representatives of the primary and secondary schools could thrash things out, with university people taking part as well. At the 1901 Andersons Bay break-up Andrew Cameron was moved to point out that they had both a senior and junior Standard 7 but with all the extra work that that threw on Jeffery, plus preparing pupil teachers for matriculation (which he had done over and over again), there was no addition to his salary, and there should be. Pater was commenting at the same time that the advocacy of free education by the principal of Otago Girls' High School's should indeed be supported and extended to include the university as well. He gave it as his opinion that much of what was taught at secondary school "positively handicapped [pupils] in life's race," and that "time for time public schools turn out a better average." He did not believe that high schools were either more selective or more efficient.

By 1907, when Standard 7s were still under discussion despite the subsequent secondary free place developments, Magister asked "why send the boy to High School?" There seemed to Pater to be "too much of high schools, and too little of agricultural, pastoral and dairy schools." In what he called "Rational Education" there would be more general business colleges in the town, and the rural schools would teach the girls dairying, botany, cookery, laundry work, dress-making and beekeeping, while the boys would have dairying, woodwork, metalwork, bookkeeping, land measurement, surveying, chemistry and physics - in which listing there was more than a hint of Truby King's ideas about the place of girls in the scheme of things. He returned to this theme the next year when MacGregor and W.J. Morrell, the rector of Otago Boys' High School, locked horns, with the former maintaining that the high schools were not performing their function.

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130 ODT 14 July 1898
131 OW 25 December 1901
132 OW/PC 18 December 1901
133 OW/OPS 13 February 1907
134 OW/PC 21 August 1907
135 He spoke several times to the OEI, e.g. 1906 annual meeting on "Teachers as Creative Agent"
because they were “training too many for city pursuits.” Pater drew attention to the short, practical courses on “dairying, agriculture and pastoral pursuits” which were being run for a fortnight in rented local halls in Victoria.

In 1911 Magister was wondering yet again whether the nation was getting an adequate return for the money spent on education because the larger percentage of girls did not go beyond primary school, and they might give two hours a week to cookery which was not recognised in the Proficiency Certificate, any more than the boys’ woodwork. The educational system through to university should be on lines “more suited to the industries of the Dominion.”

More practical education was a cause which had some eminent support for, as McGeorge notes, the Cohen Commissioners of 1912 “spoke of the ‘disquieting evidence’ of the growth of cities” and “recommended a syllabus clearly slanted towards ‘the primal industries’,” leading to some increase in those taking rural subjects. But it was a lost cause, for rural parents demanded academic subjects, and schools were contested ground - “not at the service of any particular group of would-be reformers or directors.”

Although Jeffery embraced the widening influence and greater flexibility of Hogben’s syllabus, he remained a moderate rather than an extremist supporter, as an end-of-year comment in 1909 by Magister indicates. “I don’t know,” he wrote, “... but what we are going to extremes ...[and] ... teachers and pupils are not sure whether to hang on to the old or take up with the new.” There were “mechanical teachers mad on the method and mistaking the husk for the nut,” who looked at cherries, drew them, painted them, worked them into a design, did their multiplication tables with cherries as symbols, wrote essays about them “and ... the only conceivable thing they do not do is to give the children a big bag of them to eat.” Mind you, he was not above advocating Shakespearean plays such as the chronological series

\[106\] OW/PC 4 March 1908
\[107\] OW/OPS 18 January 1911
\[108\] McGeorge p740
\[109\] McGeorge p740
\[110\] OW/OPS 22 December 1909
from Richard II to Henry VI as the basis of "a fine series of lessons in history, geography, English and literature" as long as they were read carefully by the teacher beforehand and the parts to read and to pass over and to commit to memory were marked.  

In the teaching of English he advocated basing the course on what boys [sic] read and on the environment in and around the school. The subjects for composition should be "appropriate for the circumstances" and the pupils could be helped by filling the blackboard with ideas. There should be a large amount of reading aloud, but it was "incalculably useful" to avoid "the Scylla of Henty and the Charbydis of the Waverley classics." Boys liked Jack London's Call of the Wild and Erskine Childer's Riddle of the Sands - the latter "unexpectedly attractive for the young" - and packing a conveniently anti-German message. The "right word" should be pursued in class, using the blackboard for explanations, while examples of children's work should be displayed.

The teaching of history was truly important, Jeffery maintained, supporting the Rev. P.B. Fraser, the chairman of the education board. He could not conceive of a true patriot who had not "enveloped himself in the historical atmosphere of his country." The patriotism of a person who did not know history would be "nothing but an unstable jingoism, swayed by passing events," rather than "a true appreciation of the past and present, and of the influence of the past and present on the future." He advocated studying local history. "Magister in his column and I in mine think that we ought now without delay get the history of each locality written up before the old identities have passed away." Perhaps the schoolmaster in each district could be persuaded to set his pupils to work? A month later he was reporting with enthusiasm that Mr Coutts of Milton High School and Mr Grant of Palmerston High School had responded, while "Mr Jeffery of Andersons Bay School has taken in hand the early history of Andersons Bay." Another grand scheme doomed to disappointment, for a year later he

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141 OW/OPS 14 February 1912
142 OW/OPS 3 August 1910
143 Both books had been published as recently as 1903.
144 OW/PC 1 January 1902
145 OW/PC 1 February 1905
146 OW/PC 1 March 1905. Coutts was to replace him at Andersons Bay.
was reporting that "the Palmerston man is gone and Milton has not performed." But he remained faithful to his beliefs until the end - or almost. At the 25th anniversary of his headmastership he told parents "to get their children to take an interest in local history, and then in outside history."  

He also retained a consistent, firm belief in the use of newspapers and periodicals in the classroom. Back in September 1903, the first hints of the new syllabus were greeted with his pondering "whether a teacher will be allowed to make up his own geography syllabus or be confined as heretofore to a book syllabus." In Jeffery's view "a great deal more and better (because more practical) geography and history too) could be taught with the Otago Daily Times and Witness as a textbook than can be taught from the books used at present." Newspapers and periodicals such as the Sphere gave examples of time, the phases of the moon, the times of the rising and setting of the sun, barometric pressures, the weather report, and commercial columns. By 1919 the list had expanded from geography and history to common-sense arithmetic for Standards 5 and 6, dictation, and civics.  

His advocacy of technical classes was never as strong as for "rational" education within the school syllabus, but he was certainly able to see where they might be very efficacious. In 1910 he was asking the readers of Pater's Chats to join the classes at the Dunedin Technical School to make themselves efficient for their life's work. Why? Because the Empire had called them to make all reasonable efforts to make themselves into efficient units in the great Britannic Federation - precisely the line promoted by the School Journal. As an afterthought he added that it would pay them in the long run, "apart from citizenship and patriotism."

At other times he called his readers to "Be Original," for, he said, "the new education is supposed to make for originality [and] I hope it

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147 OW/PC 7 March 1906
148 ES ? June 1911
149 OW/PC 1903
150 OW/PC 4 November 1919
151 OW/OPS 20 April 1910
will." The idea that teachers should teach pupils to think for themselves, to learn to be creators, to show initiative, to be originators, was another constant. He wrote with approval of some ideas he had culled out of the educational papers about pupils' own ideas about "Ideal Schools," where punishment would be done without. Instead, students would be left alone for three days after a talking with, not to, and the disobedient would be sent from school. That was rather much for Jeffery. His ideal school was a more realistic place, yet undoubtedly stimulating. He would like to see periodicals, libraries, lantern slides, stereoscopic views and museums in every school. And every school should have a history room with just as much apparatus as was needed to teach science: portraits, wall maps, wall charts, time lines, documents and letter facsimilies, a museum of historical curiosities and a good history library.

A fantasy? Perhaps. But we have seen how he did indeed push for some of these things in his own school, and how much time and energy he put into raising the money that would allow purchases to be made. It was his consistent credo that:

... teachers should read as widely as possible to get a world outlook on men and affairs, and of literature, for I hold that no teacher is a true one who does not give his or her pupils a general idea of what is going on in the world.

In practice

Andersons Bay school became part of inspector William Sanderson Fitzgerald's "beat" in 1896 and he wrote all the extant inspectors' reports on the school from 1897 until his retirement in the

152 OW/PC 6 April 1904
153 OW/PC 5 July 1905
154 OW/OPS 17 July 1912
middle of 1909. Fitzgerald was a prominent resident of Andersons Bay. He attended the school's householder meetings on occasions, his and Jeffery's families interacted closely, and it is true to say that his reports on the school were generally supportive of Jeffery's teaching methods and results.

In 1897 he found "vigorous work by both teacher and taught," with the children following closely and responding freely, and good work done in the gymnasium - but the scope of the classroom work was noted as perhaps "rather wide in its scope." The school committee had commented in their annual report that the previous year's passes had not been extremely high but good progress was being made and this was, in their opinion, much more important, for they were against cram. Their reaction to the 1897 report was to record their unanimous satisfaction at the progress of the school and the work of the teachers, a sentiment they repeated in the subsequent two years, although the inspectors' reports themselves are not extant.

The committee's report in 1900 commented that the previous inspection had been "quite up to average," and stated with approval that the staff had endeavoured to "obtain a broader culture of the child's mind than that which is required for the inspectors." They went on to note that the new regulations limiting examinations of pupils by the inspectorate to Standard 6 were being adopted "with great benefit to teachers and pupils," and indeed the inspectors' printed 1900 examination report on the school to the board noted that the head teacher's passes in Standards 1 to 5 were "justified as far as shown by the result of our examination." Fitzgerald that year found "desk work" diligently done and the work of the day going on steadily and quietly, although more ground might have been covered in oral work if

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155 W.S. Fitzgerald (1838-1920) - educated at Moray House Training College, Edinburgh, emigrated to Canterbury as a newly married 23 year old to establish a day and boarding school at Pigeon Bay for the Free Church of Scotland. He was rector of Oamaru Grammar School from 1869 to 1876 and then established the Otago Normal School which developed into the teacher training college. He established the EIO with Hislop and the NZEI with White, serving as president 1885-6. He was appointed an inspector in 1894. [David McKenzie in DNZB Vol 2 p146]. NZJE 15 May 1909
156 Inspectors' Report [IR] 21 April 1897 - Hocken Library
157 ABSC Report 1897
158 ABSC Minutes 13 August 1897, 17 August 1898, and 15 August 1899
159 ABSC Report 1900
160 Examination Report [ER] 1900, Hocken Library.
the children had shown a greater readiness to answer. They recorded, in Jeffery's hand, their satisfaction with the excellent results obtained and their appreciation of the devotion of the staff.

In their next annual report they noted that although the percentage of passes was not extremely high they were satisfied with them because they "objected to the cramming which prevails in many schools." They considered that the school retained its "high average of excellence," which was shown not merely in standard passes, but in the "wider field of education in the true sense - the harmonious exercise of body senses and emotions as well as intellect." Given this somewhat florid philosophizing, it should be noted that although Jeffery had acted as clerk up to this point, and the committee minutes were his in that he wrote them up, the annual reports seem always to have been drawn up by some other person on the committee - in 1898 it had been John White and the report is in his hand. This means that committee and principal were at one as to the wider view of education they both held. Fitzgerald noted in his 1901 report that Jeffery "spares neither his self nor his pocket to advance the interests of his school and secure the welfare of his pupils," and he commented on the way in which matters of interest, "especially in the geography and history and history of the day, are regularly dealt with, possibly to the disadvantage of syllabus work, but the pupils are led to read and think." When the report was laid before the committee there was a somewhat querulous response minuted by J. Pryor, who had replaced Jeffery as clerk that year. The examination report was "read and not understood," and furthermore the committee requested a "strict attendance report" be submitted at each meeting.

In 1902 the inspector did not fill his name in on the report form, but there is little doubt that it was Fitzgerald, for again he noted that Jeffery "does not spare himself, his time, or his money" where it was a question of advantage to his pupils, and was always on the outlook for

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161 IR 23 February 1900
162 ABSC Minutes 24 August 1900
163 ABSC Report 1901
164 ABSC Report 1898
165 IR 12 April 1901
166 ABSC Minutes 8 August 1901
something to assist in illustrating lessons and deepening the interest of the children. The 1897 concern about the scope of the work had now become more pointed, with comment being made that Jeffery adopted "a breadth of treatment suitable to pupils a stage more advanced than the majority of those under him." The committee remained on side, however. They repeated in the 1903 report that the examination results were "highly satisfactory", adding that "in Mr Jeffery the school has a hardworking and conscientious teacher; in Miss Mackenzie a kind and capable mistress; in Miss Rosevear an energetic and attentive pupil teacher."

Fitzgerald's reports for 1903 and 1904 are not in the files, but the assumption can be made that their tone was similar to previous ones, the 1904 committee report speaking of an "excellent inspector's report." Indeed it goes on to the commendation of Jeffery for the use he made of daily and weekly illustrated papers which we have previously noted, concluding that "when the new syllabus comes into operation the committee has the confidence that he will work to the advantage of the school under its provisions."

Although there is no inspector's report as such for 1904, the chief inspector, Peter Goyen, joined Fitzgerald in compiling the printed examination report on the school to the board for that year. This was the year in which Jeffery and Goyen had met across the table at the curriculum conference, one advocating and the other resisting change. It was Jeffery's NZEI presidential year and the very middle of the national superannuation debate. Whatever Fitzgerald had written must also have been critical, for the committee minute talked of their "entire satisfaction at the work done in the past year," but only "after careful consideration of the inspector's report." The printed report was really far from good. Of Jeffery's performance it noted that "reading, writing, drawing and physical instruction were good; spelling and history were satisfactory; arithmetic was weak and the remaining subjects were fair." It went on to note that he had not taught singing, the prescribed amount of poetry had not been prepared, and

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167 IR 25 April 1902
168 ABSC Minutes 10 October 1902 and Report 1902
169 ABSC Report 1904
170 ABSC Minutes 12 August 1904
171 ER 1904
the prescribed ground in arithmetic had not been fully covered.

It was at this stage that Jeffery suffered the loss as his chairman and confidant of Andrew Cameron on a year-long trip overseas. His 1905 committee niggled at him as has been noted, and Fitzgerald’s report that the pupils were engaged in work that was “possibly rather wide in its scope,” was responded to by the committee’s noting “with regret that Arithmetic was mentioned as only fair.”

There is no annual report for 1906 in the school committee records. Fitzgerald found that even by 20 April the timetable was still in a “transitory state,” although a permanent timetable was due to be ready in three days’ time. There was a committee minute that year which “records its qualification [?] and satisfaction at the result of the examinations.” Organisational difficulties were still bedevilling the school the next year, 1907, when Fitzgerald noted that “the organisation seems needlessly complicated but it is too late in the year to change it.” The now well-worn criticism of attempting to cover too much ground was joined this time by a note of exasperation that Jeffery had done a valuable piece of work with a local industry, no doubt the result of one of the visits he made with his classes, but that mention of it had come up incidentally, and he had no intention of placing it on record. However, the committee were encouraged by being told that the school was well managed, that Jeffery taught well, and that he succeeded in making many pupils thoughtful readers. Jeffery had felt contrained to exculpate himself to the committee by saying that “any weaknesses in the report were due to understaffing.” This apparently mollified the committee into minuting that they considered the report “most satisfactory,” particularly the “very good” for order and discipline and the “good” for efficiency.

This was Fitzgerald’s last extant report, although he probably inspected again in 1908. It was the end of an era for Jeffery. He was in Fitzgerald’s eyes a skilled teacher who had a broad view of education, and who used interesting and varied teaching methods. Perhaps he

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172 IR 20 April 1905 and ABSC Minutes 20 September 1905
173 IR 20 April 1906
174 ABSC Minutes 14 August 1906
175 IR 8 April 1907
176 ABSC Minutes 31 July 1907
over-reached himself in that the topics he took up, as he strove to prepare his pupils for the world beyond and to interest them in its ways and events, were sometimes beyond the level of his students. Yet however sympathetic the assessor, chinks were appearing. Jeffery may have hoped that the new syllabus would remove the straight-jacket of a limited syllabus and the cramming that had always been anathema to him. But the flexible organisation he put together was criticised for its over-complicated nature by an inspector basically sympathetic to him. More than that, he was subjected to the nit-picking quantification that might have been expected from a chief inspector who was a grammarian and author of a plethora of arithmetic text books - a man who was himself deeply opposed to the essence of the Hogben syllabus.

Jeffery's 1909 assessment was to be in the hands of Peter Goyen. It was to prove much more detailed and more critical than in the past, the presage of a period of increasing tension and discomfort.
7. Schools Demonstration for Royal Visit, General Committee, August 1901
James Jeffery is 4th from the left in the back row. He is one of some 9 teachers on the committee with J. Hanna, the board's physical education instructor, in the whites in the front row.

8. Otago Education Board Officers, 1901
Front row from left: Inspectors C.R. Bossonce, P. Goyen (chief), P.G. Pryde (secretary), W.S. Fitzgerald, C.R. Richardson.
Walter Eudey is on the far right of the back row - he was then relieving teacher to the board.
9. James Jeffery & staff, 1903
Photographed with Ethel Roseveare & Margaret Mackenzie.
Published in Otago Witness 28 October 1903.

10. The Andersons Bay School, 1903
Built in 1889, shortly after James Jeffery became headmaster. Photographed for series in Otago Witness, showing the four-roomed block which remained throughout his headmastership. Another room and an office added between the two blank gables in 1914. This school then stood unchanged until the mid 1970s.
Figure 9. PATER 1903 - 1917 & MAGISTER 1904 - 1916
Comparison between the columns of the percentage of mentions given to topic categories
### Figure 10. MAGISTER COLUMNS 1904 - 1916

Numbers of mentions given to topic categories & percentages of yearly totals

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1907</th>
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<th>1909</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1911</th>
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Figure 11. MAGISTER COLUMNS 1904, 1908, 1912 & 1916
Column mentions as percentages of the year's total of mentions, compared by categories over 4 separate years.
Column mentions as % of the year's total of mentions
9. THE END OF A CAREER and RESIGNATION 1909 - 1914:

A cooling passion

The five years at the end of Jeffery's career cannot have been comfortable ones for him. On all sides he was confronted with the dashing of his hopes.

Superannuation had been the topic on which his modest claim to national fame had rested, and on this issue he was increasingly sidelined, or he sidelined himself. The sore-loser reaction to his electoral defeat for the Teacher's Superannuation Board has been noted, and this may well have been the root cause of his more sporadic interest in national NZEI affairs, and also those of the Educational Institute of Otago.

Moreover, rather than Jeffery's activist-agitator stance the education institutes had adopted the gradualist approach of a Mark Cohen - the modification of the scheme now that it was in place. They first tackled back service because the disappearance of elderly and infirm teachers had been one of their major propaganda points in the campaign.¹ Their concern in this was that the "inadequate and illiberal back service allowances," meant education board officials, inspectors and others were not joining and so the fund was losing potential members and not fulfilling its functions.² In June the Dunedin and Suburban School Committees' Association set up a joint committee of their executive plus Jeffery, Smeaton and Davidson to secure back service recognition and they were, unsurprisingly, given editorial backing for this in Davidson's Journal.³ From the very earliest moments that any kind of summary could be undertaken it was apparent that the fund was succeeding, a report in the Evening Star

¹ COM/EIO 17 March 1906
² NZSM August 1906
³ NZJE 1 June 1906
anticipating a surplus of £20,000 at the end of the first year. But the report also pointed up the lack of action of the education boards in forcing retirements, believing that it was because of the lack of back service recognition, which would be rectified if 60ths since 1878 were used to permit a maximum pension of say £130. Then boards would move because they would not be putting teachers "out on a pittance after long and faithful service."\(^4\)

In August 1907 the *Journal* was noting that the fund had £60,000 in it by the end of the second year, a much better result than had ever been hoped for - so now teachers should be thinking of an approach to the minister to see if they could vote to come in under the civil service superannuation scheme.\(^5\) By November the *Journal* was reporting that they had achieved the right to such a vote,\(^6\) but the note of triumph was short-lived as the Legislative Council struck it out.\(^7\) In Otago Jeffery and Davidson were given the task of amending the new draft bill which followed "if thought necessary," and to send copies to Sir Joseph Ward, district secretaries, and members of both chambers of parliament.\(^8\) At the annual meeting of the institute in July, and after a long discussion, Otago teachers carried a motion which indicated their preference for amending the teachers' act rather than coming under the public service umbrella. As Jeffery seconded it perhaps Otago was off mavericking again?\(^9\)

The technicality of teachers' being employed by 13 separate boards scuppered these early legislative efforts to combine with the civil service, but in the Teachers' Superannuation Amendment Act passed at the end of 1908 the same conditions as civil servants were in fact extended to teachers. The basis of contribution remained the same, but now all service counted, including service as a pupil teacher, while the retiring allowance was based on the last three years of service. The minimum annuity of £52, which been had been found to be exceeded in practice, was abolished, and retirement was set at 65 or

\(^4\) ES 12 May 1906  
\(^5\) NZJE 15 August 1907  
\(^6\) NZJE 15 November 1907  
\(^7\) Press 22 June 1908  
\(^8\) COM/EIO 30 June 1908  
\(^9\) COM/EIO 16 July 1908
40 years service for males and 55 or 30 years service for females.\textsuperscript{10}

The Superannuation Amendment Act of 1909 tidied up further loose ends.\textsuperscript{11} While keeping the teachers' fund separate, the maximum allowance was fixed for all the government-related schemes at £300, ending one of the discriminatory features complained about by teachers in their comparisons of the early proposals and the initial teachers' scheme. Contributing males of 55 were allowed to retire after not less than 30 years service, and any contributor at 35 years service, while education boards were finally empowered to retire men at 65 and women at 55.

The fund itself went from strength to strength, completely justifying the confidence of its proponents, and "falsifying the expectations" of the actuaries. In the year 1909 the fund had increased £46,000, made up of annual contributions of £34,000, a government subsidy of £7,000, and interest of £5,000.\textsuperscript{12} Disbursement had been £12,000, and the total credit by then stood at £108,000. By 1911 that had increased to £140,000, and by 1913 to £244,000 after eight years of operation. So strong was the teachers' fund that the \textit{Journal} had adopted the Jeffery line and by now was resisting any possible amalgamation simply because it was by far the strongest of the government funds, and the scheme had been, as Simmonds summarizes:

\begin{quote}
... successful far beyond the expectations of the most hopeful of the Institute enthusiasts who had battled so hard to get a scheme, any scheme, passed by Parliament, on the basis that once a principle has been accepted it becomes easier to improve on the details.\textsuperscript{13}
\end{quote}

But getting any scheme had not been Jeffery's approach. The major remaining omission from his original campaign list, fair treatment of widows, continued to annoy the Otago institute. At the annual meeting in June 1910 and again in 1912 they adopted a motion calling for an amendment to the 1908 act to have their annuity doubled to £26.\textsuperscript{14}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} NZJE 15 October 1908
\textsuperscript{11} Butchers p253
\textsuperscript{12} Simmonds p81
\textsuperscript{13} Simmonds p81
\textsuperscript{14} AM/EIO 1 June 1910, 5 June 1912, COM/EIO 13 July 1912
\end{flushright}
That torch had been taken up by others, for Jeffery had shown less and less interest and drive in this area. His attendances at NZEI annual meetings had become somewhat spasmodic. He had not gone to Invercargill in 1906, instead making one of his trips back to Victoria, and given this absence his defeat as South Island executive representative by Davidson and Harkness was hardly surprising, although he suffered the same fate the next year at Christchurch and again in Auckland in 1908 despite the fact that he was at both of those gatherings.\(^{15}\) He did not stand for the national executive again, but he attended the 1909 Dunedin annual meeting, and then for the 1910 and 1911 annual meetings he did exactly the same thing both times - he topped the poll for Otago delegates and then pulled out.\(^{16}\)

The 1912 annual meeting in Timaru was his swan-song with the national body. It is true that he was appointed convener of the committee set up to report on superannuation, and that he moved a motion which signalled the strength of their fund by choosing to opt for the actual market rate of compound interest.\(^{17}\) But his epitaph had already been written the previous year when the special correspondent of the "Journal" noted the absence of "the genial Murray, the energetic Valentine, and the persevering Jeffery."\(^{18}\)

In the Otago institute there was a similar pattern of disengagement. From 1906 to 1908 he remained a member of the committee of management while the superannuation aftermath was working its way through, albeit largely at the instigation of others. At the 1906 annual meeting he resumed the push to create an NZEI journal. Walter Eudey had first raised the idea in 1899, and Jeffery had guided it up from the local institute in 1902 and 1903 to national consideration during 1904.\(^{19}\) This had led him into direct conflict with Davidson. As the superannuation arguments raged Jeffery felt his election mandate for a more radical approach being stymied by Davidson's advocacy of gradualism through his editorials. It had

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\(^{15}\) AM/NZEI January 1906, 2/5 January 1907, 2/4 January 1908  
\(^{16}\) AM/NZEI 4/6 January 1909, COM/EIO 4 December 1909, 15 October/26 November 1910  
\(^{17}\) AM/NZEI 3/5 January 1912  
\(^{18}\) NZJE 15 February 1911  
\(^{19}\) COM/EIO 20 September 1902, AM/EIO 8 July 1903, NZJE 1 August 1903, COM/EIO 10 October 1903;
culminated in a tart exchange in the July Journal noted previously, with Jeffery's insistence that there was no justification for the "feeler" the editor had put out in the "Organ of the NZEI," and Davidson's riposte that Jeffery had yet again misinterpreted motives and blundered through careless reading. The 1905 NZEI annual meeting, after a special committee had considered the matter, decided that "the time had not arrived for an official organ," a decision applauded by Davidson in his February 1905 editorial where he pledged his general editorial support for the executive and his entire satisfaction that some columns should be entirely controlled by that body - initially through the pens of Hughes and Flamank.

Jeffery's last minute absence from the 1906 Invercargill annual meeting must have assisted the renewed decision not to own a journal, but rather to rely on an improved New Zealand Journal of Education with more practical hints and less heavy material. But his "persevering" nature came to the fore in his re-presenting the journal case. His printed notice of motion to the 1906 Otago annual meeting suggested that they should have a journal "controlled, editorially and financially" by the NZEI, but the meeting had amended that by prefacing it with "owned." The 1907 NZEI annual meeting had before it an executive recommendation that the subscription should be raised to 5/- a member, and that 2/- of that should go towards providing a copy of the Journal to each member. What Davidson categorised as a "small minority advocating absolute ownership," with Jeffery this time personally in the van, waged a five hour battle before suffering a two to one defeat on the issue, their only comfort being Flamank's continuing control of "The Official Column." The issue had been conclusively settled and yet another tussle between Jeffery and Davidson resolved in the latter's favour. It would not be until 1919, and then only because Davidson wished to retire from the editorship, that what had been consistently advocated by the Otago institute would eventuate, and National Education, wholly owned and controlled by the NZEI, would

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20 NZJE 1 July 1904 p98
21 AM NZEI 3/5 January 1905
22 NZJE 1 February 1905
23 NZJE 1 February 1906
24 AM/EIO 11 July 1906
25 Simmonds p53
26 NZJE 15 February 1907. The column no doubt helped Flamank to the presidency of the NZEI in 1911
supersede the Journal. 27

At the 1907 Otago annual meeting Jeffery's disengagement took another step forward when he gave up as librarian after fifteen years in the position. The same meeting showed that despite their rivalries, differences and apparent animosities Davidson and Jeffery could still combine in a good cause. The former moved and the latter seconded a motion urging the necessity for the classification of schools and positions and a salary system which would see a fixed minimum salary for teachers, rising by annual increments to a fixed maximum.28 Jeffery was one of a committee of four appointed to discuss Davidson's scheme and report to the committee of management and to a special meeting before being sent to the Journal to be published.29

The 1908 activities of the Otago institute centred on superannuation modifications with both Jeffery and Davidson involved. The latter was distracted by an inquiry into the discipline and management of his Mornington school which vindicated him and resulted in a libel action, support for which the Otago institute recommended to the NZEI on the motion of Jeffery and Marshall.30

The second elections to the Teachers' Superannuation Board had resulted in 593 votes for Hughes, 572 for Davidson and 421 for Jeffery.31 This second defeat was undoubtedly discouraging and may well have speeded his giving up institute involvement, so that from the 1909 annual meeting Jeffery was no longer a member of the Otago institute's management committee for the first time since 1891. He now appeared only at annual meetings of the Otago institute, and, as has been noted, twice withdrew as a delegate to NZEI annual meetings after having been loyally voted in. At the 1910 meeting he supported Walter Eudey in recommending the aims of the Eugenics and Moral Education Society to teachers, while in 1911 he was noted as an institute representative - with Flamank - at meetings discussing the technical school at the invitation the newly appointed director, Angus

27 Simmonds p111
28 AM/EIO 10/12 July 1907
29 COM/EIO 21 September and 5 October, Special Meeting/EIO 26 October 1907
30 COM/EIO 30 June 1908
31 NZJE 15 March 1909
Marshall. In 1912 he reported back to the annual meeting on what had happened to their superannuation remits, and was supportive of the efforts to obtain the £26 pension for widows. Later that year he was part of a very large committee appointed to prepare submissions for the Cohen Commission when it came to Dunedin, but he did not give evidence. He turned up for the special meeting and social honouring the retirement of Professor David White after forty years' service to education late in 1912, but he does not seem even to have attended the 1913 annual meeting of the Otago institute, breaking a run of at least 23 years.

He would resume his attendances in 1914, and indeed return somewhat surprisingly to active official duties as an officer of the Educational Institute of Otago throughout the war years, but the passion for the consuming interest of his thirties and forties had progressively disappeared in his fifties.

Rewards to others

By none of the usual measures could James Jeffery's career be counted a success, as the comparison with a number of associates in Figure 12 indicates. Most of the group were direct contemporaries - Flamank and Marshall were of a younger generation and "homegrown," but all the rest arrived in Otago at around the same time as Jeffery. Of those who were about his age Hodge was an Aucklander and Whetter a naturalised Otagoite, but Eudey, Macdonald, McLean and Davidson were all part of the Victorian recruitment, the first three arriving with him on the same ship. McNicoll, Murray and Moore were older, the first two Scots, although both had qualified in Victoria, while Moore was an aberrant New South Welshman. The schools and salaries of these three were always larger than Jeffery's.

32 AM/EIO 1 June 1910 and COM/EIO 9 September 1911
33 AM/EIO 5 June 1912
34 COM/EIO 25 September 1912. Mark Cohen was the chairman of the Royal Commission on Education and Davidson a member
35 Special meeting/EIO 1 November 1912
36 Whetter had come to Otago with his parents as a 4 year old.
Of his generation, Jeffery could claim in 1889 to be doing best. This was, however, only by the shortest of heads over Whetter, who soon outstripped him at Forbury, a school he handed into the care of Walter Eudey in 1908 as already the largest in Otago. By 1899 only the patient Eudey and the striplings Flamank and Marshall earned less than him, with even McLean better paid as an assistant master at the very large George Street school. A decade on he outranked only Flamank and McLean, and that was reversed when McLean became head of Alexandra District High School in 1910 and Flamank headmaster of North East Valley in 1911.

Had he tried for preferment? The records are silent, but there is a family memory that it was all arranged that he should take over the Normal School and that it was vetoed by the long-time secretary of the Otago Education Board, Patrick Gunn Pryde - "Piggy" Pryde in the Jeffery family story. That this was a widely used soubriquet seems distinctly possible, given the obvious play on his initials, plus his reputation for "a brusqueness of manner entirely his own," in the words of the Evening Star's 1910 retirement summary. In his long secretaryship from 1877 Pryde did not endear himself to teachers or committeemen. McKenzie noted that he treated the latter "as if they were wayward children constantly in need of admonition," and quotes one critic's comment that he was "a master of condensed insolence" and another's that he was "worse than the Pope." In 1891 he was roasted by the Globe under a headline "More Haughty Pride" as being an "autocratic ruler" whose "peculiar methods" included "reprehensible secrecy" over the Seaciff School election. The editorial went on to opine that "the jobbery and corruption distinguishing the Education Board of Otago is not likely to be swept away until Mr Pryde is disposed of." The same year he over-reached himself by appointing temporary teachers without consulting the board, thus "justifying the popular impression that he is the Board". The result was that Pryde was debarred from overt involvement in teacher appointments of any kind, a decision which was well-received. Indeed McKenzie notes that an electoral battle for the board in 1893 was fought between Pryde-ites and anti-Pryde-ites. This resulted in a defeat for Dr Hislop, Pryde's

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37 ES 22 July 1910
38 McKenzie 1982 p48
39 The Globe 3 June 1891.
40 ODT 30 December 1891
predecessor in office and a supporter, now returned in retirement to Otago from running the Education Department in Wellington.\textsuperscript{41}

There were other occasions when Pryde's control over the affairs of the board was a point at issue, one of them involving Walter Eudey. He was proposed in 1900 to fill the position of senior relieving teacher to the board at a salary of £240, but his appointment was opposed by the board member McKenzie who felt that he should not be appointed because he had the lowest qualifications of those on offer.\textsuperscript{42} McKenzie had nothing against him personally, he said, and thought he was an excellent man, but he was known to be at variance with his headmaster and he felt that the "qualifications were being made to fit the appointment." Nevertheless it went ahead, Eudey appears in a photograph of board staff that year, and his upward surge to the very top teaching position in Otago had begun. In the next month both daily newspapers tackled Pryde, the Times with correspondence between him and P.B. Fraser under a headline "Who Runs the Education Board?" and the Star running an editorial headed "Becoming a Bear Garden Again."\textsuperscript{43}

So the close control established by the board over appointments in 1891 would seem to have been modified by Pryde towards the end of his "reign" and by the time Jeffery might have been a candidate to take over at the Normal School. In 1907 the removal of David White to the position of principal of the teachers' training college (and university lecturer) saw the elevation of Angus Marshall, who had been at the school from 1894 as an assistant, latterly in charge of the Model School.\textsuperscript{44} Then when he moved on to become the first director of the new King Edward Technical College in 1910 Edward Pinder took over.\textsuperscript{45} Both the appointees were younger men, both were "home-grown," and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{41} McKenzie 1973 p140
  \item \textsuperscript{42} ES 21 June 1900. This was in place of Owen Hodge who had been appointed head of Albany Street school.
  \item \textsuperscript{43} ODT 17 July and ES 20 July 1900
  \item \textsuperscript{44} Angus Marshall was a BA from Otago, taught in South Canterbury, was 1st assistant at Waimate DHS before becoming 1st assistant at the Normal School in 1891. He was a leader in the Technical Classes Association, and later took charge of the Model School within the Normal School, becoming Vice Principal of the teachers' college which was also associated with the school in 1902 before being appointed headmaster. If Jeffery was a defeated candidate it does not seem to have soured relationships between him and Marshall, the latter speaking at his 25th anniversary and retirement socials.
  \item \textsuperscript{45} Edward Pinder was an MA and went on to become principal of the teacher's college on White's retirement in 1912 through to 1922.
\end{itemize}
both were university graduates.

There might well have been a fleeting thought in 1907 that Jeffery, innovative, considerably experienced as a head teacher and nationally known as a teacher politician would be a good choice. Indeed his friends and mentors Fitzgerald and White may well have encouraged and supported such thoughts. But against that was his lack of formal qualifications, a point to be emphasised about Jeffery in comparison with his contemporaries. Davidson may have remained classified as a D1 teacher along with Jeffery, but Hodge and Whetter were better qualified than him from the start while McDonald, McLean, Eudey, Marshall and Flamank all bettered their qualifications later in their careers. Jeffery never did this.

It will be seen from the inspector’s report of 1909 that Jeffery was no longer a realistic candidate the second time the Normal School fell vacant. That cannot have been the occasion of a venomous intervention by “Piggy” Pryde if such did indeed take place, unless Jeffery had deluded himself into thinking that Fitzgerald could deliver the appointment as a post-retirement gift to him.

**The judgement of others**

From the time that William Fitzgerald left the inspectorate in 1909 James Jeffery was in trouble with the inspectors. They henceforth came later in the year when more work should have been covered - in July rather than April - and they produced three page reports rather than the single page ones which Fitzgerald wrote. The comments in 1909 of John R. Don, countersigned by chief inspector P. Goyen, were so condemnatory that the board chastised him officially and debated his reply to the “unsatisfactory reports of the inspectors” in the in-committee portion of their October meeting.  

46 Hodge had qualified and practised as a solicitor, Whetter had an MA, and Marshall a BA, all of their qualifications gained while they were teaching.

47 OEB Minutes 10 October 1909. He was joined by the teachers of Oamaru Middle and Port Chalmers schools in defending themselves.
What had been called in to question? To start with they criticised the cleanliness of the rooms, and singled out the gymnasium - "very dirty and lumbered with odds and ends that make it look like a lumber room."48 They were prepared to concede that the methods of instruction were satisfactory, while pupils showed by their oral answering that they had been encouraged to read widely and take an intelligent interest in current events. But it was evident that "their training in 'essentials' is not what we are accustomed to in well-managed schools." English instruction could not be regarded as satisfactory if it did not ensure that the senior pupils could write "neatly and with fair accuracy a dozen lines on a simple subject." In Standards 4 and 5 composition was quite simply of a very poor quality and in Standard 6 it was only fair. Bookwork and arithmetic might be very good but mental arithmetic and grammar required more attention. Reading might be done with "taste and proper expression" but the recitation heard was "rather poorly prepared," and much of the written work presented "was very carelessly done." Altogether the impression was that the teacher worked earnestly himself but had not taken care to see that the pupils did their share. Moreover the schemes of work did not provide for systematic teaching of the laws of health nor for sufficient out-of-door instruction in geography for the lower standards. Finally, there were doubts about the promotion of some pupils "without adequate equipment in the work of the lower classes."

The school committee's expression of "there [sic] satisfaction" at the inspector's report in August when Jeffery "laid [it] before them" could only be with the results of the pupil examinations.49 The board requested from Jeffery "any explanation which you deem it desirable to make,"50 and the copy of this letter to the committee resulted in a minute at their October meeting which read:

[The inspectors' report] was discussed very fully with Mr Jeffery and the secretary instructed to inform the Education Board that they now felt satisfied that on the next inspector's visit they would furnish a more satisfactory report.51

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48 IR 28-29 July 1909. Dr John R Don had been appointed to replace Fitzgerald early in 1909. He had been an assistant master at the Normal School from 1887 to 1894, and then rector of Waitaki Boys' High School. He had suffered a health collapse on the death of his wife and resigned, later to take up this inspectorship.

49 ABSC Minutes 13 August 1909

50 Otago Education Board Letter Book [OEB/LB] 23 September 1909

51 ABSC Minutes 8 October 1909
Pryde wrote to Jeffery at the end of that month that the board had "decided to accept your explanation."^52

Set against this official displeasure and lack of confidence was the use of Jeffery, Davidson, Eudey and eight other teachers under the leadership of Marshall to run a short-end-of-year course for uncertificated teachers, to the public thanks of Goyen.^53

The 1910 school committee report kept up the facade of satisfaction by congratulating the staff on the "excellent state of the school," and Andrew Cameron moved a vote of thanks to them as he was wont to do. There was an absolutely unheard-of attendance of thirty one residents at the meeting, possibly sensing fireworks, although the minutes are silent if there were any.^54

The shakeup bore fruit. Goyen himself conducted the 1910 inspection on 28 and 29 July and wrote:

We are pleased to report a marked improvement in much of the work of this [Standards 3-6] department ... most notably in the style of the setting out of written work generally, in the grammar and composition of Standards 5 and 6 and in the reading of all classes which shows very commendable care and attention to expression. ... Answers of a few pupils (notably of Standard 6) prove that interesting talks have been given in civics, geography, history, nature-study etc but these talks have not left a very deep impression on the minds of many of the pupils. The teaching would be more effective if the teacher insisted on the memorizing by pupils of a certain amount of the information supplied by him.^55

The report further quibbled about the "overclassing" or unjustified promotion of pupils, the response in oral work and the inadequate supervision of staff because of Jeffery's own teaching burden. In many ways it clearly spelled out the difference between the outlook of the two men and the kinds of things which education meant to them - Goyen the grammarian and arithmetician for whom drills and concentration on "essentials" loomed large, Jeffery the capturer of imagination and the moment, desirous of widening the horizons of his pupils to the

^52 OEB/LB 26 October 1909
^53 ODT 16 December 1909
^54 ABSC Report 1910 and minutes of annual meeting 25 April 1910
^55 IR 28/29 July 1910
world around them. One of his Standard 6 pupils from that very year, Charles Owen's son William, remembered how Jeffery spent one whole day expounding the background to events in the Balkans, which Owen found fascinating; but he also distinctly recalled that the next day they spent the entire time doing mathematics to catch up.\textsuperscript{56} The collective sigh of relief among the committee was reflected in the minute which recorded their unanimous hearty vote of thanks to Jeffery and his assistants for the "excellent work as shown" by the report.\textsuperscript{57}

Just before the 1911 inspection James Jeffery and his wife were honoured by the community for their 25 years among them. There was a social event in the Presbyterian Sunday School hall attended by "ex-pupils, residents of the district, educationalists, and other well-wishers." Andrew Cameron said he had the greatest pleasure in presenting of an illuminated address and "very substantial purse of sovereigns" because of his admiration for Jeffery as a teacher. He had set himself to teach boys and girls about current affairs, so cultivating "the faculty of making observations and deductions for themselves ... two of the most important sides of education."\textsuperscript{58} Both he and Oscar Flamank, who was the current NZEI president, thought that Jeffery had not "studied his own interests" or he would have been better placed than he was. Fitzgerald and Goyen were both there as ex-inspectors, along with Eudey, Marshall and "teachers (retired and present) of several of the city and suburban public schools."\textsuperscript{59} The warm expressions of the Andersons Bay community's support by Cameron, Thomas Somerville, Charles Owen, Alexander Youngman and the words of the address may well suggest a reason why Jeffery had stayed so long at the school - he felt one of them, and his community contribution was clearly appreciated.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{56} Conversation with WEJeffery in Auckland, 26 April 1989. William Ralph Spencer Owen was a classmate and friend of James Jeffery's youngest son, William. He served in WWI and qualified as a solicitor.

\textsuperscript{57} ABSC Minutes 5 August 1910

\textsuperscript{58} NZJE 15 June 1911.

\textsuperscript{59} Goyen and Pryde retired at the same time and there was an editorial about them ES 22 April 1910

\textsuperscript{60} The address read: "To James Jeffery, Esq., head master Andersons Bay School. Dear Sir, On behalf of the old pupils of the Bay School and the residents of the district, we ask your acceptance of the accompanying gifts to Mrs Jeffery and yourself as a small token of our appreciation of your 25 years' valuable service. We recognise that you have labored [sic] not only in the interests of the school, but also for the promotion of the welfare of the whole district. We unite in wishing you and your family many happy years in our midst."
Despite this local, support further official criticism was brewing. The 1911 visit was in the hands of the new chief inspector, C.R.D. Richardson, the relieving headmaster who preceded Jeffery at Andersons Bay back in 1886, since rector of Balclutha High School and an inspector since 1895. English, geography and history were being well treated, he wrote, but not writing and arithmetic which "are not as well done as they should be in a school of this grade." Although the time put into enunciation had had a very marked effect on the reading and oral answering too little attention was paid to memorizing poetry. Richardson noted great enthusiasm for certain lines of work which gave pupils a good general training, "but this enthusiasm carries both teachers and pupils away from subjects which may not be so interesting but which are as educational, as educative and as disciplinary." The correction would be to lay the work out methodically at the beginning of the year and to follow the scheme closely. There was also a grizzle about there not being "systematic records of the work covered" - just another variation on a theme of Fitzgerald's time. Nose closer to the grindstone, more system, more record keeping. Jeffery had heard it all before, and the comments seemed rather mild compared with those in 1909, yet the board in considering the reports for the month decided to "call the attention of Mr J Jeffery, Headmaster of Andersons Bay School, to the paragraph regarding him in the report on that school, and inform him that the Board will expect a strict adherence to requirements."

Meeting a month later, the school committee "considered the results highly satisfactory," and passed on their thanks to the headmaster and assistants, in the circumstances a gesture of support on the one hand and defiance on the other, followed as it was with a comment in the 1912 annual report about the "splendid staff and teachers." At the annual meeting at which that report was presented, and in reply to the compliments which were still flowing in the aftermath of the 25th celebrations about a proud record and one of the best equipped schools, Jeffery said that he had tried to maintain a strict standard of discipline but that he detected a slackening by parents, resulting "not infrequently in lawlessness." The strain was

61 IR 1911
62 OEB Minutes 17 August 1911
63 ABSC Minutes 15 September 1911 and Annual Report 1912
64 ABSC Annual Meeting minutes 22 April 1912
beginning to show, perhaps.

The new inspector, John Robertson, was the author of the report which followed in July 1912. He gave Jeffery credit for the well-managed and efficiently taught senior department of 69 pupils, again commending "reading explanation, spelling and geography" and noting that the pupils answered well in all branches of the oral work, but arithmetic was weak in all classes and much of the writing was very unsatisfactory. There was also "a tendency to disregard the regulations with respect to certain of the subjects." Attached to the report were some lists handcrafted by Jeffery, and they provide both a defence of his approach and support for the inspectors' criticisms. Under the heading of Nature Study and History he noted:

I have given a good deal of both but more in an incidental manner than a set lesson; but I have no programme to present. History and Geography I have given as inseparably connected. The world's current history has been treated, the newspaper and the illustrated papers being used especially the "Times" and the "Sphere." Naval developments and the consolidation of the Empire have been emphasised.

He went on to say that when teaching Auld Lang Syne he had given a little of Burns' life and read some of his poems. As to poetry itself "I have read a good many pieces to the children, and the story of 'The Brook', of 'The Ancient Mariner' - others too have been given in full."66

To this report the board did not react unfavourably, while the committee minuted their satisfaction with the work done by Jeffery and the staff, and instructed that a letter should be written to him acknowledging his "successful labours during the year," and asking him to convey their thanks to the rest of the staff.67

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65 IR 31 July 1912
66 The poems listed have a clear, and, for Jeffery, predictable themes: For all Standards, 3 to 6, The Union Jack, It Couldn't be Done and Auld Lang Syne; to Standard 3 One, Two, Three and The Brook; to Standard 4 Admirals All, The Fighting Temaraire and Daffodils; to Standards 5 and 6 A Nation's Prayer, Vital Lamsada, The Guides at Kabul, Hamlet's soliloquy and his advice to the players, Henry V at Harfleur, The Best School of All, and The Battle Hymn of the Republic.
67 ABSC Minutes 6 September 1912.
Resignation

It is possible to detect a note of concern in the action of the committee in giving him a formal written assurance of their satisfaction and backing. That they had cause for concern was borne out in 1913. There had been a steady increase in average attendance at the school in the later 1900s. It had hovered not too far above 100 for most of Jeffery's headmastership, but it rose to 139 in 1909 and 150 in 1910. The influx may well have been the source of some of Jeffery's organisational problems because there was no increase in staffing. The opening of the Musselburgh school saw a temporary dip to 138 and 137 in 1911 and 1912, but in 1913 the opening of the Glendinning orphanage by the Presbyterian Social Services Association saw it jump to 148, and to 174 in 1914.  

At the April annual meeting Jeffery's reply to the usual hearty vote of thanks was that although he appreciated the very friendly feeling between himself and ex-pupils he was "feeling the strain owing to an insufficient staff." Early in May 1913 the school committee clerk, J.C.H. Somerville, wrote to request a male assistant and an additional classroom, but Richardson replied on the board's behalf that the roll would have to be sustained at 175 to warrant the appointment of an extra pupil teacher.

It would seem it was this huge increase in roll with no sign of relief which triggered Jeffery's decision to retire. That and some unspecified health problem, for his obituary a decade later is quite specific that he retired "just before the outbreak of war for health reasons." Then there were the background reasons: he had not had preferment, there was no realistic expectation that it would come to a 55 year old, and he had suffered two rejections in elections to the Teachers' Superannuation Board.

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68 The figures are from AJHR E-1or2 over the years. They are for the average attendance on which staffing was based but that was an age-old bone of contention because the total roll figures were always higher than these, so that on the occasions when most pupils were there the classes were even bigger than the large sizes that they ordinarily were. Jeffery reported an average attendance of 186 and a total roll of 198 to the annual meeting in April 1913.

69 ABSC Annual Meeting 28 April 1913

70 OEB Minutes 21 May, and 19 June 1913; OEB/LB 9 May and 25 June 1913

71 ES 13 August 1923
Finally there was the embarrassment that he was publicly espousing the broader and freer approaches which were implicit in the Hogben curriculum and Johnny-come-lately inspectors were criticising his teaching style and ideas. It was another age-old story. Back in 1896 a Christchurch Press editorial had pointed out that a teacher "looks on a school inspector as a natural enemy," because he retained the residual right of re-examination of lower classes in the 1899 classification reforms.\textsuperscript{72} M. Foucault in his book, Discipline and Punish, points out that inspectors use the techniques of hierarchical observation and of normalising judgement as their "disciplinary techniques of power."\textsuperscript{73} Wood argues that the 1899 limitation of those powers had been illusory. She suggests that New Zealand inspectors may have collectively used both techniques, but that they generally fought reliance on statistical data and subverted the power of the Education Department by interpreting the regulations to allow the development of true education.\textsuperscript{74} James Jeffery would have begged to differ, and on the evidence of his treatment he would seem to have had a case.

Whatever was in store for him in the 1913 inspection, Jeffery had made up his mind to go before it came. Decision time seems to have been June and early July because in the former month he missed the Otago institute's annual meeting for the first time in at least 23 years. This suggests sickness. What else would have kept him away? In early July he must have written to the Teachers' Superannuation Board because on 21 July 1913 S.M. Park, now the Otago Education Board secretary, wrote to him:

The Secretary of the Teachers' Superannuation Board states you have intimated to the Board you have resigned your position and have asked me to furnish a certificate to that effect. This of course I cannot do until your formal resignation.\textsuperscript{75}

Two days later Park despatched the good news that Daniel McErlain had been appointed as an additional pupil teacher and would report at once, but of course he would not have a classroom.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{72} Press 13 April 1896
\textsuperscript{73} M. Foucault, I, Peregrine, London 1982 - quoted by Wood pp16 and 30
\textsuperscript{74} Wood pp32-3
\textsuperscript{75} OEB/LB 21 July 1913 SM Park to James Jeffery.
\textsuperscript{76} OEB Minutes 17 July 1912 and OEB/LB 23 July 1913
On 28 July the inspectors' struck. John Robertson found that the gymnasium was very dirty, the windows in Miss Long's room were in a "discreditable condition," closer attention should be given to the boys' out house and the street fence line was in need of repair. The work of the school had been affected by a recent influx of pupils - there were 192 on the roll and 182 present - leading to a rearrangement of the classes. The schemes were suitable in the lower and middle divisions but in the upper division of 56 pupils from Standards 4 to 6 they were not well tabulated. Much of Mr Jeffery's work was of good quality - as usual in English, composition, geography and history - but "in arithmetic and writing, subjects requiring constant supervision and steady application, pupils do poorly." Little systematic work had been done in science, physical exercise or singing. "The school has now reached such a size as to make systematic and methodical work a necessity if success is to be achieved with a minimum of effort," was the concluding jab before Richardson and Robertson signed the report.

There are elements of farce, panic and tragedy about the process of Jeffery's actual, formal resignation. He may have been thinking of resigning, and may have even acted upon that thought inefficiently in June. Now he did indeed resign, effective from 30 September, this in white-hot haste on 30 August, virtually as soon as the inspectors left. He also told the school committee of his decision at a special meeting the next day, 1 August. Their unanimous reaction was to ask him to reconsider and "instead of resigning to apply for say 6 months leave of absence to recuperate" - again the health hint. This expression of consideration for him, and perhaps listening to wiser, cooler counsel, caused a pause, for Jeffery then wrote to Park and asked for his resignation letter back. Park obliged, but enclosed another resignation form! While this to and fro-ing was going on the board decided that the condition of the gymnasium, the outhouses and the windows should be brought to Jeffery's attention and to that of the school committee.

The regular September meeting of the Andersons Bay School Committee had before it a letter from James Jeffery which thanked

77 IR 28 July 1913
78 ABSC Minutes 1 August 1913
79 OEB/LB SM Park to James Jeffery 5 August 1913
80 OEB/LB SM Park to James Jeffery 27 August 1913
them for the "kindly consideration" which had prompted them to ask him to reconsider and apply for leave of absence but he "regretted that he had made up his mind to retire."81 He had, however, made a radical modification to the date, for when the Otago Education Board accepted his resignation on 18 September it was noted that "at his request the resignation is to take effect at 31 March next."82 The decision was communicated to the school committee clerk.

The roll continued to burgeon. At the beginning of 1914, Jeffery reported to the committee that accommodation was now insufficient for four certificated teachers, and it was decided that the chairman, the secretary and the head master were to draft a letter to the Otago Education Board.83 It bore fruit, for the special meeting of the committee on 4 March had reported to it that the board had applied to the Education Department for "an extra room, a retiring room and an office for the school."84 But the promised relief was too late to comfort Jeffery, for the special meeting had really been called to appoint a new head master and first assistant. The candidates for the headmaster's position sent on to them by the board were William F Abel, John Kelly, Thomas R.W. Coutts and Jeffery's superannuation supporter and peacemaker, Charles G Smeaton.85 After each committee member spoke on each of the candidates the unanimous choice fell on Coutts, who was the highest qualified candidate, having a B.A. degree.86

Farewells

At his final meeting with them on 27 March 1914 James Jeffery thanked the committee and parents for the support he had received during his long service as teacher to the school.87 On his last day a

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81 ABSC Minutes 19 September 1913
82 ODT 19 September 1913 and OEB/LB SM Park to J Somerville 20 September 1913
83 ABSC Minutes 7 February 1914
84 ABSC Minutes 4 March 1914
85 OEB/LB SM Park to Alex Youngson, chairman, 19 February 1914
86 Born in Berwick, Scotland, Coutts had come to NZ as a three year old, had been 1st assistant at Tokomairiro DHS and was currently headmaster at Roxburgh. He stayed at the school until 1923 and then went to St Clair.
87 ABSC Minutes 27 March 1914
number of notables turned up at the school as "it was thought that some function should be tendered to him as a preliminary to the larger one ... in order that he might address himself to the children." Thomas Somerville presided as chairman of the Bay Town Board, paid tribute to his work with children, particularly the interest he had taken in them outside school hours, and stated that he would now be free to further the welfare of the district and "would make his name famous in the educational annals of this dominion." Andrew Cameron said that he was of the opinion that Jeffery "had set himself, quite regardless of his own personal interests, to further the interests of the boys and girls of the district ... spend[ing] himself and his substance ... to clear their minds, and make them observant and thoughtful."

Jeffery's reply began with a reference to the Ulster question, triggered by Cameron's comment that he had "not merely taught ... the routine work of the school." He reiterated in these last moments as a head master "that it was absolutely necessary that they should understand the affairs of life, in order that they might be able to take an intelligent interest in them." He was keeping the faith.

An "enthusiastic meeting" was held that night to arrange a social. This took place with "pleasant informality" on 7 April 1914. Tom Somerville again presided and paid tribute to Jeffery's work in the community on such things as the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society, the band, the library and the ferry. He praised Jeffery's attention to character building, and thought that he was retiring so young because of the amount of energy he had put into his work - a health hint once more. The presentation to him was of a plate to affix to a study table purchased but unfortunately not yet to hand, while Annie was given a china cabinet because they realised that "her assistance had been invaluable to her husband during his teaching career."  

Jeffery was "so overcome by the spontaneity and heartiness of the social" that he found it "difficult to make a coherent speech," but

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88 ODT 1 April 1914
89 OW 15 April 1914
90 He was supported by Youngson the chairman of the school committee, E.H. Clark the local M.P., Fynes-Clinton the Anglican minister, Fraer from the education board, Charles Owen, now manager of New Zealand Express, Angus Marshall from the technical school, Miss Ross, the principal of Girton College, and the ever-faithful Walter Eudey.
he reminisced about early experiences in New Zealand when he had arrived 35 years before, and about the teaching profession. His manful summary, in the spirit of the moment, was that "his career in the country had been a happy one."

But he would have been remarkably sanguine to have believed that, for he had just received a letter from the Otago Education Board which crushed any hope of further salaried employment by them.91 Exactly what he had proposed and why cannot be ascertained, but the letter had told him "that the Board could not see its way to accede to your request for special consideration in respect of allowance by way of salary on retiring." Perhaps he had proposed that he be appointed as a relieving teacher, that position which Walter Eudey had occupied back in 1900. Nothing if not the "persevering Jeffery" he wrote again. The board simply rejected the proposal once again at their April meeting - and agreed to the renovation of the teacher's residence, drainage repairs and the supply of electric light for his successor.92

He left the employment of the Otago Education Board with a cheque for £30 which he had managed to persuade them to give him for "school library books, readers, maps, science apparatus, kindergarten material, drawing books etc" once chief inspector Richardson had reported favourably "as to the character of the material mentioned." This was really a very substantial sum for them to agree to, some confirmation that he had indeed given of his "substance" over the years, as Cameron had maintained.93

His pension, granted under "the extended provisions" of the Superannuation Amendment Act of 1908, and from the superannuation fund he had been largely instrumental in obtaining, was £148.14s.0d per annum.94

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91 OEB/LB SM Park to James Jeffery 2 April 1914
92 OEB Minutes 23 April 1914; OEB/LB SM Park to James Jeffery 30 April 1914
93 the present day equivalent of $6000
94 AJHR E-9 1915
Figure 12. TEACHER CAREER COMPARISONS 1889 - 1914
The careers of Jeffery & 11 contemporaries compared at 5-yearly intervals

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<td>Otepopo (105)</td>
<td>H. M. £223</td>
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<td>MCLEOD</td>
<td>Alexander</td>
<td>Victoria (1878)</td>
<td>George St (736)</td>
<td>H. M. £376</td>
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<td>George St (897)</td>
<td>H. M. £352</td>
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<td>Kakapua (36)</td>
<td>Normal (684)</td>
<td>H. M. £152</td>
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<td>MURRAY</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>NE Valley (400)</td>
<td>NE Valley (445)</td>
<td>H. M. £352</td>
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<td>NE Valley (404)</td>
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<td>William John</td>
<td>B. Ballarat O.1875</td>
<td>Kensington (363)</td>
<td>H. M. £238</td>
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<td>Kensington (312)</td>
<td>H. M. £235</td>
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<tr>
<td>WHETTER</td>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>B. Ballarat O.1878</td>
<td>Forbury (374)</td>
<td>H. M. £224</td>
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<td>Forbury (452)</td>
<td>H. M. £317</td>
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**KEY:**
- H. M. = Head Master
- F. A. = First Assistant
- A. M. = Assistant Master
- S. A. = Sole assistant

**School & (average attendance)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Born</th>
<th>Joined OEB</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Classification</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JEFFERY</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>B. Ballarat O.1878</td>
<td>H. M. £228</td>
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**Notes:**
1. [A1]
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3. [C1]
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6. [F1]
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11. James Jeffery & Standard V pupils, 1909
William Harold Jeffery, his youngest son, is third from left in the back row.

12. The Jeffery house, Castle Hill, Andersons Bay, 1915
The lower storey of the substantial house built for his retirement in 1914.
Annie Jeffery seated with elder daughter Minnie, in nurse's uniform prior to overseas service, with second daughter Evelyn standing.
10. RETIREMENT - 1914 - 1923

"Freedom ... from school duties"

Jeffery was now free from school duties, able to pursue the welfare of the district and make his name famous in educational annals as Tom Somerville had predicted at the school farewell. What lay behind this comment, what plans Jeffery may have had, cannot be ascertained. His precipitate resignation and its withdrawal, the suggestion that he take sick leave, the modification of the date of retiring, and his belated attempt to regain salaried employment with the board all provide hints that there was a health problem in 1913, that it was some kind of partial breakdown, and that he may have felt somewhat restored in health by early 1914.

His decision to remain a resident of the Bay would seem to have been made as far back as 1907 because he had then purchased on mortgage two sections on the hill known locally as Castle Hill above the school residence and the new brick Presbyterian church. On 4 June 1913 he had bought a section in the township of Seaview down the Otago Peninsula at Otokia, but he quit this at the end of the year, and on 4 February 1914 took out a mortgage with the Oddfellows Lodge to cover the impressive two-storeyed gentleman's residence with a panoramic view across the city he had had built on the crest of Castle Hill. From the book-lined, baywindowed downstairs study and behind the large presentation desk he intended to pursue some at least of the strong interests he had developed over the years.

Being a spectator at cricket matches would have continued, for any major match that was played locally had been the occasion of an

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1 Certificate of Title under Land Transfer Act 147/265
2 It had two-storeyed double bay windows angled from the ends of house, with a verandah connecting the lower two rooms and a balcony the upper ones. Steep concrete steps took a caller up to the front door porch entrance on the topstorey and into a panelled hall, with a baywindowed parlour to the left, the main bay-windowed bedroom to the right, another smaller bedroom and then the kitchen to the left and the dining-living room to the right, from the bay window of which there was a commanding panorama of the city from White Island, over St Clair, Sunshine, the Bay inlet, Waverley and beyond to Flagstaff. An impressive staircase curved down from the upper "living" storey to three more bedrooms below and a large study.
excursion across town to Carisbrook for a man who saw three days of a Melbourne test match featuring Ranjitsinhji in 1898 or who watched with ex-patriate pride Trumper and Noble annihilate Otago at Carisbrook in March 1905, on one of the few occasions the Australians deigned to play in New Zealand.³

In a sense his approach to cricket was also part and parcel of that "proselytizing pedagogy" which characterized all his activities - his wide-world vision of knowledge and of teaching, his search for a better way over superannuation, his voluminous column writing, the educational aspects of reading and libraries and competitions. Ex-pupil John Reekie recalled the interest, advice, help and direction he had given, and had known him "on some occasions putting his hand in his pocket and giving us some financial assistance in the buying of cricket material when we were not too flush of funds."⁴ His interest found him advocating cricket strongly with his pupils as a much preferred antidote to "cram."

Given his lifelong addiction to books and reading his membership of the Dunedin Athenaeum and Mechanics Institution was to be expected. In 1898 he had joined the committee, which had in the past attracted some heavyweight local dignitaries on to it - people like Stout, Bracken, D.M Stuart, MacMillan Brown, White, Fitzgerald, and since 1895 P.G. Pryde.⁵ Jefferery served on it for several years, through a period when there was a move to establish a free library. A former mayor wrote on his own responsibility to Andrew Carnegie, who made £10,000 available if the city council would provide a site and undertake to provide £700 a year to maintain it.⁶ There was a suggestion that the Athenaeum should take over the running of the new institution, but the 1904 annual meeting was told that nothing could be done until subscribers were consulted.⁷ However, its members were unwilling to

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³ OW/PC 3 February 1898, 8 March 1905 and OW/OPS 12 February 1908
⁴ 1928 Souvenir booklet p11
⁵ Dunedin Athenaeum and Mechanics Institution Annual Meeting Minutes 31 January 1898 and 31 January 1899. The committee had over the years since its foundation in 1859 boasted such notables as Whetter as secretary, and William Moore was also on the committee in 1898.
⁶ K.C. McDonald, City of Dunedin: a century of civic enterprise, Dunedin City Corporation, 1965, Chap VII
⁷ ODT 2 February 1904
give up their autonomy, and their chess and smoking rooms. Vice president James Jeffery in chairing the 1905 meeting and moving the annual report concentrated rather on the boon that an extra two or three hundred subscribers would be in allowing reference and higher-priced books to be purchased, for much still had to be done beyond the on-going cataloguing of the reference section to improve it.\textsuperscript{8} He proposed establishing a children's library and branch country libraries as a way of achieving this end. He was pushing his barrows and interests as steadily and determinedly as always. The fact that he was vice-president, in effect chairman, in the same year that he was NZEI president was a measure of his energy, or perhaps his foolhardiness in taking on too much. As to the Carnegie Library, in 1907 the foundation stone was laid, the reference section opened in 1909 and the lending section in 1911.

Jeffery professed himself none too impressed by some of the book-buying undertaken by the Library and Reading Room Committee of the Athenaeum, of which he was a member from his second year, "being amused at who put down for books that time-killers and society mongers always wanted to get."\textsuperscript{9} He himself preferred to be what he called a "desultory reader," dipping into books, "often having three or four books on the stocks at once and generally one novel," marking the passages that struck him if he owned the book.\textsuperscript{10} He borrowed expensive volumes through the generosity of booksellers, and made extensive use of the reading room at the Athenaeum to peruse the latest periodicals, often referring to articles in the latest issues in his columns.\textsuperscript{11} He often complained that he could not afford to buy as many books as he would like, hence the bookseller borrowing, but his family would have disputed that he could afford the many that he did buy.

No doubt he made good use of the new library and of the Robert McNab Collection added in 1914, given his strong advocacy of finding a home for the papers of Dr Thomas Morland Hocken when the offer was made definite in 1904. Jeffery was attracted by the books and papers and the natural history and ethnology collections, commenting as

\textsuperscript{5} ODT 31 January 1905
\textsuperscript{6} OW/PC 7 September 1920
\textsuperscript{9} OW/PC 17 May 1911
\textsuperscript{10} OW/PC 9 June 1915
Magister in 1906 that he had had "an opportunity of a chat," had been shown part of the collection, and "marvelled why some wealthy men would not see it housed." After the "splendid result" of the public subscription and a government subsidy a special wing was finally added to the university museum and opened just before Hocken's death in May 1910. In the course of Magister's eulogy, Jeffery mentioned that the committee had been set up to administer the £6,000 Hocken Memorial Fund and that they had added to it "Mr W. Davidson of Mornington School and Mr J. Jeffery, presumably because these teachers have been (and Mr Davidson still is) prominent members of the Otago and New Zealand Educational Institutes" and might organise school contributions. He offered acknowledgement through his column.

When Literary, Musical and Elocutionary Competitions had become a reality in Dunedin in 1901, James Jeffery was on the organising committee chaired by the mayor, with Smeaton as secretary and such other notables as Mark Cohen and the trial lawyer, Hanlon, among other members. Their aim was stated as introducing competitions to New Zealand targeted at "aiding the development of literary and musical tastes and the latent talents of New Zealanders." The organisation was to be similar to those in Victoria, and this was the source of Jeffery's involvement, for over the years in his columns he outlined details of what had been done in Ballarat. On the same day that the Otago Daily Times had a sub-leader on the success of the first annual competitions, Pater was saying that he had the permission of the editor of the Witness to draw attention to them, noting that there were three or four ex-Victorians on the committee, and that he had watched the growth of competitions in Ballarat from their origins among Welsh immigrants. The next year a good word had been requested by the committee itself, and he traced the beginnings in Ballarat in 1879, and the start of the public competition in 1890. With the arrival of Magister's column he was given an additional

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12 OW/OPS 25 July, 1 and 8 August 1906
13 OW/PC 1 August 1906
14 OW/OPS 21 June 1910
15 Dunedin Literary, Musical and Elocutionary Competitions 1901 Programme
16 ODT and OW/PC 24 September 1902
17 OW/PC 5 August 1903. The beginnings were with the South Street Debating Society; and by 1903 the competition attracted prize money of £3,000
opportunity of commenting, mention of the Ballarat Elocutionary Association confirming the personal interest Jeffery had developed in elocution. After all his very first Magister columns had featured a series of articles on “the Art of Reading and Speaking,” consonant exercises and aids to enunciation.

That particular personal interest provided him with his first retirement activity, for the competitions movement was spreading to outlying areas and he went off to those at Cromwell to be the judge of “elocution and literary”, as he had the year before.

Undoubtedly, his desire to educate in citizenship motivated his passionate support of the Navy League, which he came to regard as some sort of panacea for the rot in the fabric of Empire. Here was something everyone could be involved in that would have the practical effect of strengthening imperial defences in the best possible way for New Zealand, for Germany threatened our vital sea communications with the home country. He was a founder member of the Otago Branch, and throughout 1903 and 1904 his Pater columns are sprinkled with informings and warnings. Then in May 1905 the League itself surfaces at the same time as a Times editorial on its work in schools. Throughout the years there were regular column comments by Pater, reaching a crescendo in 1912 with the “New Chapter in Empire History - our battle cruiser,” while the Navy League Annual received regular notices along the way. From Magister there was regular early support, and we can certainly detect Jeffery’s influence on the committee when he is reporting in 1909 the acquisition of a lantern and 500 slides. They were later used to celebrate the 110th anniversary of Trafalgar in October 1915, the lecturer being Frank Milner, rector of Waitaki Boys’ High School. Jeffery used the Magister

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18 OW/OPS 9 November 1904, 8, 15 and 22 November 1905 and 28 February 1906
19 OW/OPS 1/8 June, 17/24 August, 2 November 1904
20 OW/OPS 15 April 1914
21 Navy League Otago Branch Annual Report 1908; ODT 8 May and OW/PC 17 May 1905;
22 OW/PC 31 January 1912, 4 June 1913, 25 March 1914
23 OW/OPS 8 March 1905 and 28 February 1906
24 OW/OPS 31 March 1909. The lantern lecturer then and previously was Frank Milner, rector of Waitaki Boys’ High School.
25 OW/OPS 3 November 1915
column also to give the annual Navy League essay a regular boost over the years.\textsuperscript{26} In 1912 the sons of Jeffery and fellow committeeman Morrell were contestants from Otago Boys' High School, while there was a full representation from Andersons Bay School.\textsuperscript{27}

Jeffery may have expected to pursue these interests, and to make some mark again in education. He sailed into the controversy which was re-developing around Bible in Schools in June and July 1914, replying at first to letters to the editor, including one from Bishop Fitchett, and later offering a comment himself on the Nelson system and how to introduce it.\textsuperscript{28}

Serajevo - "Three Pistol Shots and a Deluge of Blood," as a Pater's comment was Headlined - saw an end to all that.\textsuperscript{29}

\textbf{Patriotism}

In one sense the Great War was an interruption to whatever Jeffery had planned for his retirement, but in another sense it was a god-send.

All the patriotism and the citizenship, teaching about which he had made a central focus of his forty year teaching career, now came to the test. He flung himself into the patriotic welfare movement. On 3 August Great Britain declared war on Germany, on 4 August New Zealand followed suit, and on 9 August a deputation met the mayor of Dunedin to suggest the organisation of foodstuffs and relief for Britain.\textsuperscript{30} Four days later a meeting was held in the Garrison Hall to set up the Otago Patriotic and General Welfare Association, to elect a 21 member executive committee representing leaders of organisations and businesses, and to establish nine sectional committees, the

\textsuperscript{26} OW/OPS 18 August 1909, 12 October 1910, 14 August 1912, 9 September 1914
\textsuperscript{27} Navy League Otago Branch Annual Report 1912
\textsuperscript{28} ODT 23 June and 1 July 1914
\textsuperscript{29} OW/PC 3 October 1914
\textsuperscript{30} ODT 10 August 1914. They were 60 Otago Boys' HS Old Boys Association members.
organisation of which was completed by 20 August. Their aims were to assist dependents, give relief to war distress, and find employment for those who lost it because of the war.

At the same time, Tom Somerville, as chairman of the Bay Town Board, convened a meeting of residents. 100 of them met and appointed a committee, of which James Jeffery and Andrew Cameron were both members, "to cooperate with the Otago Association." Five volunteers for active service were invited to come forward and were thanked by the chairman, "who hoped that they would all come back with honour."

Jeffery used his pen to immediate effect. On 15 August an expeditionary force of 1400 Territorial soldiers sailed for Samoa and occupied it, something New Zealand had wanted to do back in Seddon's time to forestall the Germans. This feat of arms was celebrated by the production of a pamphlet by J. Wilkie and Company, the printing firm controlled by the Somervilles, authored by James Jeffery. "The pearl of the Pacific where everything is different" was the subtitle of the 32 pages, with brown paper covers, a map, and photographs published with permission of the Union Steamship and the Otago Daily Times and Witness Companies.

The same combination then produced A Handbook of the Great European War of 1914. It was 64 pages in length and cost six pence, the publishers promising a donation of £25 from the sale of the book to the General Relief Fund. In the foreword Jeffery referred to it as a "brochure" which had been compiled for the "man in the street," although the army details would appeal specially to the military. Information had often been put into tables to allow comparison and

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32 OW 26 August 1914

33 James Jeffery, *Samoa, the pearl of the Pacific where everything is different. A souvenir from New Zealand commemorating the occupation of German Samoa by a New Zealand expeditionary Force on 30 August 1914*, Photographs by permission of the Union Steamship Co of NZ Ltd and Otago Daily Times and Witness Co, J Wilkie and Co Ltd, Dunedin, 1914

34 James Jeffery, compiler and editor, *Handbook of the Great European War of 1914: a reliable source of information giving details of the armies, navies, and reserves, food supplies etc of the European powers now engaged in conflict*. J Wilkie and Co Ltd, Dunedin 1914
because of the limited space, he wrote, which restriction had spared the reader an outline of German history from Waterloo to the present. The authorities quoted and the content of the pamphlet showed great reliance on his previous columns to provide the text - unsurprisingly of course. There were four causes of the war, according to Jeffery. Firstly, there was the Great Slav Movement to unify under the aegis of Russia, and secondly the Federation of the Balkans. Thirdly, there was Germanic Expansion with its openly declared policy to insist that there was no question in Europe or the world which could be settled without Germany's "active and prominent participation," along with a determination to absorb Denmark, Holland and Belgium, and to acquire ready-made colonies "whether they are obtained by conquest, surrenders, or by treaty breaking." Finally there had been the steady increase in the German navy "on the fixed principle of having a sufficient strength to deter Great Britain from thwarting expansion." The pamphlet covered the background to the outbreak through the "Dreadnought Era," the "Hague Tribunal," and the "Geneva Conventions." It dealt with Germany's foreign possessions compared with the British Empire, and "Our Food Exports to Britain," and concluded with surveys of the "Land Defence of the Principal Powers involved" and "Navies of Great Powers."

If the columns had provided the material for the "brochure," they also quickly displayed an increase in both the flow and the intensity of the nationalistic propaganda which had been a recurring feature pre-war. In November Magister was blunt. Although the column was for primary and secondary pupils he would make no excuse for touching on the Great War or for writing a great deal about "young men too backward in coming forward." On a recent walk through Princes Street "I might have wished that the Press Gang might be revived." As the tables show, the Magister column continued the science input, but any other space was turned over to comment on the the war, right up to the column's demise.

_Pater's Chats_ also swiftly developed so that hardly a column from the beginning of 1915 was not in some way focussed on the war. Jeffery began the year with the gist of two sermons on the intellectual

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35 OW/OPS 25 November 1914
36 The last Magister column was published in the Otago Witness on 19 July 1916 but continued for another year in the Times.
causes and issues of the war and a comment that "Germany has exposed her hand."\textsuperscript{37} As time went on the message of German culpability and nefariousness became more and more strident. Nietzsche with his vehement repudiation of Christian and liberal ethics, his detestation of democratic ideals, and his celebration of the superman was counterpointed with the Ypres battles; the sinking of the "Lusitania" was milked; and German want of chivalry to women and children chastised.\textsuperscript{38} The "trenchant pen" of Horatio Bottomley in \textit{John Bull} was quoted with approval when coal miners dared to suggest strike action, and the pacifists who opposed conscription were vilified, and characterized as "holding back because they are cowards or are seizing the opportunities of war."\textsuperscript{39} His readers were made aware of the German "Gospel of Frightfulness" and "The Hun's War," while the possibility late in 1917 that the Germans might be starving was welcomed as providing "a far greater chance to the Allies."\textsuperscript{40} By 1918 the future was fraught with the possibilities of Pan-Germanism, pacifism and trade union domination, all of which must be opposed.\textsuperscript{41} Indeed the evil intentions of the Germans became even more ominous after the personal revelations of James W. Gerard, the ex-ambassador who had written \textit{My Four Years in Germany} and came to Dunedin in February 1918, an event of sufficient importance to sideline the Russian Revolution.\textsuperscript{42} Jeffery was urging later that year that his readers "beg, borrow or buy" Gerard's next book, \textit{Face to Face with Kaiserism}, where they would find that war was an industry that paid the Prussians, leading him to oppose violently any suggestion that there should be no indemnity or reparations paid by the Germans.\textsuperscript{43}

Nor was the end of the war any time to drop the guard. The Chats conceded that civilisation seemed to have been saved but warned that chickens should not be counted, questioned whether a League of Nations would usher in a millenium, pondered the statesman or the politician label for Woodrow Wilson, asked if the Germans could change, and posed the query "After the War What?"\textsuperscript{44} Although the war

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{37} OW/PC 6 January 1915
\textsuperscript{38} OW/PC 12/19 May, 21 July and 1 September 1915
\textsuperscript{39} OW?PC 20 October and 6 December 1915 and 12 January 1916
\textsuperscript{40} OW/PC 26 April and 6 December 1916, and 24 October 1917
\textsuperscript{41} OW/PC 6 February 1918
\textsuperscript{42} OW/PC 23 January 1918
\textsuperscript{43} OW/PC 28 August and 4 September 1918
\textsuperscript{44} OW/PC 23/30 October, 6/20 November, 4 December 1918
\end{footnotesize}
was over the Germans were expressing no regrets and would bide their
time, so he applauded "Shun the Hun" sentiments in John Bull,
thought that it was lamentable that the British had let slip German
colonies that "were ours for the asking," and felt that while the basis of
both Britain and Germany was Christianity "the Huns had the military
God of the Old Testament."  

In March 1919 he wrote a column sparked by seeing a medal
struck by the Germans to commemorate the "Glorious achievement" of
the sinking of the "Lusitania," coupled with an appeal for food and raw
materials to prevent the Germans from starvation. It is an example of
his passionate vitriol:

It is a mistaken kindness to help you [Germans], for that will
appear to you to be decadency on our part, and will encourage
you to try again as soon as you can see your way, as soon as you
work out plans which, as the result of experience, will lead you
to think you will succeed next time. ... We can give you no food
until we Allies are satisfied; no raw products until we are
reasonably supplied; and you can have no shipping until stocks
in the Allied countries are fully replenished. You gambled for
world-supremacy and have lost. Take your licking and be
repentant; then when you have reflected and have admitted the
error of your ways, we may try to help you, though we shall be
suspicious and on our guard; and then, after a probationary
period, in which they can cogitate on the error of their ways, we
may admit them to the comity of nations. There is nothing
vindictive or humiliating in treating them this way; but if we do
this they will have a wholesome respect for us and will learn that
though we may forgive, we cannot say forget - who can forget an
injustice? It is clap-trap to say "Forgive and forget" for the
forgetting is impossible.

He did have the grace to write that "now I have let steam off ... [I] feel
better," but soften his stance? He never did.

Jeffery’s involvement in the work of the Andersons Bay Patriotic
Society in the early stages included the dispatch of Christmas “billies”
packed in cases to Gallipoli, for there is a letter in December 1915 from
the New Zealand Cairo base acknowledging their arrival - each
according to Jeffery’s annotation one of 25-30 cases sent to that date

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45 OW/PC 29 January, 5/12/19 February 1919
46 OW/PC 19 March 1919
costing 15/- each.\textsuperscript{47} Subsequently he spent much time copying into exercise books, the product of J. Wilkie and Co of course, extracts from letters and diaries from men and nurses on active service at the various fronts of the war.\textsuperscript{48} What use he made of them is not certain, but it appears that he sought them from acquaintances in the district and city, and they are another indication of the intense interest he took in the war and in reactions to it. Some have been annotated and numbered and give the appearance that they may have been used in reporting back to the Association; perhaps he may have had some idea of combining the others for publication in some way at a later stage. He did indeed use some material in his Magister column on locusts in particular and Egypt in general from a Captain Fred Waite letter.\textsuperscript{49} He also quoted a letter from his daughter, Minnie Johns Jeffery, a nurse on a hospital ship in the Mediterranean - without acknowledging paternity!\textsuperscript{50} But the copied material was not used in the columns. Another unrealized project?

One major patriotic event he was involved in was the Queen Carnival for the Wounded Soldiers' Fund. Princesses representing businesses, clubs and organisations were chosen and the one whose supporters raised the most money would become the Queen of Otago.\textsuperscript{51} James Jeffery was the secretary of the Public Service Princess's organising committee. There were demonstrations, shows and competititons over the nights from 21 to 31 August 1915 at the culmination of the fund-raising, with large numbers of people at the Kensington Drill Hall, reportedly the largest crowds in New Zealand. The final amount raised was £104,223.5s.2d.

Given the views that he had so publicly espoused about patriotism and against shirking, his family knew where their duty lay and responded to their father's expectations. All four boys were Territorial artillerymen, and the older three served overseas, the eldest

\textsuperscript{47} Letter R Heaton Rhodes, NZ Base Depot, Cairo to James Jeffery 2 December 1915. Held by WE Jeffery
\textsuperscript{48} Four exercise books of copied extracts of letters and diaries, one of which has notification cards and addressed envelopes pasted into it. Held by WE Jeffery.
\textsuperscript{49} OW/OPS 2 June and 30 June/7 July 1915. Major Fred Waite DSO survived the war and wrote The New Zealanders at Gallipoli, Official History of New Zealand's effort in the Great War, Whitcombe and Tombs, 1919. He sent a signed copy to James Jeffery (and several Christmas cards during the war). They are held by WE Jeffery.
\textsuperscript{50} OW/PC 25 October 1916
\textsuperscript{51} Plesse p39; OW 1 September 1915 photographs of events
as an officer at Gallipoli, all three in France. Minnie was a nurse in Egypt and England from 1915 to the end of the war. The fourth boy was graded C1 - "likely to become fit for active service after special training" - and, on the advice of friends, appealed against his call-up in 1917 in order to have his adenoid problem dealt with by a civilian doctor. Jeffery threatened to call him for a coward at his Military Service Board hearing, and by turning up caused the son to break down and weep in public. 52 The magistrate forestalled any outburst from Jeffery by granting an adjournment of the case sine die because of the family's war record. 53 To turn on a son and humiliate him publicly was the action of a fanatic, not a patriot.

"Famous in the educational annals"?

As has been seen, James Jeffery had not been impressed by the academic orientation of the high school syllabus, preferring to see much more emphasis on practical subjects. It was a logical extension for him to become interested in the development of technical classes and to urge his columns' readers to be interested in part time education. The extension of free places for secondary education from 1904 onwards saw a large jump in the Dunedin Technical School roll, and a new college was built from 1911 with a public contribution of £27,600, opening in September 1914. 54 Angus Marshall became principal from 1909 when day classes began with full time teachers.

There is some indication that Jeffery taught classes from 1900 to 1908. He is certainly in the Report and Prospectus for 1910-11 and 1914-15 as both a subscriber and a senior English examiner, whatever that involved, along with Alex McLean. 55 But in 1915 he had changed status, disappearing as a subscriber and taking over from McLean, who

52 Paul Baker, King and country call: New Zealanders, conscription and the Great War, Auckland University Press 1988 p111
53 Letter from William Harold Jeffery to WE Jeffery 9 June 1983; taped conversation between same 6 January 1985. William had the operation, spent another 6 months recuperating as a C1 and had completed embarkation leave when the armistice was declared. The experience was a searing one which William referred to often and which poisoned relationships with his father.
54 Jubilee booklets, King Edward Technical College, December 1939 and May 1985
55 King Edward Technical College Report and Prospectus 1910-11 and 1914-15
had gone to Alexandra D.H.S. as headmaster, as a teacher of both Senior English and Senior Commercial Arithmetic. These were evening classes, two nights a week with rolls of over 50 who paid a fee of ten shillings a term.\textsuperscript{56} The syllabus was predominantly very traditional formal grammar with a leavening of \textit{The Tempest} and Bacon's essays. The senior arithmetic syllabus was that for Matriculation and Senior Civil Service. He was also an examiner in English language and literature, Intermediate C English and Senior Commercial Arithmetic. In 1916 it was the same teaching and examining menu, except for substituting \textit{Hamlet}, but in 1917 he shared his classes with Robert R. Hunter, and the latter had taken over the classes in 1918, with Jeffery no longer an examiner either.\textsuperscript{57}

From being on the periphery of the technical classes movement Jeffery had moved into a teaching programme in the evening classes for something in the vicinity of eight hours a week after his retirement. Throughout these years he was surrounded by colleagues such as McLean, Flamank and Eudey, and would have been appointed by Angus Marshall. To be a technical school teacher may have been part of the plan to "make a mark on the educational world," but it would seem more likely that it was a natural extension into an area that in retirement he now had more time for, and wartime teacher shortages probably assisted. Nevertheless, to teach English and mathematics to matriculation level was something of a vindication for a primary teacher who had been badgered by inspectors about his standards of instruction and soundness in "the essentials."

Fate or fortune or wartime shortage had another little surprise in store for him. From 1909 onwards he had lessened his involvement in the affairs of the Educational Institute of Otago, to the point where they had bidden him a decorous farewell at the 1914 annual meeting, passing a resolution "that Mr Jeffery be thanked for his long and valuable services to our Institute, and that we wish him many happy years now that he has retired from the service."\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{56} King Edward Technical College Report and Prospectus 1914-15
\textsuperscript{57} King Edward Technical College Report and Prospectus 1917-18 and 1918-19
\textsuperscript{58} COM/EIO 5 June 1914
But the very next year he was elected secretary and treasurer.\textsuperscript{59} Was it because he had the time, interest and background, while the war was a distraction to active teachers, or was it the low ebb of interest in institute affairs? At the end of the year he and Eudey were attending a farewell to William D. Turner, the rector of Balclutha District High School, whose "great self-sacrificing action in offering his services to his King and Country in this their time of trial" was applauded by Fleming from the board and by them.\textsuperscript{60} Jeffery refuted the suggestion that teachers were not pulling their weight, with 40 out of 256 males serving from Otago and 276 out of 1620 from the whole dominion. It was time that national service was brought in, said he, adding his voice to the developing controversy which resulted in conscription the next year. It had been their initiative as individuals to attend the farewell but the next committee of management meeting instructed Jeffery to write a letter to Turner, and approved official representation at such functions.\textsuperscript{61}

A printed circular was distributed to Otago teachers over Jeffery's signature as secretary at the end of the year asking that they should "gain the incalculable benefits" of paying their subscriptions and "fall into line with progressives."\textsuperscript{62} A note at the end of the circular said that he regretted "through various circumstances that he had not been able to perform his duties as satisfactorily as he would have wished" but that he now hoped "the Institute will not find him wanting." It would seem that matters in the educational institutes were indeed at a rather low ebb, on the evidence of this rather plaintive note, the subscription hurry-up, and the notice which he published in the \textit{Journal of Education} as Registrar of Members, a liaison position between the publishers and the NZEI membership which he had taken up at the end of January 1916. Addressed to district secretaries, it asked for the names of men and women on active service, and also of honorary members.\textsuperscript{63} He augmented it with letters in the same issue in which he railed against the irritation and inconvenience which failure to pay promptly caused to him and to the publishers, and against the parsimony of the Otago Education Board in stopping pay for teachers

\textsuperscript{59} COM/EIO 4 June 1915
\textsuperscript{60} ODT 6 December 1915
\textsuperscript{61} COM/EIO 11 December 1915
\textsuperscript{62} Circular to teachers 13 December 1915
\textsuperscript{63} NZJE 15 February and General Meeting/EIO 19 February 1916
joining the services on the day military pay began. Asking district secretaries to send information to the NZEI secretary about the attitude of the various boards he concluded:

While the unjust volunteering system is allowing the more patriotic section of the physically fit to risk their lives to uphold the Empire’s ideals, we should see to it that, if possible, teachers doing so are not made to suffer financially. Nor should any democracy ask them to.

The normal work of the Otago institute went forward. They were embroiled over the conduct of the head teacher of Sawyer’s Bay school’s acting “objectionably in the matter of physical exercises for girls,” the opinion of the institute being that the report was exaggerated and that “within the school the Head Master must be supreme,” always a touchstone of the NZEI and its leadership which represented (male) authority down to “Tomorrow’s Schools.” There were three more meetings on the matter before it faded, in the course of which Jeffery issued an incorrect time for one of them and failed to forward a letter. Coupled with that December apology, Jeffery’s secretaryship was not a model of efficiency, and it was small wonder he was challenged for the position at the annual meeting, barely seeing off his challenger, Partridge, by 33 votes to 31 in a secret ballot.

It had long been the policy of the NZEI to press for a uniform national scheme of appointments based on a scheme of grading teachers. As this worked against the powers of both boards and committees it was a long, hard road to gain acceptance. Whatever they proposed foundered on a lack of political will. A big campaign was launched in 1911 to demonstrate public support for a scheme similar to that which the Auckland board and institute operated. Resolutions were to be passed at householders’ meetings, a tactic so successfully used in the superannuation campaign, but only 300 were produced out of a possible 1,800. However, the Cohen Commission came out in favour of a national scheme based on the Auckland one as a

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64 Special Meeting/EIO 17 December 1915; General Meeting/EIO 19 February 1916. There was a sequel on 7 October 1916 when a special meeting called on Flamanks’s initiative heard a charge of undermining authority against Miss Johnston of Sawyer’s Bay School

65 Special Meeting/EIO 4 March, COM/EIO 17 March and 28 April 1916

66 AM/EIO 1/2 June 1916

67 Simmonds p91
recommendation in 1912, and John Caughley, an ex-president of the NZEI, set to work on it as Assistant Director of Education.

The first grading list was published in July 1916 and the *Dominion* characterised it as a "good beginning," although conceding that there were "difficulties yet to be overcome."68 Not so, in the opinion of Otago teachers. A furore ensued, the basis of their protesting "indignantly and emphatically" being that Otago teachers stood so low on the list.69 Jeffery placed an advertisement in the *Otago Daily Times* on behalf of the Educational Institute of Otago calling on every teacher to protest against his or her position on the grading list in general terms, but also using the particular statement that "I am placed lower than X and I know of no valid reason."70 At the same time he was in touch with Caughley, arranging for him to come and address a meeting, and characteristically suggesting that it should be a lantern lecture.71

The education board temporized when confronted by their teachers' protests, saying that more information on grading was needed, but Jeffery kept writing letters to the daily newspaper to keep the pot boiling through August while he made final arrangements with Caughley.72 The meeting finally took place in the Kempthorne Hall on the Friday evening and Saturday morning, 22 and 23 September, attended also by inspectors, and by school committee and board members. This was something like the old campaigns of the past for the institute members came equipped with a series of resolutions they had considered at a special meeting, while Caughley was equipped with slides of tables and graphs as arranged.73 The minutes of the meeting note that "weaknesses and inconsistencies were exposed" but that Caughley candidly admitted them and gave assurances that they would disappear.74 It was a masterly performance and proceedings ended with hearty and enthusiastic thanks to the Assistant Director for the courtesy he had shown and the opportunity that he had given to

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68 *Dominion* 24 July 1916
69 ODT 21 and 24 July 1916
70 ODT 24 July 1916
71 COM/EIO 12 August 1916
72 ODT 18,19,22,31 August and 2 September 1916
73 Special meeting EIO 26 August 1916
74 Special meeting EIO 22 September 1916
discuss the matter. The institute itself after due reflection decided in November neither to support nor condemn grading until after the 1917 lists appeared, although finally concluding at the annual meeting next year that the grading scheme was “fundamentally unsuited for the purpose it was designed for.”

After that flurry of excitement the affairs of 1917 were much more mundane. Some time was spent in arranging for a memorial plaque for the Otago Board’s chief inspector, C.R.R. Richardson, Jeffery’s nemesis, who had died at the early age of 52. Obituaries to him and to Miss Hooper appeared in the 40th annual report along with mention of a membership campaign, enlistments and the perennial questioning of teaching as a vocation which could attract males. At the 1917 annual meeting the offices of secretary and treasurer had been separated, R.R. Hunter, Jeffery’s teaching partner at the technical college and headmaster of Arthur Street school, taking over the treasurer’s role. They were now to be remunerated at the rate of £12.10s each. Flamank and Eudey disappeared from the committee of management amidst regret that “circumstances have eventuated that have caused them to retire” after many years of service. A huge concern continued over non-payers of subscriptions, a special committee to bring them into line being set up, legal proceedings being threatened against those more than two years in arrears, and the sending of final notices being authorised. It is not the picture of an institution bursting with life.

In 1918 the NZEI encouraged district institutes to carry out vigorous propaganda on the changes to the education system which peace would require and the Otago institute dutifully organised a meeting in March at which they had speakers representing the WEA, technical, secondary and university education, and the university council. However, the manufacturers’ association and education board representatives and two MPs apologised. The annual meeting had

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75 COM/EIO 18 November 1916; Annual Meeting EIO 31 May/1 June 1917
76 EIO Annual Report 1916-17. The 1915-16 Report appears in the same place in the minute book, raising the possibility that it was late in appearing - more Jeffery inefficiency? Or did he just not get round to pasting it in in the right place?
77 AM/EIO 31 May/1 June 1917
78 COM 30 June 1917
79 COM 30 June, 1 September, 20 October 1917
80 COM/EIO 16 March 1918 and ODT 26 March 1918
very little before it apart from a printed notice from Jeffery that they should make a contribution towards the Montecillo home for wounded veterans being established at the time.\textsuperscript{81} He was re-elected secretary unopposed, but in between the July and September committee of management meetings the executive met Mr E. U. Just, another ex-president, who had been appointed NZEI organiser and was on an itinerary through Otago. It was a sign of the times and of the need for more professional organisation.

The printed 41st Annual Report of the Otago District Institute for 1918-19 covered the NZEI campaign of March, the unveiling of the Richardson memorials, the appointment of a permanent secretary to the NZEI and the rise of membership from 442 to 513 as a result of the ministrations of Just, who was to address the annual meeting.\textsuperscript{82} The report also carried a re-nomination of Jeffery as secretary, but at the April meeting of the committee of management a letter of resignation from him was accepted with regret.\textsuperscript{83} They decided to elect him an honorary life member and instructed the president to write a letter intimating "the Institute's high appreciation of Mr Jeffery's past service."

The honorifics had to wait a long time because the annual meeting was delayed by an NZEI constitutional change to 6 December 1919.\textsuperscript{84} He was replaced by T. Begg who recombined the offices and was paid an honorarium of £50.

But Jeffery was long gone to fish in another pond altogether.

\textsuperscript{81} AM/EIO 30/31 May 1918
\textsuperscript{82} AR/EIO 1918-19
\textsuperscript{83} COM 12 April 1919
\textsuperscript{84} ES 28 November 1919. In the 42nd Annual Report it was noted: "During the year Mr James Jeffery resigned his position as secretary of the institute. Mr Jeffery had, besides holding the position of secretary for many years, occupied the position of president, had represented the Otago branch on many occasions at NZ Council meetings, and had all through his long connection with the institute worked strenuously on behalf of members. It was unanimously decided that Mr Jeffery be elected as an honorary life member of the Otago Branch."
In April 1919 he had become one of 23 candidates for the 18 seats on the Dunedin City Council - an independent who did not appear at any of the reported municipal election meetings held during that month. His curriculum vitae in the *Otago Daily Times*, printed the last of the 23, outlined his career and stated that he had "taken a keen interest in working conditions." His background and credentials were sufficient to garner him 5985 votes and 13th position on the poll.

Jeffery had been active in the purely local civic affairs of Andersons Bay as has been indicated. In 1890 he was one of the shareholders in the ill-fated Andersons Bay Ferry and Baths Co. Ltd, floated to overcome the lack of easy access to the city by public transport. Railway and steam tram schemes had previously collapsed and the plan was to buy a specialized £1500 shallow-draught vessel for 70 passengers, raise the bridge across the Andersons Bay inlet, and dredge a channel to the foreshore. These things were done but the service was extremely erratic because the tides prevented sailings and caused embarrassing strandings on the mudflats. Customers deserted to the horse bus service and the company was wound up.

He was always a supporter and advocate of the public subscription library which moved from its original 1864 church vestry location to the Sunday school hall when that was built in 1892, and finally to the Bay Town building at Ross's Corner. For the 18 member brass band established in 1905 he was one of the guarantors along with Cameron, Tom Somerville and Duckworth, and so had to shoulder

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65 ODT 26 April 1919. The CV read: "Retired schoolmaster. Was born and educated in Victoria where he entered the teaching profession. Came to Dunedin in 1879 with the influx of Victorian teachers which took place at that time, and entered the service of the Otago Education Board. For 30 years he held the position of head master of Andersons Bay School and retired from the service in April 1914. Mr Jeffery has held the position of president NZEI and was for some years secretary of the Otago Education Institute. Was a member of the Athenaeum Committee for several years and chairman for 1 year. He has taken a keen interest in work conditions."

66 Duckworth p45

67 OW 16 March 1893. At the AGM Cameron, 2 Somervilles and Fitzgerald, i.e. the session of the Presbyterian Church, opposed Sunday sailings but were voted down heavily by a majority which included the chairman, Charles Owen, and James Jeffery.

68 Duckworth p47
his part of the £48 debt still owing on the instruments when objections to Sunday performances led to its disbandment.99 The Jeffery household subsequently sported two cornets and a trombone.

His columns did not often touch on local affairs, although he supported the filling in of the inlet to create an ideal recreation ground and thought that Forbury Park should be bought as a reserve at the same time.90 Occasionally he touched on transport matters, extolling the "great convenience" of the electric tramcar system which that marvellously progressive city of Melbourne was installing during one of his visits in 1895.91 When it came to the Dunedin system he supported the taking over of the Andersons Bay line by the city corporation, and by 1905 this had happened.92

Closer and easier communications with the city had always been a preoccupation of the residents, and the trams provided this, ironically also spelling the eventual end of the Bay Town Board which had been established that very same year to give residents a closer say in their own affairs.93 Amalgamation was in the air throughout the city in 1915 and a decisive poll of 425 for and 156 against saw Bay Town join Mornington and Maori Hill as part of the city. It was renamed Andersons Bay the next year.94

Jeffery was not a candidate at the first municipal elections after amalgamation in 1917, having his technical school teaching and education institute work to keep him busy. But the first of these occupations finished in 1918. His candidacy for the city council must have been decided on at a relatively late stage in April, and his resignation as secretary of the institute had followed forthwith.

Jeffery's career in local politics was brief, limited to one two-year term. He was defeated in 1921 by a combination of circumstances. In the first place the constitution of the council was changed to reduce it

99 Duckworth p47. the sabbatarian Presbyterians at work again?
90 OW/OPS 12 September 1906
91 OW/PC 31 January 1895
92 OW/PC 3 April 1901; McDonald Chap VII
93 ODT 16 February 1905; Duckworth p49
94 ODT 27 March 1916
from 18 to 12 and at the same time a ward system was rejected yet again. Jeffery voted against this and made a pretty good showing to be the closest defeated candidate in a council slashed by a third.\(^95\) In the second place a League of Loyal Citizens had been set up to select fit and proper candidates “irrespective of class or creed, party or political colour.”\(^96\) Jeffery was not on the list of eleven, and the entire list was returned along with one independent.

Against these disadvantages he had simply to place his record as an independent councillor who had decided he had two particular areas of expertise and had taken a close interest in them. Firstly, he was a constant questioner of the council’s salary and superannuation arrangements, maintaining that those on wages were disadvantaged, and that bonuses should be paid to the lower paid workers, in particular to those who had children.\(^97\) Secondly, his early interest in the tramways was to a degree reflected in those wage concerns, but it also centred on the rolling-stock and on tramways finance. He wanted the new cars, even if they were to be 10 years away, to be built in Dunedin to avoid exporting employment to other New Zealand cities or even to Sydney, although his strongest expression of this actually followed his defeat.\(^98\) The *Otago Daily Times* was never impressed with his suggestions that profits on the trams might be used to employ more married men because “they gave steadiness and greater civility,” and dismissed his ideas as wrong conclusions hastily arrived at.\(^99\)

Jeffery also worked his home patch, opposing a residential home for recalcitrants proposed for the Bay, supporting extending the trams to the cemetery and the buying of a reserve near the church for £1600.\(^100\) Now and again some flashes of his “patriotism” were seen, as when he moved that taxi licences should not be granted for ten years to those who had not fought in the war and had it passed 10-5.\(^101\) In a letter to the paper early in 1921 he propounded his view that a

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\(^95\) ODT 3 March 1921
\(^96\) ODT 9 April 1921
\(^97\) ODT 15 May, 30 October, 13 November 1919, 22 January, 13 May, 24 June, 22 July, 5 August 1920
\(^98\) ODT 10 July, 2 October 1919; Letters to editor: 8 March, 21 and 23 July, 16 August 1921
\(^99\) ODT 3 February, 12 March 1921
\(^100\) ODT 30 October 1919, 13 May and 27 November 1920
\(^101\) ODT 13 November 1919
percentage of the well-to-do were practising birth control, keeping a grip on higher educational advantages and "escaping Empire responsibilities ... to keep your cradles full."\textsuperscript{102}

He had a bee in his bonnet about war profiteering, an extension of which to profiteering in general plunged him into the hottest water of his short political career. Another letter to the editor pointed out the advantage the Australians had received from a state shipping line, and asked the question "Are the young men of the future ... going to risk their lives while others keep whole skins and wax fat?"\textsuperscript{103} His colleagues' response was typified by Councillor Scott's sneer at the next council meeting that he "looked on Councillor Jeffery as a municipal joke ... all he did was to write nonsense to the newspapers."\textsuperscript{104}

But he sniffed profiteering in the purchase of land by the council from Otago Tallow and By-products to extend the catchment of the Southern Reservoir. Seven acres which had been bought by them from T.K. Sidey for £22 in 1919 were now offered for £780, reduced to £350 when the council jibbed.\textsuperscript{105} Jeffery wrote a letter to the paper revealing these details, which had come to light during a committee inspection. A roasting would accurately describe his reception at the next council meeting. Protocols had been broken, standing orders breached, he was "named" and chastised both for dealing with matters in the press and showing "a great lack of tact and a total lack of business procedure."\textsuperscript{106} They were surprised that "a man of Councillor Jeffery's learning should have been guilty of such conduct." He was accused of having made an elementary mathematical mistake about water flows and capacities, and dismissed as "an experienced schoolboy" amid derisive laughter. The apparent error and the "man of learning" gibes obviously bit because he defended himself vigorously in a letter to the paper two days later, particularly the validity of his calculations.\textsuperscript{107}

At least it raised his profile in the run up to the election.

\textsuperscript{102} ODT Letter to the Editor 21 January 1921
\textsuperscript{103} ODT Letter to editor 21 January 1921
\textsuperscript{104} ODT 3 February 1921
\textsuperscript{105} ODT Letter to editor 12 February 1921
\textsuperscript{106} ODT 17 February 1921
\textsuperscript{107} ODT Letter to editor 19 February 1921
Perhaps that is what he intended. Perhaps that is what his attackers feared?

When it came to the elections Jeffery was nominated by Walter Eudey and W.M. Finlayson, and placed on the approval list of the Protestant Political Alliance along with all but nine of the candidates - notably the three Labour ones and McManus of the Workers' Union. But he was not on the League of Loyal Citizens' ticket and may well have decided that active electioneering would not bear fruit. Whatever the case, the third factor weighing against his re-election was his disappearance during the month of April to Melbourne for no readily explained reason. He had done exactly the same thing when facing election to the NZEI executive in 1906 and the result was exactly the same. He was defeated, polling a clear 1300 fewer votes than the jeering but fellow-independent Councillor W.A. Scott.

The final things

Perhaps he had intended to be absent in Australia for a very short time, but in the event it was some months before he returned to Dunedin. In a June Chat he wrote, "I am away on my travels and owing to an untoward accident I am now marking time in Melbourne." There was irony in the fact that that he injured himself in running to catch one of his Melbourne trams. Exactly what sort of injury he received and whether it was more than a simple tumble the comments of a previous generation remained vague about, although the deterioration in his health was sheeted home to this incident. However, by the middle of June a Chat announced that he was back "like a wanderer who has returned to his own country." By the end of July and the beginning of August he was also back in the letter columns of the Otago Daily Times, with comments on the tramways system which indicated that he had also visited Christchurch and Wellington, and Sydney as well. But if this was a continuation of the non-election campaign with some thought of a 1923 comeback at 65 it

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108 OW/PC 14 June 1921
109 OW/PC 21 June 1921
seems to have lapsed quickly.

The only remnant of public life was his remaining newspaper column, and that of course was still conducted under the Pater pen-name rather than openly. The contents remained the mixture much as before, with a regular leavening of war memoirs as they came from the pens of Jellicoe, Ludendorff, Fisher, von Tirpitz, and Sir Ian Hamilton. The warnings remained about Germany's recalcitrance, the rising threat that Japan would be in the future, and "the White Australia Question." The enforced time in Australia was a trigger for reminiscences on Ballarat and Bendigo, the Melbourne mails (reduced then to once every three weeks instead of three times a week - a measure of Dunedin's decline in status), and Burke and Wills. There are still the adjurations to read, but the books looked at individually were much more likely to be about current affairs, like Tawney's *Nationalisation of the Coal Industry*, and titles like *Emigration Fields, Amritsar and our duty to India, The Making of Europe* and Amundsen's *By Plane to the North Pole*. He acknowledged that when he talked of putting aside six pence or so a week to build up libraries for themselves such as the Everyman's Library or the Nelson's series, he was talking in terms of 2/6d and 2/9d a book, whereas before the war they were 1/- only.

The column had deteriorated in substance and in style from its heyday, and the fixations became more fixed. A latter-day one of these was on the Pan Pacific Union, the conference at which Frank Milner, the rector of Waitaki Boys' High School, burst on an international audience, outshining all "with the fluency of his words and his fertility of thought." Jeffery probably regarded him as something of a protege, as they had met in the Navy League, and Milner's imperialistic sympathies were totally in tune with his own. Apparently he had also had an invitation to attend but declined because he did not have the

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110 OW/PC 17 September, 30 Dec 1919; 30 January, 2 March, 17-30 August 1920
111 OW/PC 19 March, 14-28 May 1919; 10 May 1921
112 OW/PC 17 May, 14 and 28 June, 2-16 August 1921
113 OW/PC 2 November 7 December 1920; 25 January, 1 March 1921; 13 July 1922
114 OW/PC 18 October 1921
115 OW/PC 13 December 1921
money.\textsuperscript{116} Time and again he refers to the conference and its aims through November and December of 1921 and February and March of 1922, about 13 Chats in all, with four repetitions of the aims!\textsuperscript{117}

The 4 April column on "Things Chinese" was very jumbled, and on 11 April he wrote "I am going to take a loan of the Witness this week," and then launched into an account of his family's involvement in the Great War:\textsuperscript{118} "4 representing 'Pater' at the front when Peace was declared" and three came back unscathed although touched with gas; mentions of Gallipoli, and "the Passchendaele 'stunt;'") into Germany "and saw the end;" and then the quotation of a postcard from Albany on the way to Egypt dated 1 November 1914! "Mine did their bit," he wrote, and had now returned to private life and to work but "cannot make up past time: nor can they make up arrears ... these must be reckoned the white man's burden." Then came an outline of the peace conditions decided at Versailles and announced in the House of Commons by Lloyd George. He applauded with relish the thought of "the Pan German left to weep over his shattered dream of booty."

The light was going out of the column, and this one was at once maudlin, triumphalist, and muddled. On the other hand it was in a way an epitaph to the column and to the man, and a fitting place for him to stop - in the moment that the enemy was routed, humiliated and punished, and the patriot had triumphed. The final two contributions were on the "Victoria Cross" and on the "Glory of Anzac," published on Anzac Day 1922.\textsuperscript{119} The next day he received his final monthly payment of £2.\textsuperscript{120}

His journalistic career, spanning thirty four years, was over.

And so, virtually, was his life. He died on 12 August 1923, two days before his sixty fifth birthday, of a cerebral haemorrhage.\textsuperscript{121} But

\textsuperscript{116} OW/PC 13 September 1921
\textsuperscript{117} OW/PC 5 July, 30 August, 1 November - 13 December 1921; 10 January, 28 February, 7-28 March 1922
\textsuperscript{118} OW/PC 11 April 1922
\textsuperscript{119} OW/PC 18 April and 25 April [Anzac Day] 1922
\textsuperscript{120} ODT Cash Books 1920-1 and 1922-3. The last payment of £2 was made on 26 April 1922
\textsuperscript{121} Death Certificate
he had been ailing for a considerable time. The death certificate notes that he had had "arterial degeneration" - hardening of the arteries - for a period of three years, back into 1920 and before the final Melbourne excursion and accident. For some months before he died he had to have full-time nursing, and his family found him as an invalid extremely difficult to handle.

So had the opponents with whom he josted in so many arenas over the 47 years since he had landed from the S.S. *Ringarooma* with five other Victorian teacher compatriots, as part of an influential injection of professional talent which contributed significantly to the Otago educational scene.

James Jeffery's was not the least of those talents or of those contributions.
On 14 August 1923 the Otago Witness published an obituary to James Jeffery. It outlined his teaching career and then continued:

Mr Jeffery, who was a very successful teacher, took an advanced view of the possibilities of his profession, with the result that he induced his pupils to take an interest in the important matter of civics before this phase of educational activity was generally recognised as a matter to which attention should be more pointedly directed. The welfare of the teaching profession was another matter to which Mr Jeffery earnestly devoted himself. He took a prominent part in the life and work of the Otago branch of the New Zealand Educational Institute, and at various times held office as president, secretary, and treasurer of that body. He also took an active part in the movement which led to the establishment of the Teachers’ Superannuation Fund. The deceased took a keen interest in municipal affairs, and after his retirement from the teaching profession he served on the City Council for two years from 1919 to 1921. ... For a lengthy period Mr Jeffery had charge of a widely read column in the Otago Witness - "Pater’s Chats With the Boys."

The eulogists at anniversaries, farewells, unveilings and jubilees present a portrait of a man who made an impact in all the activities he was associated with. They spoke and wrote of a friend and of a teacher who was different because his broad view of education encompassed not merely the rote accumulation of knowledge but opened up the world to his pupils in order to make them independent thinkers and to build their characters; of an activist in educational affairs who provided leadership which was persistently bold and unflinchingly aimed at furthering the welfare of others; of a community leader taking an interest in the welfare of the district.

These were considerable claims but they were consistently made, and they are backed to some degree by the evidence that this study has traversed. They are, nevertheless, but part of the story, and the various public tributes at least hint at a much more complex, interesting and enigmatic figure than the one presented for public approbation on occasions when to more than hint at other matters would have been
inappropriate.

"A keen interest in municipal affairs"

Andersons Bay cannot be characterised as anything more than a very small pond to be prominent in. In the early 1900s Stone's *Directories* catalogued it as a settlement too scattered to treat in street form, and although Jeffery worked there for the establishment of a local library and band and mutual improvement society, none of these was of influence beyond the small settlement. Moreover, although willing to undertake committee work with the Athenaeum, the Competitions Society, and the Navy League he only chaired the first, and that simply because it was his turn in a society which, like the NZEI, had a firm tradition of a single year in the highest office. His foray into local city politics was short-lived and ineffectual, the issues he raised being largely peripheral and his approaches often naive.

"A very successful teacher"

In contrast was his ability to inspire a love of learning and a curiosity about world affairs in his pupils. On the memorial tablet which they erected in his honour within months of his death, and which is still displayed at the school, they inscribed the word "friend." It seems unquestionable that pupils who had been through his hands looked back at his teaching as having been important in shaping their lives and careers. So they applied the word "friend" to a teacher:

... who really took a personal interest in each one of us, and in every way possible did his utmost to equip us for the work that lay ahead of us, and to make us good citizens in the highest and best sense of the term."¹

This was indeed a very personal influence because every pupil during those 28 years passed through his class and his hands for three if not four years. Two complete generations attested to this. His farewells were chaired by ex-pupil Thomas Somerville, and Somerville's nephew,

¹ JA Reekie, 70th Jubilee p10
also an ex-pupil, James Somerville, presided at the memorial tablet unveiling and the seventieth jubilee. His approach to teaching and learning obviously suited many of his charges very well, and they were the affirmers. It is probably arguable, however, that those who were less than able and for whom there might have been security in strict regimes may have floundered. For that reason the strictures of the inspectorate were justified when they talked of "a breadth of treatment suitable to pupils a stage more advanced than the majority of those under him,"2 or an enthusiasm which carried "both teacher and pupils away from subjects ... not so interesting ... but ... as educational, as educative and as disciplinary."

"An advanced view of the possibilities of his profession"

The methods he used with his classes were without doubt in advance of his time. He advocated in his columns, and we know that he carried through into practice, programmes of extensive and expansive reading, including periodicals and newspapers. He took his classes on visits to factories and work places, to ships, to the winter show and to the museum. He suggested participation in, led expeditions to, and was himself a first hand witness of "events" such as coronation celebrations, provincial jubilees, the Dunedin and Christchurch exhibitions, and the visits of the Duke of York and his hero Kitchener of Khartoum. His classroom was festooned with maps and prints, often culled from periodicals he personally subscribed to, and copies of which, along with the newspapers, were always to hand for the pupils to read. His school had a library of which his committee was exceedingly proud, there was a local suburban library which he took a close interest in, and he did his best to see that the Athenaeum had a reference section which made a trip to the city worthwhile for the studious.

His personal reading tastes were eclectic, his appetite for reading insatiable, and as a knowledge-addict he wanted to infect others. Which is not to say his interests were omnivorous. John Nichol might recall that before his arrival they knew the main rivers of China and

2 Fitzgerald, IR 1902
2 Robertson, IR 1911
Africa, but little or nothing of those of New Zealand, and that Jeffery soon opened their eyes to the beauty of their own country, but remarkably few of his columns deal with New Zealand or the Pacific, while of art and music there is next to nothing. On the evidence of his writings Jeffery could not be said to be a truly cultured person, but rather someone who had educated himself by reading and who was drawn to and comfortable with history, geography, economics, current affairs, applied rather than theoretical science, and the standard works of literature. There were distinct signs of an interest and a radical stand in theology but they were kept in firm check to avoid readership-diminishing controversy.

This was a man before his time, who welcomed the prospect of liberation from rote learning and the parroting-back of arid information. He preferred to replace them with observation and deduction and thinking for oneself. He invested heavily in advocating change along the lines of Hogben’s “new” syllabus, and assisted its introduction by conducting the Our Public Schools Column in the Times and Witness, albeit being reasonably handsomely rewarded for his trouble. All the evidence seems to point to his having remained an advocate in deed as well as in word, for the disparity between the deleterious comments of the inspectorate and the generally supportive affirmations of the school committee indicated a refusal to kow-tow which, however courageous and morally commendable, was professionally damaging.

A tension was always there between an advocate of seizing the educative moment and the raw material at hand from the surrounding environment, either physical or geopolitical, and an inspectorate who were much more comfortable with schemes carefully written down and adhered to religiously. So from an early stage there were quibbles about timetables that did not show the work in sufficient detail, or were not displayed on the walls, or were simply not completed; about schemes of work which were not methodically arranged, closely followed, or systematically presented; about teaching which needed to be more thoroughly impressed on the minds of pupils, or required more

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4 John Nichol at plaque unveiling ODT December 1923
5 Petrie, IR 1888, 1891 and 1893; Fitzgerald, IR 1906
6 Richardson and Robertson, IR 1911
memorizing. Inspectorial criticism might come hot and heavy, but itself lacked the very consistency it was demanding of him: the children answer well one year, the next year they do not; arithmetic is very good, it is very weak. One can sympathise with the inspector's lot. If timetables were not up, schemes not to hand, and material unable to be regurgitated at will, how were the guardians of standards to measure what was going on? It was not as if his classroom was a inchoate shambles in any way - order and discipline were always remarked on positively. It was just that he refused to conform to the letter of the regulations and the inspectorial requirements which emanated from them. In Jeffery they were dealing with an educational guerrilla; and give him his due, he remained one. What is more, the future was with him and his approaches were the way of the future. He was perhaps a generation ahead of his time.

On the other hand it must be admitted that he was not coping at all well with the burgeoning roll of his latter years, and the strictures about his lack of firm organizing were justified, even giving due account to the lack of staffing and Jeffery's health problem, whatever it was. By this time also he may well have been calculating that with a pension of £148, the continuing column remuneration of about £100, and the prospect of some teaching at the technical college promised by Angus Marshall, he could be financially little worse off and yet be finally quit of his petty tormentors.

"The welfare of the teaching profession"

If his reputation and the justification for this study are to be established by some activity of national significance, then it would be in his contribution as a teacher politician. He served a long apprenticeship and took an active interest in many facets of NZEI policy. Readers, teacher indemnity, corporal punishment, Bible in schools, "cram," salaries, the curriculum - in all of them he showed himself to be a loyal foot-soldier, willing to do the committee work, to write the pamphlets, to travel, to advocate on behalf of members, and to encourage teachers to become members.

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7 Goyen, IR 1909 and 1910
6 Goyen, IR 1909, and Robertson IR 1911
9 Goyen, IR 1909 and Robertson IR 1912
And then he found his *cause celebre* in teachers' superannuation. It would seem that the details of the schemes he espoused were those of others like Stenhouse and Smeaton, but it is equally certain that he led the campaign. He was a sturdy battlefield leader, always ready and spoiling for combat; he was a master of the quick offensive attack; but his abilities as a strategist and long-term planner must be queried. He had developed a formidable and acidulous pen, and his uninhibited debating style often discomfôted and sometimes enraged. He discerned that the conservative NZEI leadership was weak-kneed and far too ready to compromise in order to obtain a scheme. What he did not develop was any ready ability to see beyond the immediate skirmishing to the compromise that would have to be the basis of any ultimately acceptable scheme. His root-and-branch approach, a hallmark of his outlook on many matters, was at one and the same time an ultimate weakness and an ultimate strength. Armed with it he could stymie the machinations of the conservative cabal, and he could encourage his own provincial institute into taking some action which would push their (and his) ideas. Saddled up for that action he could not seek the coalitions which might have placed sufficient political pressure on Seddon to decide in their favour. As it was, year after year James Jeffery led a group implacably opposed to accepting the 1902 scheme and then modifying it in operation. This study has tracked the internecine arguments which enabled the premier to side-step the issue, and has placed Jeffery as the major agitator who kept the sounds of dissension loud enough for him to do that. But then again Jeffery did not do it alone and in many ways he was merely the person who articulated the concerns of a substantial section of the teaching force.

What has been argued is that Seddon granted a scheme when it suited him politically, and if that is the case Jeffery's Fabian tactics were of little importance. On the other hand, by articulating the concerns of that substantial section, concessions were wrung from the Colonial Treasurer as to the level of government subsidy, the calculation on sixtieths, and the inclusion of a widows' mite that were not there in the 1902 scheme. The jury is probably still out and will remain so.

What is not in doubt is that Jeffery showed as many weaknesses
as strengths in the course of the campaign. He seemed constitutionally unable to concede any probity of intention to opponents, he brooked no criticism, and listened to no alternative suggestion, unless it emanated from Otago in general and Smeaton in particular - provincial small-mindedness and cronyism at its worst. He spoke and wrote first and then tried to explain away the consequences when a hurt had been delivered and the damage done. Smeaton must often have found him as difficult an ally as Davidson did an enemy.

"An interest in ... civics before this ... was generally recognised."

Time after time Jeffery's determination to link the study of current affairs to developing the ideals of citizenship and the building of character was commented upon with approval. The approbation of someone like Andrew Cameron, an undoubted force in the Otago High Schools' Board, the University of Otago Council and the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, was indeed powerful endorsement.

When the local member of parliament, C.E. Statham, unveiled the memorial plaque at the 1923 school breakup, he stipulated that one of James Jeffery's best points was that he was "a great Imperialist, and stood for King and country unflinchingly."10 But not uncritically, for he was constantly the Jeremiah, dolefully warning of the consequences of incomprehension of the motives of rival powers and of the Empire's unpreparedness to meet the global challenges. Reading his tirades at the end of the century we have to remind ourselves that the studies of the School Journal's contents prove that Jeffery was not alone or in any way unusual in his emphasis on the imperial theme. But he developed it into the cornerstone of his educational philosophy and to a degree which probably was unusual, while his classroom excursions on this hobby-horse was one of the factors bringing down on him the approbrium of the inspectorate. Furthermore, his actions and comments during the Great War, extending as they did into the relationships in his family life, smack of obsession rather than just patriotic enthusiasm.

10 ODT December 1923
"A widely read column in the Otago Witness"

From the perspective of a century or so on James Jeffery's career is not of interest for the reasons that seemed to be important to his contemporaries. Contrary to predictions he did not make his mark as a leader in a significantly wide community; the personal influence of his teaching on individuals has died with them; the efficacy of his teaching methods and the methods themselves remain in dispute; his leadership in teacher politics was contentious then and is forgotten now.

His significance as an educationalist of interest centres on the fact that we can enter into his worlds more minutely than those of his contemporaries because of the immense amount of writing he did for the Otago Witness and the Otago Daily Times. As "Pater" and "Magister" Jeffery reached a wide audience with his beliefs and views. In Chats with the Boys and Our Public Schools' Column we are offered insight into the factors which moulded his world view, and which he in turn used to mould the attitudes and outlook of the generations of his school pupils, and of his young and not-so-young-readers. It is here that his true uniqueness lies - not in the views themselves, but in the fact that they were so comprehensively outlined and their progression can be so minutely traced in reaction to and comment on events of his times.

We may wonder at the vehemence of some of the opinions, at the crassness of some of the judgements; we may wince at the racism and chauvinism; we may squirm at the glorification of war while denouncing it. But we are left with a fascinating compendium of insights by a Victorian headmaster into the events and the ideas, the ideals and the fears, the beliefs and the prejudices of a world which was brought to an end by the Great War. Collectively they are a social document of unique scope and of considerable importance.

Just as James Jeffery was an incorrigible teacher, it is his columns which can continue to teach us about his worlds.
His ex-pupils did not just erect a brass plaque to his memory; they also provided a capital sum with which to establish a book prize. The bookplate which accompanies each prize down to the present day reads "James Jeffery Memorial Prize for general knowledge of current events ... instituted by Mr Jeffery's Pupils out of Love and Respect for their Friend and Teacher."

The bookplate concludes with a quote from the Victorian poet, Philip James Bailey, now obscure, but highly regarded among his contemporaries. James Jeffery would have approved the sentiments of the couplet from his poem *Festus*, and the lines are a distillation of the kind of citizen he had hoped to produce:

He most lives who thinks most,
Feels the noblest, acts the best.
13. Memorial Tablet
Erected to James Jeffery's memory in 1923
& now hanging in the gymnasium

ANDERSON'S BAY PUBLIC SCHOOL

James Jeffery Memorial Prize
FOR GENERAL KNOWLEDGE OF CURRENT EVENTS

Presented to

Standard

This Prize was instituted by Mr. Jeffery's Pupils,
out of Love and Respect for their Friend and Teacher.

"He most lives who thinks most,
Feels the noblest, acts the best."

14. James Jeffery Memorial Prize book plate
Still used for the present-day awards
## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>ABSC/Minutes</td>
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<td>Appendixes to the Journals of the House of Representatives</td>
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<td>Minutes of annual meeting of Educational Institute of Otago</td>
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<td>ANZHES</td>
<td>Australian and New Zealand history of Education Society</td>
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<td>COM/EIO</td>
<td>Minutes of Committee of Management of Educational Institute of Otago</td>
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<td>New Zealand Journal of Education</td>
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<td>NZPD</td>
<td>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</td>
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<td>New Zealand Schoolmaster</td>
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<td>Press</td>
<td>Christchurch Press</td>
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Appendix 1 - PATER'S CHATS WITH THE BOYS
SYNOPSIS OF TOPICS FOR 1889

14 February Holiday to Melbourne
21 February Eureka Stockade. The Indian Mutiny
28 February "Drat the Boys" Max O'Reilly. Hayti or the Black Republic
7 March Black Republic. The Dunedin Exhibition-essays? Sir John Lubbock
14 March Russia, Persia & Afghanistan - 1839, 1878.
21 March Persia - the Shah, relations, character.
28 March NO COLUMN
4 April Monmouth Rebellion, Judge Jeffreys. Action of the sea
11 April Ballarat
18 April Stanley & the finding of Livingstone. The tsetse fly
25 April Good Friday, Easter. Thursday. Phoenix Park
2 May NO COLUMN
9 May Central Asiatic Railway. Bokhara the Noble
16 May Cologne. Domiciliary visits in Russia
23 May Paper companies' trust - repeal of tax. Essen, Mauritius
30 May Queen Victoria's coronation [Queen's Birthday]
6 June NO COLUMN
13 June Exhibition Essays
20 June Exhibition Essays. George McNauff-14 years at Port Molyneux
11 July Vambery. Persian Treaty. Russian police vigilance
23 July Father Damien & leprosy [Hawaii]. Frosts
1 August Keep books clean & neat. Trade in Congoland
8/15 August HM Stanley. Congo Free State. Berlin Congress 1884
22 August Russian fleet to Corea. Meaning of geographical names.
29 August Salt trust. Salt - uses, where found.
12 September Column for upper standards. Better name. Trade Unions
19 September Peasant's Rebellion - Richard Il
26 September Wages - real & nominal
3 October Hoang Ho & Yellow River. Holland
10 October Rotterdam. Russ. mobilise on Austr/Germ border-war scares.
17 October Treaty of Berlin
24 October Kiel & German navy. Berlin
31 October NZ & South Seas Exhibition. German university duelling
7/14/21 November Visit of Lord Wolseley of Indian Mutiny to US
28 November Why the world goes round
5 December The Exhibition is now open. New York
12/19 December Africa, Zambesi - Professor Drummond's "Tropical Africa".
26 December Santa Claus
Appendix 2 - PATER'S CHATS WITH THE BOYS
SYNOPSIS OF COLUMNS FOR 1899

5 /12 January  *Northward over the Great Ice* Peary
19/26 January  *In the Forbidden Land.* Walter Savage Landor
2,9,16,23 Feb  *Through Asia* Dr Sven Hedin [Pamirs]
23 February  Correspondence on Anglo-American Union & patriotism.
2 March  The light side of cricket
16 March  A few examination howlers
23 /30 March  *A fleight in being* * Kipling-praise of poems
6 April  What is a gentleman? *Life of Henry Drummond*
13 April  50 years of telegraphy
20 April  Samoa & Germans. *Southern Cross* to Port Chalmers
27 April  St George's Day. *With Kitchener to Khartoum* GW Stevens
4 May  1000 years of King Alfred in 1901. *Cruise of the Cachalot*
11 May  *Admirals All* Newbolt
18 May  *Cruise of the Cachalot.* Cricket
11 May  Captain Cook's ship. France and the Nile - Fashoda Incident.
18 May  Suggestions for a cheap library.
25 May  Britain vs Russia in east. Correspondence
1 June  Party government and the referendum. Pater against parties
8 /15 June  What became of Cook's *Endeavour*?
22 June  France & her colonies - Fashoda
29 June  Correspond. refuting *Endeavour* story. Liquid air.Federation
6 July  The Transvaal. Prohibition - bitter controversy raging
13 July  Weather reports and what they teach. Federation-20 June poll.
20 July  NO COLUMN
27 July  Boer or Briton, Republic or Dependency? Olive Shreiner's vindication of the Boers.Conference between Milner & Kruger

3 August  Struggle for colonial empire
10 August  Mahan's *Life of Lord Nelson*, *Life of Lord Roberts*. China
17 August  Federation or Isolation? [Australian voting on Federation]
24 /31 August  *Naval Pioneers of Australia* Louis Becke & Walter Jeffery
7 September  The Transvaal: massing of armaments from overseas
14 September  The Pacific a Yankee sea? *Egypt in 19th century*
21 September  Morocco
28 September  American slang. Dreyfus & Zola.Cricket-5 hrs school enough
5 October  Otago Witness map of Transvaal. Orange Free State.
12 October  Queen Elizabeth. *Elizabethan Seamen* Froude
19 October  The crimson thread of kinship. The Otago contingent. Transvaal
26 October  The War; the ethics of war. Cows that eat ants milk.
9 November  Origins of Union Jack & Stars & Stripes
16 November  Trooper 3809: private soldier of Third Republic
23 November  Why fighting the Boers? Pater accused of turning - hasn't.
30 November  Wreck at Dusky Bay.
7 December  Social England under the Regency
21 December  Through Arctic Lapland
28 December  The Transvaal War - setbacks - Buller should have retired?

* British Govt. should be pilloried. Silent Sea Power.
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<td>13 Jan to 3 Feb</td>
<td>Parliamentary reform &amp; Pankhurst agitation at Home</td>
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<td>10/17 February</td>
<td>Catholic Emancipation</td>
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<td>24 February</td>
<td>School bookclub at Home. Suggested titles for own library.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 March</td>
<td>Catholic Emancipation concluded</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 March</td>
<td>Durbar at Jodpur. Asia for Asians. Egypt. East Indies</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 March</td>
<td>Some personal requests for books. Beetles: the larvae stage</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 March</td>
<td>Fusion of occidental &amp; oriental</td>
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<tr>
<td>31 March</td>
<td>Great Britain &amp; Germany - imminent danger</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 April</td>
<td>The building of the &quot;Dreadnought&quot;</td>
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<td>21 April</td>
<td>Uganda Railway. Churchill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Apr-26 May</td>
<td>Churchill</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 May</td>
<td>Empire Day: Helping the Motherland</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 June</td>
<td>Helping Motherland. Boer War. Naval subsidies. History making</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 June</td>
<td>Colquhoun's &quot;Problems of the Pacific&quot;. Union Jack poem</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 June</td>
<td>Federation of Empire</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 June</td>
<td>Death of Huria Matenga - brave deed 1863, Nelson</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 June</td>
<td>Word or two on words.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Jul-11 August</td>
<td>Shakespeare</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 August</td>
<td>First steps towards literary style</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 August</td>
<td>In praise of literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>1/7 September</td>
<td>How to interest children in good literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>15/22 September</td>
<td><em>In Australian Tropics</em> Alfred Searcey</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 September</td>
<td>Commercial geography</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 October</td>
<td>Decade of Empire consolidation</td>
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<tr>
<td>13-27 October</td>
<td>People's Budget in UK. Secretary for War on Empire</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 November</td>
<td>Preferential trade &amp; British taxpayer</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 November</td>
<td>Life of Frank Buckland</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 November</td>
<td>Liquor. Corporal punishment. Capital punishment</td>
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<tr>
<td>24 November</td>
<td>Educational ideals of Italian Renaissance</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 December</td>
<td>Invasions of Britain: Roman, Angles etc, Danes</td>
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<tr>
<td>8/15 December</td>
<td>Parliament &amp; privileges - Grand Remonstrance /Bill of Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 December</td>
<td>House of Lords &amp; coming election</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 December</td>
<td>Parliament at Home</td>
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