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ABSTRACT

This is a detailed study of the values embodied in and transmitted by state primary schools in New Zealand between 1890 and 1914. After describing the creation of a network of primary schools and the means by which regular attendance was secured it describes the schools' role in fostering the conventional virtues and certain widely-held social attitudes through the "hidden curriculum", through school discipline, and through teachers' example. The social and moral content of schoolwork is then analysed with particular attention to what was said about New Zealand itself and about Maoris and racial differences. A detailed examination is made of a number of attempts to enlist the schools in particular social and moral causes: religious education, temperance, the inculcation of patriotism, sex education, military training, "correct" speech, and secular moral instruction. The closing chapters consider the differential impact of schooling and credentialling on children from different social classes and on boys and girls. This study draws on a wide variety of sources and makes extensive use of a large collection of school texts of the period. The values schools transmitted reflected a middle class consensus, not seriously challenged by workers. The content of schooling was chiefly contested by middle class groups seeking to purify and improve the existing social order. Middle class groups were ambivalent towards the emergence of a distinctive national identity, but the schools fostered, often as unintended consequences, certain aspects of national identity.
"Socialisation", like "education" can be stretched to include almost any cultural transmission to the young. This study, however, is concerned with New Zealand schools' role, in the past, in forming pupils' moral and social attitudes.

Morality has to do with questions of right and wrong when human good or harm are at stake, usually - but not always - because people's interests differ. But our notions of right and wrong in such situations, and of what we ought to do for others, or avoid doing to them, are acquired in a social context along with beliefs about the sort of world this is, what the people in it are like, and what sort of people we are ourselves. Thus, while the centre of gravity of this thesis is moral education or character-formation it necessarily deals with social, sexual, religious, racial and political beliefs and values, a constellation of concerns conveniently summed by the term "socialisation".

The social and moral content of New Zealand schooling has only recently been given much detailed attention by historians of education, and then only in certain more obvious aspects. Campbell's and Butcher's older, whiggish histories certainly deal with discipline and the curriculum, but chiefly in order to show that the former was harsh and got milder while the latter was originally rigid and irrelevant but was later modified to better suit New Zealand children's capacities and experience.1
John Ewing's more recent history of the primary school curriculum touches on some matters explored in this thesis, e.g., military training and temperance, but the formation of moral and social values is peripheral to his work, not central, and many topics dealt with here are not touched on at all or only mentioned in passing.²

For many years the only detailed study of the social content of New Zealand schooling was Jenkins's examination of the early School Journal³, and it is only recently that a few historians have made special studies of some of the more striking attempts to shape social attitudes in schools. Malone has set the "Imperial ideology" of the early School Journal in broader context than Jenkins⁴; McGeorge and Openshaw have written parallel studies of the cadet movement in primary schools⁵; and Tennant has examined efforts to differentiate the curriculum by sex in order to foster domestic and maternal virtues in New Zealand women.⁶

But the general subject of this thesis is by no means exhausted by these studies and there is no body of research in New Zealand comparable to Goldstrom's work on the social content of British schooling in the nineteenth century, or to the growing body of research in Western Canada on the schools' role in socialisation.⁷

The period studied is from 1890 to 1914, roughly the time in office of the Liberal government whose industrial and social legislation attracted world-wide attention for some years. That interest in New Zealand did not, however, extend to its education system and the procession of people who came to marvel and went home to write does not mean a bonanza of contemporary comment on education in New Zealand.

The Webbs were the only nineteenth century visitors to say much more than an Official Yearbook might have said and they were quite unimpressed. They accepted the verdict of their travelling companion, Charles Trevelyan, on the primary schools: "...much inferior to London,
and even to any North Country provincial town," and Sidney Webb wrote to Pember Reeves, by then in London, "By the way, Education has gone to sleep, from the bottom to the top, and N.Z. is clearly behind the best now." Reeves himself has little to say on education, either in The Long White Cloud or in State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand.

After 1899 the cautious Habens was succeeded as Inspector-General by the energetic Hogben; free secondary schooling was made available to the able and deserving, and expenditure on education rose markedly. Looking back at "the Hogben era" A.G. Butchers could scarcely contain his enthusiasm: "Unquestionably, in 1904, the New Zealand education system stood at the very forefront of the education systems of the civilised world." But once again visitors from overseas were not excited by any colonial novelty of educational arrangements or by any achievement along traditional lines. There was nothing in the education system to match the novelty or scope of New Zealand's land or industrial legislation and visitors generally confined themselves to noting that there was a system of free, secular, and compulsory schooling which was, some added, good of its kind.

While the New Zealand school system during the last decade of the nineteenth century and under Hogben caused not a ripple in the development of western educational thought and practice this period of our educational history is, however, highly significant in its New Zealand context. The introduction of free places in secondary schools, for example, began an irreversible movement towards universal secondary education and the equally irreversible process of credential inflation which now locates the major point of selection by examination in the senior secondary school, not at the end of primary schooling as it was at the turn of the century.

The pressure for centralised control of the system which had built up during Habens's last years in office was released and channelled
by Hogben and the syllabus was overhauled in 1904. It is not surprising that Butchers's long tract on efficiency and economy in educational administration and Ewing's general study of the curriculum should attribute great significance to educational events in Edwardian New Zealand.

But this period is of equal significance for anyone interested in the schools' role in shaping values and attitudes for the schools were increasingly seen as a way of reaching and moulding a captive, impressionable audience and of solving a number of specific and political goals. How could people be equipped to fight "the battle of life" - in town and country, as clerks, tradesmen, or as wives and mothers? How could people be moved and equipped to defend New Zealand, to fight the Empire's battles, and to understand New Zealand's position in the world and in the Empire? How to offset a decline in the birthrate, solve the "servant problem", and reduce infant mortality? The answers to such questions lay in the moral and intellectual benefits expected from additions to the school system: manual training, agricultural education and Nature Study, training in day technical schools, domestic science for girls and military training for boys, medical inspection, physical drill, flag-saluting and lessons on patriotism.

All sorts of individuals and groups shared the authorities' growing awareness that the school system built up in the nineteenth century was there to be used for special social and moral purposes. What cheaper way could there be to carry one's message to every part of the colony than to have it added to the curriculum, pinned up on classroom walls, or announced as an essay topic? Temperance campaigners, those opposed to gambling and smoking, advocates of sex education, and authors of schemes of moral instruction became increasingly insistent, and sometimes successful in their efforts to
gain access to the schools. The Bible in schools lobby, active since 1877, grew increasingly well-organised and vociferous.

The same chorus of saviours of the nation through schooling was heard in other dominions too. As a Canadian woman teacher put it in 1900, "You could not open your schoolroom door for a breath of fresh air without having someone with a mission fall in." 11

The period 1890 to 1914 is also significant for the increasingly New Zealand flavour of primary schooling. Local textbooks appeared in increasing numbers in the 1890s and by 1905 it was possible to cover the complete syllabus with locally produced texts. For the first time New Zealand children could read about themselves and their country in their miscellaneous readers, their geography and history books, and, after 1907, in the School Journal. This local material and the general atmosphere of schools now largely staffed by New Zealand-born teachers, helped foster a sense of national identity and foreshadowed a number of things for which New Zealanders have been criticised: their excellent opinion of themselves, their obsession with games, and their great eagerness to fight other people's wars.

Nineteen-forty-five is a less arbitrary place to end than 1890 is to begin. Hogben retired in 1915, leaving the Education Act 1914 as his monument and as a codification of the changes effected under his administration of the school system. More important, however, was the outbreak of war in Europe in August, 1914 and the way in which the war dominated public discussion and economic and political events.

This thesis is limited to European schooling and deals with Maoris only to the extent that they made use of education boards' schools rather than the Native School system or they were discussed in texts and journals used in state primary schools. Barrington and Beaglehole have dealt with Maori education at length and I am not qualified by experience or access to materials to add to their work. 12
This thesis is also largely limited to an examination of primary schooling, partly because a detailed examination of secondary schooling would unduly extend an already bulky work, but chiefly because the majority of New Zealand children experienced primary schooling, and only primary schooling, notwithstanding the considerable expansion of secondary education in the early twentieth century.

It is also confined to state schooling, again partly for reasons of size but also because any detailed consideration of private schooling in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presents enormous problems with sources. A couple of readily available autobiographical works show how different Catholic primary schooling was from state schooling, and how keenly aware Catholic children could be of this. But Catholic primary schools operated in a different milieu and with different aims from other church schools and an ever-changing array of more or less genteel private adventure schools. In view of this diversity this thesis deals with private schooling only when it impinged on the state system.

One final limitation must be freely acknowledged here: this thesis has an undeniably Canterbury flavour for reasons of location and hence access to primary material. While I have made as much use as possible of sources with a New Zealand application many of my examples and illustrations are drawn, perforce, from Canterbury committees' records, Canterbury newspapers, and from the records of the Westland, Grey, and North and South Canterbury Education Boards. To burrow as deeply into other districts' records would have taken more time than I care to contemplate and had I worked elsewhere I would, inevitably, have had to apologise for the Wellington or Wanganui flavour of much of my illustrative material. As matters stand, however, it should be pointed out that the West Coast Boards are good examples of small sub-systems while the North Canterbury Board's records give a good indication of the
operation of a larger, better-established district: things could have been much worse.

No great novelty of method or sources is claimed for this thesis. Where it is statistical it is no more rigourously numerical than, for example, David McKenzie's recent studies of school attendance. Any novelty lies more in subject matter than in methods or materials, save in one respect and that is the use made of school textbooks.

The thesis is organised thematically rather than chronologically with groups of chapters which proceed from less to more conscious efforts to shape attitudes and values, from ground rules and shared, often unstated assumptions, to more public and controversial matters.

Chapters 2 to 4 deal with efforts to build up a school system and extend the benefits of schooling to those who stood in need of them. Chapter 2 outlines the way in which the national system weathered the depression of the 1880s and 1890s and was extended to put a school within reach of almost every child. Chapter 3 describes the effort to make schooling more effective by securing regular attendance and it shows how competing demands for school attendance and child labour were reconciled, while chapter 4 deals with attempts to further increase schooling's impact by increasing, in various ways, the length of time children spent under teachers' influence and oversight.

Chapters 5 to 8 deal with the experience of schooling in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and with the school's role in fostering the conventional virtues and certain widely shared social attitudes through what has come to be called the "hidden" or "unstudied" curriculum. Chapter 5 discusses schools as workplaces and meeting places, the messages they conveyed thereby and the social effects of children's meeting and mixing, or failure to meet and mix. Chapter 6 looks specifically at school discipline and the social expectations which it embodied while chapter 7 considers the moral benefits which
were expected to flow from the study of particular school subjects. Chapter 8 discusses the social position of teachers in view of the public expectation that they would be untiring advocates and enforcers of moral and social virtue, as well as constant examples of rectitude and industry.

Chapter 9 is the first of a group of chapters examining the social and moral content of schoolwork and it deals with the emergence of New Zealand textbooks and the analysis of curriculum material. Chapter 10 examines the way in which conventional morality was urged and illustrated in classroom material and gives an account of what textbooks had to say about social class, children's place in the scheme of things, and about the respective interests, duties, and capacities of boys and girls. Chapters 11 and 12 look specifically at the New Zealand content of school material of the period and what it had to tell children about themselves and their country and about race in general and Maoris in particular.

Chapters 13 to 20 deal with deliberate, often controversial, attempts by particular individuals or organisations to use the school for specific social and moral purposes. Chapter 13, which deals with efforts to suppress a developing local accent, nicely illustrates respectability's ambivalent attitudes towards national identity and so it follows on naturally from the discussion of New Zealand in chapters 11 and 12. Chapter 14 deals with the Bible in schools issue: while chapter 15 turns from public debate on the place religion should occupy in public schooling to investigate the extent to which it figured there anyway. Chapter 16 discusses efforts to implement schemes of secular moral as alternatives to religious instruction and chapter 17 deals with sex education. Chapters 18, 19 and 20 discuss efforts to use the schools to suppress the use of tobacco and alcohol, to foster patriotism and loyalty to the Empire, and to train up a future army of loyal marksmen by organising military training in primary schools.
A good deal of what has been outlined so far deals with messages schools transmitted or were urged to transmit to all pupils, rich or poor, boys or girls. Chapters 21 and 22, however, consider the differential impact of schooling on particular sorts of pupil, and they relate this to the schools' role as accredited gatekeepers with the power to issue or withhold formal credentials. Chapter 21 outlines the development of the examination system and free secondary schooling and considers these in relation to social class. Chapter 22 outlines the way in which the school system was used to glorify and preserve women's traditional subservient, domestic role.

These two chapters are not a fully detailed analysis of education's role in meeting manpower demands, nor do they attempt to relate educational developments to a detailed analysis of New Zealand's social structure: they are not an attempt to do neo-Marxists' homework for them. They simply examine the very clear messages schools gave children about the world and their place in it as workers, citizens, and parents, and they show how, by labelling and sorting, the schools could show that these messages were correct.

Chapter 23 draws the themes running through the thesis together by way of summary and conclusion. Schooling became the almost universal experience of an extended childhood and the concept of adolescence developed with industrial and social legislation and the introduction of free secondary schooling. Schools acted as agencies for the transmission of middle class values and social attitudes, most notably when the reformers were numerous and in agreement. Efforts to use the schools failed, however, where middle class factions were evidently at odds. While this study shows the way schools reflect the broader society it also demonstrates that schools are not automatically at the service of a single dominant group: influence must be mediated and attempts to use the schools were often contested and thwarted.
This thesis is about New Zealand and increasingly about New Zealanders for that is what the generation which came out of the schools before the Great War were, however readily they might have said "Home" to mean the Britain they had never seen. These conclusions are, for the most part, not particularly novel; but they come in a novel form—demonstrated, not merely asserted.
Notes to Chapter 1


Chapter 2

BUILDING A SCHOOL SYSTEM

New Zealand's national system of primary schools officially came into being when the Education Act 1877 came into force on the first of January, 1878. There were many who said that the new scheme must fail because it was too ambitious and too expensive, or because the people would not tolerate a purely secular system. But the new national system falsified such gloomy predictions by surviving demands for a denominational system instead, and surviving the much more serious threats presented by the severe depression of the 1880s and 1890s and a series of conservative governments bent on retrenchment.

For many years the national system bore the marks of the provincial diversity the Education Act had been drafted to overcome, but by the early twentieth century it could be confidently claimed that it was really a national system with a uniform syllabus, national salary scales, and a much more uniform system of finance and administration imposed by an expanded Department of Education on the protesting education boards.

After the turn of the century, in more favourable political and economic circumstances and under Hogben's energetic direction, the education system expanded to include free secondary schooling for the deserving in a range of institutions, manual training in primary schools and the beginnings of an organised system of medical inspection and of special education for the retarded.
That twentieth century expansion and diversification was politically and economically possible because it built on a widespread, publicly accepted system of public elementary schools built up in the nineteenth century and in the face of considerable difficulties of finance, communication, and climate.

How had the primary school system which Hogben inherited been maintained and extended? There is no need to deal here with the passing of the 1877 Act for that has been well covered by Butchers, Mackey, and Dennis.¹ Nor is it very much to the point here to catalogue the utterances of Robert Lowe, Dr Kaye-Shuttleworth, Mathew Arnold et al, or their antipodean echoes, in order to explain why anyone in the capitalist west ever wanted a state school system in the first place. The question is not why New Zealand got a school system but how Tutaenui got a school.²

Table 1

Growth of the Public Primary School System 1878-1914

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<td>1888</td>
<td>112,685</td>
<td>1,158</td>
<td>79.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>117,912</td>
<td>1,227</td>
<td>79.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>122,620</td>
<td>1,317</td>
<td>80.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>127,300</td>
<td>1,434</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>131,037</td>
<td>1,561</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>131,621</td>
<td>1,655</td>
<td>83.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>130,724</td>
<td>1,706</td>
<td>84.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>132,262</td>
<td>1,754</td>
<td>84.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>135,475</td>
<td>1,827</td>
<td>85.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>139,302</td>
<td>1,894</td>
<td>86.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>147,428</td>
<td>1,998</td>
<td>87.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>156,324</td>
<td>2,096</td>
<td>87.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>166,264</td>
<td>2,214</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>178,509</td>
<td>2,301</td>
<td>90.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.
Table 1 outlines the growth of the public primary school system between the Education Acts of 1877 and 1914. Roll numbers are not the most reliable measure of the use people made of schools in the nineteenth century when attendance was often sporadic and there was a considerable turnover of pupils whose names might remain on registers long after they had withdrawn completely. On the other hand attendance figures are not without their problems either for in the nineteenth century there were two ways of computing average attendance, the "strict average" and the more liberal "working average" which was permitted at first, abandoned as an austerity measure, and then reinstated in the 1890s. Roll figures were at least recorded under a consistent system and do indicate the numbers in contact with the school system, even if it was only a loose association.

It can be seen that reported enrolments nearly trebled over this period, and when the enrolment of those under five in the late 1870s is taken into account, along with the better book-keeping of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is reasonably safe to conclude that the effective enrolment of children of school age more than trebled between 1877 and 1914.

Recording the number of schools open at the end of each year is not such a simple matter as it might at first appear for sometimes official reports counted half-time schools separately, and sometimes they recorded each pair as one school. (They are counted separately in Table 1.) Nor do the end-of-year totals in Table 1 record the full number of primary schools ever opened before 1914. Each year a number of small schools were closed, some temporarily and some forever, as the population moved or aged, as the frontier or public works advanced, or as communications improved.

The net totals, however, tell a very clear story. The number of schools open at the end of the year more than trebled between 1878 and
1914 with an average increase of about forty schools per year and some periods of much more rapid growth, and with a consequent decline in the average size of school.

Table 2
State Primary School Enrolments as Percentage of School Age Population and as Percentage of all School Enrolments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrolments at state primary schools</th>
<th>State primary rolls as percent of population 5-15</th>
<th>State primary rolls as percent of all school enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>14,953</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>34,404</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>62,866</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>87,811</td>
<td>69.9</td>
<td>86.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>110,644</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>88.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>124,063</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>87.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>133,364</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>132,911</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>135,934</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>84.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>154,152</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>178,824</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>81.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: New Zealand Census.

Note: Census figures differ slightly from December rolls in Department of Education reports.

Table 2 is based on census data which enable enrolments to be compared with population figures. What is most immediately striking is the rapid growth of public primary school enrolments between 1871 and 1878, i.e., before the national system came into operation. Arnold points out that much of this growth is accounted for by what he calls "The Great Leap Forward" in North Island rolls, and of similar data he says, "They place the 1877 Act as an episode in the course of a period of rapid educational advance towards universal elementary schooling."³ It was this development, Arnold argues, which made the 1877 Act politically and economically possible by meeting southern opposition to any national system which would have to take over grossly disparate provincial systems.
The rise in the proportion of the age-group at public primary schools was pushed along by the Education Act with the figures rising by another ten percent in the three years after the Act. By the late nineteenth century state primary schools came to cater for more than three-quarters of all children aged five to fifteen and nearly nine out of ten five to fifteen year olds enrolled in any school. State primary schooling became the almost universal experience of New Zealand children, and for most children the experience of schooling only involved state primary schools.

The declining figures in column three of Table 2 in the twentieth century reflect, in part, the growth of private schools but owe much more to the expansion of the free-place system in secondary schools. These figures indicate not a decline in the proportion of children experiencing state primary schooling but an increase in the numbers graduating from that to something else.

Table 3

Enrolments in State Primary Schools as Percentage of Population at Specified Ages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1916</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>79.7</td>
<td>81.0</td>
<td>79.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>90.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>83.6</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>92.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>90.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>89.2</td>
<td>91.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>72.8</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>76.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: New Zealand Census.
Table 3 shows that as the period advanced schooling took up a bigger chunk of childhood. People sent children to school earlier, as the figures for five and six year olds indicate, and children stayed longer. There was a particularly notable increase in the percentage of thirteen-year-olds at school, from under 60 percent to over 75 percent by 1911, an increase which owes a good deal to the raising of the leaving age from thirteen to fourteen in 1901.

In the 1940s, reflecting on New Zealand from a distance, John Mulgan wrote, "Everyone in New Zealand went to the same schools and learned the same things, and this gave us a common basis for any conversation we cared to have." This was not strictly true (see chapter 5), but as a generalisation on New Zealand childhood it will do.

This expansion and comprehensiveness was achieved in the face of considerable difficulty. In many places the numbers turning up in the late 1870s to take advantage of the new free schools far exceeded the number of school places available and the authorities had to resort to makeshifts. One expedient was to rent space, and in Dunedin marquees were erected beside schools in high demand in 1878. It is hardly surprising that even urban committees did not exercise their right to compel attendance during the early years of the national system.

Notwithstanding the "Great Leap Forward" there were marked disparities between provinces in the percentage of school-age children catered for when the Act came into effect. Table 4 shows that there was still a pronounced North-South difference in this matter. (The Westland figure for 1878 is suspiciously high but has been carefully checked.)
Table 4

Enrolments in State Primary Schools as a Percentage of the School-Age Population in Each District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1878</th>
<th>1886</th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1916</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>77.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>75.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>74.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>69.6</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>73.9</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>71.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>75.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>78.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>80.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southland</td>
<td></td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>77.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: New Zealand Census.

Butchers concluded that the North Island was denied any of the extra resources needed to overcome this disparity because building grants were always distributed according to population, not need.\(^6\) Arnold, however, has shown that Butchers was mistaken in this. During the first few years after the Education Act, and before the depression of the 1880s took firmer hold, Parliament made large appropriations for primary school buildings (see Figure 2). Arnold calculates that during the years 1878 to 1880 the North Island boards got about £24,000 more than would have been due to them had these grants been distributed according to the results of the 1878 census, and of that £24,000 a disproportionate amount went to the northern boards with the most pressing needs. Thus Hawke's Bay got an extra £7,000, 50 percent more than it would have been entitled to on a population basis, and Taranaki got 40 percent more.\(^7\) It was not until 1880, with an election coming up, that the government adopted the policy of apportioning building grants in accordance with strict population figures.
Expenditure on education from appropriations between 1880 and 1914 is given in Figure 1.

![Graph showing educational expenditure from appropriations, 1880-1914](image)

**Figure 1. Educational expenditure from appropriations, 1880-1914**

A number of sources of funds must be taken into account in determining precisely how much was spent on education in any one year. Most expenditure was from "ordinary and territorial revenue", i.e., from the Consolidated Fund, but grants for school buildings came chiefly, but not exclusively, from the Public Works Fund. This fund was made up of loan moneys, receipts from miscellaneous minor sources and, in the early twentieth century, transfers of current surpluses from the Consolidated Account.

The chief items of expenditure from the Public Works Account were railways, roads, immigration, the extension of postal and telegraphic services, lighthouses and harbour works, and public buildings. Typically, about 8 or 9 percent of expenditure from the Public Works Fund each year was on public buildings, including schools. Grants to boards for buildings are shown in Figure 2.
In addition to funds from the Public Account education authorities received income from endowments. University colleges and endowed secondary schools managed their own endowment lands: primary school endowments were managed by School Commissioners who handed over the net proceeds to education boards. This income was set off against the statutory capitation grants due to boards under the Education Act. In 1880 income from primary endowments only amounted to 4.3 percent of the total sum appropriated by Parliament for education. This percentage rose slowly to 8.9 percent in 1893 and then declined to below 6 percent after 1906. Over the period 1879 to 1914 the amount handed over the boards was, on average, equivalent to 6.8 percent of total appropriations for education.

Education boards' income from endowments can be quite readily ascertained but tracing secondary schools' and university colleges' net income from this source is a much more difficult matter involving the perusal of sometimes very sketchy statements of account. The total
annual expenditure on education given in Figure 1 and Table 5 thus leaves out of account endowment income, favouring a readily obtainable consistency over a difficult, perhaps impossible comprehensiveness. The expenditure on secondary and higher education included in Table 5 thus includes subventions to institutions, the cost of the free place scheme in high schools, buildings, bursaries and scholarships - but not income from fees or endowments. Records of parliamentary appropriations have the advantage that they show governments' current commitment to education rather than institutions' present enjoyment of past largesse.

Table 5
Percentage of Total Education Expenditure on each Branch 1878-9, 1896-7, 1916-7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1878-9</th>
<th>1896-7</th>
<th>1916-7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head Office</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>71.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher training</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Schools</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant Life Protection</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special schools</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial schools</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Report. AJHR.

Figure 1 very clearly shows the restraints on educational expenditure imposed in the 1880s with actual reductions in 1882, 1884, 1888, and 1889. The decline in building grants shown in Figure 2 contributed very largely to the reductions in overall expenditure.
Table 5 shows, for selected census years, the way in which educational expenditure was allocated. To produce this table some items of expenditure in the nineteenth century were reassigned to conform with twentieth century practice. (Appendix A gives actual expenditure under each heading for all census years during the period and shows how the sub-totals were derived.)

Table 5 shows how the education system expanded and diversified in the twentieth century. The amount spent on primary education (see Appendix A) more than doubled between 1901 and 1916 but declined from 83.5 percent to 71.3 percent of total expenditure from appropriations.

Calculating the percentage of total government expenditure which was devoted to education over the years is also a somewhat problematic matter for the way in which expenditure was reported changed more than once between 1879 and 1914. Figure 3 is based on a consistent series of figures published in Statistics of New Zealand and recording expenditure from the Consolidated Fund under standard headings. One of these

![Graph showing percentage of total expenditure on education from 1890 to 1910.](image)

Figure 3. Educational expenditure as percentage of total expenditure out of revenue, 1880-1914.
standard headings is "Public Instruction (including school buildings, industrial schools, Native schools and Deaf-and-Dumb Institution)". The figures on which Figure 3 is based do include some expenditure on buildings, but not if the funds came from the Public Works Fund. The figures given under the heading "Public Instruction" are thus not quite a complete record of expenditure on education but they are drawn up on a uniform basis over a long period and provide a valuable indication of education's relative share of public funds.

Figure 3 indicates that the rapid expansion in educational expenditure in the twentieth century was made possible chiefly by a general expansion in revenue and expenditure, not by any major diversion of resources to education from elsewhere. Table 6 compares expenditure from revenue on education with expenditure on other services.

Table 6
Percentage of Total Expenditure out of Revenue Allocated to Selected Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1884</th>
<th>1894</th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charges of the Public Debt</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitals, asylums, charitable institutions</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judicial, legal, gaols, Police and Armed Constabulary</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Militia and Volunteers</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Instruction</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post and Telegraph</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railways</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Age Pensions</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure from Ordinary and Territorial Revenue (£000)</td>
<td>4,101</td>
<td>4,352</td>
<td>6,434</td>
<td>11,825</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics of New Zealand.
When Table 1 and Figure 1 are taken together the severity of the financial restraints imposed in the 1880s becomes very clear. Total expenditure was actually less in 1890 than it had been in 1883, but enrolments had increased by more than 25,000. There had been doomsayers in Parliament when the Act was debated and as the depression deepened they spoke up again against the mounting cost of the national system. Could it remain free, J.C. Richmond wanted to know in 1880: "Does the government intend to introduce fees or rates for public schooling?"8 William Rolleston, the Minister of Education, assured him that it did not, but the question of curtailing public schooling or charging for it was to be raised again and again in the 1880s. Public and parliamentary debate on possible retrenchments in education were, in many ways, a repetition of the 1877 debate on the Education Act, but this time the debate was about a system in being. Conservative critics of public education did not have to content themselves with gloomy predictions as in 1877; they could point to the real, rising cost of state schools and to the administrative shortcomings of the system.

It was, however, politically difficult to argue against an existing system in which identifiable groups had particular interests. The alarms and excursions of the 1880s, indeed, provide a nice demonstration of what was politically possible by way of trimming the state school system. Despite the hope of some churchmen the national system was not forsaken for a dual system as in Britain, nor was free education curtailed as conservatives demanded. Significant cuts were made in some grants but the national system survived in its basic form.

It was, of course, politically difficult to argue against public schooling on the sole grounds that it cost a lot; a more common conservative complaint was that the free system was so extensive as to be demoralising and socially disruptive. Thus in 1880 G.M. Waterhouse argued in the Legislative Council that school should be confined to the
"three Rs" because "The colonial system of education was such that it was unfitting a large class of persons for the position in life to which they had been called," and he was joined by a considerable chorus of members in the course of a lengthy debate on the cost of education. Such sentiments were not confined to parliamentarians; in 1883 Bishop Luck of Auckland told a select committee, "I have a private opinion of my own...that children are being educated to an unnecessarily high standard. We want servant maids to scrub the floor, not girls to play the piano."  
These arguments were common in the 1887 election campaign. Reform Associations composed chiefly of larger landowners and businessmen were formed in a number of places to urge cuts in educational expenditure and the Civil Service as well as free trade and an end to borrowing abroad. The Reform Associations and their supporters argued that the school system was too fancy and too costly. As a first step, argued a typical letter to the papers, we should "cut out a good deal of the 'ologies'". "A more insane system of extravagant expenditure never was devised for a young country", wrote another correspondent who went on to show himself word-perfect in the Reform Association's programme. The government should abolish Standards V and VI because "A thorough grounding in the 'three Rs' is enough to pave the way for the after education of the world", and the present system was inspiring in the young "an almost universal dislike for manual labour". The "vampire school system" should also be trimmed by raising the age of entry to free schooling to seven.  
Defenders of the national system were able to meet such attacks by appealing to working class and rural interests and by appealing to expert opinion. Any claim, for example, that New Zealand schools educated very many children to a very high standard in the 1880s was greatly exaggerated, as anyone connected with the schools knew well.
Hodgson, the Nelson inspector of schools, wrote in 1881:

It is broadly and very generally alleged - 1st: That the kind of education given in our primary schools is such as to unfit the children for their future work in life, and 2nd: That expenses might be largely curtailed if the instruction were confined to the bare elements of reading, writing and arithmetic.

But, he pointed out, most children left after Standard IV, the standard of exemption, at about the age of twelve, and of the New Zealand schoolboy he dryly remarked:

No apprehension need be felt lest the scraps of geography, grammar, and history that he may have picked up should be a serious obstacle to his success in after life.\(^{13}\)

It was easy, too, to condemn conservative demands for retrenchment as attacks on the poor by the rich. Some historians, most notably Keith Sinclair, have seen the 1887 election as the first in which class interests emerged in an organised form.\(^{14}\) This view is supported by the debate over education and the role of the Reform and Liberal associations in the campaign.

Class lines were not, of course, always clearcut. Charles Bowen, begetter of the Education Act 1877 and a respectable Canterbury conservative, resigned from the Reform Association because of its attacks on education.\(^{15}\) And William Pember Reeves, deeply involved in the 1887 election campaign in Christchurch, wrote to William Montgomery:

The growing hostility to the Education Vote is most alarming; I assure you honestly that it is real and spreading here. I know nothing of the House, I speak only of this place. The poorer people are passing the word along against the top standards.\(^{16}\)

But there was no doubt in Robert Stout's mind where the battle lines were drawn. If the people listened to wealthy critics of the school system, he told a Dunedin audience, "the future of the children will be blighted, class distinctions raised, and an attempt made to keep the people hewers of wood and drawers of water."\(^{17}\) He won applause and
cheers when he told another audience that he would not be party to amending the system in "the slightest particular" and that he would "decline to allow it to be undermined by the rich." 18

Rural interests also told against demands that the school system should be curtailed. Struggling settlers were as dependent on free state schools for their children as urban workers; and the system of education board elections gave rural committees a powerful voice in the selection of board members. For these reasons Atkinson's government, when suggesting retrenchments in 1887, was careful to say that whatever might be done no rural school would be closed.19

The considerable representation of education boards in parliament itself also set clear political limits to both retrenchment and administrative reform of the system. In later years MPs' membership of education boards was publicly criticised. In the 1890s a Canterbury committeeman said that his committee automatically eliminated MHRs when voting in education board elections because they were "totally unfitted to fill such positions".20 Why even bother with board elections another committee member wondered in 1904: "Some farmer is almost sure to be elected...Why not just take the first to enter the saleyards on any certain Wednesday and save the expense of advertising?"21 In 1901 J. Blair, the chairman of the Wellington Education Board, went so far as to urge the direct election of boards rather than the "fancy franchise" then (and now) in force.22

This would have been heresy twenty years earlier for the fancy franchise established by the 1877 Act had a clear purpose; the election of the right sort of people, including MPs and substantial farmers, to education boards. There was, in fact, a considerable sigh of relief when the fancy franchise worked as intended at the first election under the new system, and for most of the remainder of the nineteenth century the presence of MPs on education boards was taken for granted, if not as a matter on which boards could congratulate themselves.
Between 1877 and 1900 87 men held the position of chairman of one education board or another: 24 of them were also, at one time or another MHRs, and three of them were MLCs. During the same period 30 men served on the Auckland Education Board: 11 of them were MHRs. The networks of information and influence thus established told against attempts to alter the system set up in 1877-78.

While some MPs were sensitive to the additional dignity conferred on them by a seat on an education board MPs in general were mindful of the aspirations of their constituents, many of them immigrants and many of them "Vogel immigrants" to boot. Arnold has argued, with a wealth of supporting detail, for the connection between the Vogel-inspired drive for immigrants and the "Revolt of the Fields" which led large numbers of rural labourers to forsake Britain for New Zealand. Arnold notes the frequency with which such immigrants' letters to Britain mentioned a real, novel choice in the new land between sending one's children to school or out to work. "In New Zealand it was much easier to be ambitious for one's children's education."

The commonplace wish parents hold for their children to have opportunities that they themselves never enjoyed was a customary part of an immigrant's luggage. That wish, coupled with many Vogel immigrants' mistrust of the "parson's schools" they had left behind, provided a wide base of popular support for the national system and made any reversion to a voluntary or denominational system a political impossibility. Thus when Vogel told a political meeting in 1887 that he was in favour of "a less costly system" he struck a chord with some, but he backtracked for the benefit of others and in recognition of popular feeling.

But I am bound to say, notwithstanding the walking sticks I hear on the floor, that in my opinion the great majority of the Colonists, having got this system, are not inclined to part with it and mean to keep it. (Applause)
But while the considerations outlined above protected the system from structural changes they did not shield it from all retrenchment. The national system as a whole weathered the storm of the 1880s, but some rigging was carried away. John Hall's ministry, which took office in 1879, disavowed any intention of returning to fees or rates but it moved to restrain expenditure. A telegram to education boards in July 1880 announced that the government had decided to reduce the Education Vote by £32,000 per annum by abolishing the additional ten shillings per capita which education boards had been able to hand on to school committees. It was further announced that as from the end of June, 1881, no capitation would be paid on children under five, thus revoking a decision promulgated in 1878. (In 1879 3.7 percent of pupils were under five.)

The Whittaker and Atkinson ministries which succeeded Hall's included many who had been in Hall's cabinet and were equally watchful over expenditure. Total expenditure in the year to March, 1884, was scarcely more than it had been in 1880-81 although rolls had risen considerably.

Under the Stout-Vogel ministry, August 1884 to October 1887, total expenditure rose once more, but the increase was hardly a cornucopia. The increase is accounted for by a partial restoration of the capitation grant to committees and by increases in average attendance and hence in the number of statutory capitation grants to education boards. The "skinflints", as those who advocated retrenchments in public expenditure were dubbed by their opponents, were not mollified by the modesty of these increases in expenditure and as the 1887 election drew near there were more and more calls for retrenchment: New Zealand could not afford the system it had, let alone any increase in expenditure.
The Stout-Vogel ministry was defeated in 1887; Stout lost his own seat in the debacle; Harry Atkinson became Premier once more, and George Fisher became Minister of Education. The Lyttelton Times, a leading liberal organ, was upset: Fisher had earlier proclaimed himself in favour of sharp retrenchment and of excluding five-year-olds from school. Fisher might well say that he had changed his mind on these matters but, the Times wanted to know, who is to say that he will not change it again? "The affable householder has kindly handed over his keys to the obliging burglar."29

Atkinson's financial statement in November, 1887, announced the Government's intention to ascertain whether "moderate savings" could be made in education without "weakening the system". He did not rehearse the full programme of the Reform Association but he specifically mentioned excluding five-year-olds and cutting out the capitation grant to committees once more. In recognition of rural interests, and of the political limits to retrenchment, however, he also said that whatever scheme was adopted, no country school was to close.30

The next day J.G. Wilson, MHR for Foxton, moved the setting up of a parliamentary committee to see "if the present large expenditure on education can be reduced without impairing the efficiency of the school system, or closing the country schools."31 Fisher was lukewarm about this proposal at first and the newly elected Pember Reeves was mocking: "The government, having resolved to hang the system, now proposes to try it."32

While the committee was at work Fisher, to develop the Lyttelton Times' metaphor, attempted to make off with the silver by issuing an Order-in-Council to rule out capitation grants for five-year-olds.33 There was sharp reaction to this. The Otago Education Board sought a legal opinion from Stout who concluded that the new regulations were contrary to the Education Act and Fisher was castigated in the House for
usurping Parliament's role and pre-empting the decisions of the select committee.  

The committee itself interviewed or received written submissions from a wide range of people: officials, members of education boards, inspectors, clerics, and teachers. After five weeks it concluded that it would be unable to bring down a full report before the end of the session but in the meantime it concluded that it was "inadvisable at present seriously to interfere with the education system."  

McKenzie comments that the committee served the Government's purpose well enough because a selective summary could be made of the evidence presented and this summary used in the House to support proposals for retrenchment. That summary showed, inter alia, that the majority of inspectors of schools favoured or did not oppose raising the age of entry, but only three were clearly in favour of charging fees for the higher standards. Teachers were strongly opposed to both proposals. There was also a considerable body of opinion in favour of economy through administrative reform, a matter which Fisher took up in his unsuccessful bill to abolish education boards.  

The Government backed away from proposals to charge fees for Standard V and VI and its other plans for economy were dealt with by the House in committee of supply. After considerable debate the House voted not to raise school age to six, but it decided to abolish the capitation grant to committees, to abolish training colleges, and to pay the statutory capitation grant according to the strict average and not the more liberal working average which disregarded days on which fewer than half the children were present. These cuts, Fisher and Habens reckoned, would mean a saving of more than £39,000 a year.  

There is no need here to traverse the arguments for and against all these specific economies but the proposal to exclude five-year-olds demands some comment for this would have limited the schools'
socialising and disciplinary role, something on which liberals and conservatives were in broad agreement. It was assumed, in discussions before the select committee, that good homes were better for the very young than bad schools; but homes might not be good and parents might not be mindful of their duties in which case it was better for children to be at school rather than roaming the streets. Most teachers' groups stressed the disciplinary benefits of schooling five-year-olds, comparing the order and discipline of the schoolroom with the evil effects of allowing children to run wild in the streets. Working class children, it was assumed, stood in particular need of discipline and of being saved by schools from the streets and, as Habens pointed out, they typically left school earlier than middle class children so that if the children of artisans did not start school until they were six or seven they would have a very short spell of formal education. 39

These arguments and Fisher's high-handedness told against the exclusion of five-year-olds in 1887, but the proposal was heard again in the 1890 election campaign when John Bryce and Captain Russell once more urged raising the school age and charging fees further up, "topping and tailing" the school system as the Lyttelton Times put it. 40

The election of a Liberal government in 1890 ruled out such drastic moves in the name of economy but education was not high on the Liberals' list of legislative priorities and they met such attacks on the state system simply with promises to hold the fort. When Pember Reeves, newly appointed Minister of Education, spoke to the North Canterbury branch of the N.Z.E.I. as its retiring president in 1890 he won applause when he mentioned centralising the inspectorate under the Department of Education but he would not commit himself. He did, however, declare himself unequivocally against any further retrenchment or curtailing free education. 41 That much was politically necessary and later, out of politics, he noted that in New Zealand each political
party was "only too eager to charge the other with tampering with the national system, a sin the bare hint of which is like suspicion of witchcraft or heresy in the Middle Ages."\(^42\)

Reeves's promise to maintain the system he had taken command of might have been reassuring, but it could hardly have been inspiring to those struggling to expand a network of schools to keep pace with settlement. The capitation system meant that boards which had to put up a lot of small uneconomic schools were hard pressed. The obvious way out would have been to build up large schools in town and let rural settlements go hang, but that was politically unwise; Atkinson's careful proviso against closing rural schools shows that. No MHR could safely ignore rural voters' demands for schools, and the "fancy franchise" which gave rural committees the same weight as urban ones meant that no education board member could afford to antagonise the much more numerous rural schools.

The apparently insatiable demand for small schools in the country stemmed in part from the aspirations of immigrants and new settlers for their offspring, in part from the simple desire to share the advantages accruing to urban dwellers, and from the social and economic benefits a school conferred on a small community.

In the 1860s Lady Barker came across a "nest of cockatoos" in Canterbury and was upset at the way children were growing up unschooled. It was explained to her that:

The neighbouring squatters do not like to encourage settlers to buy up their land, therefore they carefully avoid making things pleasant for a new "nest", and the Cockatoos are "nobody's business", and so far as educational advantages go they are perfectly destitute.\(^43\)

Later in the century, however, some sought to stimulate settlement and attract labour by setting down schools. In 1891 the Wellington Education Board noted, "the impetus given to new settlements by the erection of school buildings is simply enormous."\(^44\) In 1912 the
Secretary of the same Board told the Cohen Commission that establishing schools increased land values, especially in dairying districts, and that traffic in farms after the establishment of a school was a well-known practice. Indeed, he was prepared to put a figure on the benefits of establishing a school. In answer to his enquiries "practical men, acquainted with country conditions" had suggested that building a school meant an increase in the value of small farms of from 15 shillings to one pound per acre. 45 (On these premises he concluded that the state was justified in requiring at least a five acre school site from land developers.)

There were other, even more direct benefits. A school brought a salary to be spent in the district and a number of witnesses before the Hogg Commission on teachers' salaries in 1901 spoke of committees' preference for male teachers who were more likely than females to be married, to set up house in the district, and to spend their salaries at the local store.

There was also the cleaning of the school and the position of sewing teacher, both within the committees' gift and both positions which often went to committee members' relatives, sometimes after considerable local acrimony. On occasion there was similar acrimony over committee members' cheerfully granting one another grazing and cropping rights to school land.

It would be nonsense to argue that for small settlements the establishment of schools meant benefits without costs: in many districts, and especially in North Island bush settlements, getting a school meant raising money locally as well as a good deal of heavy work in clearing and fencing and developing a site. However, a settler with foresight, even if he had no children, could still reasonably have concluded that supporting the establishment of a school was a matter of enlightened self-interest, and merchants needed but little breadth of
vision to reach the same conclusion. If local "boosters" could obtain a school then their settlement rather than others had that much more claim to a Post Office, or a police station, and there was that much more reason for locating a store, hotel, or smithy there rather than at the next crossroads or railway siding.

Schools also gave small communities a useful public building, often the only public building, which could be used for meetings, entertainments, and church services. Dominic Behan once wrote of an Irish hamlet which got a Catholic chapel, "which was quickly followed by a pub, a block of shops, and eventually a school. The school went up last because there was no profit in it." In rural New Zealand it was, in all sorts of ways, generally profitable to put the school up first.

Under the straitened circumstances of the late nineteenth century all education boards encountered difficulties in meeting the demand for schools, but the particular difficulties they encountered varied with local demographic patterns. Table 7 shows school rolls by board district for the period and shows a marked north-south difference in overall growth.

Table 7
State Primary School Rolls in Each Board District, 1878, 1891, 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1878</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>11,928</td>
<td>22,749</td>
<td>42,049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td>2,997</td>
<td>6,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>2,729</td>
<td>8,015</td>
<td>14,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>2,008</td>
<td>6,228</td>
<td>10,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>4,645</td>
<td>11,158</td>
<td>17,901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>1,014</td>
<td>2,040</td>
<td>2,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>3,507</td>
<td>5,829</td>
<td>6,077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>2,689</td>
<td>1,720</td>
<td>1,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>1,625</td>
<td>1,136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Canterbury</td>
<td>13,636</td>
<td>21,058</td>
<td>21,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Canterbury</td>
<td>2,666</td>
<td>5,044</td>
<td>5,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>16,078</td>
<td>22,473</td>
<td>20,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southland</td>
<td>3,124</td>
<td>8,587</td>
<td>10,759</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.
Between 1878 and 1911 rolls in Taranaki increased by more than five hundred percent and rolls in Wanganui and Hawke's Bay by more than four hundred percent, while in Auckland and Wellington rolls increased by well over two hundred percent. In the South Island only Southland rolls, which went up by 244 percent, matched even the lowest North Island increases. Two other southern districts, South Canterbury and Marlborough, more than doubled their rolls by 1911, but the remaining southern districts recorded much more modest growth and on the West Coast school rolls only increased by 14 percent.

Table 8

| Number of Primary Schools in Each Board District, 1878, 1891, 1911 |
|-----------------|-------|-------|
|                 | 1878  | 1891  | 1911  |
| Auckland        | 193   | 276   | 574   |
| Taranaki        | 25    | 45    | 95    |
| Wanganui        | 47    | 91    | 201   |
| Hawke's Bay     | 32    | 48    | 127   |
| Wellington      | 36    | 83    | 176   |
| Marlborough     | 15    | 43    | 89    |
| Nelson          | 56    | 93    | 126   |
| Grey            | 36    | 22    | 32    |
| Westland        | 36    | 31    | 36    |
| North Canterbury| 109   | 170   | 214   |
| South Canterbury| 17    | 59    | 84    |
| Otago           | 134   | 196   | 238   |
| Southland       | 48    | 115   | 174   |
| **Totals**      | 748   | 1,272 | 2,166 |

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.

Table 8 shows a similar overall pattern in numbers of schools in the several districts, but there is a further north-south difference illustrated by Table 9 where it can be seen that in the North Island, with the sole exception of the Wellington district, there were greater percentage increases in roll numbers than in numbers of schools, while in the South Island the contrary was uniformly the case. The reasons
Table 9
Percent Increase in Roll Numbers and Numbers of Schools, 1878-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rolls</th>
<th>Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>235.7</td>
<td>197.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>504.0</td>
<td>280.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>442.0</td>
<td>327.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>427.4</td>
<td>296.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>285.4</td>
<td>389.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>131.3</td>
<td>493.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>125.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey and Westland</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Canterbury</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>99.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Canterbury</td>
<td>115.8</td>
<td>394.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>77.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southland</td>
<td>244.4</td>
<td>262.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.

For this are greater population growth in the North Island than in the South, coupled with the colony-wide effort to put public schools within the reach of as many children as possible.

As Table 10 shows that effort meant a colony-wide decline in the average size of school through most of this period, a decline which was accentuated in those Southern districts where overall population growth was slowest. Marlborough and Westland provide the clearest example of this. As the Marlborough Education Board struggled to extend schooling to the Sounds it was forced to create smaller and smaller schools in isolated bays while the Westland Education Board had to cope with a small population scattered along a rugged coast.

Small schools were not economic and Boards had to resort to various expedients to keep themselves afloat and to provide small schools at the lowest possible cost in salaries. "Half-time" and "aided" schools, the employment of women teachers at lower salaries than men, and the use of poorly paid pupil teachers and, on occasion, unpaid "monitors" were all useful ways of keeping salary costs down in order to sustain small schools.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1878</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>73.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>73.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>129.7</td>
<td>83.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>129.0</td>
<td>134.4</td>
<td>101.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Canterbury</td>
<td>125.1</td>
<td>123.9</td>
<td>100.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Canterbury</td>
<td>156.8</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td>68.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>120.0</td>
<td>114.6</td>
<td>86.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southland</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>61.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>74.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.

Table 11 shows the number of half-time schools by Board district. These schools were paired under a single teacher who spent three days a week at each school. These were used most by the Auckland Education Board which, throughout the period, controlled most of New Zealand's half-time schools. The difficulties for teachers and pupils are obvious and no one considered half-time schools anything more than a necessary evil.

Another gambit was the provision of "household", "aided", or, as they were later known, "Grade 0 schools". Here the locals agreed to provide a schoolroom and part of the teacher's salary, or keep in lieu thereof, in return for the services of a teacher and some school requisites. Table 12 shows that the Auckland Board also made considerable use of this sort of school, but the largest number of such schools in any single district was always in Marlborough, the majority of them in the Sounds.
### Table 11

Number of Half-time Schools in Each Board District, 1881-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Canterbury</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Canterbury</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southland</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.

### Table 12

Number of Aided or Grade 0 Schools in Each Board District, 1881-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>Grey</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Canterbury</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Canterbury</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>New Zealand</strong></td>
<td>64</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>162</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.
Household schools posed even more problems than half-time schools and were opened and closed even more often. Although the Marlborough Board employed a few men, described by the Chairman as "out at elbows and unable to get other jobs "owing to one of the failings of human nature", the majority of teachers in household schools were young women, usually untrained. Household school teachers' salaries were beggarly and women were often regarded as state-subsidised governesses or domestic servants. Where the teacher was a local girl there were further problems and jealousies and boards which resorted to household schools tried to avoid appointing girls to teach their younger siblings.

It was freely acknowledged that household schools were only possible because of the low salaries paid, but honest men admitted that this was true of the system in general. In 1885 the Department issued a circular to boards telling them that the Government could not undertake to meet all requests for building funds and that the Education Act clearly authorised boards to pay for buildings out of their general funds. It was, the circular said:

Incumbent on Boards, in conformity with what are clearly the spirit and letter of the Education Act, to devote as large a proportion as possible of their ordinary capitation votes to this object, and to regard the special vote out of loan as merely supplementary.

This invitation to squeeze salaries simply gave official blessing to common practice. Butchers calculates that between 1878 and 1898 the boards managed to transfer £143,834 from their general funds to their building funds. Over the same period teachers' average salaries declined from £99-4-10d to £94-9-10d.

These figures, however, are for all teachers' salaries. They obscure important differences between the salaries of males and females and between adult teachers and pupil teachers. In 1894, for example, the average salary of adult male teachers was £167 per annum and the average for women was £90. In 1900 the average for males was £163 and
the average for females was £85.50. Pupil teachers' salaries were even lower than female assistants' and ranged from £20 in the first year of apprenticeship to £40 or £50 in the fourth and final year.

Table 13
Composition of Teaching Staff 1878-1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adult Staff</th>
<th>Pupil Teachers</th>
<th>Adult Females per 100 Males</th>
<th>Pupil Teachers per 100 Adults</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>1878</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>118</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>461</td>
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<td>1886</td>
<td>1,010</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>998</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1,205</td>
<td>1,267</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1,222</td>
<td>1,446</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>771</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>1,314</td>
<td>1,887</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1,493</td>
<td>2,351</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1,501</td>
<td>3,209</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>519</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.

Table 13 shows the composition of the teaching staff in census years, and it shows the increasing use made of cheaper teachers. What is particularly noteworthy is the way in which one sort of cheap teacher was, from the 1890s, increasingly replaced by another as the proportion of pupil teachers declined and that of female teachers increased. This trend is more clearly demonstrated in Figure 4. The measures plotted there are, of course, forced into a stronger negative relationship because they are percentages of the same whole, but they are not wholly ipsative as there is a third term, i.e., adult males.
The proportion of pupil teachers declined for various reasons. The N.Z.E.I. was opposed to staffing schools with apprentices and the salary scales introduced in 1901 limited the boards' freedom in this matter. There was, in addition, the growing number of sole-charge schools which had to be staffed by an adult. There was a similar variety of reasons why the proportion of adult women teachers rose so markedly. Teaching was one of the few occupations open to respectable young women, and it was widely agreed that it was hard to get men when salaries were so wretchedly low. But the increase in women teachers also owed something to deliberate policy. Thus in 1890 the Auckland Board's report noted:

The sum of £1,415 has been saved by the introduction of the system of sending ladies to take charge of country schools, and by pursuing it further another £1,500 could be saved.
That expedient depended for its success on women being paid substantially lower salaries than men, but boards kept a tight rein on salaries generally. There, however, were modest increases in average salary with the introduction of the uniform salary scale in 1901, a measure which limited boards' over all financial discretion but which also enabled them to open more small schools in the certainty that salary costs would be met.\textsuperscript{52}

There was a further source of cheap labour only occasionally acknowledged in official returns, namely "monitors" who ranked even lower than the pupil-teachers whose shoes they generally hoped to step into. In 1884, for example, the Wanganui Board reported that it had "cadets" who were "under the same regulations as the pupil-teachers, except that they are only allowed to teach half the time and do not receive any salary."\textsuperscript{53} The Board did not say how many enjoyed this dubious honour, but in 1891 it reported 19 cadets teaching half-time and getting the same instruction as pupil-teachers but "not counted in the staff and not receiving any salary."\textsuperscript{54} In 1896 there were 36 and in 1898 50.\textsuperscript{55}

Some children became monitors in the hope of becoming pupil-teachers when a vacancy occurred, but boards were swayed as much by financial considerations as the importunings of these aspirants to teaching. In 1886 John Smith, inspector of schools in the Grey district, told his Board, "the employment of stipendiary monitors, which was provisionally sanctioned by the Minister of Education, has so far answered my expectations", and he noted that the employment of eight monitors rather than pupil teachers had saved £450 over five years.\textsuperscript{56}

The names by which these additional teachers were known, and the terms and conditions under which they were employed, varied from district to district. In 1892 Westland had two "unpaid pupil-teachers" and three "monitors" on annual stipends of £12.\textsuperscript{57} George Grant, the
headmaster of a Palmerston North school, referred in his evidence to the Hogg Commission of 1901 to "the vicious system of employing unpaid cadets", but went on to say, "In addition to that the employment of monitors and monitresses has been introduced." In Marlborough "probationers" were appointed and the Chairman of the Blenheim School Committee told the Hogg Commission, "I think that there have been probationers in our schools for as long as three years without payment." The Hogg Commission also encountered, while visiting a Marlborough School, a young woman hired as a sewing teacher at £12 a year who was, in fact, teaching full-time. Mr McCallum, a member of the Education Board, maintained, inconsistently, that she was doing this "at her own will and pleasure" and that this was the first he had heard of it. Miss Williams, teacher at the school in question, however, said that two girls had applied for the job and both had known that general teaching was expected and Captain Baillie, Chairman of the Board, admitted that this was the case in "some of the schools". Other boards made similar use of "sewing teachers" more openly than the Marlborough Board. Patrick Pryde, Secretary to the Otago Education Board, told the Hogg Commission that the Board's regulations allowed for sewing mistresses, "if capable to teach for half the school day for an additional £10 per annum. The 1901 Salaries Act and the re-opening of the training colleges put an end to this blatant exploitation, but not the other nineteenth century expedients. The boards, on occasion, still demanded local contributions to the establishment of a small school. In 1912, for example, the Secretary to the Wellington Education Board noted a "sawmilling school", designed to attract married labour and using a building which the Board had required the company to provide. Similarly, in 1913 the North Canterbury Board agreed to establish a
school at Upper Winchmore if the local settlers themselves raised £100 towards the cost of the building. 64

Local fundraising and levies did not end with the establishment of a school. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many schools routinely collected "quarter money" or "pen and ink money" for school requisites. In 1887 a girl at Newton School in Auckland was beaten for failing to bring either her quarter money or a note from her parents and the case reached Parliament. 65 In 1891 a formal deputation of Auckland teachers went to the Board seeking to be spared "the unpleasant duty of collecting quarter money". 66 Did Reeves, as Minister, approve of charging pupils quarter money? Reeves, in the House and in reply, was somewhat rambling; he did not think that boards should be interfered with if that could be avoided, and he did think that quarter money was contrary to the spirit of the Act and really ultra vires, but on the whole it was a matter for parental protest. 67

The amount demanded was typically small. In 1901, for example, Temuka District High School charged Standard III and above 6d. a quarter and the rest 3d. (Even so many parents objected and did not pay.) 68

In addition to collecting quarter money the more active committees developed a standard repertoire of fund-raising schemes: concerts, bazaars, dances, raffles, soliciting donations, etc. Some such ventures were highly successful. In 1894, for example, the Green Island Committee, just out of Dunedin, made £128 at a well-organised bazaar, a sum equal to the annual salary of many teachers. 69

The amount raised in the colony by such means in any single year cannot be determined with any great certainty, but what information is available suggests that it could be quite considerable. In 1887 the Department's annual report noted that nine boards had forwarded summaries of school committees' accounts.

It is of little use to attempt to draw conclusions from such fragmentary information but the table shows that at least £4,500 of the income of
committees was derived from sources independent of the Boards, and that about £400 was contributed by Committees to eke out the small salaries of teachers in scattered districts. In the following year the Department calculated that a further £5,700 of committees' income was not from boards. In 1896 the Southland Board reported that £834 had been raised by local efforts in the past year and that the Board generally subsidised such money pound for pound when it was spent on teaching aids, fences, and shrubs for school grounds.

Such local efforts, however, could not even partially compensate for the boards' difficulties with finance which made the expansion of the school system a continuing struggle. A much more important factor in the success of the colony's efforts to provide schools for its children was the nineteenth century decline in the birthrate. In 1882 the rate was 32.3 births per thousand of population and the rate declined thereafter to bottom out at 25.6 per thousand in 1900. Figure 5 shows the number of live births recorded each year.

Figure 5. Number of births, 1880-1915.
These days a declining birthrate means falling rolls and threatened schools and courses but, although school rolls eventually fell after 1898, they rose steadily during the first twenty years of the national system. McKenzie notes that this fall in the birthrate has been largely ignored by historians of education because it was offset by a series of moves towards more universal and more regular school attendance. Statistics of average attendance, McKenzie demonstrates, were pushed up by a combination of factors: industrial legislation and school attendance laws taken together and consolidating changes in public attitudes, a diminishing use of child-labour, the rise of credentialling for employment, and an associated increase in the average length of stay at school.\textsuperscript{73} To all of these can be added the steady expansion of the school system into the smallest hamlet which has been outlined in this chapter. But had the numbers of five and six year olds who might have marched up to schools increased significantly year by year, rather than remaining more or less constant, the coverage which was achieved by the turn of the century would have been much more difficult, if not impossible.

As things went, however, by 1900 the newly appointed Hogben, presiding over a well-established network of elementary schools, was able to write, "The time has come for a decided advance."\textsuperscript{74} Under his direction the system underwent a remarkable expansion and differentiation. The birthrate rose significantly, pushing up primary school rolls, as did the tighter attendance laws and an ever-increasing demand for credentials. More significant still, however, was the growth and diversification of secondary schooling when it became possible for those with the necessary qualifications to claim a free place.

This expansion was expensive. Between 1879 and 1900 the total education vote increased by just on 50 percent; between 1900 and 1914 it increased 170 percent, in part simply because primary school enrolments
increased, in part because free schooling now included schools and activities hardly envisaged in 1877.

In more affluent times it was possible to forget nineteenth century fretting at the cost of free elementary schooling, and to forget how the battle lines had been drawn up. Thus the Lyttelton Times, ignoring its own strictures against the "skinflints" in the 1880s, editorialised in 1908, "Happily education has not been made a party question in New Zealand," and in 1913 G.M. Thomson, reminded Parliament of "the good rule we have in this House that education matters shall be above party" without provoking undue derision.

Twentieth century Tories could, of course, still inveigh against the cost of the school system, and its propensity to provoke pauperism as well as a distaste for physical labour and a drift to the parasitic cities, but they vented their spleen on secondary, not primary schooling. J. Anstey, MLC for South Canterbury, for example, told the Cohen Commission in 1912, "If you are going to keep them at school until they are eighteen they will never be satisfied with the farm afterward." Did he have any sympathy at all for the idea of compulsory continuation classes? "Certainly not. The Sixth Standard is ample for a lad that intends to follow the furrow." Thirty years earlier he might have reckoned Standard Four enough.

Of course there were some who did remember. Before the same Commission George Booth, a proprietor of the well-known farm machinery firm of Booth, McDonald and Co., protested:

We were told, when the education system was in its infancy, that if we taught every boy to read and write we should not need so many gaols and policemen and lunatic asylums, and that, altogether society was going to be regenerated.

In the 1860s James Currie, in a popular treatise on school management, issued a warning which John Hislop, New Zealand's first Secretary of Education, might well have noted: "The faith, or as it may
be, the pretension that the school can do all, will be succeeded by the doubt whether it can do anything."79 Was Currie's warning borne out by Booth's doubt? Hardly: Booth went on to urge the schools to adapt, to include more character-training and more relevant courses in order to develop individuality and produce good, industrious citizens.

He was, then, no precursor of Illich and the de-schoolers and his remedy was not that of the "skinflints"; it was a prescription for more schooling, of the right sort. In this Booth, a hard-headed businessman, was squarely in the liberal tradition, and in the tradition of those who have, over the years, applied the same unwearying faith in education to kindergartens and polytechnics, open-air schools and open-plan classrooms, sewing and social studies, military drill and micro-computers, free schools, free milk, eugenics, eurhythmics, sloyd, singing, and sport.

By the turn of the century, then, respectability and officialdom accepted elementary schooling to age fourteen without question and general public opinion followed them in this to the extent that a minority of recalcitrant parents and children could be coerced into school attendance. The attendance laws, however, were originally permissive and it was not until 1910 that children were required to attend school every time it was open. It was one thing to build schools; it was another to secure uniform, universal attendance. The long process by which that was secured is the subject of the next chapter.
Notes to Chapter 2


2. I did not have to make this name up. See Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Vol I: Wellington Provincial District. Wellington, Cyclopedia Company, 1897.


10. AJHR, I-11, 1883, p.41.

11. LT, 10 June 1887.

12. LT, 16 June 1887.

13. AJHR, E-1B, 1881, p.16.


17. LT, 28 June 1887.

18. LT, 2 July 1887.

19. NZPD, vol 58, 1887, p.94.

20. LT, 15 February 1895.
21. LT, 12 March 1904.
22. AJHR, E-14, 1901, p.576.
26. LT, 7 April 1887.
27. AJHR, E-1, 1881, p.104.
28. AJHR, E-1, 1881, p.7.
29. LT, 15 October 1887.
30. NZPD, vol 58, 1887, p.94 et seq.
31. NZPD, vol 58, 1887, p.102.
32. NZPD, vol 58, 1887, p.106.
33. NZG, 1887, p.1505.
34. Butchers, 1930, pp.35-6.
35. AJHR, I-8, Session II, 1887, p.2.
38. AJHR, E-1, 1888, p.ii.
39. AJHR, I-8, Session II, 1887, p.3.
40. LT, 14 October 1890.
41. LT, 30 March 1891.
44. AJHR, E-1, 1891, p.61.
45. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.659.
47. *AJHR*, E-14, 1901, p.19.
49. Butchers, 1930, pp.27 and 603.
51. *LT*, 12 April 1890.
52. Butchers, 1930, pp.245-7.
55. *AJHR*, E-1, 1896, p.65; E-1, 1898, p.67.
56. *AJHR*, E-1b, 1886, p.46.
57. *AJHR*, E-1, 1892, pp.34-5.
60. *AJHR*, E-14, 1901, p.23.
61. *AJHR*, E-14, 1901, p.27.
63. *AJHR*, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.664.
64. *LT*, 9 January 1913.
68. *AJHR*, E-14, 1901, p.299.
70. *AJHR*, E-1, Session I, 1887, p.xi.
73. McKenzie, 1982, p.10 et seq.
74. Butchers, 1930, p.150.
75. *LT*, 29 May 1908.
76. *NZPD*, vol 166, 1913, p.183.
77. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.551.

78. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.415.

Chapter 3

SECURING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

The moral and intellectual benefits of mass schooling could hardly flow if children were not enrolled, or if they failed to attend regularly, and arguments for a state system of education were heard, after 1877, in favour of school attendance.

In 1880 Mr Restall, the Canterbury inspector, deplored the way some children not at school were "toiling like beasts of burden", while others were "revelling in the dirt of the creek or the gutter...thus becoming habituated to idleness, the parent of vice, the foster parent of evil instinct." ¹

The familiar argument that it was cheaper to build schools than prisons could, once schools were built, be focussed on truancy. In 1892 the Lyttelton Times commended a suburban constable who was particularly assiduous in tracking down truants.

The unanswerable reason he assigned for taking so much trouble was that it was easier for him to attempt driving these lads to school now, than to apprehend and secure convictions against them later on for damaging property, robbing orchards, plundering pigeon-lofts, bereaving poultry-breeders, and in some cases even endangering human life. ²

The Times itself went on to draw the same connection between school attendance and the franchise as Robert Lowe.

There is nothing specially cheering in the reflection that in a few years hence, any one of these same uncouth, unkempt, untaught individuals may have exactly the same amount of political influence upon polling day as the President of an Ethical Society, or even the Chairman of an Education Board. These children cannot safely be left neglected.

54
Fears of the emergence of a "dangerous class" were voiced when
some incident gathered a number of the urban unschooled together. In
1895, for instance, a letter to the Christchurch papers described how a
crowd of about fifty "gutter children" had gathered, during school
hours, to jeer at two drunken women in the street until they were
dispersed by the police. What were the authorities doing about this
sort of thing?³

The link between truancy and crime remained a standard argument
for school attendance and in due course the connection was supported by
eminent psychological authority. In the Department of Education's 1902
report Hogben wrote, regarding statistics of attendance:

The significance of these figures and the importance
of maintaining a high standard of regularity of
school attendance will be better appreciated if it
is remembered that the leading authorities on
juvenile depravity and crime are agreed that these
social faults have for the most part their
particular origin in truancy and the nomadic habit;
and accordingly the margin between a low rate and a
high rate of school attendance, although affected in
some degree by sparse settlement, represents to a
large extent, those individual children who will, if
still neglected, go to swell our industrial schools
and reformatories, and, at a later age, our prisons,
refuges, and lunatic asylums.⁴

Here, and in other references to delinquency, Hogben clearly had
in mind Morrison's book Juvenile Offenders and its recapitulationist
argument that:

In very early life inadaptability to social
surroundings usually shows itself in the shape of
truancy, vagrancy, and wandering habits - in short
in a disposition to revert to the nomadic stage of
civilisation.⁵

While such arguments might convince the well-read of the
importance of regular attendance there were a number of considerations
telling against school attendance during the early years of the national
system, not least among them the permissive nature of the compulsory
clauses, for while the legislators of 1877 were prepared to vote for
state-funded elementary schooling they were not prepared to outrun public opinion and impose an absolute requirement to attend school.

Under the 1877 Act children aged between seven and thirteen were required to attend school if they lived within two miles of a school by public road, and if the local committee had resolved to put the compulsory clauses into effect in that district. Children could be excused attendance if the roads were not "sufficiently passable", if they were under "efficient or regular instruction elsewhere" or attending a private school which provided instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic on week-days, or on the grounds of "sickness, danger of infection, temporary or permanent infirmity, or other unavoidable cause." They could also be exempt if an inspector or teacher certified that they had reached a prescribed level of attendance — set at Standard IV by regulations in 1878.

Children who were actually required to attend school were not under a particularly heavy obligation: the Act said, vaguely, that they must go for "at least one half of the period in each year during which the school is usually open." Magistrates could impose a fine of up to forty shillings for an offence against the compulsory clauses, but only school committees could initiate legal proceedings.

During the early years of the national system, however, few committees were prepared to put the compulsory clauses into effect, let alone prosecute anyone. At the end of 1878 the North Canterbury Education Board reported that it was only aware of one district where the compulsory clauses had been invoked, although it also noted that committees were not obliged to notify the Board of the decision to compel attendance. By the end of the following year only eight committees had enforced attendance: "In several cases the committees allege want of sufficient school accommodation and funds as reasons for leaving these clauses in abeyance."
It was the same elsewhere. By 1882 twenty-seven Auckland committees had implemented the compulsory clauses, some had sought police help, and four convictions had been secured against parents. But, the Board noted, "The Auckland City Committee report that, immediately upon notices being served the schools became so full that it was impossible to take further action for want of accommodation."\(^8\)

Lack of space told against compelling attendance for many years in some places. As late as 1899 the Wellington Board bemoaned the cost and scarcity of school sites in the city and noted that when the truant officer brought children to school, "the teachers were obliged to turn many away through lack of room."\(^9\)

Local politics also made committees and teachers suitably cautious. Even in the early twentieth century some teachers were reluctant to report irregular attenders for fear of losing them and their relatives to other schools - with adverse effects on schools' rolls and teachers' salaries and status. In 1882 the Wanganui Board commented that in small centres committee members were understandably reluctant to prosecute each other or their neighbours, and in larger centres "where shopkeepers and tradesmen are often Chairmen of Committees they decline to injure their businesses or their popularity."\(^10\)

It was frequently claimed that committee members openly condoned non-attendance or were, themselves, neglectful. At the turn of the century the Taranaki truant officer encountered a boy who was supposed to be home sick cheerfully riding a horse through Inglewood. The subsequent court case was dismissed when the boy's parents produced a certificate of exemption signed by the chairman of the Inglewood Committee, but dated the day of the hearing.\(^11\) In 1902 the North Canterbury truant officer secured a fine crop of convictions against a group of Rakaia parents, one of them a committee member who "sent his
children to school when he had nothing for them to do on the farm", and another of them the Chairman and the "principal offender".\textsuperscript{12}

Anxiety about the sort of children compulsion might bring into the schools was another reason for caution. In one of his early reports under the national system Robert Lee, the Wellington inspector, was soothing: "men of position and education" were now sending their children to public schools, he claimed. Class and religious feelings would disappear, and if the schools were well-run "the danger of evil influence should not be a deterrent to parents sending well-bred children to the common school."\textsuperscript{13}

But such assurances could not quell anxiety at the prospect that compulsion would, as an Otago Board member put it, "introduce a leaven from the semi-criminal class which would prove most injurious to the health and morals of those children now in regular attendance."\textsuperscript{14} These dangers, and the dangers of leaving the unwashed unschooled, could both be avoided, some decided, by establishing "truant schools" or "ragged schools". When this was proposed in Otago in the 1880s, however, it was rejected: such a school, the Rev. J. North declared, would be an everlasting disgrace to a civilised community.\textsuperscript{15}

The arguments for having truant schools were canvassed in other districts too. In 1895 Mr Adams of the North Canterbury Board urged such a school because, "There was a difficulty in bringing these children from the gutter and sitting them side by side with other children."\textsuperscript{16} The following year the Chairman of the Wellington Board proposed a truant school where gutter children might be given "some preliminary discipline" before being drafted off into regular schools.\textsuperscript{17} George Hogben, early in his term of office, also favoured day truant schools in the main centres. In spite of such widespread advocacy, however, only the Auckland Board actually established a truant school.\textsuperscript{18}
Cost and administrative considerations counted against such suggestions, but the standard official objection to truant schools was the stigma they would place on their pupils. So when in 1902 the Christchurch bench of magistrates again urged a truant school on the North Canterbury Board it declined to act, saying that it would brand children and "be a bar to their success in after life."\(^19\)

"Gutter children" or "street Arabs" could be dealt with without special schools, in fact. Some children's lack of suitable clothing and footwear was made good by voluntary agencies, including the early free kindergarten movement. There was a good deal of informal segregation and sorting within and between schools (see chapter 5). And, of course, the non-attendance of such children could simply be winked at. Finally, the Education Act, Section 87, empowered teachers to turn away the worst cases.

It shall be lawful for the teacher of any school to expel or forbid the attendance of any child for want of cleanliness, or who may be likely to communicate any contagious disease, or who from gross misconduct or incorrigible disobedience may be considered an injurious or dangerous example to the other scholars.

Those wanting to compel attendance, whether of the savoury or the unsavoury, grew increasingly frustrated with the relevant clauses of the Education Act and demanded tighter legislation. Some magistrates refused, for example, to convict parents during the first half of the year because their children might yet meet the Act's requirements by good attendance for the remainder of the year. In 1885 an amendment to the Education Act required children to attend for at least thirty days each quarter, a provision which had little effect on attendance rates.

It was not until 1894 that a more comprehensive School Attendance Act was passed. The new Act did away with the local option: all children were required to attend school between the ages of seven and thirteen if they lived within two miles of a school, measured by the
shortest road, or if they could conveniently reach a school by rail. Committees not only lost the right to decide whether or not attendance was compulsory; they no longer had the sole right to prosecute, and legal proceedings could be initiated by truant officers employed by education boards. The 1877 reference to private schools was dropped; children could now be exempt on the simple grounds that they were under "efficient and regular instruction elsewhere."

Two matters on which the 1877 Act had been vague were clarified. The onus was now on parents to show that a child was attending school or legally exempt, and the Act stated "Required attendance is at least six half days in any week in which the school is open nine half-days."

Children could still be exempted from attendance on grounds of ill-health or other unavoidable cause, if roads were bad, or if they reached the "standard of exemption", which was raised by regulations to Standard V in 1898.

The most frustrating part of the new Act to teachers and boards was the modest requirement to attend six half-days out of nine which enabled knowledgeable parents to keep children away from school regularly and with impunity.

The more complex and comprehensive School Attendance Act 1901 also permitted one legal holiday a week.

Required attendance is at least four half-days in any week in which the school is open six half-days; six half-days in any week that the school is open eight half-days; eight half-days in any week that the school is open ten half-days.

In all other respects, however, the 1901 Act was a significant step towards compelling universal attendance. The leaving age was raised to fourteen and the "two-mile" clause modified. Those under ten could still seek exemption if they had to walk more than two miles to school, but those over ten had to be faced with a three mile walk to qualify.
The standard exemption on grounds of health or infirmity was retained, although the stern words "unavoidable cause" were softened to "sufficient cause", and children could still be exempt if the roads were not sufficiently passable.

State oversight of private schools was increased significantly. "Efficient instruction" had to be "such instruction as is prescribed by regulations under the Principal Act", i.e., the state school syllabus regulations, and private schools were required to make their registers available at any time to truant officers and the secretary of an education board.

A clause which remained a dead letter permitted education boards, with the Department's approval, to establish truant schools. The headmasters of these schools were to have the legal powers of truant officers and poor attendance at a truant school could result in offenders being sent to an Industrial School.

The 1901 Act distinguished two offences: failure to enrol, which carried a penalty of not less than five or more than forty shillings, and irregular attendance, which carried a penalty of not less than two or more than ten shillings for every week in which the child failed to attend as required.

The School Attendance Act 1894 required Maori children to attend a Native School if there was one nearby: in 1901 the Minister was given the power to make regulations requiring Maori children to attend an ordinary state school if a Native School was not available. Such regulations were gazetted in 1903. The 1901 Act also made schooling compulsory for blind and deaf children, and a 1907 amendment added defective and epileptic children as well.

In 1910 the final step was taken when an amending Act required every child to "have his name enrolled on the register of some public school, and to attend the said school whenever it is open."
Critics of the school attendance laws reckoned that final step long overdue. Many teachers and truant officers had long held that the compulsory clauses were faint-hearted and inadequate. More recently Cumming and Cumming have described the 1894 Act as slipshod, evidence of Reeves's carelessness and timidity. 20

But, as McKenzie points out, the cautious, piecemeal development of school attendance laws was not the result of carelessness or sloth, but a series of pragmatic responses to changing political and economic circumstances, and to changes in the demand for child labour. Rather than proceeding by trial and error the authorities, over a period of more than thirty years, cautiously tightened the attendance laws by writing in well-established trends. 21 Requirements too far in advance of public opinion were not likely to succeed, as can be seen from discussion of the 1910 provision for compulsory continuation classes for young people (see chapter 4).

The same process of accommodation is evident when the limited scope of legislation on child labour is considered. Child labour and schooling seem, on the face of it, incompatible — especially when, as is so often the case in historical writing on this matter, factory labour is emphasised: one cannot, after all, respond to both the factory whistle and the school bell. But legislation on child labour only governed full-time employment, and then only certain sorts of full-time labour. It limited parents' right to take children away from school altogether, but it did not affect the out-of-school work of children of school age. A great deal of child labour could, in fact, be fitted around schooling by children working before and after school, and the school year could be adjusted to allow children to help with seasonal work without running foul of either the school attendance laws or industrial legislation.
New Zealand's early industrial legislation was modelled very closely on industrial laws in Britain. The New Zealand *Masters and Apprentices Act 1865* for example, which remained in force until the twentieth century, explicitly stated that matters it did not cover were to be governed by relevant British statutes. It provided for children twelve and over to be apprenticed, and it required apprentices to attend divine service wherever possible and that the apprentice have "particular attention paid to his morals."

Neither this act nor the Employment of Females and Others Act was particularly well-enforced in the 1870s and 1880s and the Sweating Commission of 1889-90 found and heard many cases of the employment of children at low rates of pay and in deplorable circumstances. Two examples will suffice here. When the commissioners visited the premises of an Auckland saddler they found a boy of eleven, one of twelve, and three of thirteen who regularly worked until 9 p.m. At the New Zealand Fibre Factory they found forty small boys, some of them only twelve, some illiterate, and many of them with no more than a Standard II or III education.

Such use of cheap labour in response to diminished profits in the depressed 1880s and 1890s was widespread and openly acknowledged by many businessmen and manufacturers. In 1894, for example, the annual meeting of shareholders in the Mosgiel Woollen Mills heard that the dividend was to be seven percent instead of the eight and a quarter percent of the previous twenty years, and the directors planned to economise by replacing men with women and young people.

The disclosures of the Sweating Commission provided further ammunition for those attacking employment practices which produced "idle men and busy boys", and they helped Reeves push through his detailed programme of industrial legislation.
When the Liberals took office child labour in factories was regulated by the Employment of Females and Others Act 1881 which generally permitted the employment of children of twelve or more and, under one clause, permitted children as young as ten to work in factories. Children under fourteen were only to be employed half-time, either on alternate days or in the morning or the afternoon, but not both. This restriction to half-time work, a copy of British legislation, was cheerfully ignored, and when Sergeant Gamble of the Auckland police pointed it out to employers, "They discharged over fifty hands at once and caused a terrible uproar. I had all their mothers coming to me and wailing."25

Reeves's Factories Act 1891 prohibited the employment of boys under thirteen and girls under fourteen in factories, regulated hours and conditions of work, and required those under sixteen to obtain a certificate from an Inspector of factories certifying their fitness for factory work.

A more comprehensive Factories Act 1894 prohibited the employment of anyone under fourteen in a factory, "except where not more than three persons are employed and then only in special cases with the sanction of an Inspector." Those under sixteen who wanted to work in a factory now had to satisfy an inspector that they had passed Standard IV, although children who had lived more than three miles from a school, or who had arrived in New Zealand after reaching thirteen, were exempt.

Legislation in 1874 on mining permitted boys of thirteen or more to work below ground and boys ten and over to be employed above ground. In 1886 boys under fourteen were prohibited from working below ground and it was enacted that, "No female of any age and no male child under the age of twelve years shall be employed for hire in any capacity in or about a mine."
The Coal Mines Act 1891 and the Mining Act 1891 forbade the employment of boys under thirteen above ground and boys under fourteen below, and in 1898 it was made illegal to employ women or boys under fourteen anywhere about a mine, "Provided that this shall not apply in cases of clerical employment."

The Shops and Shop Assistants Act 1891, a complex and controversial piece of legislation which some of Reeves's own party were opposed to, regulated the hours and conditions of employment of women and young persons in shops.

Finally, the Employment of Boys and Girls Without Payment Protection Act 1899 outlawed the common practice of inducing children to work for up to a year without pay but with the promise, often broken, of a permanent job after that. The Act set a minimum wage of four shillings a week for girls and five for boys, and it ruled out any attempt to claw back wages by charging "premiums" for training.

Taken together, and out of their historical context, the statutes affecting child labour present a confusing and often inconsistent picture. Some classes of employment, but not others, were covered and the school-leaving age, the age at which one might work in a factory, and the age at which one might be apprenticed were all different.

But in fact this diversity reflected varying demands for child labour and the extent to which regulating child labour in a variety of contexts was possible in view of political and economic circumstances. Thus factories were very broadly defined to include almost any place where two or three people made something, but in 1892 amending legislation stated that shearing sheds and slaughterhouses were not factories within the meaning of the Act.

Agricultural and domestic work were not regulated, and small family businesses could be spared the full rigours of the Factory Act - with an inspector's agreement. Similarly, the Shops Act said:
"Shop" does not include retail businesses owned and conducted by any person of New Zealand or European extraction, whether solely or with the assistance of members of his or her family below the age of 18 years who live on the premises.

This clearly recognised and safeguarded small, white shopkeepers, and it just as clearly left out the Chinese with whom Reeves was becoming increasingly obsessed.

Overall Liberal labour legislation focussed on enterprises where Labour and Capital, and their interests, were most clearly distinguished from one another. Where the family remained the economic unit, on the land or in a corner store, the law was silent or accommodating.

Labour legislation was also confined to full time, paid employment, but many children, and rural children in particular, did a great deal of work fitted around the school day or the school year. Keeping children in as a punishment usually brought protests from parents because children were not home to help, and any attempt to alter school hours brought similar protests. In 1912 the Auckland Education Board experimented with opening schools at 8.30 a.m. and closing them at 2.30 p.m. in the summer. The experiment was abandoned after objections that children did not have time to do chores before school.

The amount of work routinely expected of some country children is illustrated by an essay, "What I do in the day", forwarded to the Auckland Education Board in 1904 by an inspector. The author, a boy of 15 and only in Standard III, rose at 4 a.m., lit fires, chopped wood, found and milked cows, and did housework before school. After school he fed calves, milked again, fed younger brothers and sisters, washed up, and heard his brother's homework before heading for bed at 9 p.m.
These days there are laws about children's use of tractors and other vehicles and fairly clear conventions about their use of such things as toxic sprays, chainsaws, and welding plants, but in the unmechanised nineteenth century any line between "children's work" and "adults' work" on the farm or around the home was drawn only by children's skill and strength and by their parents' degree of solicitude. Country children were to be found working stock, milking, fencing, clearing land, harvesting, and gardening. Much of the edible fungus exported from Taranaki to China in the 1880s and 1890s, which gave struggling settlers a much-needed cash income, was, for example, gathered by children.  

Of all these activities the one of most concern to teachers and hardest on children was milking. Child labour was crucial to small farmers struggling to establish themselves and milking meant early rising seven days a week. Inspectors of Schools' reports frequently contained stories and statistics inserted to prick the conscience. In 1906, for example, a Wanganui inspector described a school where children as young as seven commonly rose at 5 a.m. The number of cows milked ranged from five to fifteen per child, and children spent from three to five hours a day milking. Some children in dairying districts were so weary at school that they fell asleep during inspectors' examinations and some inspectors noted teachers who regularly let children take a nap in the afternoon.  

In addition to their general humanitarian concern teachers also saw their own interests threatened by poor examination results. In 1902 the headmaster of the Normanby School was dismissed by the Wanganui Board for the poor showing his school made. He was later reinstated by the Teachers' Court of Appeal after arguing:

The children attending the school were rendered unfit for active mental work by the fact that they had to milk a number of cows before coming to school...The dairying industry was inimical to good results being obtained by any teacher.
Such criticism of an increasingly profitable industry could hardly go unanswered. The Chairman of the South Canterbury Dairy Company responded to similar claims:

The fact of the matter was some incompetent school teachers had raised the cry of white slavery as an excuse for their inability to teach their pupils as competently as they should do. The dairying industry benefited children in every way. These benefits, he explained, were the food, clothes, and footwear which farmers who prospered could buy for their children and the ponies which some children rode to school.

Rural MPs were also quick to defend dairying. When, in 1907, Robert Stout said that some children were no better than slaves W.T. Jennings, MHR for Egmont, denied that there were any such in Taranaki, although he later conceded that there might be "isolated cases". Walter Symes, MHR for Patea, waxed enthusiastic. Taranaki children were actually the healthiest in the world and, "any little work that was performed by them did them good, because they were a happy, contented, well-clothed, and well-fed lot of children."

Nor could teachers always look to their employers for support. The Taranaki Board publicly condemned stories of child slavery in 1902. Such false and misleading tales "cast serious reflection on a large number of the best class of settlers, whose children...compare favourably, mentally and physically, with those of any other province."

In 1907 the Southland Education Board's attention was drawn to a Standard V girl's essay describing a heavy round of farm and housework. The Board was far from sympathetic. One member deplored the "sentimental sympathy of nowadays"; other members recounted their own early experiences to show that they were none the worse for hard work. The Lyttelton Times commented, nicely, that they were inconsistent and could not see that "early labour had done them an irreparable injury by hardening their own hearts."
It could also be argued that farmwork had intellectual as well as character-forming advantages. Might not such experience be reckoned agricultural education? A.W. Hogg made the obvious reply when debate in the House turned to agricultural education: "In country districts the children are being agriculturally educated from four o'clock in the morning until eight or nine o'clock at night."^{36}

Some claimed that having children milk was a necessary but temporary evil and that milking machines would improve matters. When Sir John Gorst revisited New Zealand he was assured at Te Awamutu that, "the use of milking machines in the dairy districts is spreading with such rapidity that the necessity of employing children to milk will shortly disappear."^{37}

It is hardly surprising that one of the earliest milking machines designed in New Zealand was the work of a teacher. In August, 1890, Mr Herbert Woodham, of Foxton School, patented a "milking syphon for cows".^{38} Mr Woodham's machine was, unfortunately, not a success, but there were fairly efficient machines by 1902 and by 1908 machines were being used on 700 farms.^{39} In 1912 James Hendry, the Southland inspector, told the Cohen Commission that there was less child labour than formerly, "probably on account of the introduction of milking machines."^{40}

But these early machines could be temperamental, and they were difficult to clean. It was not until 1920 that 50 percent of New Zealand dairy cows were milked by machine.^{41} In any case, cows still had to be bailed up, udders washed, and machines cleaned and machines simply enabled many farmers to run bigger herds, with no consequent diminution in the work that had to be done - and shared.

Child labour in rural areas attracted most attention in Parliament and in the newspapers, but many urban children also put in long hours before and after school, and gave teachers and committees
cause for concern. The two jobs most commonly condemned were selling papers and delivering milk.

The Sweating Commission heard ample evidence of the long hours of milkboys but, whereas subsequent legislation eliminated some of the abuses the Commission had found in factories, such lads toiled on into the twentieth century. In 1909 the headmaster of a Dunedin school pondered the way in which boys who had done well in Standard IV did very poorly in Standard V. It was, he concluded, because they had taken jobs delivering milk. Some of these pupils rose at 3.30 a.m. and worked up to ten hours a day with the result that they were "quite listless" at school. 42

In 1912 the Otago Board's truant officer surveyed twelve schools and found 116 milkboys, some as young as seven. These boys rose early, put in long hours, and arrived late at school but met the letter of the law by being there by the time registers were marked at 10.30 a.m. 43 The truant officer later asked employers to make sure that the boys got to school on time and he told the board that this was successful, but he did not seek to stop this work altogether. 44

The most common part-time jobs in towns were selling papers, delivering milk, working in shops - for parents or for pay, delivering parcels, cleaning, or selling sweets and programmes in theatres, but a few children found more exotic employment out of school hours or on unofficial days off. In 1912 there were complaints that some Wanganui boys of school age were working as jockeys. 45 In 1902 the Children's Aid Society in Christchurch protested at children working as sandwich-board men. 46 And in 1896 St Saviour's Guild informed the West Christchurch School Committee that some boys were playing the wag to work as golf caddies in Hagley Park. 47

Even the zealous Edward Tregear, Secretary of the Labour Department Reeves had established, was daunted at the prospect of trying
to regulate part-time work by children. In his 1902 report he noted public concern at the overwork of children, particularly at milking. But, he continued, there were no statistics on the scale of the problem. However:

If this evil exists some preventive steps should be taken by the legislature, almost insuperable though the difficulties may seem to be to provide that any law in this direction could be carried out. 48

Nothing came of this, or of his suggestion the following year that a minimum age of fourteen be set for errand boys.

Again, in 1907, a year in which there was a good deal of discussion of child labour, Harry Ell, MHR, unsuccessfully sought legislation against children selling papers at night. Ell, a temperance advocate, had met two little girls, one eight and the other ten, selling papers at 9.45 p.m. on a wet Wellington night. He urged Parliament to think of the dangers when girls were out at night and "running in and out of bars and theatres to sell papers." 49

While people pondered the wisdom of national legislation there were local efforts at regulation. When the Mayor of Christchurch outlined a scheme for licensing newsboys it was generally well-received, although some argued that it would bear hard on the poor and the fatherless. The Council, undeterred, issued bylaws in 1901 prohibiting boys under eleven and girls under twelve from street-trading. Boys under fourteen and girls under sixteen had to be licensed and to wear identifying badges and cap bands. Only those with bands inscribed "Exempt from school" would be permitted to sell papers, sweets, flowers, fruit, etc., on the streets during school hours. 50

The scheme was not a success, largely because magistrates soon proved so reluctant to convict offenders that the police were discouraged from reporting cases. The Children's Aid Society, however, decided to press the matter and to report cases with the result that in 1904 a newspaper noted "a procession of small boys in various states of
dejection...at the magistrate's court yesterday on a charge of having sold newspapers in the street without a licence."\(^{51}\)

The JPs heard a succession of sad stories, and were moved. Two brothers, for instance, aged twelve and thirteen, helped support a widowed mother and seven other children, and they were convicted and discharged, along with other penitents. Only one boy was in fact fined - five shillings and modest costs.

In 1907, when Stout condemned child labour, Tregear's staff made enquiries in rural areas and forwarded the results to the Government, but there the matter rested for it was touchy. Nor was any attempt made to regulate urban child labour before or after school. Reeves was right, the Christchurch bylaws notwithstanding, when he concluded, "No ruler less powerful than a Czar may meddle with the sale of newspapers."\(^{52}\)

The continued employment of urban children outside school hours is demonstrated in the reports of the School Medical Service established in 1912. A 1917 report noted one Wellington school where 45 boys admitted to having such jobs. Some of them were only in Standard IV, some worked more than twenty hours a week, and one worked thirty hours. Wages ranged from a few shillings to a pound a week. These part-time workers included message and delivery boys, telegraph boys, office boys, a lad who worked in a bakery, milkboys, and some who sold sweets in theatres and worked until 9 p.m. or later.\(^{53}\)

Regular part-time work affected children's health, punctuality, and school progress, but it did not generally stop them attending school. In rural areas, however, there were also heavy seasonal demands for labour which took older children away from school altogether for considerable periods.

May is "spud-picking" time in Canterbury and in May 1900 Dr Anderson, inspector of schools, noted the "deplorable rate of
attendance" at Marshland School "as a result of the exigencies of small cultivation." For six weeks there had been only 50 percent attendance in the upper school. The following May he noted at Prebbleton, "few of the older boys have recently been in attendance, being chiefly engaged in potato picking." 

Rural committees' priorities in this situation are illustrated in the response of the Kiri Kiri committee in inland Canterbury when the teacher complained of poor attendance.

Little could be done at this time of year on account of parents urgently requiring the help of children during harvest operations, but it was decided that after the Easter holidays stricter supervision should be exercised in the matter of attendance.

The most effective response committees could make to competing demands was to adjust the school year accordingly and take "harvest holidays". Thus in 1890 the Governor's Bay committee resolved, "That the school be closed on January 10th for one month during the grass-seed harvest." As a result school holidays varied from district to district with the crops grown and from year to year in individual schools depending on whether the harvest was early or late that season.

Juggling the school year was often only a partial solution, however. A Nelson teacher commented in 1901, "We take our holidays during March, so as to obviate as far as possible the evil inflicted by the hop-picking", but attendance was still affected by fruit and hop-picking from December to April as various crops and varieties came in.

School attendance was so much affected in Nelson by seasonal work that Hogben visited Motueka in 1902 to investigate. He was asked to alter the way in which attendances - and hence capitation grants - were calculated by discounting the first quarter of the year, but he replied stiffly that he could "make no recommendation which would place Nelson schools on a different footing from others in the colony." Whether or not they got this dispensation the Motueka growers could not let crops
spoil and the Motueka District High School was closed during the whole of the first quarter of 1903 for fruit and hop-picking. 60

There were similar problems in other fruit-growing areas. In 1899 a deputation of Waimate growers asked the local school committee to close the school early for the summer holidays because they needed at least 120 boys to pick fruit and if they could not get labour locally at least £200 in wages would leave the district. The committee was cooperative. 61

Perhaps the most unusual harvesting to affect school attendance was mutton-birding. In 1913 the Southland inspector of schools drew his Board's attention to children's absence for up to two months when their parents took them off on such expeditions. Some schools were in serious danger of being reduced in grade and the Board wrote to the Department seeking boarding allowances so the children could stay on the mainland and at school. 62

An additional result of local autonomy in setting school holidays was that the total number of days schools were open varied quite considerably. In 1886 the Nelson inspector reported individual school years ranging from 163 days to 231 days, and as late as 1902 his Marlborough counterpart reported school years ranging from 143 days to 231, with an average of 167. 63

Boards moved only slowly to regulate the structure of the school year and their first bylaws on the matter simply set the minimum and maximum number of days schools were to be open. A North Canterbury circular of 1896 stated:

Holidays not exceeding ten weeks in the year, nor less than eight weeks, shall be granted at such times as the Committee of each school shall determine. 64

The next move was to suggest, but not require, standard terms and holidays. In 1908, after a conference of headmasters and school committees, the North Canterbury Board issued a circular suggesting a
fortnight's holiday in May, another fortnight in September, and five weeks commencing with the Tuesday before Christmas. The Board hoped that committees would follow this scheme, but its only strict requirement was that there should be between 45 and 55 days holiday "at such time as the committee of each school shall determine", with the proviso that Easter and the Prince of Wales' Birthday should be holidays.65

Understandably, urban committees fell into line first while rural committees resisted attempts to impose "town holidays". When the Auckland Education Board attempted, in 1902, to set out a new scheme for holidays many rural committees argued strenuously that the customary week at Michaelmas was needed so children could help plant potatoes.66

Holidays could be a source of friction between committees and teachers who, by and large, favoured the sort of standard three-term year adopted in towns. In 1913, for example, the headmaster of Greendale School fell foul of his committee when he issued leaflets in favour of town holidays and distributed ballot papers to parents. The committee angrily ruled out any change.67

Different holidays in towns and country could cause confusion. Thomas Foster, a Canterbury inspector, went out to inspect the Clarkville School in May, 1911, and was surprised to find it closed: "The holidays observed correspond to those kept in city schools, and the master not unnaturally assumed that the inspectors were aware of this fact."68

The local opinion regarding holidays remained in some districts well into the 1920s. A 1932 Otago Board circular, for example, empowered country committees to alter the suggested terms as long as term holidays did not exceed 54 days and the school did not open before the first of February.69
By the 1930s and 1940s, of course, tractors, combine harvesters, and improved haybalers were beginning to reduce the sheer number of hands required; fruit and potato growers had learned to make do with the labour they could get during the standard school holidays, and people were, in any case, much readier to work on the Sabbath.

While education boards might have philosophically accepted some irregularity of attendance at harvest time they were, nonetheless, increasingly determined to improve attendance rates. The police were an obvious source of help and in 1888 the Westland Board simply appointed the Kumara and Hokitika constables as truant officers, one at £10 per annum and the other on a scale of payment by results. 70

In 1891 all police constables received instructions to "cautiously ascertain" if there were children on their beats who should be at school, to take particulars, explain the law to parents, and to assist committees to bring cases to court. 71 Some other boards, e.g., Wanganui, followed the Westland example by formally appointing constables as truant officers but in 1896 they learnt that the Minister of Justice had ruled against such paid appointments, although the police would still give what help they could.

The problem, as the Commissioner's 1898 report makes plain, was that constables were already overburdened with extra work on behalf of local or general government. Amongst the nineteen offices held by policemen in addition to their normal duties were such time-consuming positions as bailiff, Inspector of Factories, and poundkeeper. 72

Civilian truant officers were a better bet and as early as 1881 the Auckland City School Committee asked the Board to appoint a "default officer". 73 The Board pointed at the police and declined the request so that the Wanganui Education Board had the honour of appointing the first full-time truant officer in 1884 for a trial period of six months at a substantial annual salary of £200. 74
The experiment was carried on a further six months and then abandoned when it failed to produce results to justify the expense. The Wanganui Board then appointed a number of part-timers and set out an elaborate scale of payment by results, but that was soon dropped too. Another truant officer was appointed in 1897 but dispensed with in 1899 as an economy measure and not replaced until 1901.

The Auckland Board appointed a truant officer in 1887, when it opened its "truant school" in Albert Street, and it employed a second part-time officer from time to time in the early twentieth century.

The Taranaki Board appointed a truant officer in 1895 at £75 per annum and between 1899 and 1903 employed two, one at £35 and the other at rates from £43 to £70 a year, before reverting to a single position.

The Wellington Education Board first employed a full time officer in 1897, dispensed with him in 1902 for reasons of economy, then employed half a dozen part timers on retainers of £10 to £30 a year in 1903 and 1904 before appointing another full time officer in 1905.

The Hawke's Bay Board had a truant officer in 1897 but dismissed him in 1899 and did not, according to Departmental reports, employ another until 1912. The tiny Marlborough system appointed a couple of part timers in 1900, rubbed along with one or two part timers thereafter at rates of from £3 to £57 per annum, except for the years 1904, 1908, and 1914 when, for reasons of economy it did without whippers-in altogether.

The Nelson Board did not report any expenditure on truant officers at all before 1914, while the Grey Board, which had hired constables in the 1880s, did not report any such expenditure again until 1902 when it hired a part time truant officer at £25 per annum. The Westland Board employed a clerk-cum-truant officer from 1902 until 1906 and again from 1911.
The North Canterbury Board, after declining requests for a truant officer for a number of years, appointed one in 1897 and in 1911 appointed a part time assistant as well. The South Canterbury Board appointed seven part timers on tiny retainers in 1902 and in 1903 replaced them with one part time officer at £40 a year.

Otago's first truant officer, appointed in 1892, combined that office with that of inspector for the S.P.C.A. When he resigned in 1901 he was replaced by a full time truant officer. The canny Southland Board also made its first officer, appointed in 1895, do double duty as truant officer and drill instructor. In the twentieth century the Southland truant officer was also caretaker of the Board's offices.

Salaries paid to full time officers were not particularly high, but boards also paid them travelling expenses and, sometimes, a bonus on results. Unless truant officers were obviously effective and bumped up boards' income from capitation they were expensive, and it is not surprising that the smaller boards were forced to use part timers.

Most boards only made their first appointments after some urging by committees, teachers, and welfare agencies, but there was no problem finding applicants once the decision was made. The North Canterbury Board got sixty-one applicants for its first position and finally chose one from the short list by ballot. When the Otago Board advertised for a full time truant officer in 1902 it got 182 applications, including applications from a former missionary, a private detective, someone who claimed to be a sharebroker, some "tonsorial artists" and a number of labourers and troopers returned from South Africa and looking for work.

The first truant officers had no easy task. They had to create record-keeping systems, develop and maintain contact with the schools and the police, and act as a judicious blend of policeman and social worker.
John Blank, North Canterbury's first appointee, told a reporter that he had been hooted by children at their parents' urging, and once "violently assaulted from behind by a vixen armed with a poker." Blank also made some dramatic captures; in 1900, for instance, he learnt that some persistent truants had been sleeping rough in Hagley Park. He flushed one from cover and chased and circled the boy on his bicycle until the offender collapsed, exhausted; he then put the winded truant on his bicycle and wheeled him to the Police Station.

But most of his work was much less dramatic and depended on persuasion and tenacity rather than physical agility or stamina. Between March 1897 and November 1898 he sent out over 3,000 notices, followed many of them up with home visits, and brought 277 cases to court with a 93 percent rate of success. After home visits and case conferences with teachers he had decided not to prosecute in a further 300 cases which seemed, prima facie, to demand it.

In all districts the number of prosecutions only showed the tip of the iceberg. In 1901 the Wellington truant officer reported that he had investigated 912 cases and finally prosecuted 50 parents. His Otago counterpart investigated 548 cases and issued summonses in only 54 cases.

Both education boards and truant officers were well aware that too much eagerness to prosecute could have been counter-productive. The Wellington Board had specifically instructed its truant officer to proceed against parents only as a last resort. Blank also told a reporter that middle class parents tended to regard a truant officer in the same light as a policeman and to feel shamed and resentful when he appeared on their doorstep in the neighbours' view. For this reason, he thought, teachers had "perhaps been apt to shield the better-to-do class" by not reporting their offspring as readily as they might have.
Another reason for caution in bringing cases to court was truant officers' belief that magistrates were often unsympathetic and unlikely to convict save in the clearest cases. Blank ran foul of the Christchurch bench when, after some annoying reverses in court, he expressed this belief in one of his reports to the Education Board. On his next appearance in court he was told by a JP that he, the JP, would "brook no interference", and that Blank's remarks were impertinent and an uncalled for insult to the bench. Blank sought to reply but was indignantly silenced by the magistrate; the court adjourned and, as the court reporter put it, "the discussion continued in a general manner."\(^{83}\)

Some magistrates may have been merely whimsical and some may have held libertarian views about the proper role of the state, but many tempered justice with mercy in view of the pathetic circumstances of many of those appearing in court. It was only thing to be suitably strict in suppressing juvenile wickedness; it was another to publicly punish the destitute for their destitution.

A common cause of poor attendance was want of footwear and presentable clothing. Both the Children's Aid Society established in Christchurch in 1898 and the early free kindergarten movement were begun, in part, to supply this want. Other cases were met by less organised charity. In 1897 a woman in poor health and poorly fed pleaded in the Christchurch court that her daughters had no clothes fit for school, and no boots. The magistrate said that he was bound to fine her the minimum two shillings, but if she called at his office he would give her some boots for her little girls.\(^{84}\) In 1893 a Kaiapoi man was charged with failing to send six of his nineteen children to school. He pleaded that the children had no shoes and their clothing was in rags. This was confirmed by a constable who added that the children were so dirty that he doubted that any school would take them. Mr H.W. Bishop, S.M., ordered the father to send the children to school, excused him
costs in view of his poverty, and appealed to the public for clothes, an appeal which was met a few days later when the children of Belfast School handed over a sack of clothing they had collected. 85

Howard Lee, after a careful examination of the Otago Education Board's records, has pointed out a further pattern in some Otago magistrates' decisions. Between 1905 and 1910, 51.3 percent of those reported for truancy were girls, yet only 33.7 percent of those convicted were girls. The years 1902 to 1904 showed a similar pattern with 38.5 percent of those convicted being girls. Lee concludes that this was because magistrates "still did not accept compulsory elementary education for girls." 86

Whether this occurred elsewhere will not be known until there has been more research as painstaking as Lee's. What is clear, however, is that it did not persist in Otago after 1911. Between 1911 and 1917, Lee demonstrates, boys and girls were convicted in similar proportions.

It is also clear that in many cases magistrates were not moved by the sex or poverty of those before them, and when they were unconvinced by excuses, or thought them too clever, they were quick to convict. Where truant officers, in their turn, thought it would be salutary they did not hesitate to prosecute. Figure 6 shows the numbers of prosecutions under the attendance laws between 1880 and 1915 with notable rises after 1894 and again after 1901, and an equally notable decline after 1903. In 1890 convictions under the attendance laws amounted to only 0.48 percent of all summary convictions; in the early 1900s they peaked at 4.5 percent of summary convictions and then declined to 1.1 percent in 1915.

Figure 7 shows the percentage of cases, over the years, in which convictions were secured. The better "batting average" in the late 1880s could be attributed to the 1885 amendment clearly requiring at least some attendance throughout the year, but not with any great certainty.
Figure 6. Prosecutions under school attendance laws, 1880-1915.

Figure 7. Per cent of those prosecuted under Education Act summarily convicted, 1880-1915.
As time went by truant officers' grievance against the courts became not so much their readiness to dismiss cases as their unwillingness to impose really deterrent fines. In 1902 a Christchurch woman defended herself vigorously and at length in court but was duly fined the minimum two shillings. "Is that all?", she said. "If I had known that I should have paid it before and said less." In the early twentieth century the Otago Education Board considered the case of a South Otago farmer who had been convicted twenty times in three years and paid £24 in fines and costs. His sons, aged thirteen and ten, had not passed any standards. Two years later he had been convicted thirty-seven times in all and paid over £38 altogether.

The *Lyttelton Times* also suggested that the two shilling minimum fine saved some perfectly innocent parents eight shillings and sixpence at the cost of having a conviction entered against them, i.e., it was cheaper to pay the fine than to get a doctor's certificate which usually cost half a guinea.

The 1894 Act required fines imposed to be paid over to the prosecuting school committee, and after 1901 fines could be paid over to committee or education board as appropriate, but prosecuting parents was not itself a very profitable business. In 1911, for example, the Southland truant officer laid 103 informations and secured 60 convictions: total fines and costs amounted to £16-8-6d. The real financial motive for hunting up truants was to increase the number of capitation grants claimed. Boards had an obvious interest in this: in 1886 the Wanganui inspector calculated that his Board was missing out on £6,000 per annum as a result of poor attendance.

Teachers, whose salaries were related to average attendance, were painfully aware of the difference a few marks in the register might make to their fortunes. As one of them said, in 1901, "A single shower of rain may determine the teacher's salary on the lower scale for three months."
The "working average" method of calculating average attendance allowed for such showers of rain but was suspended in the late 1880s. Some teachers attempted to restore it, de facto, with some judicious school-closing and in 1888 Habens sent out a stern circular.

The dismissal of pupils with the intention of avoiding the entry in the register of the marks that would indicate small attendance must be regarded as a falsification of the register.93 Teachers who falsified registers were liable to summary dismissal and to have their certificates cancelled but some were desperate enough to risk this. Edith Howes published a dramatic story, "The Falsified Roll", on this theme. In the story, one of Miss Howes's often bitter "tales out of school", a woman marks an absent child present in order to retain her current salary and support her mother. She is found out by an inspector and faced with dismissal.

She drew in her right hand, uncorked the bottle and drank its contents, and so defied disgrace and dismissed herself to that Quiet Place where averages are, we hope, unknown.94

The story was not just melodramatic fiction. Five years earlier a teacher in Canterbury, where Miss Howes lived, marked two false attendances in order to raise the average from 25.4 to 26, to keep her school in Grade III, and to stop her salary dropping from £180 to £150. When she was found out by an inspector, who promptly suspended her from her duties, she killed herself, not neatly with poison but messily with a razor.95

Teachers, however, had means of increasing attendance other than by cooking the books. The headmaster of East Christchurch School reported that the introduction of military drill on Fridays had improved attendance considerably.96 The Infant Mistress at Addington School told the Cohen Commission that her staff let little ones of three or four come to school lest their older sisters stay home to look after them.97 It was a common practice in city schools to send out runners early in
the school day to hunt up absentees and as early as 1897 a Nelson headmaster reported that, "the practice of sending round senior pupils on bicycles to hunt up absentees is attended by excellent results." Some shrewd teachers used to read exciting stories about Indians, gladiators, and pirates as serials during spells of wet weather in order to keep up attendance.

The growing importance of school credentials also strengthened teachers' hands. At the turn of the century the headmaster of Nelson Boys' Central School refused to promote to Standard IV a boy who had passed Standard III but been absent for a long time. The headmaster said that the boy had gone back so much in his work that he could not be placed in the higher class. The boy's parents appealed to the committee, to the Nelson Board, and finally to the Minister of Education. All of them upheld the teacher who told the N.Z.E.I., with satisfaction, that, "the action taken had had the most salutary effect on attendance."

Committees, too, generally sought to stimulate attendance without calling in the attendance officer and causing local ill-feeling. Common gambits were friendly persuasion through visiting, letters or circulars, and public warnings that a school might drop a grade, lose a teacher, or be closed altogether.

Education boards routinely issued good attendance certificates and sought to make these as imposing and valued as possible. The Southland Board, for instance, devised a handsome twelve by eight inch certificate in 1903 with coloured pictures of Mitre Peak, lakes, greenery, and a kiwi as well as a suitably solemn inscription. A number of committees also purchased cheap medals for good attenders or procured flags or shields to be held by the classes with the best current attendance.
Health, weather, and the state of the roads all affected attendance. Sickness in a school often led parents to keep healthy children away for fear of infection, a very real concern when schools were crowded, poorly heated and ventilated, and had unhygienic drinking and lavatory facilities. One of the strongest inducements, in fact, to regular attendance was just to make schools more pleasant, safe places.

Bad roads and rough weather seriously affected attendance. The present practice of sending children on their fifth birthday was established relatively late and in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries parents often spared young children the weary, muddy trudge to school until they were six or seven (see Table 3).

Better roads and some strategically placed bridges enabled children to get to school more easily in the twentieth century, as did railways in some places. Most children either walked or rode horses or ponies to school (the pony paddock was a common part of rural school grounds well into the twentieth century) but towards the turn of the century increasing numbers of children were able to use bicycles. Bicycle storage, indeed, quickly became a problem in some urban schools and the first covered cycle stands were built around the turn of the century.

Knudson, analysing the records of one Dunedin school, demonstrates nicely the sort of seasonal pattern of attendance common in many schools, especially small schools, i.e., attendance rates rose as the school year began, declined in the winter as a result of bad weather and sickness, rose again in the spring, and then declined once more in high summer because of seasonal work.101 As the twentieth century advanced the characteristic curves flattened out, but did not disappear.
Table 14
Attendance as Percentage of Average Weekly Roll in Each Board District 1881-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>88.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>73.8</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>78.4</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>90.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>91.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>88.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>85.2</td>
<td>87.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td></td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>86.2</td>
<td>90.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Canterbury</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>83.2</td>
<td>89.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Canterbury</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>91.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southland</td>
<td>75.6</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>83.1</td>
<td>89.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference between highest and lowest: 8.3 10.9 4.7 3.5

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.

Table 14 shows attendance rates by education board district for census years. Overall attendance rates improved considerably and the marked variation between districts diminished. Grey, for reasons of weather and terrain, still had the lowest rate in 1911, but that was a respectable 87 percent, higher than any district had recorded in 1901.

By 1911 irregular attendance was hardly the problem it had been in the nineteenth century. Lee concludes that truancy was not as widespread in Otago in the early twentieth century as Board members' public statements suggested. Leong further notes that school attendance was much discussed between 1905 and 1907, not because truancy boomed but because rolls stabilised as a result of the declining birthrate of previous years. 102

By 1914 very few children missed out on schooling altogether as had been common in the 1880s. In 1883 Henry Hill, the Hawke's Bay inspector, calculated that even allowing for enrolments at private schools 27 percent of school-age children were missing from schools. 103
Similarly, in 1887 the Hokitika Committee forwarded to the Westland Education Board a list of forty-three children known to the committee and not attending any school. 104

Building hundreds of small state schools in the nineteenth century dramatically reduced the number of unschooled children. There were still pockets of the unschooled in the twentieth century - in 1907 Mr Stallworthy, MP, demanding a school for Lower Raupo, told the House that there were twenty children there who had never seen the inside of a school - but they were rare. 105

Children who had never been to school at all became increasingly newsworthy and a standing reproach against their parents and the authorities. In 1904 a fourteen year old witness in a Wanganui court case was unable to write down for the court some words he had heard. He said that he could not read or write and did not attend any school: "This fairly took the breath of the justices away." 106 The inspector of Native Schools reported a similarly scandalous situation in 1907 when he alleged that there were illiterates in Auckland who had never been to school, and he cited a girl who worked in a store-cum-post office and who had to get a Maori child to read for her when she was left in sole charge. 107

In the nineteenth century parents had not had much trouble keeping their children from school by claiming to give them "efficient and regular instruction" at home. But such claims were subject to increasingly close scrutiny and even derision. When a Christchurch rag and bottle man claimed in court that he could educate his children himself his qualifications "melted away" under Blank's stern cross-examination. 108 A Napier parent who took his child out of Standard I to educate her himself must have been dismayed to find his letter reprinted in the newspapers. According to the Education Board he wrote:
to the Red master Der Ser, i dont think i shall bee
abell to send - any more. pleas to give - [her
sister] her books and wat belongs to her and i must
dow wat i can at home.109

It also became increasingly difficult to use enrolment at a
private school as an excuse for keeping children home. In the
nineteenth century committees were wary about compulsion lest they drive
children into private schools, as happened in Rangiora when the
committee found that compelling attendance lowered their roll but
increased that of a private school held in the Anglican Sunday School
room giving them a net loss under the new rigour.110 The Wellington
truant officer reported in 1906 that he had been careful to visit the
Catholic schools regularly "as it is noticed that any difference in
treatment results in a drift from the Board to the Catholic schools, or
vice versa."111

Often, however, enrolment at a private school was a mere excuse.
Mr Tanner, MHR, told the House how painful it was to sit as a J.P. and
deal with "poor, miserable women" charged under the school attendance
laws.

It is the most frequent custom in the world for them
to produce a little slip of paper signed by some
teacher or another at a private school...On
enquiring afterwards it is found that the name was
entered on the school-roll perhaps that very
morning."112

When John Ryan, the Otago truant officer, descended on Oamaru in
1902 he found forty-six school-age children on the streets during school
hours. Eleven of them proved not to be on the roll of any public
school, but most of them airily informed Ryan that they had left the
state schools to attend Catholic ones.113

Bringing private schools, especially church ones, within the
scope of truant officers' operations demanded care, both to secure
cooperation and to avoid imputations of religious prejudice. One of the
reasons why the Hawke's Bay Board dismissed its first truant officer was
that a Napier committee had refused to exempt children at a Catholic
school from attending the public school and the truant officer brought proceedings which caused much ill-feeling and occasioned a lively discussion at the next Board meeting.114

Until the 1901 Act required private schools to make their registers available contact with them was informal and depended on truant officers' powers of persuasion. Contact was, however, assisted by the Catholic schools' seeking inspection by board inspectors in order for their pupils to win the standard pass certificates which became more and more important from the 1890s. By 1914 urban private schools at least were firmly embedded in the effective systems of supervision which the truant officers had devised.

Although there were, to be sure, some sharp local skirmishes there was no dramatic "battle for school attendance". Educationists, administrators, and government worked cautiously and with due regard to the political and economic climate, not moving too far ahead of public opinion. By the early twentieth century the tide had set firmly in favour of regular attendance and there was no organised opposition to moves to coerce a recalcitrant minority into the schools. At the same time, as has been demonstrated, regular school attendance did not preclude a great deal of part time and seasonal work by children which impeded their school progress considerably.

Examining the work of truant officers and the attitudes of magistrates focusses attention on the reluctant minority, but it should be noted that the great majority of parents and pupils gave the authorities no trouble, and there were paragons of virtue who notched up impressive records of attendance and amassed impressive collections of medals and certificates.

In 1914 the Wanganui Education Board wondered whether there should be some superordinate award to excellent attenders. The Board asked the Department of Education to issue a special certificate to
those with a string of good attendance awards. Hogben replied that it was not, in fact, always admirable to pursue a perfectly faultless record; it might be better sometimes for a child to stay home. The surprised Board referred the matter to the Minister of Education who endorsed Hogben's views.  

Such nonchalance would have been unthinkable earlier, and is a good indication of the success of the long, slow push for school attendance.
Notes to Chapter 3

2. *LT*, 3 May 1892.
4. *AJHR*, E-1, 1902, p.iii.
11. *NZSM*, August 1900, pp.4-5.
15. *ODT*, 26 April 1887.
25. AJHR, H-5, 1890, p.96.
26. LT, 19 March 1912.
27. NZSM, June 1904, p.164.
28. See AJHR, E-1b, 1898, p.8 for references to children gathering fungus.
30. LT, 7 April 1902.
31. CP, 8 April 1903.
32. NZPD, vol 141, 1907, p.27.
33. NZPD, vol 141, 1907, p.22.
34. LT, 24 April 1902.
35. LT, 7 October 1907.
40. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.309.
42. LT, 23 July 1909.
43. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.270.
45. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.504.
46. LT, 22 August 1902.
47. LT, 14 August 1896.
48. AJHR, H-11, 1902.
49. NZPD, vol 142, 1907, p.827.
50. LT, 29 July 1901.
51. LT, 15 October 1904.

53. *AJHR*, E-11, 1917, p.3.

54. NCEB Records, Inspector's MS report, 22 May 1900.

55. NCEB Records, Inspector's MS report, 16 May 1901.

56. Kiri Kiri School Committee Minutes, 3 March 1902.

57. Governors Bay School Committee Minutes, 14 January 1890.

58. *AJHR*, E-14, 1901, p.54.


60. *AJHR*, E-1, 1904, p.87.

61. *LT*, 4 November 1899.


63. *AJHR*, E-1b, 1886, p.28; E-1b, 1902, p.21.


66. *NZSM*, April 1902, p.130.


68. NCEB Records, Inspector's MS report, 15 November 1911.

69. This circular, dated 1932, was an addendum to *By-laws of the Education Board of the District of Otago*, Adopted 19th August 1929. Dunedin, Coulls Somerville Wilkie, p.8.

70. Westland Education Board Minutes, 16 August 1888; 9 October 1888.

71. *LT*, 27 October 1891.


73. *AJHR*, E-1, 1881, p.54.

74. *AJHR*, E-1, 1884, Session I, p.68. The following account of the comings and goings of truant officers employed by the various education boards is based on their statements of expenditure on staff other than teachers. These statements were routinely appended to the Minister's report.

75. *CP*, 4 February 1897.

77. **LT**, 24 November 1898.
78. **LT**, 21 November 1900.
79. **LT**, 24 November 1898.
80. **AJHR**, E-1, 1901, p.69.
81. **AJHR**, E-1, 1900, p.87.
82. **LT**, 24 November 1898.
83. **LT**, 15 March 1900.
84. **LT**, 20 November 1897.
85. **CP**, 10 October 1893; 14 October 1893.
87. **LT**, 18 September 1902.
89. **LT**, 20 August 1898.
90. **LT**, 17 January 1911.
91. **AJHR**, E-1b, 1886, p.18.
92. **AJHR**, E-14, 1901, p.413.
95. **LT**, 24 June 1914.
96. East Christchurch School Committee Minutes, 31 March 1904.
98. **LT**, 30 November 1897.
100. **NZJE**, July 1903, p.103.
103. **AJHR**, E-1b, 1883, p.15.
104. Westland Education Board Minutes, 9 February 1887.


107. **LT**, 1 November 1907.

108. **LT**, 24 November 1898.


110. **LT**, 30 April 1890.


115. **LT**, 20 January 1914.
Chapter 4

EXTENDING SCHOOLING

When legislators set the limits of compulsory schooling they must consider a number of political, social, and economic factors and strike a balance between the costs and benefits of extending enforced attendance. The upper and lower limits of compulsory schooling are, therefore, cautious compromises and the socially concerned can always point to children who would, they say, benefit from further education. If such children can be grouped under convenient labels, and if there is no prospect of a general extension of schooling, the logical outcome of such concern is the suggestion that there should be limited extensions for specific groups. This chapter outlines two such attempts: the early kindergarten movement and the movement to establish compulsory continuation classes for some school leavers. Both movements had limited success, but there was a third campaign, which can also be seen as a move to extend the schools' influence for moral reasons and which was a considerable success, namely the turn-of-the-century movement to "tame the playground", introduce school sports, and organise what had been children's free time at school.

While school attendance rates improved steadily in the 1890s there were still children under seven or over thirteen legally on the loose and visible on the streets rather than tucked away at home or at work, and there were efforts to extend schooling to increase supervision of such children and to enhance and maintain the schools' disciplinary influence. These efforts, largely aimed at urban children, were justified by rehearsing the social and moral benefits of formal
education and emphasising the danger to children of being on the streets. In this context "the street" was a powerful symbol which conveniently summed up a number of anxieties and drew on the widespread assumption that rural life was a source of virtue and urban life a source of vice. Talk of children congregating on the street corner conjured up images very different from the happy scenes of innocent good-fellowship evoked by verse or prose about children sporting on the village green.

Congregations of children of any age, especially in the evenings and especially if they were noisy or unruly, provoked anxiety in the respectable and dark talk of "larrikins" but those who urged the extension of schooling had two specific groups in mind. There were, firstly, the very young children of the urban poor, children who tumbled about the streets and gutters until they went to school unkempt, unwashed, poorly clothed, and poorly prepared for the regular routines of school life. Those who opposed the suggestion in the 1880s that schooling should not be free until six or seven argued that these children stood in special need of early training and such arguments could also be used to support a downward extension of formal schooling.

A second readily identifiable group was made up of children who had left school but had either not found work or were excluded from factory work until they turned fourteen. It was argued that the Factory Act meant at least a year of enforced idleness for many children during which time the schools' influence faded and their capacity for mischief increased.

There were three rather obvious responses to children hanging about the streets where they might get into mischief. One was to press, as some did, for the school-leaving age to be raised at least to fourteen in harmony with the Factory Act. Another response, discussed in chapter 3, was to make sure that children who were legally bound to
go to school did. A third option was to legislate on children's out-of-school activities.

Children were covered by the criminal code more or less as it applied to adults and the Police Offences Act 1884, a compilation and extension of earlier statutes, defined some distinctly childish offences. Sections 3(23) and 3(24) stated that an offence was committed by anyone who:

Rolls any cask, beats any carpet, flies any kite, uses any bow and arrow, or catapult or shanghai, or plays at any game to the annoyance of any person in any public place.

Wantonly or maliciously disturbs any inhabitant by ringing any doorbell, knocking at any door, blowing any horn, beating any drum, or using any other noisy instrument in a public place.

But neither this nor any other statute prohibited children from exposing themselves to evil influences by gathering in the streets. To have demanded legislation to sweep children from the street altogether, or to make sniggering on corners a specific offence, would have been to make oneself a laughing-stock, but there was some mileage in the general assumption that children and young persons should not be out at night without good reason and the suggestion that children should be subject to a general curfew was seriously canvassed. In 1892 John Joyce, a Canterbury MP, asked if the Minister of Justice would amend the Police Offences Act to keep children off the streets at night. The Minister, A.J. Cadman, acknowledged that he had received a lot of letters on this matter from Justices of the Peace, Stipendiary Magistrates, and the police, but he had not had time to read them all and decide on a course of action.¹

The matter was followed up in the later 1890s with a series of unsuccessful bills to secure the "protection of young persons" by imposing a curfew on children and creating a voluntary force of "discreet women" to act as moral police and pick up young girls out
after hours and suspected of being prostitutes. One such bill, introduced by William Hutchinson, a Dunedin MHR and an elder of the Presbyterian church, would have made it illegal for children under twelve to be out after 8 p.m. between April and September and after 9 p.m. from March to October unless with a parent or adult of good repute. Young persons, i.e., boys aged twelve to seventeen and girls aged twelve to eighteen, were not to be out after 9 p.m. in winter or summer and on being convicted of a third offence could be liable to up to fourteen days in prison.²

Such bills were derided as "grandmotherly" and the expression "discreet women" occasioned a good deal of professed perplexity in the House, but suggestions for a curfew continued to be made in the early twentieth century. In 1911 a conference of Hospital and Charitable Aid Boards passed a resolution, originating with the Dunedin Eugenics Society, asking the government to introduce a curfew for unaccompanied children under sixteen as was the case, it was claimed, in 5,000 cities in the United States.³

It is not surprising that such proposals came to nothing. Enforceable law depends on usable definitions and any detailed discussion of a curfew early enough to have the desired effect quickly showed that it was impossible to set a net with meshes of the right size. Those who wanted to legislate children off the streets had to take what comfort they could from the raising of the school leaving age to fourteen in 1901. Even the most draconian laws to drive youngsters off the streets, however, would not have removed all worries over "gutter children" under school age, the group with which the early free kindergarten movement concerned itself.

Once Froebel's works had been translated into English, and once what Cumming and Cumming describe as "the mystical German smog" gathered from Schelling and Goethe had been blown away,⁴ they attracted attention
from educationalists throughout the English-speaking world, including New Zealand.

Froebelians used the word "kindergarten" in various ways which should be distinguished here. These days a kindergarten means a separate institution, an infant school catering for children below the age of compulsory attendance and employing methods not too dissimilar from those in a state school's first primer classes and more or less identical with those of a nursery playcentre. But in the nineteenth century "kindergarten" could mean a separate institution or it could mean a set of methods and activities which differed sharply from those of most primer teachers in primary schools. Froebel's games, songs, and activities - "kindergarten work" - might be offered in a separate school, a kindergarten in the modern sense, or they might be offered in the primer classes of a regular school for all or part of the time. In some cases an infant class or department in a regular primary school which employed Froebel's methods was called a "kindergarten" although it was not a separate institution.

The North Canterbury Education Board made the earliest New Zealand efforts to put Froebel's doctrines on an official footing by recruiting Mrs Amelia C. Crowley, a well-trained kindergarten teacher, from Britain to the Christchurch Normal School. Mrs Crowley arrived in July 1878 and the Board reported confidently, "It is intended to proceed at once with the building of the kindergarten school." The experiment did not last long; there were no funds for the proposed "kindergarten school", i.e., a showplace infant department of the Normal School, and in 1881 the Board noted that Mrs Crowley had resigned, "in consequence of a reduction of salary." But there were others elsewhere to spread Froebel's doctrines after Mrs Crowley's disappearance into private life. Miss Catherine Francis, for example, arrived in Wellington from Australia as an accredited kindergarten expert in the late 1870s. She
made the Mt Cook Infants' School in Wellington a showplace of kindergarten work and in due course inspectors sent probationers to her for instruction in enlightened infant teaching.\footnote{7}

There were also a number of separate, private kindergartens entirely distinct from the state school system. The full number of private schools which laid claim to the title "kindergarten" cannot readily be ascertained, nor can their locations or organisers or the extent to which they were recognisably Froebelian, but a number of such institutions are recorded in fairly accessible sources. The St Pauls Kindergarten was established under the general oversight of the Rev. John Still in Tinakori Road, Wellington, in January 1884, and catered for children from age three upwards for a fee of sixpence a week.\footnote{8} In July, 1887, Bishop Cowie of Auckland recorded his visit to an Auckland kindergarten recently established by Mrs Ward, wife of the notable judge, in a disused library building and catering for forty young children.\footnote{9} Hugh Anderson went in the 1890s to a "kindergarten run by Miss March in the St Marks schoolroom in Opawa".\footnote{10} Miss Wienecke, who was to become the first teacher in Dunedin's first free kindergarten, ran a kindergarten in Papanui in the 1880s.\footnote{11} When Hogben was headmaster of the Timaru High School in the 1890s he sent his boys to a kindergarten organised by the Misses Rutherford and catering for the children of polite society in Timaru.\footnote{12}

However well kindergartens went down with the middle class enthusiasts who could afford fees it was a different story when it came to extending the benefits of Froebel's methods and materials to the gutter children who, it was generally agreed, stood in most need of them. In July, 1878, a group of Dunedin people met to plan a "Creche or Infants' Day Nursery" for the children of working women. Letters to Dunedin papers praised the scheme because it would rescue children from the streets, prevent later larrikinism, and decrease admissions to
industrial schools. But it proved easier to gain epistolatory than financial support; nothing came of this early effort at preschool missionary work, and such plans were not seriously considered again until the late 1880s.

In September, 1888, William Fox addressed a meeting of fifty people on kindergarten work and Mark Cohen, editor of the Evening Star, who had urged a general scheme of kindergarten schools on the parliamentary committee of 1887, proposed the formation of a committee to establish a free kindergarten in the city. A further meeting in March 1889, addressed by Bishop Suter of Nelson, filled the Town Hall and a committee headed by Mrs R.S. Reynolds was elected to explore ways and means. The result was a free kindergarten, opened in July 1889 in Walker Street, a notorious Dunedin slum, with Miss Wienecke in charge. In 1891 a generous gift of £100 from Miss Walker of Sydney enabled the committee to open a second kindergarten, and by 1893 the Walker Street and "Yaralla" kindergartens had rolls of 63 and 50 respectively.

Butchers says that the free kindergarten movement was confined to Dunedin and no further extension took place either there or elsewhere until 1905. But he is wrong for the Christchurch Children's Aid Society established two, admittedly short-lived, kindergartens before that date. The first was established in a hall on the South Belt in November 1898, and the second in St Albans in 1899. The South Belt kindergarten was closed in 1901 for lack of funds, apparently re-opened in Grafton Street, and then closed in 1905 when the Children's Aid Society decided to concentrate its efforts on providing a cottage home for needy children. The St Albans kindergarten struggled on in various buildings until 1905 when the Children's Aid Society apparently handed it over to Miss Emily Scofield, the headteacher, who was forced to charge sixpence a week in fees to supplement donations in cash and kind from well-wishers.
These struggles showed that free kindergartens could hardly survive, let alone multiply, without state funding, and the Dunedin organisers made efforts to secure state funds as early as 1894 when Mrs Reynolds wrote to the Rev. Habens, the Inspector-General, to remind him that Reeves had promised to make the remains of a grant for technical education available to the Dunedin kindergartens. Habens apologetically replied that there could be no grant and in a memorandum to Reeves he noted that the Education Boards would lose capitation grants if five-year-olds went to kindergartens.\textsuperscript{19} 

The Dunedinites persisted and petitioned Parliament in the early twentieth century. In 1902 Mrs Reynolds asked for pound-for-pound subsidies on money raised locally, but the Petitions Committee of the House replied, "inasmuch as the public school system of the colony provides for giving instruction and exercise by the kindergarten system this committee has no recommendation to make."\textsuperscript{20} The following year Thomas Scott and 138 others petitioned for aid and the Petitions Committee, chaired by the sympathetic George Fowlds, recommended favourable consideration because kindergarten work was "of great value to the state."\textsuperscript{21} 

George Hogben, the new Inspector-General, despite his contemporary reputation with some as a "faddist", and despite his later reputation as a liberal reformer, was far from enthusiastic about funding kindergartens. In a memorandum to Seddon, now Minister of Education, he wrote:

\begin{quote}
The state undertakes the education of children of five years of age and upwards; generally speaking before that age they should, I consider, be in charge of and be trained by their mothers. If their mothers cannot, through force of circumstances, undertake this duty, then the work of assisting the mothers, as the Dunedin Kindergarten Association seems to be doing, is worthy and charitable, but I do not recommend a grant. Neither do I recommend a grant to any private school or association for teaching children over five as the public schools exist to do that work.
\end{quote} \textsuperscript{22}
Mrs Reynolds wrote over Hogben's head to Seddon to explain the missionary work of the kindergartens.

We fulfill the part of a truant school and that of an uncommon order, taking charge of these babes of three years and keeping them off the kerbstones, and training them to be - Clean-Courteous, obedient and industrious, developing their own individual traits and bringing out latent possibilities in a manner which no other known system can accomplish. The money required is a mere infinitesimal mite - say one hundred pounds a year and never would be missed or felt by anyone, and I am sure it would save itself ten times over in gaols and police in the near future. 23

Seddon referred this to Hogben who said he had nothing to add to his earlier memorandum but he might be able to visit the Association's kindergartens when he was next in Dunedin. 24

In 1904 the Children's Aid Society began a correspondence with Hogben seeking subsidies for its schools. By the middle of 1905 Hogben had visited both the Dunedin and Christchurch kindergartens and although he was not very impressed with the facilities at St Albans he changed his tune and suggested to Seddon that grants might be made under certain conditions. There should be no capitation on children over five and no religious teaching; teachers should get a minimum salary and kindergartens should be open to inspection. 25

Hogben's objection to religious instruction might have spelt an end to the matter for part of the "mystical German smog" had to do with religious and quasi-religious sentiments in children and while later, more matter-of-fact handbooks on kindergarten methods dropped Froebel's rambling account of the cosmic truths children would learn from handling cubes, spheres, and other "gifts" they also made it clear that religious instruction of a more routine kind was part of a kindergarten programme. Miss Wienecke, too, had accepted her position in Dunedin on condition that she be allowed to "teach Christ to the children" as part of her redemptive efforts. 26
Things were not as bad as they looked, however. Hogben did not object to religious instruction per se but to the possibility that grants to kindergartens might lead the churches to line up for state aid. The formula needed to let kindergartens in and keep churches out was not hard to find. In July, 1905, James Allen wrote to Hogben:

I have a letter this morning from one of the advisory board who suggests that the matter may be put in this way - "No religious instruction shall be given except unsectarian hymns, prayers, and simple Bible lessons suitable for young children." I think this might well be agreed to by you. 27

It was. Departmental returns show that the first grant to free kindergartens, £343-17-0d, was made in the year ending March, 1906. 28

With state subsidies the Dunedin Association opened a kindergarten in Hanover Street in 1905, one in South Dunedin in 1906, and another in Caversham in 1908. A kindergarten was opened in Tory Street, Wellington, in 1906 and another in Constable Street in 1909. By 1915 there were four free kindergartens in Wellington. The Logan Campbell Free Kindergarten was opened in Auckland in 1910, another in 1912, and another in 1913. In Christchurch the Sunbeam Kindergarten which had been temporarily closed was re-organised and re-opened as a free kindergarten in 1911 and in 1912 a free kindergarten was set up in Phillipstown. 29

Access to preschool education has now become a general welfare demand but in its early days the free kindergarten movement was explicitly missionary and aimed specifically at the urchin offspring of the urban poor. Walker Street was known as "the Devil's half-acre". It was, James Allen told a parliamentary committee in 1903, "the residence of Chinese, Syrians [i.e., Indians], and other foreigners, and the whole place was a disgrace to the community." 30

Mrs Reynolds was only one of many to argue that this sort of social work saved the country money in the long run. In 1903 the Rev.
Rutherford Waddell, one of the founders of the Walker Street kindergarten, wrote of it:

The state has also saved many hundred of pounds, for it is as certain as anything well can be that not a few of these little ones are criminals in embryo, and they owe their salvation to the kindergarten influence...It is good to look after our prisoners in gaol, and our grown-up criminals and incapables; but it is a more heroic thing to prevent them from being criminals and incapable at all, and I am certain that an institution such as the Walker Street kindergarten is doing just that work. It is not only inducing these young lives to law and order in a pleasant way, and preparing them to become apt pupils in the State schools; it is a most valuable addition to the economic and moral forces of the State.31

Martha Myers, one of the founders of the free kindergarten movement in Auckland, put it in briefer, more lapidary form: "Kindergartens stand for formation and obviate the necessity for reformation."32

The kindergarten movement had plenty of able, articulate advocates - committee lists read like a roll-call of urban liberal reformers - but for all that, and even with subsidies, free kindergartens catered for a very small proportion of children and were confined to cities and a few of the larger towns until after the Second World War, and it might be concluded that kindergarten work had a very limited impact over all. But kindergarten methods and ideals were also spread by the state primary school system, and the kindergarten movement helped secure an effective downward extension of schooling, not by creating a general system of separate institutions, but by reforming infant room practice and making it more humane, interesting, and enjoyable.

Most historical accounts of the organisation and operation of New Zealand primary schools have focussed on the standard classes and the examination and inspection thereof rather than on primer classes. This relative lack of attention to infant classes mirrors the Department of Education's neglect in the late nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. The first syllabus regulations for the national system, gazetted in 1878, had nothing to say about primer classes and nineteenth century revisions of the regulations only added the provision that "preparatory divisions" might be divided into four levels. Hogben's much-discussed 1904 syllabus required all classes below Standard II to have English, arithmetic, drawing, singing, physical training, moral instruction, and nature study and it included very sketchy prescriptions in arithmetic and singing for infant classes. But it was not until 1913 that the official syllabus devoted more than a few lines to infant programmes and methods. 33

In the 1890s about one quarter of all primary school pupils were classified "Preparatory", although some of these children were ten or eleven. In the twentieth century the proportion classified "Preparatory" began to rise and by 1909 36 percent of pupils were officially in primer classes. 34 This increase, which was not accompanied by any more rapid progress through the standards once children did leave the primers, horrified Hogben and was the chief reason for the attention to infants in the 1913 syllabus revision, and for the clear instruction that children should not normally spend more than two years in the primers.

Infant classes were often enormous and infant teachers overworked. In 1901, for example, Miss Craig of the Rintoul Street School in Wellington, had charge of 217 children with four pupil teachers to help her. 35 Overcrowding and poor ventilation and heating made infant classrooms even more unpleasant and unhealthy places than other classrooms and the long periods of inactivity children suffered did not provide any inducement to attend until forced to. Some infant mistresses struggled to introduce more enlightened methods, including kindergarten work, but infant teaching was often mechanical and poorly adjusted to children's capacities and discipline was strict.
It is often said these days, in discussions of external examinations in the senior secondary school, that examinations have a downward effect, i.e., they determine programmes and methods in the lower classes as well as in classes preparing to take the examination. This was certainly true of infant rooms in the nineteenth century where teachers worked to prepare children for entry into Standard I where they would undergo their first formal examination. Infant teachers concentrated heavily on reading, writing, spelling, and learning tables and relied heavily on repetition and chanting aloud in order to drum a basic reading vocabulary and the multiplication tables into their charges. The numbers involved and limited finance ruled out such modern frills as "nature tables", materials for free or imaginative play, or any great number of supplementary reading books even if teachers had been inclined to spare the time for such things.

A fair idea of an infant room programme can be gleaned from a New Zealand school method text, T. Cheyne Farnie's Manual of School Method. Farnie was a successful teacher, the author of some school grammar texts, and he became headmaster at Geraldine. His text includes specimen timetables which one can be reasonably sure reflect standard practice by successful teachers in the 1890s. A timetable for an infant class taken by a mistress and two pupil teachers provides for a solid diet of the three Rs. The day was to begin with ten minutes physical exercises which would have been performed in strict unison standing in one's place and then an hour and a half of arithmetic, reading, and spelling with five minutes singing by way of light relief before interval. The rest of the morning was to be spent on writing and transcribing spelling words from blackboard to slates, arithmetical tables, and another five minutes singing before lunch. The afternoons were to be devoted to further transcription, tables and mental arithmetic, preparing reading and spelling, poetry, object lessons and, three days a week, drawing.
This is a stiff and formal programme, very different from current infant room work and quite different from kindergarten work of the day which included games and rhymes, imaginative play, dancing and little plays, work with blocks and coloured paper and so on. There is, in the programme Farnie outlines, no physical education beyond some brief mass drill, no drama, no discussion, no free time with paints or construction material, and no time for social interaction.

Handling a large class of infants demanded considerable skill and organisation if teachers were to hear individual children or even groups of children read or if they were to get through the marking and checking of written work involved and it is clear from inspectors' reports that many children spent a good deal of time in infant rooms sitting at benches waiting to recite their lessons or present their slates to teachers for inspection.

When Habens discussed infant teaching with the parliamentary committee on possible retrenchment in 1887 he described infant work in the larger schools in glowing terms. No one could possibly criticise it, he said, if they knew "how light and gentle the discipline is, and how pleasant the method of imparting instruction." To have claimed this of all schools would have been to invite outright derision and he conceded that sending a child under seven to many small schools "might perhaps do him as much harm as good." inspectors of schools, closer to the classroom, were much more blunt. The Southland inspector, in his 1891 report, called infant teaching "an open sore", and he warned that, "the evil fruits of this almost enforced neglect must be a pernicious legacy of inattention and idle habits." It was widely held that the best if not the only way to reform infant work was to adopt kindergarten methods, although there were a few nay-sayers. Hodgson, the Nelson inspector, had in 1887 "no faith in the kindergarten system, or by whatever other outlandish names state
nurseries may be dubbed." Some years later James Robertson of the Wellington Education Board opined that kindergarten work was "merely to keep the children occupied" and that there was "as much education in the making of mud pies".

But such open doubts were rare. By 1898 the Southland correspondent of the New Zealand Schoolmaster was able to report, "At present the district is suffering from an epidemic of kindergarten. The school that is not attacked is looked on askance by parent and committeeman." A wide range of straightforward texts on kindergarten work was available setting out detailed programmes of work in paper-folding, block-stacking, stick-laying, dancing, singing and recitation. McKenzie also notes that interest in kindergarten work increased after a revision of the examination and inspection regulations in 1894 gave headteachers the power to promote pupils in Standards I and II making the transition from primer to standard classes less problematic.

This enthusiasm for kindergarten work did not mean that infant rooms suddenly saw a lot of spontaneous romping or anything remotely approaching the freedom of choice now offered in kindergartens or in most infant departments of primary schools. Kindergarten work as set out in the many cookbooks on the market was stiff and formal, often done in unison, under close supervision, and with a great deal of teacher-talk.

Teachers did not shed old disciplinary habits overnight and classes remained large. Thus a demonstration lesson in paper folding, given in Dunedin in 1901 to 80 infants, was punctuated with commands such as "pass papers", "arms behind", "fold across", "fold corner-to-corner". There was also much naming of the parts: top right, bottom left, corner, angle, diagonal, triangle, etc. The result was 80 paper cups and 80 paper saucers more or less true to the final picture on the blackboard and the example on the teacher's desk.
correspondent who noted an epidemic of kindergarten further noted that in many schools kindergarten equipment was kept on exhibition but, "perhaps for fear of injury, is scrupulously preserved from use."\textsuperscript{44}

But whatever the formality of kindergarten work in schools, and however much it tended to become just another timetabled subject (like "developmental" in more recent times) it generally meant more interest and more activity than older infant methods, and it introduced simple games, rhymes and songs into many classes for the first time. The appointment of kindergarten mistresses to the re-opened and re-organised training colleges after 1905 also meant an ever-growing number of women teachers with some knowledge of the newer infant methods.

Whereas inspectors who commented on infant work in the nineteenth century were often critical or despairing, in the twentieth century their reports increasingly included praise for schools which had introduced kindergarten work, and handwork generally, and they urged the laggards on. By 1909 the Auckland inspectors were able to note with satisfaction that, "In recent years the traditional reluctance of young children to attend school has been steadily waning." This they attributed to more skillful and sympathetic teaching in infant classes and to "the growing mildness of control and government, largely due to the influence of our lady teachers."\textsuperscript{45}

Thus, while kindergartens, even when subsidised, did not multiply as the free kindergarten movement hoped the kindergarten movement contributed significantly to an effective downward extension of schooling through its impact on infant classes. Even when reformed infant programmes were not, strictly speaking, on the "kindergarten system" they owed something to the kindergarten movement's persistent advocacy of activity and work in harmony with young children's interests and capacities.
While the free kindergarten movement sought to rescue very young children from the contaminating influence of the street others fixed their attention on older children and warned of the moral dangers to truants, children running wild out of school hours, and unemployed early school leavers. Where do boys learn to smoke, to swear, and to pilfer? Mr Hodgson asked in 1880. Not at school: "The seminaries where these and kindred habits are acquired — in our towns at least — are the street corners." The stress on towns was typical. At the 1892 conference of the New Zealand Educational Institute J.G.L. Scott, a senior Christchurch headmaster, suggested that the State had a clear right to enforce attendance in the country if it was "possible for small farmers to send their children to school with reasonable regularity and at the same time make their farms pay." But there was an even greater need for compulsion in towns where "the absentees are not even profitably occupied, but are rapidly acquiring in the street an education which will fit them hereafter for the reformatory or the prison."

Truants could be tracked down and sent to school, but what about school-leavers hanging about the streets? Even if they did not drift into outright wickedness they were likely to lose the habits of industry and obedience drummed into them by teachers and make worse workers when they did find jobs. Peter Hutson, Vice-President of the Employers' Association, put just this point to a parliamentary committee on a labour bill in 1901.

We never have any trouble about getting boys, but we have trouble in getting suitable boys. We prefer to get them direct from school; when a boy has started running the streets we cannot break them in...We like to get them when they are fifteen so that we can mould them when they come from the school-masters' hands.

Aptly enough, Mr Hutson was a pottery manufacturer.

Here again the socially concerned moved to find work for idle hands before the Devil did. From time to time both pulpit and press
urged lads to stern endeavour and constructive hobbies, and in a few places boys' clubs were organised to provide a healthy outlet for youthful energy and to enable adults to keep an eye on lads. In 1891 a number of philanthropic gentlemen organised a club and gymnasium in South Dunedin to provide wholesome recreation for the boys on the flat. In the late 1880s the Boys' Gordon Hall was established in Christchurch for lads aged twelve to eighteen who had left school. The Boys' Brigade and, later, the Scouts also provided socially approved activities for boys, both pupils and those who had left school.

But some of those who were upset at the sight of boys on streets, aware that many of these boys had not passed the higher standards, felt that educational work was better than recreation. Mr G.M. Thomson of Dunedin, convinced that loitering on street corners was an occupation "pernicious alike to the individual and to the peace and safety of the community", sought to rescue lads from the "polluting influences of idleness" by calling a public meeting in 1888 to consider the organisation of continuation classes. The result was the Dunedin Technical Classes Association, constituted in March, 1889 with Thomson as secretary and superintendent, which enrolled 278 boys at its opening session. Similar concerns and similar voluntary effort lay behind the beginnings of technical education in other centres and in due course, in the twentieth century, day technical schools appeared as an alternative form of secondary education.

The Education Act 1877 included the provision that:

Every male teacher having principal charge of a public school may open an evening school for pupils above thirteen years of age; but at such evening schools the teacher may charge a fee for the instruction of such pupils, subject to the approval of the committee.

Teachers in Auckland, Canterbury and Otago experimented with such classes during the early years of the national system. There were 19
such classes in Auckland in 1879 with a total enrolment of 171. But poor attendance, the additional burden on teachers, bad weather, and other demands on lads' time meant that few of the classes lasted very long, although teachers here and there persisted. In 1895 T. Cheyne Farnie, headmaster at Geraldine, concerned at the aimless existence of some early school-leavers, organised classes for those over thirteen who had not passed the higher standards at primary school. In 1906 the North Canterbury Education Board organised evening classes at the East Christchurch, Sydenham, and St Albans schools to cover work in Standards V and VI and to make it possible for boys to qualify to enter free technical classes. The fee for these continuation classes was five shillings per term, but after less than a year the scheme had lost £66 and only the East Christchurch classes carried on.

To be wholly successful a continuation class had to turn in an acceptable balance sheet and attract the sort of lads Thomson and Farnie were worried about and this latter proved difficult. Boys who had not succeeded at school when compelled to attend were not keen to submit themselves to schooling again. In 1892 241 out of 279 new pupils at Thomson's classes in Dunedin had actually passed Standard VI or some equivalent anyway, and another 25 had passed Standard V. In the twentieth century it was increasingly argued that compulsion should be judiciously extended. Those who entered secondary or day technical schools under the new free place scheme were accounted for, and so were young persons in employment, particularly if they were apprenticed. But why not compel the further education of early leavers, the poorly qualified, and those not yet in paid employment?

The matter came before parliament in private members' bills for continuation classes and was finally included in a 1910 amendment to the Education Act. Section 18 of the Education Amendment Act 1910 stated that on the application of a school committee an education board could,
with the Minister's concurrence, make regulations to compel the attendance at continuation classes of "young persons within the school district who are not otherwise receiving a suitable education or who are not specifically exempted by the regulations." Those who lived more than two miles from a class were exempt in any case. Those who were compelled to attend would attend for up to five hours per week. Parents could be prosecuted for failing to send their children when required and it was an offence to employ young people who came under such regulations outside the normal hours of work, "normal hours" being either those set out in an industrial award or customary in that sort of work.

By 1912 regulations had been drafted by the Auckland, Taranaki, Wanganui, and Hawke's Bay Education Boards and approved by the Department of Education, and the Wanganui regulations had been put into effect in four school districts so that a total of 46 boys and 27 girls were enrolled in continuation classes. The Wanganui regulations required boys to attend classes between 7 and 9 p.m. two nights a week and girls to attend 2 to 4 p.m. two days a week.\(^57\) By 1914 continuation classes were running in seven Wanganui districts, two districts in Auckland, and one in Hawke's Bay with a total enrolment of 256 boys and 180 girls.\(^58\)

The scheme was not the success the advocates of compulsion had hoped for. "Young persons" were defined as boys or girls aged fourteen to eighteen, but bright pupils who passed Standard VI could leave school at thirteen. Those who did not go on to secondary school still had to wait until fourteen before working in a factory and they could also escape compulsory continuation classes during that year. There were disciplinary problems with some pupils and there was opposition from some parents, particularly those who made use of their children's labour at home.
The 1910 legislation left it up to committees to compel attendance at continuation classes but committees proved to be as cautious in this as they had been in compelling primary school attendance in the 1870s and 1880s and for much the same reasons. If committees were not disposed to do anything lest they incur local hostility, some asked, why not take it out of their hands? During the hearings of the Cohen Commission James Kirk asked Hogben:

As the State's corrective school discipline ends just at the time when the life of the boy or girl is changing, is it desirable, in your opinion, that some compulsory system of continuation classes should be made general, so as to keep their minds employed?

Hogben was cautious in reply.

You have given grounds on which I should say yes, but there are other grounds on which I say you must educate public opinion first. I believe it ought to become compulsory, but I also believe that if you get too far ahead of public opinion you will put off the reform for many years...I believe that the best way is the way in which we have made a small beginning in New Zealand, making it depend upon local option. 59

Hogben did not mention but must have been aware of the trouble the authorities were having with compulsory military training. (See chapter 20.) At a time when defaulters under the Defence Act were appearing in court in increasing numbers and farmers were grumbling at the way compulsory training cut into farm work further talk of compulsory, part time education was distinctly out of place.

Continuation classes, like kindergartens, remained a small addition to the school system, flourishing in one or two places and absent elsewhere. Like kindergartens they kept some educational issues alive, but unlike kindergartens they had little impact on regular school practice. They differed from kindergartens in one further respect: whereas the options for very young children were home, the streets, or kindergarten, continuation classes were only one of many options for older children and the steady expansion of secondary schooling, a good
demand for youthful labour, as well as reforms in the treatment of young offenders weakened demands for compulsory schemes to take boys off street corners.

While plans for kindergartens and compulsory continuation classes were not as successful as some hoped a third movement to extend teachers' influence, a movement which Sutton-Smith calls "the taming of the playground", was a considerable success. In the 1870s and 1880s children were left very much to their own devices in the playground and when teachers, in the 1890s, turned their attention to intervals and lunchtimes to extend the schools' moral influence they were like a nation in search of space realising that it had unsettled territory within its borders.

By the early 1890s some committees, mostly urban, had made quite considerable efforts to level playgrounds, put in paths and paving, and to provide benches, gardens, and some simple playground equipment. A somewhat greater number of committees had at least put up some swings for girls and ladders and parallel bars for the boys but the majority of committees, and certainly most rural ones, contented themselves with fencing the playground and perhaps planting shelter-belts of trees. Fences to keep animals out could be equally useful for keeping them in and it was not uncommon for teachers to turn horses and cattle into playgrounds during the holidays, at weekends, and after school. As late as 1906 "Father of Four" complained that horses and cattle were kept in the Darfield School playground and his children came home "bespattered with filth.\[^60\]

In the 1880s and 1890s in the majority of schools teacher supervision at playtimes and lunchtimes, when there was any at all, was passing and perfunctory. The majority of New Zealand schools were, of course, small and it was common for sole-charge teachers to stay inside at lunchtime preparing for the afternoon session or to leave the school
altogether and go home for lunch.

Unsupervised playgrounds could be dangerous places. C.B. Brereton tells how, in the 1880s, he was shot in the eye with an arrow at school.\(^61\) In March, 1887, two Christchurch children were killed in playground accidents: a girl of seven fell from a swing at Upper Heathcote and a boy of eight died in a fall from a "gymnasium" at East Christchurch.\(^62\) For the weak, young, or generally unpopular child the chief hazard was not misadventure but the deliberate attentions of unsympathetic classmates. A good deal of bullying went on both at and after school and Sutton-Smith notes that there was much arranged fighting in the late nineteenth century as individuals and groups settled their differences and as older boys set younger boys to fight one another as entertainment.\(^63\) Dick Seddon's son, T.E.Y. Seddon, describes the way in which family feuds were settled in the Kumara School playground with fists, clods, and knotted reeds.\(^64\) Eileen Soper, who came out to New Zealand from Britain in the early twentieth century, crisply sums up playtimes in Invercargill \textit{circa} 1910: "We were turned loose into the fighting pen."\(^65\)

School committees' minute books record complaints from parents about accidents, fighting, and loose talk in playgrounds — along with teachers' undertakings to mete out justice and exercise more vigilance, and after 1885 inspectors were directed to assess "Supervision in recess" when writing reports on inspection visits, but both Sutton-Smith's researches and the testimony of a number of autobiographies suggest that even when teachers appeared in playgrounds in the nineteenth century it was generally as policemen, not participants.

As long as children did not go beyond the bounds they were left quite free to organise their own playground games, and these were most often folkgames. Some of these still survive in more or less modified forms; but only the elderly can now recall playing many of them and
others are only known through the work of folklore collectors like Sutton-Smith or the Opies. 66

Boys and girls both played a wide variety of chasing and tagging games with different names, rules, and ritual chants and words of permission and interdiction. Boys revelled in the vigorous chasing and scragging game known, *inter alia*, as bar-the-door, red rover and, in the North Island, "king-a-seenie" (to choose only one of the many spellings on offer in written reminiscences). Girls played singing, skipping, and rhyming games and hopscotch. Both boys and girls played knucklebones but marbles and mumblety-peg and other knife-flipping games were generally boys' games. Tip-cat, a game in which a tapered wooden peg was struck to make it fly, was a favourite game with boys and also the game most likely to be banned by teachers, for obvious reasons. 67

Imaginative games were as popular then as they are now and boys played cowboys and Indians, bushrangers, soldiers and, according to John A. Lee, "British versus Boers" during and shortly after the South African War. 68 Girls' make-believe games were generally more decorous and more domestic: playing house, playing school, playing with dolls. Playgrounds in their original tussocky state or recently cleared of forest offered plenty of nooks and crannies for imaginative games. Banks, tall tussocks, logs and stumps made dens, forts, and houses.

In the nineteenth century children also played some team games familiar to the twentieth century but these too were left to them. Writing in 1960 William Thomas recalled playing cricket, football, and rounders at the Union Street School in Dunedin in the early 1880s, but the football was a tussock. 69 Rhoda Barr recalled that the only ball game played by girls at her Oamaru school in the 1880s was rounders, in which the teachers took no interest. 70 Children were usually left to provide their own bats and balls for team games by begging them from parents, by whittling out bats or by hunting up suitable branches for
use as hockey sticks; but here and there committees provided sports equipment. In 1887, for example, the *Lyttelton Times* reported that the Malvern School Committee had resolved to appoint young James Hight as a pupil teacher and had further resolved to purchase cricket gear for the boys and tennis racquets for the girls.\(^71\) In the same year the Rangiora committee decided to spend £18 on an asphalt tennis court, as much, one suspects, for adult use in the weekends as for the children's benefit.\(^72\) Such purchases in the 1880s were, however, simply turned over to the pupils with no organised coaching by teachers and in many schools pupils were left for many years to find their own bats and balls. Karori boys, according to Archdeacon Maughan, collected money to buy footballs and cricket bats and balls in the 1890s and they arranged their own games against other schools. The first football in Francis Bennett's school near Timaru was purchased in 1907 with money collected by boys inspired by the 1905 All Black team.\(^73\)

It is, as these examples indicate, easy enough to find reports of teachers and committees who were early or late in purchasing sports equipment and in paying any attention to what children were up to in the playground, but it is also, taking the colony as a whole, justifiable to talk as Sutton-Smith does of a widespread movement around the turn of the century to "tame the playground".

Such efforts had been urged, without too much insistence, on teachers for some time. The 1885 regulations for the inspection of schools, as noted earlier, included the heading "Supervision in recess", although inspectors were not strictly required to comment on this. This heading appeared in subsequent revisions of the regulations and teachers were increasingly reminded of the importance of playground supervision to forestall mischief and to foster the conventional virtues. Teachers sitting the 1895 examination paper on school management for Teachers' D and E Certificates, for example, were expected to be able to say:
What is the educational value of the playground to the teacher? How can he utilise it most effectively as a piece of school machinery? In 1899 candidates were asked to "Outline an essay on Stow's dictum that the playground is the 'uncovered schoolroom'". Diligent students would have had such an outline before them had they been able to rattle off the relevant portions of Garlick's widely-used New Manual of Method.

It is the workshop for the manufacture of the sound body, as the schoolroom is for the sound mind... It is a healthy agency for the overflow of that abundant spontaneity of child life, which may become so troublesome to discipline if not regulated... It brings brightness to the school life, and helps to engender a love for the school by making it popular. It is a fine training ground for the emotions. Boys learn to discipline themselves in their sport, to submit their wills to the will of others. It is a great leveller and compensating force; for the dullard may be a physical adept. He wins in the playground that respect which he cannot attain in the school; for muscle is worshipped as much as brain. The bully is checked, the timid and shy get nerve and confidence by means of the playground's supervised play.

In some of the matters discussed in this thesis there was a considerable gap between school practice and what the textbooks on teaching said, but in the 1890s and early twentieth century many teachers worked hard at organising playground games. Teachers spent more time in the playgrounds and children, particularly older children, spent less time at folkgames and more time at athletics and what might be conveniently termed "codified games", i.e., games played and taken seriously by adults and which had written rules: cricket, tennis, football, and hockey. Active school committees purchased sports equipment and worked to put up goal posts, to level playgrounds and, sometimes, to prepare tennis courts.

Sutton-Smith's dramatic expression, "taming the playground", should not be taken to imply a stern confrontation between teachers and pupils. The whole point of organising games and providing bats and balls was to obviate any such contest and to obviate the need to beat or
harangue children into reasonably acceptable behaviour in the playground. But his expression does capture the teachers' and inspectors' disciplinary, civilising purpose and their concern for "tone" and moral health in the playground.

A good idea of the scope and speed of the movement to tame the playground can be gained from inspector's manuscript reports on individual schools and from their general reports each year to their employing education boards. In the late 1880s their comments under "Supervision in recess" grew more detailed and more pointed and their general reports stressed the need for well-supervised playgrounds and the moral and physical benefits of school games.

In 1890 Henry Hill of Hawke's Bay commented on his district in general:

At playtime it is seldom that one sees a teacher among the children...influencing them in those forms of competition which are the prelude to the higher competition of life. 77

A couple of years later his Marlborough colleague, John Smith, wrote emphatically of the need for attention to the playground,

...if the outcome of education is not to become what its enemies predict, the production of a nation of clever rogues and "larrikins". The exclusion of all kinds of religious teaching renders it all the more necessary (in the eyes of earnest and conscientious teachers) to make use of every legitimate means of inculcating at least the morality of pure religion, and checking the first indications of selfishness, meanness, greediness, or petty tyranny, and other childish manifestations of the inherent tendency to self-seeking which is at the root of all vice and crime. No better opportunity for doing this can be found than that which can be made by the observant and sympathetic teacher out of the sports, pastimes, and disputes of the playground. 78

Smith countered the standard objection that teachers in small schools were particularly pressed for time. If their hearts were in their work and if teaching was a true vocation and not just a means of earning a living they would find time: "A really conscientious teacher has no leisure hours as long as anything is undone."
It is significant that only a few years after this stern sermon Smith was able to write, approvingly:

The old idea that a teacher's authority and dignity would be imperilled by any association with the children outside the classroom is happily almost completely abandoned, and teachers may now frequently be seen directing and assisting the sports as well as the studies of their students. 79

Even more significant was the Wellington inspectors' feeling in 1912 that it was actually possible to have too much of a good thing. In their annual report that year they warned teachers not to overdo games.

We are constrained to give this warning as there are signs that in some of our city schools football, an excellent game in its proper place, has lately been engaging too much of the attention of many of our boys. 80

A lengthy newspaper report in 1907 is a further nice indication of the transformation of playground activities over a relatively short space of time. The reporter, struck by the change he had observed, interviewed a number of headmasters and reported that as recently as fifteen years earlier boys had been left to make their own amusements and football and cricket had been played in a desultory way and only by the senior boys. Back then boys played fox and hounds, fly the garter, leap frog, bar-the-door, stag-knife, tip-cat, and marbles. But now, headmasters said, while fox and hounds were still extant only little boys played tip-cat or marbles and only bar-the-door "retained a little of its ancient prestige." Now rugby and cricket were the staples and in some districts hockey and soccer were also growing in popularity. So marked were the changes that one headmaster who mourned the old games had been interviewing boys to collect the rules of some traditional games before it was too late. 81

The benefits to school life and to teachers' peace of mind which playground games brought were nicely catalogued by C. Garrard in an address to a meeting of the North Canterbury branch of the N.Z.E.I. Garrard, a senior headmaster, made ritual reference to the "uncovered
schoolroom" and to the playing fields of Eton but he was what the nineteenth century called a "practical teacher" and he was addressing an audience of his hard-headed peers. A well-supervised playground and the promotion of games meant better attendance and the suppression of unhealthy talk and they brought better relations between pupils and teachers. The backward could gain in self-respect and children in general could learn the value of rules, obedience, and cooperation. And a spell at games was a useful antidote to the fatigue of study, still the main business of the schools. 82

Teachers unconvinced of this list of benefits might still be mindful of the detailed system of inspection and the award of efficiency marks on Teachers' Certificates. The original inspection report heading, "Supervision in recess", implied that teachers had a duty to police playgrounds but not necessarily to organise games. But what had been an act of supererogation, or of enlightened self-interest, became a requirement in 1913 when the heading was changed to "Supervision in recess and organisation of school games." 83

Before the national scheme of teacher appointment and promotion came into effect in 1916 a number of education boards experimented with their own schemes of teacher grading. In 1908 the Southland inspectors proposed a scheme which actually included "Prowess at athletic sports" under the general heading "Character and personality". Some Southland teachers objected to this but Mr Wylie, the senior inspector, defended it. He was, he admitted, not happy with the football craze and the way in which some older boys "think of nothing else but football, dream of nothing else, live for nothing else", but he argued that games were good for pupils and teachers alike. 84

Not all teachers protested, however. Many young men did not need to be dragooned into organising games for they were as thoroughly infected with the football craze as their charges. One clear factor in
the upsurge in school games, over and above the disciplinary and social matters Garrard listed, was quite simply that many teachers were football, cricket, hockey, or tennis enthusiasts themselves and played for local teams and clubs.85

While it is valid to talk of a general movement to tame the playgrounds and organise games it must be noted that organised games were, in fact, a long time coming to some small schools. Francis Bennett's school, circa 1907, had no playground supervision and did not provide any sports gear. The playground there was no "piece of school machinery" nor was it an "uncovered schoolroom". It was, wrote Bennett, "our playground in the sense that it was the ground on which we played."86 In similar vein G.E.F. Wood, who was born on the West Coast in 1907 and went to school there, wrote, "Teachers in the small country schools that I attended took no interest in playtime activities and there was no 'apparatus' in the playground."87

Such examples, which could be multiplied, do not tell against the claim that there was a general movement to tame the playground early this century: they indicate that movement's scope and rate. In larger schools, and in a good many small ones, there had been a significant growth in teacher involvement in children's games in a relatively short period of time. And while complete neglect of the playground in small schools would have been unremarkable in the nineteenth century it became, in the twentieth century, either a sin of omission on the teacher's part or part of the standard catalogue of the disadvantages of small schools.

Of the three movements to extend teachers' influence discussed in this chapter the move to tame the playground and introduce codified games must be reckoned the most successful on its own terms. Those who urged continuation classes ran into problems of time and money and the social and political difficulties widespread compulsion would have
caused. Enthusiasts for kindergartens also found themselves checked by financial problems and official reluctance to extend fulltime schooling. Such enthusiasts could take pride in the free kindergartens they managed to establish and they could take comfort from the influence of kindergarten ideals on infant rooms in primary schools, but they did not live to see kindergartens become part of New Zealand children's standard educational experience.

Taming the playground, however, did not demand legislation or central finance, and it was a natural extension of the schools' disciplinary, socialising role. Teachers were expected to exert a civilising influence outside the classroom and were held accountable for children's behaviour on the way to and from school and in the streets generally (see chapter 8 for an account of teachers' wider role). It is quite natural then that teachers should be expected and then required to police what was going on under their noses in the playground. But the taming of the playground made the teacher more than just a policeman on patrol; it cast him in the significant new role of games coach and organiser.

The readiness with which teachers and public accepted this new role demonstrates the general esteem in which codified games were held. Any wholesome amusement might have met the limited, immediate aim of displacing bullying, idleness and dirty talk but had teachers settled on, for example, kite-flying, skittles and dancing there would have been raised eyebrows and protests that children did not go to school to enjoy themselves and that teachers were not paid to amuse children. Advocates of kindergarten games and activities endlessly explained that these things had an underlying educational and moral purpose, but sceptics like James Robertson remained unconvinced. Codified games, however, were taken seriously by the adult community; some of them were sanctified by association with British public schools; and they were
generally held to be character-forming in their own right.

It might be argued that lumping the taming of the playground together with the kindergarten movement and efforts to establish continuation classes is no more than organisational sleight-of-hand or a useful metaphor. Taming the playground, after all, involved no more than getting teachers who were already there to do a bit more while kindergartens and continuation classes were new, separate institutions demanding new administrative structures and financial commitment. But all three movements had the same disciplinary and moral purpose, and all of them involved controlling what had been unsupervised time and displacing aimless or damaging activities with purposeful, positive ones.

No doubt taming the playground was more successful than other moves to extend schooling largely because it was cheaper and organisationally easier, but it was also much more widely accepted as a natural development. It seemed natural because teachers were expected to suppress bad behaviour as a matter of course, but it also seemed natural because cricket and rugby, unlike kite-flying, were more than mere amusements: they had much of the general character of schoolwork itself considered under its disciplinary aspect for they were elaborate, rule-governed, demanding and competitive.

The taming of the playground was not only more successful than the kindergarten and continuation class movements, it was more successful than many other attempts to use the existing schools for special purposes. That was because the taming of the playground was based on a rare concatenation of public attitudes, teachers' disciplinary concerns, and children's own interests.
Notes to Chapter 4

13. Levitt, p.45.
15. **LT**, 27 May 1983. "Yarralla" was the name of Miss Walker's house in Sydney.
19. National Archives, File E 16/1. Reynolds to Habens, 9 October 1894; Habens to Reeves, 9 October 1894.

23. National Archives, File E 16/1. Reynolds to Seddon, 4 October 1903.


29. The information in this paragraph is from Lockhart, 1975.


31. AJHR, I-2A, 1903, p.4.

32. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.189.

33. NZG, 1913, p.3681.

34. AJHR, E-2, 1910, p.23.

35. AJHR, E-14, 1901, p.511.


37. AJHR, I-8, Session II, 1887, p.4.

38. AJHR, E-1B, 1891, p.37.

39. AJHR, I-8, Session II, 1887, p.25.

40. AJHR, E-14, 1901, p.51.

41. NZSM, November 1898, p.51.


43. NZJE, October 1901, p.5.

44. NZSM, November 1898, p.51.

45. AJHR, E-2, 1909, p.86.

46. AJHR, H-1A, 1880, p.23.


48. Appendix to the Journal of the Legislative Council, No.6, 1901, p.17.
49. LT, 8 May 1891.

50. See LT, 18 April 1894 for an account of the work of this organisation.


52. J. Nicol. The Technical Schools of New Zealand: an historical survey. Wellington, NZCER, 1940, p.34.

53. Nicol, p.15n.

54. LT, 24 September 1895.

55. LT, 7 June 1906; 15 February 1907.

56. Nicol, p.35.

57. LT, 2 July 1912.

58. AJHR, E-5, 1915, p.10.

59. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.46.

60. LT, 21 May 1906.


62. LT, 11 March 1887.


71. LT, 6 January 1887.

72. LT, 30 September 1887.

74. AJHR, E-1A, 1895, p.5.

75. AJHR, E-1A, 1899, p.7.


77. AJHR, E-1B, 1890, p.19.

78. AJHR, E-1B, 1892, p.27.

79. AJHR, E-1B, 1899, p.28.

80. AJHR, E-2, 1912, p.xxi.

81. LT, 20 October 1907.

82. NZSM, October 1902, p.45; November 1902, p.52.

83. NZG, 1913, p.3684.

84. LT, 3 October 1908.

85. Some sources of teachers' enthusiasm for sport, including their own secondary education, are discussed in chapter 7, pp.247-9.

86. Bennett, p.39.

Chapter 5

SCHOOLS AS WORKPLACES AND MEETING-PLACES

So far this thesis has described attempts to extend the benefits of schooling to all New Zealand children by building schools and compelling attendance, and it has discussed attempts to extend the schools' influence to certain groups of children and to the previously neglected playground. But what sort of experience did the schools provide? Subsequent chapters will deal with specific ways in which the schools sought to shape children's attitudes, or ways in which they were urged to; this chapter, by way of background, considers schools under two broad aspects - as workplaces and meeting places for children and the community. What were New Zealand schools like to be in, to work in before the Great War?

It would be misleading to talk of "the New Zealand school" without indicating the difference between the most humble and the most highly-regarded. When films, television programmes and popular fiction portray a nineteenth century school in the United States or in any of the settlement colonies of the Empire they typically show a one-room rural school; the "little red schoolhouse" of frontier America, an outback school in Australia, a sole-charge school in New Zealand, or a prairie school in Canada; and this image of the typical school of the period is fostered by the schools in replica settlements put up for tourists. Such schools were certainly the most numerous and before motor transport and consolidation there were thousands of them around the Empire catering for thousands and thousands of children. But they were not the only schools. Many New Zealand children went to much
larger schools, including the giant schools in the main centres.

Most of these giants have since fallen victim to the cycle of urban development as industrial and commercial premises have replaced residential properties and they are now much-shrunken inner-city schools or have gone altogether, but at the turn of the century they were the flagships of the system. The Sydenham School in Christchurch, for example, had a grading roll of 106 in May, 1984, and the Christchurch East School had a grading roll of 123.¹ In 1901 the parents of children at Christchurch East heard with pride that theirs was now the largest school in the colony with a roll of 1,145 to Sydenham's 1,101.² In 1900 these two schools between them catered for 11.5 percent of average attendance at the North Canterbury Education Board's 203 schools. It was the same elsewhere: in 1900 11.8 percent of attendances at Wellington Board schools were at two large city schools; two Dunedin schools accounted for 7 percent of attendance at Otago schools; 13 percent of all attendances at Auckland schools were at one or another of five large city schools; and in Hawke's Bay the two largest schools accounted for 20 percent of all attendances at the Board's schools. In 1900 62 percent of New Zealand state primary schools had an average attendance of less than 40. These small schools accounted for 20 percent of average attendance. By contrast there were just 32 schools with average attendances of 511 or more - 1.9 percent of all New Zealand schools, but they accounted for 18 percent of attendances.³

The large city schools were attractive to teachers and with their relatively stable staff of well-qualified senior teachers they became showplaces of organisation and method. In 1889 Dr Anderson, the senior Canterbury inspector, finished a weary round of visits to small country schools and turned with evident satisfaction to Sydenham. "The general arrangements for conducting the school are excellent", he reported. "The school presents the appearance of a highly complex machine running with great smoothness and regularity."⁴
Between the small rural schools and the glory that was Sydenham there was a range of schools in small towns and provincial centres, many of them much the same size now as they were at the turn of the century and catering for much the same clientele. Rural and urban schools differed in a number of respects, some of which have been mentioned earlier. Rural schools tended to be staffed by younger, less well-qualified teachers, many of them women and many of them uncertificated. Their school year was often closely linked to seasonal demands for child labour and attendance was affected by bad weather and farmwork. Many small schools lagged well behind town schools in organising school games and many were too small to organise cadet units (see chapter 20) and too remote to offer their pupils manual training. Rural schools were more often the focus for local social life and more often affected by local feuds. When teachers and education boards sighed over quarrelsome or inadequate school committees it was usually rural committees whose shortcomings they bemoaned.

In 1894 the Dunedin correspondent of the New Zealand Schoolmaster dipped his pen in vitriol to describe rural committee members as "petty tyrants" and "uncouth boors" who were "illiterate to a degree", "puffed up with the importance of their position", and ready to "descend to practices of the most reprehensible character in order to gratify some sordid desire." The committees of the urban giants were from time to time accused of political motives, commercial interest, truckling to the churches, and riding hobby-horses, but the lawyers, merchants, doctors, clerics, university professors, and Members of Parliament who appeared on such committees could hardly be accused of illiteracy or rusticity.

On some issues, e.g., the award of scholarships and the election of education boards, rural and urban committees formed rather distinct communities of interest. Rural teachers and committees argued that the scholarship regulations disadvantaged rural children while urban
committees, responsible for hundreds of children, chafed at the knowledge that their vote in education board elections counted for no more than that of the committee of a tiny rural school. Astute aspirants for election to an education board took care to advertise their knowledge of and sympathy with the particular problems of both town and country schools.

These differences mean that some generalisations about "the New Zealand school" can only be made with caution but they do not rule out all generalisations for schools throughout the colony, whether rural or urban, had much in common: the curriculum and examination system, the textbooks in common use, standards and methods of discipline and spartan schoolrooms and cramped, unhygienic conditions.

Crowding was common in schools of all sizes as children came flooding into free schools after 1877 and filled them to overflowing. In the 1880s the Department of Education reckoned ten square feet per child an acceptable minimum and in 1889 49 schools actually had between eight and ten square feet and 11 had less than eight. It was difficult and costly to expand city schools or to find sites for new ones. Rural schools typically allowed little room for roll increases and some rural schools were conducted in cramped makeshift or rented buildings. Compelling attendance and appointing truant officers also contributed to crowding as did runs on popular schools. In 1890 a rumour went round Wellington that were would not be enough places at the Clyde Quay School when the new school year began. It was a self-fulfilling prophecy for it brought out a large crowd, there was a rush for seats, and two hundred children had to be turned away.

Schools were particularly crowded in the 1880s when rolls grew briskly but building grants were trimmed. The Wanganui inspectors' report for 1888 makes depressing reading: at the Terrace End school seventy children were taught in corridors and lavatories; at Linton
there were sixty children who went without education altogether for lack of a school; and at Marton each double desk held at least three pupils. In the same year Henry Hill found 42 Hawke’s Bay pupils awaiting him in a room 26 feet by 12 with an eight foot stud. He wrote, “I shall not soon forget my own experience at this school on a hot day in November.”

Crowding remained a problem in the twentieth century in spite of a decline in the birthrate and falling rolls in the late 1890s, and there were reports of grossly overcrowded rooms in schools of all sizes. The infant room at St Albans School in Christchurch was 51 feet by 21 and reckoned to provide suitable accommodation for 90 children but when Tommy Taylor, the firebrand MHR and temperance campaigner, visited the school in June 1905 he found 173 children present and 200 on the roll. The infant room at Rakaia could hold 50 pupils but in 1902 there were 84 young children in it. In 1907 Mr Grierson, an Auckland inspector, examined 19 children in a shed ten and a half feet by seven and a half with five-foot paling walls, an earth floor, and a leaky shingle roof.

In the backblocks land was cheap but building was dear, largely because of transport difficulties, and education boards were forced to use makeshifts. The Wanganui inspectors, noting that material for the Waipuru School had to be carried by packhorse up the steep banks of the Rangitikei River, urged the Board to use prefabricated schools which could be knocked down easily for packing into the backblocks. The Auckland Education Board experimented in the early twentieth century with simple lean-to structures as temporary schools. When proper schools were built the lean-tos could become playground shelter-sheds.

Cheap schools proved expensive to maintain, especially where rainfall was high, and so did older schools, some of them inherited from the provincial systems in 1877. School committees had little money for maintenance and pressed the education boards for more so that maintenance was a constant source of friction as boards urged committees
to care for their schools and committees replied that they were being asked to make bricks without straw. In 1910, for example, the Akaroa committee, stung by the North Canterbury Board's claim that they had been remiss, sent a piece of rotten wood which had come away with a door hinge to the Board as "a practical demonstration of the state of the school." Poorly maintained buildings became draughty and damp and could be positively dangerous. In 1899 an inspector noted that one room at the Spreydon School had a hole in the floor big enough for a foot to go through, and under the heading "Ventilation" in his report he solemnly wrote "Satisfactory".

Benches, often backless, added to children's discomfort. These benches enabled large classes to be squeezed into small rooms but they made movement difficult and were roundly condemned by teachers and doctors for their evil effects on children's posture and eyesight. When a School Committees' Association was formed in Christchurch in the late 1890s it campaigned for a variety of predictable reforms but spent more time during its early years on the "single desk question" than on any other issue. The single desk question, fought out in other centres too, was not just a technical matter of design or aesthetics; it was a peg on which to hang a whole set of related improvements: better school design, medical inspection, smaller classes, more money for school committees, and more enlightened teaching methods.

Medicos who took an interest in school design also condemned the poor lighting in schools. In larger schools the windows were placed for architectural effect rather than children's benefit and even in small schools it was customary to put windows high up to stop children being distracted by the world outside. When windows could not be placed high enough it was customary to "frost" the lower panes, i.e., paint them white. On dull days classrooms became extremely dim and gloomy and only a few of the larger schools were able to use gaslights for extra illumination.
The usual way of heating a school was by stove or open fireplace and when classes were small and could be arranged to advantage that could be cosy enough, but when classes were large those nearest the fire roasted while the rest froze in winter. Heating larger schools was a considerable problem. Even when custodians dutifully lit fires early the large, high-ceiling rooms remained bitterly cold. Mr E.U. Just, headmaster at the Lyttelton District High School, took careful readings in his school during the winter of 1912. In a room 30 feet by 12, where the fire had been lit at 8 a.m., the temperature in the middle of the room reached $44^\circ F$ by 9 a.m. and $50^\circ F$ by 3 p.m. He took readings in other rooms on equally cold days and found that none of them reached more than $50^\circ F$ by the end of the school day. Pot-bellied stoves proved more efficient than open fireplaces and some schools experimented with kerosine heaters but few classrooms were adequately heated until efficient steam radiators appeared in the larger schools in the later twentieth century and there were smaller classes and better buildings in rural areas.

By the end of the nineteenth century school conditions which might have been accepted without question in the 1870s were loudly condemned by a variety of people: teachers, committees, doctors, and officials of the Department of Health. It was, of course, largely a matter of money, money to reduce class sizes, to put in heating systems and buy fuel for them, and to build better schools. But it was not just a matter of money for a window in the right place did not cost much more than one in the wrong place when building a school. Part of the problem was getting education boards' architects to consider new designs and to take advice on lighting and ventilation.

Architects might have replied that it was not altogether clear who the experts were. There was a readily available literature on school design and hygiene but it was British and not always relevant to
New Zealand. Bray's School Organisation, for example, had a lengthy section on school design and it weighed up the relative merits of a number of ventilation systems: Hopper openings, Tobin tubes, Chaddock windows, louvres, and Galton's ventilating grate; but these were ingenious schemes for getting air into brick or masonry buildings or for ventilating large schools like the London School Board's "three-deckers". 19

A much more promising line of development was the "open air" school admitting fresh air through large windows and folding doors rather than through complicated bits of internal engineering. Open air schools were developed in Germany in the late 1890s and some were established in Britain, especially for "delicate" children, early this century. The simple, airy, bungalow design looked particularly suited to Australian and New Zealand conditions and the first open air classrooms went up in Victoria in 1912. These were "open air" indeed: three walls were only boarded to a height of three feet and the rest was canvas which could be rolled up or down. These pavilion schools, as they were known in Australia, were not popular with Victorian teachers who dubbed them "freezing chambers", but they were cheap and portable. 20

The first open air classrooms in New Zealand did not go to such extremes and simply featured the cross-ventilation, good natural lighting, and folding doors which later became standard features of school design. The first open air classroom was built at Wellington South in 1914 at the Department of Health's urging and with a special grant of £192 from the government. 21 The Summer School also had a "fresh-air" building by 1919, 22 but it was not until the late 1920s that architects experimented on any scale and the showplace Fendalton Open Air School was completed.

In the meantime most twentieth century primary schools remained crowded and stuffy, bleak and bare. When they were a bit more welcoming it was because teachers had made special efforts. In 1892 the Wanganui
inspectors noted that at one school:

The walls are nicely decorated with maps, pictures, and aids to teaching; ferns and other plants are growing in pots; specimens of insects, minerals, and raw articles of commerce are displayed on the mantelpiece and shelves. 23

The Southland inspectors also noted in 1903 that, "at some schools we are sure to find cleanliness and tidiness, attractive walls, and in cold weather, bright fires, games, hot tea for lunch, and interesting books and magazines," but in other schools there were none of these things. 24 Where teachers and committees were remiss schools could be wonderfully grubby and inspectors' reports on buildings, grounds, and "out-offices" record some striking cases of neglect or nonchalance. In 1890, for example, the school porch at Aylesbury in Canterbury was used as a henroost, a practice, the inspector commented sternly, "not consistent with even primitive notions of cleanliness." 25

Some of the larger schools installed drinking fountains, especially where these could be supplied from artesian wells or municipal water systems, but the most common source of drinking water was a tank to catch rainwater from the roof or a pump. Active committees provided water filters, not always efficient or very well-maintained, but in many schools drinking water was unfiltered and of poor standard and the custom of chaining a cup to the tap for common use helped spread disease.

Lavatories were equally primitive. By the early twentieth century some of the larger city schools had water closets connected to sewers, but the majority of schools had can or pit toilets which stank in summer.

Crowding and poor sanitation made schools excellent places for spreading diseases. The year 1893 saw such widespread illness that the rate of average attendance dropped from 80.6 to 78.5 percent, a lower rate than in 1888. "The past year", said the South Canterbury
inspectors, "will long be memorable for its measles, mumps and mud." Scarlet fever and diphtheria are now rare and measles, mumps, and chicken-pox are regarded as routine childhood experiences, but before antibiotics and routine vaccination such infectious diseases were more common and more serious, and so was tuberculosis. In 1902 Dr Symes, District Health Officer, reported that there had been eleven cases of tuberculosis, two of them fatal, at Kurow School as a result of overcrowding and poor ventilation. (It is also possible that Kurow's dry, sunny climate and convenient location at the end of a railway branch line played a part by attracting adult consumptives in search of health.)

Huddling children together on benches in crowded rooms also spread headlice and skin complaints like ringworm and impetigo. Rhoda Barr, who was at school in the 1880s, notes that, "at school we wore our long hair plaited and well-scraped back from our faces for fear of the terror that hopped from head to head."

The Education Act empowered teachers to exclude or expel any child "for want of cleanliness, or who may be likely to communicate any contagious disease", but this was not a step to be taken lightly. As Dr J.P. Frengley of the Department of Health noted:

In up-country districts a schoolmaster very often incurs odium by excluding children on the suspicion that an infectious disease exists in their homes... and if the children excluded should happen to be those of a member of the local school committee, considerable trouble arises.

The standard response to serious epidemics was to close the school and disinfect it, usually by burning sulphur, before re-opening it. Frengley thought such efforts wasted. Some committees, he said, just threw disinfectants over dust and dirt rather than scrubbing, and his department thought that burning sulphur was no use. The most effective way of disinfecting a school, he argued, was to spray formaldehyde with
warm water and this should be done once a year, whether there had been sickness or not. 30

In 1912 the government approved a scheme of medical inspection for schools and appointed four doctors to carry out the work. Such a scheme had long been urged on the authorities. By the turn of the century a number of countries, including Japan, had set up schemes of medical inspection; England legislated for such a scheme in 1902 and in 1904 a School Medical Service was established in the state of Victoria. 31

Ad hoc inspections had been carried out in various places before the national scheme was established in New Zealand. In 1909, for example, the North Canterbury Education Board negotiated with Dr Finch to have Standards IV, V, and VI at Christchurch East examined and in 1910 Dr Champtaloup, District Health Officer in Dunedin, undertook a survey of 400 children at the George Street School. 32

While the government deferred the creation of a school medical service on the grounds of cost the Department of Health took the obvious step of alerting teachers to certain more obvious medical problems. In 1902 teachers were issued with cards setting out the symptoms of scarlet fever, diptheria, chicken-pox, small-pox, measles, mumps, and enteric (i.e., typhoid) fever as well as the times for which children with serious diseases should be isolated. 33 In 1907 the Heath Department issued a 27 page pamphlet, Medical Inspection of School Children: Hints for Teachers, written by Dr Frank Ogston, to schools. 34 Watchful teachers would, it was hoped, be able to limit the spread of infectious diseases, take more care of school hygiene and identify conditions impeding children's school progress. Many children with poor eyesight or hearing loss were simply written off as lazy or stupid. Dr William Chapple cited a typical case in Parliament in 1903. A boy was "punished very often for stupidity by his parents as well as his teacher" and the
teacher, indeed, considered him "partly imbecile", but he proved to be
deaf and adenoidal and there was nothing else wrong with him. 35

The news from surveys of school children was not all bad.
Champtaloup reported that 90 percent of the children he saw at George
Street were of excellent physique and there was some comfort in
teachers' records of children's height and weight. When full time
medical officers were appointed in 1912 the Department of Education also
instituted a scheme of record cards on which teachers were to record
children's height, weight, chest expansion, past illnesses, attendance,
etc. Teachers complained at the time these cards took to fill in and
the Minister eventually agreed that not all children had to be
scrutinised every year. 36 But the Department still wound up with
thousands of measurements of height and weight and in 1914 it reported:

From figures compiled from the heights and weights of some fifteen thousand children returned by
schoolteachers last year, it appears that the
average New Zealand child is heavier and taller than
the average English child of the same age. 37

Such considerations were, however, scant comfort when set against
school medical officers' reports of malnutrition in both rural and urban
children, defects of sight, hearing, and posture and clear evidence of
overwork in "milking children". And surveys of children's teeth were
uniformly depressing. Although the School Dental Service was not
created until 1919 the need for it was clearly demonstrated well before
World War I by a number of local surveys. In 1907, for example, the
Otago Odontological Society examined 1,250 primary school children and
found that 702 of them had one or more permanent teeth missing. There
were 6,178 decayed teeth in those 1,250 mouths, but only 480 fillings. 38

In 1912 the Christchurch Dental Association surveyed pupils at the local
technical high school. Of 6,717 teeth examined 2,291 were decayed and
needed treatment and 234 were not only decayed but septic. 39 Little
wonder that the removal of all one's teeth in early adulthood became a
standard rite of passage in New Zealand. The problem was of such magnitude that only a scheme as novel as the training of school dental nurses could make much impression on it and until the School Dental Service was set up the costs of standard dental treatment meant that hundreds of children remained in pain.

These matters of health and hygiene might be reckoned a whimsical excursion from the central theme of this thesis but they are not. They had an obvious bearing on children's attitude towards schooling, they affected attendance, and they contributed to many children's earnest wish to leave school as soon as possible. And a cold, uncomfortable, or sick child could hardly be expected to attend carefully to ad hoc homilies on virtue or the ideals of Empire. But most obviously crowded, grubby, comfortless schools shaped children's notions of what was acceptable in matters of hygiene and the care of the young.

This point is forcefully put by Edith Howes in Tales Out Of School which is largely a bitter tract against school conditions in the early twentieth century. One of Miss Howes's stories, "Jimmy's father and Jimmy", begins with the father being sent to prison where he is forced to wash and shave, tidy his cell and wear clean clothes. "Altogether Jimmy's father was better off, healthier, more tolerable, more human than he had ever been in his freer days." But, she continues:

Jimmy was not sent to prison - yet. He was sent to school. He was one of two hundred and forty infants who were herded into three rooms - or rather, were supposed to be herded into three rooms; but as that meant four classes and four teachers' voices in the biggest room of the three the babies had to inhabit the two porches where the cloaks and hats were hung. In those narrow alleyways forty of them sat, day after day, pent together on long wooden benches behind long wooden desks...And over all was dirt, dirt, dirt. The porches had no monopoly of that; dirt ran riot through all the rooms. The floor was grey with it, one crunched it as one walked. The walls, a dark red at the bottom and a weird green above, were grimed with it; desks and seats were
greasy with the dirt of decades, never scrubbed away. Jimmy's father was being trained to cleanliness; Jimmy was being trained to dirt... Jimmy's father had never seen all these defects in Jimmy's school. To him it was just the old school where he had been whacked, and where Jimmy was now being whacked, and that was all about it. Neither he nor his neighbours had in the main any notion that cleanliness and sanitation and good air were attainable or even desirable in a school, however peremptory they were in a prison. And so in squalor and sordidness, shall Jimmy and many another grow into such as Jimmy's father.  

The school syllabus did little to compensate for poor school conditions for it was, in its way, just as austere and comfortless. The standard pass system gazetted in 1878 was a direct descendant of the English Revised Code of 1862 which set out six levels of achievement in school subjects and required inspectors to formally examine children each year to see if they had reached the "standard" for which they were preparing. The standard pass system was adopted by the Australian states and by 1877 six of the nine New Zealand provinces had defined the school syllabus according to standards. The Otago standard regulations, adopted in 1874, were largely the work of Donald Petrie, an inspector who had been recruited from Victoria, and they drew heavily on the Victorian school code gazetted in early 1873. The Canterbury standard regulations of 1875, which Habens helped draw up, owed much more to the English New Code of 1875 than to any immediate Australian model. In 1877 the Canterbury Board was considering new regulations and it was these draft regulations, Dennis demonstrates, which were the immediate basis of the 1878 regulations for the national system.  

The Revised Code and its nineteenth century revisions included the much-criticised system of "payment by results" which made part of a teacher's salary dependent on his pupils' examination performance, but while Western Australia and Victoria followed Britain in this the New Zealand regulations spared teachers one of the worst features of the British system.
Teachers and children were not, however, spared the other predictable consequences of a demanding, rigid syllabus and a detailed scheme of formal examinations. Children from Standards I to VI were examined every year in the three Rs and, as they progressed through the school, a growing list of further subjects. The regulations were revised in 1885 and 1891 but Standards I and II were individually examined until 1894 and Standards III to V sat inspectors' examinations until the end of the century.

Teachers' salaries did not depend directly on their pupils' pass rates but their reputations and chances of promotion did and so did the schools' general reputations. The day of the inspector's visit became the most important day of the school year, and teachers crammed and rehearsed children in model answers to make a suitable showing on the all important day. In the race for percentages teachers concentrated on the examinable portions of the syllabus, studied the formal requirements set out in the regulations minutely, and resorted on occasion to ruses and subterfuges such as telling unlikely prospects to stay home on examination day or signalling surreptitiously to children being tested. The individual standard pass had its critics from the outset, including many inspectors who spent weary days in administering and marking thousands of tests, and Campbell notes that, "there is little one could say in condemnation of it that was not said at the time, and said with pungency and force." It was, however, many years before such criticism outweighed others' faith in the system and in the statistics reported in local papers and piled up in the Department of Education's annual reports.

The Revised Code was designed to secure efficiency and educational value for public money and these considerations sustained the standard pass system in New Zealand. At a time when so many teachers were young and untrained the standard pass system also provided
a firm structure and clear objectives which might otherwise have been lacking. That was certainly how Habens, sitting in Wellington and scrutinising statistical returns, saw it.

Other things being equal, the best school in a district is the school which passes a larger proportion of children than any other in the district and at a lower average age; and a district is making progress if year by year the percentage of passes increases and the average age of passing becomes lower. 43

Education boards echoed Haben's sentiments, praising and blaming schools and teachers according to percentages of passes and naming the leaders and laggards publicly. The 1888 report of the Otago Education Board, for instance, singled out for special praise thirteen schools with less than five percent of failures. Most of these were large schools but the list also included the little Gimmerburn School in Central Otago. At the same time the Board named five schools, all small, which had more than fifty percent failures. 44

The overwhelming importance of examination results is also demonstrated in publishers' and booksellers' advertisements. "To teachers", began a typical advertisement, "if you want to obtain the highest percentage of passes, use Southern Cross Arithmetics, Southern Cross Copybooks, Southern Cross Histories..." 45

The examination system and the race for percentages put teachers under great strain, forced some out of teaching and induced ill-health and mental depression in others. In at least one well-documented case it was too much altogether for a teacher and in 1903 the newspapers carried the sad story of a teacher near Manaia who went missing and was found some miles from the school, dead by his own hand. He had become extremely depressed at the poor showing his school had made at the last examination and wandered off to cut his throat. 46 The Lyttelton Times also noted that two of his predecessors had been suicides, but it did not suggest the reason for this.)
The system invested inspectors with enormous authority. Sutherland notes that inspectors in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century were socially superior to teachers. Matthew Arnold the poet must have seemed a strange, superior being to the teachers and pupils in the teeming Board schools on his inspection visits, but he was only one such. The aristocratic Almeric Fitzroy thought that his job as inspector was tolerable because it allowed him to get in three days hunting a fortnight. But, Sutherland points out, the assistant inspectors and sub-inspectors appointed in the 1870s were "poachers turned gamekeepers", ex-teachers who knew the business of pushing children through examinations inside out.

Inspectors of schools in New Zealand under the early national system included men with university education but they were closer to the classroom than Arnold or Fitzroy and had, like George Hogben, made their way through university on scholarships and prizes or were from modest, middle-class families; and by the early twentieth century the inspectors included men who had worked their way up through the system from pupil-teacher.

In 1883 R. Foulis, the Wanganui inspector, wrote appreciatively of classrooms on examination day:

On the occasions of my visits I am struck by the air of cleanliness, neatness, arrangement, order and cheerfulness that pervades the rooms of our really good schools. On examination days festoons of flowers mingled with leaves, hang prettily on the walls, while ferns adorn the angles of the doorways. Bouquets adorn the teacher's table and others are on the mantelpiece. Mottoes of welcome are in the ascendent. The scholars themselves are clean in hands, face, and dress and reflect the cheerful and tidy look of their teacher. Their attitudes too, in their seats or on the floor, are erect and active. W.H. Vereker-Bindon, who succeeded Foulis in 1884, was less impressed with such window-dressing and noted drily that, "it is significant that some of the buildings that were most lavishly decorated on the examination day were most untidy on my visit of inspection."
Vereker-Bindon, inspectors who had been through the system themselves saw floral flummery for what it was: teachers might try to say it with flowers but test results were what really counted.

Campbell's verdict on the standard pass system was that it "achieved a narrow and half-spurious efficiency at enormous cost", and by the standards of modern test construction "half-spurious" seems a mild judgement. Some historians have stressed the detailed and pettifogging nature of the regulations but in many places the prescriptions were wonderfully vague. To pass Standard IV a child had to read from "an easy book of prose and verse" and at Standard V the requirement in spelling and dictation was "Spelling and Dictation - suited to this stage." A great deal depended on the inspector and Habens, who was no fool, knew this and acknowledged it. While he argued that more passes at a lower age showed the superiority of one school or district over another he went on to say:

A comparison of this kind, however, cannot fairly be made between one education district and another without taking into account the possibility of a difference in judgement between the Inspectors of the two districts with regard to the interpretation and use of the standards.

That there were such differences was evident from the tabulated results from different districts and from annual reports in which individual inspectors described their methods. Wrangles over particular schools' fate at inspectors' hands provide further evidence of unreliability. In 1892 Mr O'Donoghue, headmaster at Mt Roskill, complained at the way his pupils had been examined and the Auckland Education Board sent another inspector to conduct a second examination. On the second round six out of fourteen failures passed and eight out of thirty who had passed now failed. Similarly, the Fendaleton committee complained in 1891 that Dr Anderson had failed a Standard V boy who soon thereafter won scholarships to both Christ's College and Christchurch Boys' High in open competition.
A great deal depended on the children's health and mental state on the all-important day and things could go disastrously wrong. In 1897 the Marlborough inspector went to examine the Picton School, but:

On the morning of the examination I was met at the door of the schoolhouse by the head-teacher carrying out a scholar in some kind of fit, and almost at the same time two other scholars fainted in the presence of their astonished schoolmates. These events no doubt caused an unusual state of nervous excitement to prevail throughout the school...The pupils were unable to approach the consideration of a somewhat difficult arithmetic paper in the cool and collected mental attitude so necessary to success in this subject. 55

The fit and the fainting might, of course, have been caused by sheer dread of inspectors. The syllabus regulations of 1891 urged inspectors to be as doves. The children were not to feel that the inspector was "a severe and frowning critic", but they were to see that "he comes as a gentle and courteous friend." The pupils themselves were to be taught to "despise all showy tricks and arts of evasion". 56 But these counsels of perfection could not overcome the awe in which inspectors were held, an awe heightened in the impressionable by the dignified and serious bearing of most inspectors. A pupil at Karori in the 1890s later recalled Robert Lee's "truly Gladstonian dignity". Lee would examine the school and be entertained to lunch at the headmaster's house and in due course the school would be assembled.

Then came the great moment. Speaking in slow and solemn tones Mr Lee read the list. "Thomas Jones has passed." "William Smith has passed— a strong pass." "John Williams has not passed." 57

The examination system had a number of predictable effects on the distribution of children through the standards. In the nineteenth century very few children ever actually finished the primary school course; large numbers left after passing Standard IV, the standard of exemption, and large numbers turned thirteen and left before Standard IV. The average age of children in specific standards was considerably higher than it is now. In 1881 the Nelson inspector commented:
As a rule the scholar who passes the Sixth Standard in his fifteenth year has done very well; and I regard with extreme disfavour any attempt to push scholars through much before that age. 58

In 1901 the average age at the Standard VI examination, taking the colony as a whole, was 13 years and 11 months and in Marlborough it was 14 years and 4 months. In 1911 it was still 13 years 11 months over all. 59 The result of failure coupled with persistence was a considerable age mixture in both primer and standard classes with consequent problems of discipline and instruction. There were bright nippers of eleven in Standard VI and children of thirteen or more in Standard I.

All of the anomalies and problems mentioned so far in connection with the standard pass system were evident at the time and brought repeated calls for reform. The timid merely sought amendments to ensure justice and efficiency, e.g., by defining the standards more carefully or by rotating inspectors around the various districts, and the first conference of inspectors, held in 1894, agreed that headteachers might examine Standards I and II but otherwise contented itself with various minor changes to the syllabus.

In 1899, however, inspectors were ready to grasp the nettle and at a conference called by the Wanganui Education Board they voted 23 to 3 for the abolition of individual standard passes. 60 Hogben, newly appointed Inspector-General, was present by invitation and in December of that year gazetted regulations enabling headteachers to determine passes up to Standard V. In 1901 at an official conference of inspectors Hogben proposed that the standard pass and standard certificate, except for Standard VI, be removed once and for all and a resolution to that effect was passed by 21 votes to 7. 61 The Standard VI certificate was retained as the mark of a completed primary school course and it became, with the introduction of free places in secondary schools, a ticket to further education and the "Proficiency Certificate" which was not abolished until 1936.
The abolition of standard passes up to Standard V was not welcomed by everyone. The North Canterbury Education Board protested in 1899 against the new dispensation because "teachers would have too much power and be brought into conflict with the inspectors." And the new dispensation did not bring teachers and pupils complete relief from examinations. The North Canterbury inspectors commented in 1901 that the examination of small schools took just as long as ever because teachers showed "considerable reluctance to become the final arbiter of pupils' status" and their manuscript reports on small schools routinely carried the note "passes determined by inspector at teacher's request." In larger schools where teachers were not so fearful of parental reaction children were still examined a good deal. The 1899 regulations required headteachers to examine Standards I to V in the major subjects before the inspector's visit and the 1904 syllabus revision required "not fewer than three periodical examinations of the classes, the last of which shall be held immediately before the inspector's visit."

The Proficiency examination, too, aroused as much anxiety as the old standard passes and it shaped the work of the whole senior school. The result of all this, said a Wellington inspector, was "a perfect fever and turmoil of examinations", particularly in Standard VI where pupils sat class tests, the headmaster's examination, the Proficiency examination conducted by an inspector, and then - in some cases - scholarship examinations.

Examinations remained vitally important in primary schooling and through them children got clear, strong messages about the knowledge and scholars of most worth. Success at school meant passing examinations and this was reinforced by public attitudes and employers' demands for formal credentials. (See chapter 21.) Examinations drew a clear, sharp distinction between those who succeeded and those who did not. As well
as distinguishing the bright from the dull, examinations marked off the industrious, attentive pupils who attended regularly from their idle and inattentive classmates and defenders of the standard pass system argued its moral benefits along with its intellectual merits. When John McGregor urged the Otago Education Board to move for the abolition of the standard pass system the Lyttelton Times responded:

Mr McGregor attaches special importance to "tone, order, and discipline", but he had not apparently indicated any means by which "tone" may be cultivated, "order" may be evolved, and "discipline" may be maintained other than by a careful and intelligent preparation to pass a reasonably strict examination. 66

The foregoing account of school conditions and of the examination system portray schooling as a gloomy business, but it was not unrelieved gloom. The inspector's visit was a tense occasion but there was, in most schools, a cycle of waxing and waning pressure as the visit drew near and passed. Jean Boswell describes this cycle in a small school.

"R.T.R." spoiled us with leisure and pleasure the first half of the year - after all he was not much more than a boy himself - and hammered it into us the next. We always thought the first half was worth all we got in the second, and so long as we "got through" all right, which we always did, our parents asked no questions. 67

The efforts some teachers made to ensure that their schools were bright and comfortable have already been noted and against Edith Howes's dismal picture of schools one might set some happier memories of schooldays. Many school histories include breezy accounts of pleasant enough schooldays and of hilarious incidents in classroom and playground. But one also gains the impression from some old soldiers that World War II was a fun-filled picnic from start to finish. Both sorts of account need to be taken with caution and one must bear in mind, for example, John A. Lee's bitter account of his childhood and schooldays. 68
Cheerful accounts of schooldays in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often deal more with matters outside the classroom than with routine schoolwork, with outings and extras, concerts and picnics, games and visitors, and with high days and holidays. Schools were often the only public buildings in small communities and were used for church services, political meetings, as polling booths, and for dances and card evenings for adults as well as concerts and bunfights in aid of school funds. Local celebrations were often built around the school and school children. When peace broke out in South Africa dozens of small settlements followed the same pattern: a holiday from schoolwork, a general gathering at the school, speeches, a lavish afternoon tea, and a dance in the schoolroom in the evening.

School concerts and prizegivings were community affairs attended by young and old and so were school picnics, some of them enormous expeditions with special trains and trams. In 1897, for example, 2,000 people travelled from Ashburton to Lyttelton by special train for a school picnic and most Ashburton shops were closed for the day. In smaller centres picnics more often involved drays and wagons but they also involved parents, well-wishers, and local notables as well as children and teachers. A typical school picnic included lots of food, games and races for adults as well as children, lolly-scrambles, and gallons of tea and soft drinks.

School committees had the right under the Education Act to grant the use of the building outside school hours and such use was sometimes contentious. Where trouble arose it was usually over dances and concerts which involved moving furniture about and left the school in a mess. The Otago inspectors commented, "We frequently have to call attention to black, greasy floors after dancing" and from time to time committees complained of damage to furniture. In 1882 the South Canterbury inspectors complained that at one school blackboards had been
used to make a platform, some furniture had been dumped outside in the rain to make room for dancing, and other furniture had been damaged by people standing on it. Some committees finally refused to lend their schools for dances and caused local friction. In 1886 when a Taranaki committee baulked at dances the young people of the district block-voted "for a number of young gentlemen with the object of obtaining the schoolroom for a dance" and the old committee was turned out of office. There was also friction when committees allowed dances but boards disapproved. It was alleged in the 1890s that the North Canterbury Board had no educational justification for graded floors in classrooms; they just stopped dances and denied committees income to their prize funds. At the next Education Board election, one letter to the papers suggested, committees should vote with this in mind and "the non-dancing party would soon dance out and graded floors would be a thing of the past."

The "unco' guid" objected to dancing in any case and thought that something so sinful was a profanation of the school and its serious purpose. In 1888 the Minister of Education wrote to education boards deploiring dancing in schools and the use of schoolrooms for "mere amusement" and some education boards and committees were of the same mind. More than that, dances, especially when they got out of hand, negated the schools' moral aims and example. James Hendry, a Southland inspector, put this view forcefully when he told his Board that social events in schools often descended into "disgraceful orgies" in which, unfortunately, committee members themselves "took a prominently discreditable part". He cited a dance in a small rural school where the committee members had fourteen bottles of whisky between them and there was also a keg of beer outside in a buggy. Such disgraceful scenes made things very difficult for female teachers and were "calculated to render nugatory the best efforts of the teachers towards the moral uplifting of the students."
Adults met at schools, en fête or in factions for or against the teacher, but children met there every day and for them the school was the main meeting place where friendships were formed and they learnt much more than was set out in the syllabus. In the United States the common schools were valued for their role in turning immigrant children who spoke a variety of languages into English-speaking Americans and advocates of common schools realised that this blending went on as much in the playground and corridors as in the schools' formal work. American experience was cited and the "melting pot" argument used in New Zealand on occasion. William Rolleston argued against state aid to church schools because a unified national system was important and:

It is through the national schools in America that Swedes, Italians, Frenchmen, Germans, and Englishmen have become Americans, and it is here in the national schools of this colony that we should become New Zealanders in the best sense.\textsuperscript{75}

The schools most certainly had a part to play in producing New Zealanders but they did not usually make them out of Europeans. Here and there in the North Island, however, schools found themselves with something of the same task as the American schools which enrolled immigrant children. In 1889 the Taranaki Education Board reported:

The Ratapiko Road School is in the midst of a settlement consisting chiefly of foreigners, whose children could not speak English on their first introduction to school life. The advantages of our school system, with its civilising and assimilating influences are here prominently exhibited. The children by means of the public school, will grow up part and parcel of the colonial population, in sympathy with our institutions and our national aspirations.\textsuperscript{76}

Assimilation could take time. In 1895 the teacher at a small Taranaki school commented:

English is spoken here only in school, and even then only during the lesson so that during nineteen out of the twenty-four hours only the mother tongue of the several nationalities is heard.\textsuperscript{77}
There were no special Departmental guidelines or programmes for teachers confronted with European children who could not speak English and the usual response was to push them through the standard pass system if possible, but here and there teachers modified the curriculum. Henry Hill commended the Makaretu School in Hawke’s Bay where most of the pupils were Scandinavians and there was a low percentage of passes but the work was "practically adapted to the future necessities of the children." 78 There was particular emphasis on English, local geography, the names of New Zealand plants, trees, and birds and on commercial practice. The teacher bought food from the settlers through the pupils and required them to keep a record of these transactions and to furnish statements of account.

Scandinavian settlements were, however, islands in a sea of British and when the North Canterbury Board spoke of the "highly satisfactory and beneficial blending of all classes and denominations in our state schools" it only had differences within the English-speaking population in mind and, being a South Island Board, did not mention race. 79 The mixing of races in schools was something, however, in which New Zealand differed strikingly from Australia, South Africa, the United States and Canada.

Until recently most historical writing on Maori education has concentrated either on the famous church secondary schools like Te Aute or on the Department of Education's sub-system of Native Schools, but recently McKenzie has made the first detailed study of Maori children in state schools and charted the growth in numbers of such children. Before 1877, McKenzie says, there was little integrated schooling but by 1881 2,441 of the Maori children at school, 26 percent of the total, were in European schools and by 1900 47 percent of Maori pupils were in such schools. They were not evenly distributed between Board districts. In 1900 66 percent of Maori pupils in state schools were in Auckland or Hawke's Bay. 80
Maoris and pakehas also mixed in Native Schools and McKenzie comments that it was sometimes easier for a mixed community to get a Native School than an education board one. And a number of the public schools which had Maori pupils had, in fact, been Native Schools until handed over to the local education board. It was Department of Education policy to hand over Native Schools when Maori children's English reached a suitable standard, but McKenzie argues that the social composition of the school and local race relations were probably more important in such decisions than the inspector's assessment of Maori pupils' school progress.

The mixing of Maori and pakeha in public schools was not the result of universal tolerance or absence of racial prejudice. Racist statements of an extreme kind were both common and respectable, particularly in the guise of a concern for the future of the "British race" and of British institutions. The Chinese were the most common target for racist invective, often prompted by economic anxieties. In 1895, for example, an Anti-Chinese League was formed in Christchurch at a meeting chaired by W.W. Collins, MHR. The meeting included delegates from a significant array of organisations: the Liberal Association, the Women's Branch of the Liberal Association, the Christchurch Women's Political Association, the Women's Institute, the New Zealand Workers' Association, the Railway Servants' Society, and the Fruiterers' and Market Gardeners' Association. Sexual anxieties also prompted racist outbursts. A 1911 pamphlet warned of the "fierce desire of the coloured man for the white woman" and assured readers that, "if a white man marries the white widow of a negro he finds that his own progeny by her are black." In similar vein a writer to the Christchurch papers deplored the way in which a Chinese had tried to desert his illegitimate children by leaving the colony.
This has suggested to me that it is high time a more drastic law was put into operation with reference to the leprous Chow...Therefore I suggest as a protection against the Asiatic mixture that it be deemed a criminal offence for a European woman to live with a Chinaman.83

Pakeha parents with such crudely racist views, and there were plenty of them, could hardly have been expected to welcome Maori children into their own children's schools and in some places Maoris were made unwelcome or turned away. In the late 1870s the chairman of the Motueka committee was reported to have said that Maoris could not be admitted to education board schools: it had been tried but "the parents of the English children objected and said that if the Maoris were admitted into the school they would remove their own children."84

The Department of Education noted and deplored such exclusion elsewhere.

In some Maori settlements that are too small or too near to public schools to be regarded as entitled to have Native Schools established in them, the children are growing up in ignorance, being either withheld or excluded from the public schools on account of antipathy based on differences of race.85

There was trouble in Rotorua in the late 1880s and James Pope, the first inspector of Native Schools, devoted a portion of his annual report to Europeans' objections. They said, Pope reported, that the Maori children needed special help with English which meant less time for teaching the pakehas and he added, cryptically, that some felt that European children were already too prone to adopt "Maori habits". There was also some of the sexual anxiety so often just below the surface in racial matters. Some white parents were worried because:

Maori children from a very early age not uncommonly possess an amount and kind of physiological knowledge that Europeans do not obtain until they reach maturity and perhaps in most cases not even then.86

Last, but not least, Pope said, there was "invincible race-prejudice of an undefined character." There were plenty of incidents like those at
Rotorua and Motueka to set against the steady growth in numbers of Maoris in education board schools. Westland parents objected to the entry of Maoris into the Arahura School in the 1880s. When the Little River Native School was closed its pupils were not made welcome at the local North Canterbury Board school.

But the Department of Education and successive Ministers of Education deplored such incidents and made it clear that the public schools were for all children. In 1908 there was trouble at Taumarunui and Mr Jennings, MHR for Egmont, asked George Fowlds, the Minister of Education:

Does the Minister think it a wise and prudent policy in every case to insist on the mingling of European and Maori children in primary schools where there is a sufficient number of each race to warrant the maintenance of separate institutions?

Fowlds noted that the Taumarunui School had begun as a Native School but the pakeha population had increased and now wanted control of it. The school was, indeed, being handed over to the Education Board but he did not favour building another school. The Department never had, Fowlds said, recognised any distinction of race and to do so now would be a retrograde step. Similarly Apirana Ngata asked in the House whether the Wanganui Board was planning, as had been reported, to exclude Maoris from its schools on health grounds. James Allen, the Minister of Education, noted that the Education Act authorised the exclusion of particular pupils for want of cleanliness but it did not allow for wholesale exclusion, and he promised to investigate the matter.

While some fretted about Maoris and pakehas on the same benches others worried about the mingling of children from different social classes, and those who considered the public primary schools beyond the pale were often able to send their children to more genteel private schools. When the Bishop of Nelson was asked in 1879 what sort of boys
went to the Bishop's School he replied, "They are rather superior; they have included the sons of ministers, lawyers, bankers, and people of that class, and the better sort of tradespeople."\(^91\) In the early years of the national system some people automatically took public schools to be the direct counterparts of English board schools catering chiefly for the lower orders and shunned by even the slightly cultivated. Thus Dr Spencer of Napier said in 1885:

> The learning faculties of district-school children are not and cannot be expected to be on a par with those of higher-class schools. The children who throng to the free schools are, or ought to be, the progeny of ancestors who, for generations past have not had the benefits of education, and therefore, in accordance with the laws of evolution, are less susceptible to the acquisition of learning than the children of educated parents.\(^92\)

But attending a board school did not carry the same stigma in New Zealand as in Britain, and many middle class parents cheerfully sent their children off to public primary schools. The fact that a gentleman of ample means and his coachman both sent their children to the same board school was unusual enough in Britain to occasion special comment from the West Lambeth educational authorities in 1893.\(^93\) New Zealanders might have replied nonchalantly that their Prime Minister, R.J. Seddon, sent his children to a state primary school, that his daughter was a teacher in a state school, and that many New Zealand MPs and other substantial citizens sent their children to board schools.

But for all that there were social class differences within the public school system besides the exclusion of "Arabs". H.F. Lee shows that truants in Otago between 1902 and 1917 tended to come from the lower end of the social ladder with the children of tradesmen and the unskilled considerably over-represented.\(^94\) There was a similar social class difference in typical length of stay at school. Habens remarked, as to length of stay, "there is certainly a class distinction in this respect," when discussing raising the age of entry in 1887.\(^95\)
In 1912 H.A.E. Milnes, principal of Auckland Training College gave a relatively recent arrival's view of the social composition of New Zealand primary schools.

When I first came here [in 1906] I was particularly struck with the class of children in the Normal School. I found there the children of doctors and lawyers and professional men generally, and I was very favourably impressed by the fact that the people as a whole were quite willing to use the primary schools for the education of their children; but it seems to me that there has since been a deterioration in this respect. Class feeling has sprung up, and private secondary schools and colleges so-called, such as King's College, have grown very largely since I have been here which seems to indicate that people prefer to send their children to these private class schools.  

Milnes's surprise at the differences between board schools in New Zealand and Britain was predictable but whether things were changing in the primary schools is difficult to assess. The free place system in secondary schools certainly brought a reaction and a growth in the number of private schools whose "prep" departments might have drawn off some of the gentry's children from the Normal School, but Milne's feeling that things were changing might just have reflected his greater familiarity with the New Zealand system. What can be taken from his statement is the general point already made: the public primary schools catered for a wider range of children than English board schools, but there were class distinctions nevertheless.

State primary schools differed in social status. Seddon, like Sir Robert Stout, sent his children to a state school but the Seddon children did not go to any old state school; they went to the Terrace School which was highly regarded. As Ewing rather mildly puts it:

Schools like the Terrace School in Wellington and the George Street School in Dunedin were highly regarded by parents, not solely for their examination results, but for broader and more intangible results.
When too many parents sent their children past other schools in search of those intangible results there was competition for places and overcrowding. In the early twentieth century Elmwood School in Christchurch became grossly overcrowded and the committee and the Education Board fell out over accommodation. A member of the Education Board provoked indignant denials when he said that there would be no problem if people did not regard Elmwood as an "aristocratic school" and bypass other schools in that part of the city.98

There were clear differences between the social composition of schools like Elmwood and schools like Addington on the other side of the tracks, but residential segregation was not complete enough to keep children neatly sorted out, and children from quite different backgrounds rubbed shoulders in most schools. Middle-class parents did not always welcome this but accepted it as a consequence of the distribution of schools. This, and the social distinctions which could operate within schools, are nicely illustrated in Katherine Mansfield's story "The Doll's House".

For the fact was, the school the Burnell children went to was not at all the kind of place their parents would have chosen if there had been any choice. But there was none. It was the only school for miles. And the consequence was all the children of the neighbourhood, the Judge's little girls, the doctor's daughters, the storekeeper's children, the milkman's, were forced to mix together. Not to speak of there being an equal number of rough, rude little boys as well. But the line had to be drawn somewhere. It was drawn at the Kelveys. Many of the children, including the Burnells, were not even allowed to speak to them. They walked past the Kelveys with their heads in the air, and as they set the fashion in all matters of behaviour, the Kelveys were shunned by everyone. Even the teacher had a special voice for them, and special smile for the other children when Lil Kelvey came up to her desk with a bunch of dreadfully common-looking flowers.99

Like the judge's and the milkman's children, Catholics and Protestants could only be sent to separate schools in some places and had to rub shoulders in state schools in other places. Where there were
Catholic schools there was typically brawling and bullying and ritual taunts when children from the two schools met in the streets. Pat Lawlor describes the customary cries of "Proddy dog, Proddy dog" and "Cattle dog, Cattle dog" with which children greeted each other and which accompanied exchanges of stones and clods, and Rhoda Barr describes pitched battles in the streets of Oamaru in the 1880s with fists flying as Catholics and Protestants clashed.100

Where Catholics and Protestants went to the same school matters were more complicated. Some committees displayed simple bigotry when Catholic teachers applied for jobs, and attempts to introduce the Nelson system of religious instruction caused local tension and the isolation of Catholic pupils. But in some places teachers and committees came to reasonable working arrangements in the face of denominational differences. In 1896 the Otago Daily Times reported that at St Leonards School, where half the children were Catholics, Catholic children were regularly withdrawn for religious instruction by the local priest.101 At the time the compulsory attendance clauses permitted "legal holidays" and these arrangements were not breaches of the Education Act. But in 1911, with attendance required every time the school was open, the South Canterbury Board discussed the way in which Catholic children were withdrawn from rural schools for religious instruction in preparation for confirmation. The Board could have pressed the point; the Education Act technically obliged them to do so, but they prudently decided that, "the practice could not be interfered with".102

As with racial matters, relations between the denominations within schools reflected relations in the general community. In many small communities where there was only one school adult Catholics and Protestants also had to rub along together as neighbours and workmates and, sometimes, as in-laws. Although mixed marriages often brought bitterness and isolation they could lead to family ties which blurred
denominational differences. Where there were separate schools the battle lines for childish brawling were conveniently drawn up for children by parents. Denominational differences were kept alive in the general community by Catholic and Protestant leaders and by the Orange Lodge and children took their parents' prejudices and enmities to school. In addition, Catholic campaigns for state aid for their schools and Protestant pressure for Bible lessons in schools provided recurrent reminders that there were different sorts of Christians in the same schools. Common schooling might have produced the blending of denominations the North Canterbury Board praised but not while education was so often the very point at issue between Protestants and Catholics.

The schools' role as meeting place in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be compared and contrasted with their present position in a number of ways. Before private motor cars, the spread of movie theatres and the building of many rural halls and churches, schools were much more the social centres of small communities than they are today. And before committees were stripped of their powers of appointment they were much more often the focus of local feuds. There was more open resistance then than now to the presence of Maori children in the same classrooms and greater enmity between diehard Protestants and Catholics meant more frequent conflict over the enrolment of Catholic and Protestant children in the same schools. At the same time state primary schools in New Zealand, as in other settlement colonies, catered for a broader range of children than the English board schools. The line was drawn at the Kelveys but Mansfield also wrote, "Nudging, giggling together, the little girls pressed up close. And the only two who stayed outside the ring were the two who were always outside, the little Kelveys". It is doubtful whether the children of the English gentleman of ample means and of his coachman would have been huddled together like the daughters of the judge, the doctor, the storekeeper, and the milkman in New Zealand.
There were Native Schools, Catholic schools, and genteel private schools in New Zealand, but the broad mass of the population made use of the ordinary state primary schools and this general use of the common schools could be appealed to in support of egalitarian myths and in praise of colonial democracy. Enough has been said in this chapter, however, to show that such cosy claims cannot stand too much scrutiny and to show that racial, social, and religious distinctions important to adults were taken to school by children, but whatever the social relations in the playground all children, pretty well, went to the same schools, underwent the same process of instruction, used the same textbooks, worked to the same syllabus, and were examined by the same inspectors. In that respect the New Zealand primary school provided a common basis of experience and it presented most New Zealand children with a similar set of beliefs and attitudes.

State primary schools still provide a major meeting place for children from a variety of backgrounds, and they are still cited as evidence of New Zealand's democratic temper. Opponents of state aid to private schools are on firm ground, politically, when they accuse private schools of weakening social cohesion by fostering social and religious divisions for such charges invoke widely held egalitarian myths.

While schools are very much the same sort of meeting places for children as they were in the past they are very different workplaces from what they were before the Great War. Some schools are now undeniably more crowded than others or occupy older, less attractive buildings; some have more behaviour problems or are more liable to vandalism, and schools differ markedly in the social composition of the groups of pupils they cater for, but all schools, whether in Khandallah or Mangere, differ significantly from their nineteenth century counterparts. Their buildings are better designed, better ventilated, lit and
heated; they are less crowded, equipped for activities and methods hardly envisaged before the Great War, and no longer dominated by formal examinations.

In 1919 Edith Howes wrote a piece in which a teacher has a vision of the ideal school.

The building rose completed before her, graceful, red-roofed, white-walled. It ran, one-roomed in thickness everywhere, round half a circle, facing the sun. Each room had thus its windows opening on both sides to the outer air. And each room had wide double doors that were folded back, giving light and air and sun free play within, and giving egress to a wide and high verandah that ran the entire length of the semicircle.

The standard New Zealand primary school of the present day is very much that vision realised, except that it is a little less architecturally adventurous and is arranged in sober straight lines.

Clearly, improvements in school conditions and equipment owe a great deal to economic and technical developments: the rash of school building and re-building in the relatively affluent 1950s and 1960s, motor transport to better-equipped consolidated schools, the use of electricity for lighting and audio-visual aids, efficient heating systems, new building designs and materials, effective disinfectants and sewage systems. Just as clearly, however, much of the squalor of the worst schools before the Great War depended on a limited perception of what was necessary for children rather than on lack of resources. It was, as Miss Howes pointed out, perfectly possible to keep Jimmy's father's prison and Jimmy's father clean.

Miss Howes's visionary teacher also foresees a time when "There were no examinations - everybody was too busy learning." Again, the modern primary school embodies Miss Howes's vision, at least to the extent that there are no examinations. But in her story the teacher's bright vision fades and she returns to her own school, "an ugly and ignoble place".
Here they were lectured at and driven, and forced into an unnatural stillness, with penalties for all signs of vitality. Here was the strung, unsound atmosphere of examinations and perpetual competition, with the mental overstrain that produced a jaded mind out-of-love with learning. Teachers were here, harassed with overwhelming numbers, rushed for time, worn and uneasy and unhappy, beating forever against unnatural conditions, beset with unnatural difficulties, producing unnatural results.

As this chapter shows, Miss Howes's vivid picture is not too greatly overdrawn. The abolition of inspectors' examinations, although hailed as a major reform, did not spare children a great deal of examination by teachers. Some of the reasons for the persistence of examinations are obvious enough. The Standard VI Proficiency Examination was retained to ration scarce resources and to mark a successful primary school career and it had a marked effect on Standards V and IV as teachers sought to ensure that only likely prospects tackled the examination in Standard VI. Examination records also enabled inspectors to check teachers' judgements and, if necessary, over-ride them.

It can also be argued that primary schools have, in the end, not been spared examinations because everyone came to share Miss Howes's utopian dreams but because of a process of credential inflation which now locates the "strung, unsound atmosphere of examinations" in the senior secondary school and tertiary institutions. But a full explanation of the place of examinations in primary schools before the Great War must also take into account general, disciplinary attitudes, attitudes which led the leader writer for the Lyttelton Times to see examinations as a guarantee of "tone, order and discipline" and which are dealt with in detail in the next chapter.
Notes to Chapter 5

1. Canterbury Education Board. List of the Board's Schools as at 1 May 1984, pp.7 and 37.

2. LT, 23 April 1901.

3. The statistics in this paragraph calculated from AJHR, E-1, 1901, Tables J and J1, pp.vii-viii.

4. NCEB Records, Inspector's MS report, 16-17 May 1889.

5. NZSM, May 1894, p.151.

6. AJHR, E-1, 1889, p.ix.


8. AJHR, E-1, 1888, p.61.


11. NCEB Records, Inspector's MS report, 24 September 1902. This room was cramped with me, 49 other children, and a teacher in it in the early 1950s.

12. LT, 8 April 1907.


14. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.145.

15. LT, 15 March 1910.

16. NCEB, Inspector's MS report, 21 April 1899.

17. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.381.

18. See AJHR, H-31, 1903, p.50 for a District Health Officer's account of his difficulties with an Education Board architect.


25. NCEB Records, Inspector's MS report, 29 May 1890.
26. AJHR, E-1B, 1894, p.25.
27. NZSM, January 1902, p.91. LT, 10 January 1902.
29. AJHR, H-31, 1903, p.50.
30. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, pp.579-81.
32. LT, 2 December 1909; 7 June 1910.
33. LT, 18 October 1902.
35. NZPD, vol 143, 1908, p.469.
36. LT, 1 and 23 October 1913.
37. AJHR, E-1, 1914, p.13.
38. LT, 8 July 1907.
39. LT, 3 August 1912.
41. W.H.S. Dennis, Curriculum copying: new light on the development of "standards" in New Zealand during the 1870s. NZJES, vol 14, no 1, 1979, pp.3-22.
42. A.E. Campbell. Educating New Zealand. Wellington, Department of Internal Affairs, 1941, p.86.
43. AJHR, H-1A, 1880, p.12.
44. AJHR, E-1, 1888, p.81.
45. NZSM, February 1892.
46. LT, 6 January 1903.
48. AJHR, E-1B, 1883, p.7.
49. AJHR, E-1B, 1885, p.9.
50. Campbell, p.87.
51. NZG, 1878, p.1309.
52. AJHR, E-1A, 1880, p.12.
53. LT, 7 December 1892.
54. Pendaralton School Committee Minutes, 19 January 1891.
55. AJHR, E-1B, 1897, p.24.
56. NZG, 1891, p.1126.
58. AJHR, E-1B, 1881, p.18.
59. AJHR, E-1, 1902, Table G, p.vi; E-2, 1912, Table D3, p.32.
61. Ewing, p.98.
62. LT, 31 August 1899.
63. AJHR, E-1B, 1901, p.31.
64. NZG, 1899, p.2300; 1904, p.1056.
65. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.521.
66. LT, 21 February 1893.
69. CP, 12 March 1897.
70. AJHR, E-1B, 1896, p.46.
71. AJHR, E-1B, 1882, p.41.
72. NZPD, vol 55, 1886, p.205.
73. CP, 11 June 1897.
74. LT, 16 December 1911.
75. NZPD, vol 41, 1882, p.231.
76. AJHR, E-1, 1889, p.58.
77. AJHR, E-1B, 1895, p.8.
78. AJHR, E-1B, 1886, p.24.
79. AJHR, E-1, 1890, p.73.
81. LT, 7 June 1895.
83. LT, 28 November 1896.
84. AJHR, H-1, 1880, p.163.
85. AJHR, E-1, 1881, pp.iii-iv.
86. AJHR, E-2, 1889, p.3.
87. Westland Education Board Minutes, 12 March 1885.
88. AJHR, E-1, 1891, p.xii.
89. NZPD, vol 143, 1908, p.213.
90. NZPD, vol 165, 1913, p.358.
91. AJHR, H-1, 1880, p.141.
92. NZSM, March 1885.
95. AJHR, I-8, Session II, 1887, p.8.
96. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.103.
97. Ewing, p.149.
98. LT, 20 December 1912.
101. CP, 20 June 1896.
102. LT, 10 May 1911.
104. Howes, p.78.
105. Howes, p.80.
Chapter 6

SCHOOL DISCIPLINE AND ROUTINE

One of the standard features of New Zealand schooling was stern, often harsh, school discipline with frequent corporal punishment. Strict discipline was expected by members of the public, the inspectorate and the bench who thought it necessary for character-formation, one of the schools' chief tasks. The dour attitudes towards children which demanded stern discipline are explored in this chapter along with teachers' practical concerns and disciplinary methods and the schools' role in transmitting those stern attitudes to another generation.

It is a commonplace that one source of severity towards children in the West has been the Puritan religious tradition with its emphasis on original sin and the need to discipline the weak human will, and its stock of Biblical injunctions to chastise children. These selected texts still spring readily to the lips of some evangelical Christians and they were, no doubt, of comfort to many a martinet teacher and parent in the past, but school discipline was generally justified in secular social and moral terms rather than by appealing to explicitly religious considerations. It was, for example, more common to base demands for strict discipline on the widespread belief that colonial children were in particular need of it than to base them on the Book of Proverbs.

The view that colonial youngsters were in special need of discipline was one manifestation of a general anxiety that what had been transplanted from Britain might not turn out well in New Zealand. Old
World plants and animals did well here, goats and gorse, rabbits and
ragwort did too well, but what about people? Would they turn out all
right in a new climate?

Climate was not just a metaphor; it was central to the popular
explanation of the physical and cultural differences between races and
nations. Tropical climates produced dark-skinned savages; Mediterranean
climates produced swarthy, indolent types; a bracing Northern European
climate produced hardy, upright, industrious folk. Would New
Zealanders, then, continue to show the vigour and character of the parent
stock?

Newman, writing in the 1870s, was sure that they would not. The
colonial born and bred were physically and mentally weaker; they were
"seedy" and both men and women bloomed early and soon faded. It was,
Newman assured the New Zealand Institute, "certain that the race would
alter much and very decidedly deteriorate, were it not for a constant
stream of immigrants." The only crumb of comfort was that as a result
of the warmer climate "drunkenness will not be so prevalent in young New
Zealand as among the parent stock."²

D.C. Wilson, a couple of years later, took quite the contrary
view. With regard to white children, he assured the Institute, "the
climate is in their favour and they will perhaps be an improvement on
their fathers." He thought that the rising generation was more robust
and likely to be longer-lived than their stay-at-home cousins in
Britain.³

Unrestrained by any useful data the debate on antipodean
character and physique took some strange paths. As late as 1911 a
writer to the Sydney papers argued that living in the Southern
hemisphere was producing more and more left-handers.⁴ But a general
consensus emerged, at least among colonial commentators, which was that
colonials were fine fellows. This was partly because of environment and
partly because New Zealanders came from selected immigrants. In 1905 Dr William Chapple, ever ready to dress his prejudices in the trappings of science, concluded a programme of "comparative anthropometric studies" in which he examined 824 boys in Wellington primary schools. He concluded that they were the best-developed boys in the world because immigrants to New Zealand had been necessarily hardy and adventurous.

This voluntary immigration was therefore a process of natural selection of the fittest...and, as might be expected, New Zealanders were, as a class, a strong, well-developed, healthy, wholesome, liberty-loving people.5

Things would have been even better, he said, had not Vogel's schemes resulted in an influx of worthless, vicious, and degenerate people. Irvine and Alpers reached the same conclusion as Chapple without the pseudo-science: New Zealanders were "not only British, but best British."6

This self-congratulation had certain natural limits, however, and many adult New Zealanders were as ready to condemn colonial children for their manners and morals as they were to agree that New Zealanders were wonderful people. Colonial children, it was commonly said, were spoilt, unmannerly, and "wanting in reverence". In 1899 the Gisborne Mutual Improvement Society sought to "ascertain the leading characteristics of young New Zealanders" by writing to a number of eminent men. Some refused to be drawn. Prof. Bickerton said he was unable to distinguish between British and colonial youth and Hogben replied, "The leading characteristics of the young New Zealander were, firstly, that he was a New Zealander and, secondly, that he was young." Stout also thought it too early to tell, but he was sure that our climate would evolve a different type of person, fond of outdoor life. Edward Tregear, however, had no doubts. Young New Zealanders were sober, bold, fearless, clear-headed, especially in matters of self-advantage, lacking in poetical thought and imagination, hard, matter-of-fact, prosaic and
Philistine. The Rev. J.S. Patterson thought them unduly fond of sport, lacking in reverence and too often mere seekers of amusement. There was similar fretting about colonial children across the Tasman where, White notes, some commentators deplored the coming Australian type as too fond of sports and too contemptuous of authority. This, as White points out, is what any older generation might say of any younger, but prefacing censorious remarks with "Children here..." rather than "Children these days..." linked such remarks to anxiety about the colony's future and gave them more force.

Those who thought colonial children unmannerly and insubordinate differed in their explanations of this. Some attributed it to free and easy colonial ways in general and to the unfortunate belief that Jack was as good as his master, and some blamed the lack of religious instruction in state schools; but inspectors of schools typically put it down to parental weakness. Hodgson wrote of the "notorious laxity of parental control" in New Zealand where children had far too much of their own way at home so that many of them had their first lessons in "prompt and implicit obedience" only when they entered school. Richard O'Sullivan, the martinet Auckland inspector, thought such parental weakness a danger to the colony and he advised teachers to err on the side of severity, if anything.

Isolated acts of too great severity on the part of the teachers are easily dealt with: they bring no danger to the State. The growth of a turbulent, law-defying generation is a very real danger.

The belief that colonial children could be particularly independent and self-assured did not depend purely on prejudice. Edward Wakefield, writing in the 1880s, noted such characteristics in Young New Zealand in order to praise them and Rollo Arnold provides a number of examples of young colonials performing feats of derring-do on horseback and in the bush which would not have been required of their English cousins. Children used to the rough and tumble of pioneering life did
not always take kindly to the order and obedience schools sought to impose as the national system was established and developed. Campbell writes of "a state of open warfare" in some schools with "rebellion from below breaking out at periodic intervals and being put down from above by merciless flogging," and examples of this sort of thing are easy to find. G.M. Hassing was appointed headmaster at Cardrona in Central Otago, he tells us, because no one else wanted such a notorious school.

The school had by that time become quite demoralised and as there were a number of big, rough, undisciplined boys it required not only firmness but also physical strength and pugilistic skill to restore the school to perfect order and obedience. Hassing, who had been a seaman and a gold-miner was able to provide the necessary strength and skill. Similarly, in 1881 an Otago inspector reported that:

The teacher of an important school, in many respects well-qualified, lost control over his pupils to such an extent that he sometimes had to seek refuge from fear of bodily harm in a most ludicrous fashion. It was impossible to conduct an examination of this school with any degree of comfort or satisfaction. In due course, however, a man of Hassing's stamp was appointed and the inspector reported a complete transformation.

Certain features of the school system itself helped to make discipline difficult and to make it severe where it was successful. The high proportion of pupil teachers and the youth of many assistant teachers together with the age mixture in classes created by the standard pass system meant that many teachers were only in precarious control of pupils not much younger than they were. The capitation system and the link between average attendance and salaries made teachers a highly mobile group ever on the alert for better paid, more secure jobs, and the considerable number of women teachers leaving to get married each year also contributed to teacher turnover. Table 15 which shows the proportion of teachers remaining at the same school over one five-year period in the late nineteenth century indicates how
frequently children were able to test the limits with a new teacher and how frequently teachers had to assert their authority over a new school or class.

Table 15
Teacher Movement 1894-1899

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Board</th>
<th>Teachers Employed in 1894</th>
<th>Teachers in Same School in 1899</th>
<th>Per Cent in Same School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>708</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taranaki</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawke's Bay</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Canterbury</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Canterbury</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westland</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southland</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW ZEALAND</td>
<td>3,306</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Includes uncertificated and pupil teachers but excludes sewing teachers.

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.

The curriculum, too, made no concessions to children's own capacities or concerns and the examination system precluded any Deweyan enlistment of present interests as an aid to attention and discipline. And large classes in crowded rooms meant strict routines to get children into school and into their places with any semblance of order. Schools today generally manage without the strict routines for giving out books, collecting them, and changing from one activity to another which were once the rule, but when teachers today are faced with large numbers of children, at assembly or on a school expedition, for example, they generally automatically revert to the formality once employed throughout the day.
School discipline was, however, more than just a means of getting pupils through the examination-oriented curriculum or of securing teachers' peace of mind and physical safety. It was the schools' duty to civilise and to form moral character, and teachers, schools and the national system as a whole were judged by their success at instilling obedience, honesty and good manners in school and out of it. When school committees were appointing teachers they paid careful attention to the percentages of passes applicants had secured but they also set great store by testimonials praising applicants as strict disciplinarians, and when children were boisterous on the streets or not sufficiently polite to adults it was common to lay the blame at the schools' door.

School discipline could be cited to defend the national system itself against charges that it did not teach morality because it could not teach religion. How, Bible in schools advocates asked, could you show children that something was wrong, really wrong, without appealing, in the end, to the Bible? Defenders of the secular system typically sidestepped questions of meta-ethics by rehearsing the Lockean pedagogy of the standard texts in school method and talking of the moral habits built up in children by school discipline and routine. Thus Gladman's well-known school method text distinguished the functions of the teacher and the disciplinarian: "The one is an imparter of knowledge, the other is a governor." The discipline imposed by the teacher as governor results in "a habit of order and submission to rule, and is thus the foundation of a disciplined life". Discipline must be scrupulously maintained for "Habits are of slow growth. A course of conduct must be persevered with uniformly in order that a habit may grow vigorously."15 The schoolmaster as governor must see that discipline is firm, clear, and thorough so that by the principle of "Association by Contiguity" wrong-doing comes to be associated with pain and "well-doing" and pleasure are always connected.16
The inspectors' duty to assess teachers as governors was spelled out in the 1885 revision of the examination and inspection regulations. Inspectors were to comment, where appropriate, on "Order and discipline, and the tone of the school with respect to diligence, alacrity and obedience", "Supervision in recess", and "Manners and general behaviour of the pupils". 17 In 1891 the words "and honour" were added after "obedience". By "honour" Habens apparently meant not cheating in examinations: the 1891 regulations also urged that pupils be taught to "despise all showy tricks and arts of evasion" at examinations and to "avoid everything that is not in accordance with the strictest principles of honour". 18

Inspectors took this part of their duties seriously and frequently stressed teachers' responsibility for improving pupils' manners and morals. R.J. O'Sullivan was probably the most difficult to satisfy in the 1880s. Discipline, he said, was impaired by inadequate corporal punishment and he cited a little girl who explained her own bad behaviour with, "He doesn't hit hard enough". The schools had a social duty to impose strict discipline because, "parents' foolish indulgence is raising up a plentiful crop of larrikins". 19 But other inspectors could be just as stern. Petrie, in Otago, noted a variation in pupils' manners from district to district; serious cause for complaint showed that a teacher was failing in his duty and he, Petrie, threatened to send the Education Board his little list of schools where pupils were particularly unmannerly. 20 Nor was O'Sullivan alone in his fixed belief that colonial parents were indulgent. Moral training and firm discipline were nowhere more needed, said the Nelson inspectors, than "in a community like ours, where it is notorious that 'home rule' is, for various reasons, considerably relaxed". 21

Although the regulations did not say how order, discipline and tone were to be tested inspectors might have found guidance in Fearon's
manual of school inspection. The inspector, Pearson advised, should check that registers and log-books are to hand and then sit quietly to see how long it takes the school to settle back to work after his arrival.

...but if the timetable shows that a change is at hand within a reasonable period, it is well that he should continue to watch until the change is completed. There is no such tell-tale of the discipline, order and tone, and common sense of a school as the change. Is it made quickly and quietly? Does everyone seem to know her business and do it in a simple but self-reliant manner? Are books and slates distributed or collected and put away without noise or confusion...And through it all does the principal teacher keep her place and control the school by a look, a gesture, or a quiet word? If so, there cannot be much amiss with the order of that school.22

G.D. Braik, the Wanganui inspector, however, had his own touchstone.

The best index of a low moral tone at a school is to be found in the presence or absence of loose writing on the walls of the outbuildings and of such writing there is practically none. This is a splendid tribute to our schools and we believe that the secret of our teachers' success lies mainly in the interest taken by both teachers and pupils in the grounds, gardens, and organised games. If one sees boys leaning against the walls of the school with their hands in their pockets, and the girls wandering aimlessly about, one knows perfectly well what to expect on the walls of the out-offices.23

Classroom routines, it has been suggested, were necessary in any case in crowded schools but when they were, in addition, taken to be measures of a teacher's powers as governor they became a very serious matter indeed. Teachers strove for machine-like order as pupils filed in and out, as they collected and distributed books and slates, and as lessons proceeded so that a writing lesson, for example, became a series of drill-sergeant's orders: take up pens, write, pens down, blot your books, arms folded, take up pens, rule off, pass books up, etc. The obedience and alacrity demanded by the inspection regulations could be taught in the course of schoolwork or they could be taught through
school drill, the pedagogical equivalent of "square-bashing" in the army. "The class at drill", said one manual of school method, "should be a mere machine, actuated only by the will and word of the teacher," and it suggested measuring discipline and obedience by seeing how long pupils could stand stock-still at attention.24

The best-known text on school drill was Norman's Schoolmaster's Drill Assistant which teachers in some districts were urged to use during the early years of the national system.25 The use of this book, said Crompton the Taranaki inspector in 1879, would bring "quietness of demeanour, attention, diligence, and silence".26 That same year the Southland Education Board decided to give all its teachers copies of Norman's book as an aid to "habits of order, sustained attention, steady work, and good conduct."27

School furniture was a further aid to discipline. The characteristic long benches and infant galleries of the nineteenth century ranged children in orderly rows and restricted movement, and graded floors, like infant galleries, brought children under the eagle eye of the teacher. Those who later urged schools to adopt single desks also argued for them, in part, by stressing their moral and disciplinary value: they would make copying, passing notes, and surreptitious talking and nudging more difficult and children could move in and out of them more decorously.

Those in favour of homework also stressed its disciplinary, character-forming benefits as much as its intellectual value. It was accepted that scholarship candidates in the senior standards would do a good deal of homework as a matter of course but the considerable amount of homework assigned to other children was often a source of friction. Homework was a heavy burden on children who had farm- or housework to do after school and many children had to work in crowded conditions at home and by lamp or candlelight. Children who did not complete homework could expect to be punished at school.
On rare occasions the children themselves protested. In 1889 the senior pupils at George Street School organised a half-day strike over homework. Most protests, however, came from parents who said it was the schools' task to teach, not theirs. A Mr Beadle of Dunedin put this point nicely in industrial terms in 1894: "As a trades unionist...he objected to overtime for the children, and to parents being made to do the work for which the teachers were paid." Some inspectors of schools also deplored excessive homework and the punishments meted out when it was not done. The Nelson inspectors took the unusual step in 1893 of deliberately undermining the teachers' authority in this matter. They noted a British case where a teacher wound up in court for punishing a child who had not done his homework and had, himself, been "severely punished by the judge". The inspectors wanted it to be "known as widely as possible that there was no law to enforce home lessons."

But the majority of inspectors defended homework as a useful way to revise work covered at school and as a defence against larrkinism. Without homework, said Peter Goyen, town children "spend their evenings in the street, take the tone of bad companions, and rapidly acquire the character of the genus larrkin." This was a widely held view and when the Sydenham School took the bold step in 1893 of abolishing homework altogether it got considerable newspaper space. John Baldwin, the headmaster, had decided on this move when he had 32 boys sent to him on a single day to be punished for not completing their homework. A year after homework had been abolished, he said, the children were happier, he was not punishing so often and - most important - the pass rate at examination had risen. Some might say that homework kept children off the streets but, Baldwin held, that was the parents' duty and they could always give them housework to do.

Baldwin's claims did not convince his superiors. Early in 1896 the chairman of the North Canterbury Board deferred discussion of a
motion to abolish homework for children under twelve because two MHR Board members were absent and should be present to discuss such an important matter. This stalling succeeded for the motion was defeated when put to the full Board. A similar motion in 1898 was referred to the Board's inspectors whose report in due course was largely devoted to the moral benefits of homework. Homework was time-consuming and arduous, the inspectors agreed, but that was just the point: "Human life, after all, is not likely to become a voyage in gilded galleys across summer seas." Homework showed children that life was real, life was earnest.

School training becomes most valuable when it aims at developing that toughness of fibre, and that stubborn courage, which have hitherto been essential to success in the struggle for existence.

The expansion of free secondary schooling in the early twentieth century provided a further argument for homework. Primary schools might cut down on homework but secondary schools routinely set plenty of it, and children unused to formal homework were ill-prepared for further education. J.W. Tibbs of Auckland Grammar took this line before the Cohen Commission: "I find that most of the schools have no home-work, and that pupils from the few that do rapidly outclass the others." Notwithstanding Tibbs's claims, homework was routinely assigned in many schools, and to quite young children, well into the twentieth century; notwithstanding the Nelson inspectors' statement children were routinely punished for failing to complete homework, most commonly by strapping or caning.

The infliction of corporal punishment for what would now be considered a minor sin of omission was not then thought remarkable: corporal punishment, or the threat of it, not only sustained school routines, put down rebellion, generally enforced order, and compelled homework, but was also a teaching aid so that children were strapped for lapses of memory or understanding as well as moral lapses. Reminiscences
of schooldays long past are to be treated with caution but autobiographical accounts of schooling in New Zealand agree on the use of corporal punishment as a teaching aid, they are supported by contemporary comment on this point, and they provide enlivening detail. Muriel May, for example, recalls being threatened with the strap if she could not spell "squirrel" the next day. She was predictably nervous, got the word predictably wrong, and joined the line of children to be strapped. Francis Bennett recalls the strap as a teaching aid "in use all through all lessons" at his school. And Rewi Alley was strapped by a woman teacher in Edwardian Amberley for mistakes in spelling, arithmetic, and other school work. What is most significant about Alley's experience is that his father was headmaster of the school and presumably saw nothing odd in his assistant's methods.

Most teachers, when pressed, would have agreed that children should not be punished for things they could not help, but failure at schoolwork could readily be attributed to moral lapses: inattention, laziness, disobedience or stubbornness. There was, in most classes, a sort of tariff of blows for failures, e.g., one cut per spelling error in tests, so that complaints arose only when a teacher went beyond accepted limits. The limits on the amount of punishment a teacher might inflict in his role as governor, however, were set wide and the authorities were generally unsympathetic to complaints, even when a teacher had clearly administered a severe beating. In 1914 a deputation from a school committee went to the Taranaki Education Board to demand the removal of a teacher because he was too severe. One of the deputation said that his son had been given 28 cuts with a strap on one occasion. The Education Board replied that the teacher had good reports from the inspectors, he had got the school into an efficient state, and there was no need for any enquiry. In 1913 the headmaster of a small North Canterbury school appeared in court charged with ill-treating two
boys aged seven and eight. The boys had been put over a desk and beaten for lateness and truancy, one receiving 20 strokes and the other 19. The head of another school the boys had attended testified that they had been tardy there too and used bad language, the defendant said that he had only given them 12 blows apiece, and the magistrate dismissed the case, remarking that the teacher had been justified and that the punishment was not unduly severe. 41

More than one magistrate, when dismissing a charge against a teacher, took the opportunity to underline teachers' duty to maintain discipline and to warn other possible complainants. In 1903 an Auckland teacher appeared in court charged with beating a boy on the hands and legs and causing bruising when the boy sucked a sweet in class. The magistrate dismissed the information, remarking, *inter alia*:

This may appear to be a small matter - a case of individual idiosyncrasy - but if masters are not to be allowed to make rules which may appear to be petty, and may not be so, then there would be an end to all discipline. 42

Mr R. Beetham, the Christchurch stipendiary magistrate, went even further in defence of good order in 1891 when a teacher was brought before him. Three boys, two of them twelve and one eight, had written "obscene words" with chalk on the footpath in Winchester Street. E. Just, a teacher who saw them, caught and beat one of the older boys and was brought to court by the boy's father who said that it was not the teacher's affair because the lads were out of school. Mr Beetham opined that, "people should be thankful to schoolmasters who kept their boys out of mischief"; he dismissed the case against the teacher, awarded him costs, sent the eight-year-old packing, and ordered the hitherto unpunished twelve-year-old to receive six strokes from the police. 43

Beetham's decision to have that lad flogged too was not particularly remarkable. The flogging of juvenile offenders at the courts' order was common enough, indicating the way in which bench and
legislature shared the attitudes supporting school discipline. What was, perhaps, a little surprising was that he did not order the youngest boy flogged too, for other magistrates did not hesitate to have quite young boys beaten. Two examples will suffice. In 1894 two boys, aged nine and seven, were charged in Timaru with breaking into a house. The younger was sentenced to three strokes of the birch and the elder to six.44 Four years earlier a boy of ten was given three strokes in the same court for stealing apricots.45

Rather more boys were, in fact, sentenced to flogging than official statistics show for magistrates sometimes discharged boys without conviction when their parents undertook to beat them. Four boys, for example, appeared in the Christchurch court in 1891 for writing indecent words on a school wall. The headmaster punished one of them but the others had left school. The magistrate ordered a constable to see that these boys' parents gave them "a severe flogging", and rather than imposing any sentence directly he required the boys to "appear next Court day and state the nature of the punishment given".46

In a similar case in 1898 two boys, one fifteen and one sixteen, were charged with breaking and entering. A bench of Justices of the Peace sentenced the younger to "twelve strokes of the birch, heavily laid on" but when the father of the other undertook to give him a "sound thrashing at the Police Station" the boy was convicted and discharged.47

There was a decline in the judicial flogging of children in the twentieth century, in part because some of the magistrates who sat in the Children's Courts set up in the main centres after 1906 took a somewhat more sympathetic and psychological approach to youthful offenders. But Children's Courts could order birching until 1936 and some magistrates sitting in these courts were as ready as ever to sentence children to corporal punishment. In 1909 26 of the 126 children who appeared in the Wellington Children's Court were whipped,
more than the total number so treated by the other three courts
together.48 And the Wellington court still operated on the system of
informal sentencing. In 1914, for example, two boys, aged eleven and
thirteen, were charged with robbing an orchard and turning a hose on the
irate owner. The younger boy's father reported that he had already
thrashed his son; the other boy was sentenced to five strokes of the
birch.49

The social approval of corporal punishment extended to policemen
who meted out rough justice. Seddon regaled the House in 1896 with an
approving account of the way in which the Kumara constable cleared
loitering youths from street corners with a supplejack.50 In 1890 the
Lyttelton Times was equally approving of the way in which some school-
age boys were taught a "wholesome lesson" by the police sergeant who
catched them playing cards in the south porch of the cathedral. The
indignant officer took the cards and gave two of the boys "a good box on
the ears" and a promise not to be so lenient another time.51

It is not surprising that in this climate of opinion teachers
should feel secure, even justified, in the frequent use of corporal
punishment or that they should feel highly indignant on those rare
occasions when a case went against a teacher. When, for example, an
Auckland headmaster was judged to have administered excessive punishment
to a nine-year-old boy the New Zealand Educational Institute expressed
indignation and paid his legal costs.52

It was clearly assumed in the 1870s and 1880s that teachers had a
right to administer corporal punishment and after the notable case
of Hansen versus Cole in 1890 there was no doubt of it. A teacher at Te
Aro School caned a boy for stubbornness and inattention during a grammar
lesson and was prosecuted by the lad's father who claimed that his son's
thumb later needed medical attention and that the teacher had no
authority to administer corporal punishment in any case. He, the father,
had not employed the teacher nor had he placed the teacher in loco parentis by delegating authority to him; his son was, in fact, compelled to attend school by the Education Act. Mr Justice Prendergast was unmoved.

In my opinion the authority arises not out of any supposed delegation of the parent's authority, but out of the necessities of the case... At any rate it may be said that it is not because the parent puts the master in loco parentis that the master has the authority but because the master is (howsoever it happens) for the time being in loco parentis that he has the authority. 53

Judge Prendergast then moved to a question of fact. Was the punishment reasonable and for sufficient cause? In ruling that it was he noted the difficulty of deciding what constituted reasonable punishment in particular cases and the advantage which the schoolmaster had in this matter "by being on the spot, to know all the circumstances, the manner, look, tone, gestures and language of the offender." For this reason, he ruled, "considerable allowance should be made to the teacher by way of protecting him in the exercise of his discretion." If a punishment were clearly excessive the teacher would be liable, "but if there be any reasonable doubt whether the punishment was excessive, the master should have the benefit of the doubt."

This general position was echoed in subsequent legislation.

Section 14 of the Children's Protection Act 1890 stated:

Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to take away or affect the right of any parent, teacher, or other person having the lawful control and charge of a child to administer reasonable punishment to such child.

Section 68(1) of the Criminal Code Act 1893, stated:

It is lawful for every parent or person in the place of a parent, or schoolmaster, to use force by way of correction towards any child or pupil under his care: provided that such force is reasonable under the circumstances.
These statutes and the judgement in *Hansen* versus *Cole* did not, however, bring complete peace of mind for zealous disciplinarians for teachers were, on occasion, convicted for excessive punishment. In 1908, for example, the headmaster at Onehunga was fined £6 and costs because he punished a boy for lateness without giving him a chance to explain. In the same year an Ashburton teacher who thrashed a boy for stealing and bruised his body was convicted and fined because, the magistrate said, he had exceeded his authority and usurped the role of the courts.

The most immediate threat to teachers' disciplinary authority, however, came not from the courts but from education boards' attempts to regulate corporal punishment. While education boards assumed that corporal punishment was a necessary part of school discipline, and while they gave dusty answers on occasion to parents who complained, they also attempted to regulate the use of the strap. Thus in the 1880s and early 1890s most education boards drafted regulations to limit corporal punishment to moral offences, to preclude the strapping of older girls, to specify the sort of strap which could be used, and to limit the administration of corporal punishment to headteachers. In most districts these regulations brought spirited protests from teachers, either informally or through the N.Z.E.I.

In 1894 the Wellington branch of the Institute successfully sought to have the corporal punishment of girls reinstated. The Auckland branch induced the local Education Board to allow headmasters to delegate the right to punish to certificated assistants. The North Canterbury Board had issued a circular on corporal punishment in 1887 without arousing much reaction or changing teachers' practice much but in 1893 it issued new regulations which brought protests from teachers and some school committees. The old regulations had deplored but not actually prohibited strapping girls but the new ones outlawed it and
were to be posted in a conspicuous place in the school. The result was, the headmaster of East Christchurch told the Education Board, that the girls' department at his school was "demoralised by several of the bigger girls who now played truant with impunity and set their teachers at defiance." The local branch of the N.Z.E.I. at first asked the Board to drop the requirement that the regulations be posted where children could read them and later resolved unanimously:

That the present regulation of the North Canterbury Education Board with regard to the punishment of girls is prejudicial to the best interests of education.

Like the Wellington Board the North Canterbury Board gave way on this point after repeated representations from teachers.

The Southland Board, noting reaction elsewhere, moved cautiously and in 1899 the New Zealand Schoolmaster reported with approval on the local inspectors' memorandum on corporal punishment.

A praiseworthy feature of the pamphlet is the absence of any attempt to set forth arbitrary regulations. The teacher is left to exercise his own judgement and to incur full responsibility.

One of the sharpest exchanges between an education board and its teachers came in 1905 when the Hawke's Bay Board issued new regulations which brought the largest meeting of teachers ever held in the district.

After a long discussion it was unanimously decided that, in the interest of the children, and of the effective working of the schools, the teachers will hold inviolate the trust imposed on them by law, and will thus be forced to ignore the Board's illegal restrictions on the control of teachers over the children.

The Hawke's Bay regulations came hard on the heels of the Haden-Bramley case which was widely reported and sent waves of apprehension through the teaching profession. Haden had asked Bramley, the headmaster of the Prebbleton School, not to strap his daughter who was in poor health. Bramley in due course gave the child one stroke of the strap for "excess of mistakes in a spelling lesson" and Haden took him
to court, not to seek damages but to obtain a ruling on Bramley's right to punish when he had specifically been asked not to.

The Magistrate, in giving judgement, said it was a most important point as to whether corporal punishment was necessary to the conduct of the schools. He had no sentiment about the matter; in fact in that court he had told parents that the only course open to them was to inflict corporal punishment; but it was entirely another matter whether in the ordinary carrying out of school routine it was necessary to inflict corporal punishment. He did not wish to lay down his opinions against those who differed from his, but it seemed to him utterly absurd for a teacher to come into Court and say he could teach spelling only by the strap...Under the circumstances the plaintiff was entitled to recover 40 shillings and costs. 64

This, said the New Zealand Journal of Education, was an "extraordinary decision."

We trust that no teacher will be deterred by this decision of Mr Bishop's from carrying out his duties without fear or favour. Discipline must be maintained. It is all important in school life. 65

The matter did not rest there. The N.Z.E.I. paid Bramley's costs and sought leave to appeal. This was denied by the Magistrate himself and the Institute's solicitors advised that further attempts to get leave to appeal would fail for technical reasons although, in their opinion, Bishop was wrong to ignore Hansen versus Cole.

Teachers who might have been deterred from their duty to strap children for spelling mistakes could, however, take comfort from the Education Board's reaction when Haden pressed his advantage and asked for an undertaking that his girl would not be strapped again. The Board unanimously resolved to send him a reply drafted by its solicitors referring to Hansen versus Cole, declining to give the undertaking sought, stressing the need for discipline, and expressing its confidence in its teachers' judgement and discretion. 66

There were similar tussles between parents and teachers in British and American courts. Judge Prendergast's judgement in Hansen versus Cole referred to British and American cases concerning a
teacher's right to punish. And in both Britain and Australia there were clashes between the educational authorities and the teachers' organisations over the limitation of punishment. A committee of the London School Board, chaired by T.H. Huxley, recommended, inter alia, that pupil teachers should not be permitted to give corporal punishment and in 1874 assistant teachers were also denied this right. The ban on corporal punishment by assistant teachers was relaxed in 1898 after a running battle between the London School Board and the Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association. The New South Wales Minister of Education issued a circular in 1880 forbidding the corporal punishment of girls which brought angry protests from teachers and in 1882 a Royal Commission on education sided with the teachers and recommended removing all restrictions on corporal punishment.

The widespread use of corporal punishment in other settlement colonies underlines the traditional place of beating in English education. That tradition itself could be appealed to when other arguments failed. In the 1890s the English Church Times quoted bits of the Bible in defence of corporal punishment and went on to link it with British military glory.

The Englishmen who won at Waterloo and Trafalgar were men who, in their youth, were chastised when they deserved it. The flabby sentimentalism of Rousseau and his followers did not pervade Old England.

This remarkable passage contains an echo of the well-known "playing fields of Eton" tag, and the suggestion that corporal punishment was somehow sanctified by its association with the English public schools was openly voiced by a British magistrate in dismissing a case against a Board school teacher. "If the sons of gentlemen," he said, "submitted to a birching that drew blood, then the summons brought before him was ridiculous."
Resolute defenders of corporal punishment in New Zealand were able to appeal to British practice and to further suggest that colonials were soft if they objected. A letter to the Christchurch papers in 1894 from a man educated in Scotland derided the Wellington and Canterbury restrictions on corporal punishment. They were for "poor, fragile, colonial tenderlings" and he suggested that, "if there were a good deal more 'larruping' there would be a good deal fewer larrikins in the colonies." Another correspondent who had been to school in Britain proudly recounted how canings left hands and thighs well-scored with blue marks or blisters. "Were we any the worse for it? Not a bit!"  

Teachers' determined defence of corporal punishment may not look particularly creditable in hindsight but their public arguments at least were pragmatic and stressed the utilitarian case for punishment as a necessary practice in the circumstances. But the arguments just cited indicate a deeper attachment to the practice and the belief that children should be dealt with sternly in any case. There was a presumption in favour of punishment, it seemed, and not to punish was to demonstrate weakness of character - "flabby sentimentalism" or infection with Rousseau's revolutionary, republican notions.

Given this presumption in favour of a time-hallowed practice it is hardly surprising that psychological research was, in due course, invoked to support strapping. In 1899 Prof. Earl Barnes of the United States investigated children's attitudes to punishment by asking them how a little girl who misused a set of paints should be dealt with. This was, of course, to be Jean Piaget's basic technique in his study of moral development in the early 1930s and Prof. Barnes came up with the same general results as Piaget: younger children saw things differently from older children; they talked of smacking while the older children talked of the girl's intentions and suggested reasoning with her, warning her, and so on. Like later developmental psychologists Barnes
concluded that parents and teachers should take the child's current level of reasoning into account, but his prescription was rather different from Piaget's. Children should be punished on lines they understand, said Barnes, and research shows that "the young child understands and responds to strong, vigorous, physical reaction."^73

The general presumption in favour of corporal punishment did not, however, depend on such relatively sophisticated arguments; it was the product of advocates' own socialisation and, very often, their own experience of corporal punishment. Mercurio, in the 1970s, made an anthropological study of Christchurch Boys' High School where caning was common and accepted by both boys and teachers. He describes the way in which new pupils came to accept corporal punishment as part of their schooling and even to prefer it to other punishments. More significantly, he describes the way in which new teachers, even those initially quite opposed to caning, changed their attitudes without being particularly aware of it until they were routinely caning boys. Being caned and taking it stoically was also, for many boys, a way of gaining status with their peers.^74

Jean Boswell's autobiography provides a fascinating example of much the same process of socialisation in a primary school eighty years earlier. A new teacher at her little Northland school announced that he would no longer use corporal punishment and he burnt the supplejacks left by the previous teacher and relied on "moral exhortation and our duty to our parents and society generally." The children were upset and uneasy under the new dispensation and began a campaign of misbehaviour to restore the status quo. Eventually the teacher fell into line and wielded a supplejack. "But we were happy again. We were happy dodging the cuts and happy that we could now offend without guilt."^75

Although school method texts discussed both rewards and punishments as aids to discipline and steady work, punishments were more
common in class than rewards. Those who misbehaved or simply failed to get their sums right could expect to be punished, but children could generally expect no more than a pencilled tick or a word of commendation for work well done. Severe punishment was often immediate while substantial rewards were deferred until prize-givings at the end of the school year.

The practice of awarding end-of-year prizes for both schoolwork and moral virtue was well-established in provincial times. Canterbury Education Board reports in the early 1870s, for example, included the names of those awarded prizes for "Good conduct and diligence." Newspapers printed full reports of prize-givings, a practice which continued with the establishment of the national system and well into the twentieth century. The number of prizes given out at one ceremony could be quite considerable with first, second, and third prizes for each subject in each class and a host of special awards. To take a typical year, in December 1890 Christchurch pupils were awarded prizes for, inter alia, being head of the school, being dux, attendance, good conduct, neat exercise books, "best boy in school", "best girl in school", perseverance, homework, diligence, general improvement, industry, and proficiency. In some schools the list was extended to include almost everyone. Francis Bennett recalls that, "Every pupil received a minimum of three to four prizes for excellence in an imaginative range of subjects," thereby demonstrating to the assembled well-wishers a "gratifying equality of superiority."

This gratifying equality brought criticism. The North Canterbury inspectors commented in 1894 that:

A reprehensible feature of the competition between neighbouring schools has manifested itself in the direction of one striving to underbid the other in bestowing prizes on the slightest provocation.
A newspaper columnist snorted that lengthy prizegivings had become a bore for all but a few proud parents and that the books dished out were hardly genuine prizes: "Why not just call them Christmas boxes and be done with it?"  

There was also criticism of the concerts associated with prizes, either as part of the end-of-year festivities themselves or as a means of building up committees' prize funds. In the 1870s and 1880s such concerts typically featured adult performers, but there was a general move in the late 1880s and early 1890s for the children themselves to perform, and this was attacked for the inroads rehearsals made into school time and because the zealous thought theatrical performances demoralising in any case. An indignant Cantabrian condemned concerts because he had heard the sound of a piano from a school and on looking in saw a woman teacher holding up her dress and dancing a pas seul while teachers and pupils watched. And there was another danger: "We do not want to offer any inducement to our boys to become stage-struck heroes nor our girls ballet dancers."  

A further problem with prizes when they were not just Christmas boxes but were genuinely competitive was that they went to predictable pupils and did little to motivate the others. Such prizes, Robert Lee argued, were just another blow to those "already afflicted with poverty, physical infirmity, unlettered parents, and enforced irregular attendance."  

The staunchest opposition to prizes, however, was not based on practical considerations of effectiveness but on the same deep-seated attitudes that supported corporal punishment. Character was only formed in adversity. Virtue must be its own reward or it is no virtue at all. Punishment might be exemplary and character-forming but rewards could only sap the moral fibre. O'Sullivan took this characteristically dim view of prizes and rewards. Teachers, he grumbled, were expected to
provide "adulation for children that have done the simplest duty". He deplored both prize-giving and the award of certificates. It was "monstrous" that public schools were not "distinguished by honest work alone" and he declared flatly, "All this rewarding pampering, praising is wrong." Such dour views did not tell too much against school prize-givings which were a well-established custom, but they did tell against any attempt to explore alternative means of control by making rewards as common as punishments. Suggestions for schemes of contingency management today by parents or teachers still cause latter-day O'Sullivans to mutter "bribery" or "spoiling".

School discipline was a matter of deeply-held attitudes for views on school discipline are, when fully unfolded, views of human nature and of social reality and such core beliefs are not easily overturned by the urgings of a few liberal reformers. When education boards sought to regulate corporal punishment they were not questioning its use but simply seeking to eliminate what they considered particularly dangerous or unseemly practices. The prohibition on strapping girls, for example, was prompted by a concern for decorum and an unwillingness to have young men strap pubescent girls, not a distaste for corporal punishment simpliciter.

A detailed estimate of changes in the severity of school discipline over the first thirty or forty years of the national system would demand a great deal of work on individual schools' records, were relevant records available, but evidence from more general sources suggests that school discipline did become relatively milder. While teachers were successful in their objections to some features of education boards' regulations on corporal punishment the boards nevertheless stuck to their general aim of limiting corporal punishment and had their way in the long run. These regulations outlawed certain practices - caning on the buttocks, striking children on the head, etc -
and while teachers might have flouted the regulations they knowingly exposed themselves to disciplinary or legal action when they did so. There was also a tendency to draw a clearer line between misbehaviour and misunderstanding. The growing number of women teachers was also a factor. Plenty of women teachers strapped children, but it was not expected that women teachers would have to tussle with children; women teachers could more readily appeal to parents and committees without loss of face, and women were, in any case not only permitted but expected to display the feminine qualities of sympathy and tenderness.

Inspectors' reports in the early twentieth century suggest that discipline was by then somewhat milder. The Otago inspectors thought in 1900 that public opinion had changed on this matter: "Formerly it erred on the side of severity, it now errs on the side of lenity, if not laxity." In 1910 the South Canterbury inspectors felt able to write, "It is gratifying to find evidence from year to year of the establishment of a kindlier relationship between teachers and pupils."

By today's standards, however, school discipline was still strict and corporal punishment was still considered a normal part of schooling. Hogben predicted a speedy end to corporal punishment when he read a paper to an N.Z.E.I. meeting in 1883 with the fate of his colleague Miller fresh in his memory. (Miller, head at Christchurch Boys' High, ran foul of parents and governors for his eccentric refusal to cane boys and he was dismissed for this and other faults.) Hogben condemned corporal punishment as "an artificial form of punishment, brutal at best", and he predicted that it would soon be "consigned to that limbo which contained so many other exploded notions of antique pedagogy." But this prediction was a rhetorical flourish rather than a sober estimation. Hogben caned boys himself as headmaster at Timaru High School, and as Inspector-General he took no firm steps to make his own prediction correct so that corporal punishment was always at hand in
most schools. In 1912, for example, a Southland inspector urged teachers to strap less and display their straps less. Some teachers, he said, had straps permanently on display, on their desks or sticking from their pockets, and some infant mistresses carried their straps around their necks. And strict routines were still employed in many schools. The Grey inspector noted as late as 1908 that some pupils were still made to tiptoe into school as if into a shrine and he condemned this "crouching, hobbling, unnatural gait."  

School discipline is a subject which invites bold hypotheses linking early experience to adult attitudes; le vice Anglais, for example, has been attributed to beatings in British public schools. The common attitudes underlying discussions of school discipline and other social or political matters provide a rich field for speculation and there are some fascinating inconsistencies which might be explored. Why, for example, have New Zealand's soldiers so often been praised for the very qualities so many people wanted to knock out of New Zealand children: independence, a casual attitude to property, and lack of reverence for authority?

Any number of adult attitudes and beliefs might with some plausibility be attributed to early experiences of school discipline but that is a temptation to be avoided by drawing certain limited conclusions. School discipline was supported by widely held authoritarian attitudes towards children, and it transmitted these attitudes to the pupils themselves. The schools provided future teachers and parents with a clear, socially approved model of the treatment of children, and it is not unduly bold to link school discipline with the preservation of the punitive attitudes towards children examined by the Ritchies in their recent studies of child-rearing in New Zealand.
A consideration of school discipline in its more obvious aspects supports the commonplace observation that schools reflect the wider society. Schoolmasters and inspectors of schools had their own practical reasons for compelling order and obedience but their moral attitudes and their belief that the schools had a duty to form character as well as get children through examinations were shared by public, pulpit, press, and bench.

It can, of course, be argued that the claim that schools reflect society is either an empty truism or plainly false in some instances. Schools are routinely castigated for being out of step with the times or dealing in matters unrelated to children's present understanding or future needs. Hogben was mistaken in labelling corporal punishment an anachronism which would soon disappear, but the schools did embody many other practices of "antique pedagogy" and the syllabus was, particularly in the nineteenth century, supremely indifferent to colonial circumstances. There was, on the face of it, a sharp contrast between school discipline and the intellectual content of schooling in the extent to which they were in tune with colonial life and attitudes.

But this apparent inconsistency is largely dissolved in the disciplinary attitudes already explored in this chapter. Classroom material, whether relevant or not, provided a field for stern endeavour. On the view, indeed, that character could only be formed in adversity material which was too interesting, too readily absorbed, was morally suspect. This suspicion also extended to teaching methods which made learning look easy, and over the years "the New Education", "playway methods" and "Beebyism" have been ringingly condemned by conservatives because they sapped juvenile character. As Mark Twain put it, "It doesn't matter what you teach a boy as long as he doesn't like it." The Otago inspectors were rather more long-winded in making the same point in 1900.
The average child has little love for intellectual contest; real mental discipline is disagreeable to him... But without mental discipline there is no education, no adequate training in what constitutes a large part of life - namely the doing of disagreeable work willingly and cheerfully. What follows? That with the average child there must be compulsion. Effort, strenuous effort is the very essence of education. 91

The Grey inspector had similar fears that learning might be too easy.

Knowledge so easily acquired is just as easily forgotten... Self-reliance and determination are today as essential to success in life as they were fifty years ago, yet our present Sixth Standard pupils are woefully lacking in these characteristics. Is this the outcome of modern systems and methods of teaching? Time alone will answer that question. 92

There could hardly be any clearer demonstration of the importance attached to character-formation in schools than this suggestion that the schools should be handicapped in their intellectual work in order to serve their moral and disciplinary mission.
Notes to Chapter 6


14. *AJHR*, E-1B, 1881, p.34.


23. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.488.


27. AJHR, H-2, 1879, p.69.

28. ODT, 18 October 1889.

29. LT, 28 April 1894.

30. CP, 7 August 1893.

31. AJHR, E-1B, 1898, p.47.

32. LT, 28 July 1893.

33. LT, 16 February 1896.

34. LT, 14 July 1898.

35. NZSM, August 1898, p.3.

36. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.141-2.


40. LT, 6 June 1914.

41. LT, 18 April 1913.

42. NZSM, June 1903, pp.170-1.

43. LT, 19 March 1891.

44. LT, 6 March 1894.

45. LT, 10 February 1890.

46. LT, 26 August 1891.
47. LT, 24 February 1898.
49. LT, 29 January 1914.
51. LT, 14 October 1890.
52. LT, 23 December 1897.
54. LT, 22 September 1908.
55. LT, 26 September 1908.
56. LT, 31 May 1894; 28 June 1894.
57. LT, 9 May 1894.
58. NCEB, Report for the Year Ending 31 March 1887, p.54; Report for the Year Ending 31 March 1894, p.48. LT, 21 April 1893.
59. LT, 13 July 1894.
60. LT, 5 November 1894.
61. LT, 4 January 1895.
62. NZSM, April 1899, p.130.
63. NZSM, August 1905, p.12.
64. NZSM, June 1905, p.167.
65. NZJE, July 1905, p.97.
66. LT, 7 September 1905. NZSM, September 1905, p.27.
70. Hurt, p.163.
71. LT, 31 March 1894.
72. CP, 24 June 1896.
73. LT, 25 September 1899.

76. See, for example, the Canterbury Board's report for 1872, p.61. Among those who won prizes for good conduct and diligence were William Brock who later became an inspector of schools for the North Canterbury Board and Charles Chilton who became, in due course, Rector of Canterbury University College.

77. *LT*, 20 December 1890.

78. Bennett, p.46.

79. *AJHR*, E-1B, 1894, p.22.

80. *CP*, 16 December 1893.

81. *LT*, 8 December 1894.

82. *AJHR*, E-1B, 1887, p.15.

83. *AJHR*, E-1B, 1881, p.5.

84. *AJHR*, E-1B, 1900, p.37.


87. *LT*, 4 May 1912.


91. *AJHR*, E-1B, 1900, p.37.

Chapter 7

THE MORAL PAYOFF FROM SCHOOL SUBJECTS

An analysis of the moral benefits that schoolwork conveyed, or was supposed to convey, might be organised in either of two ways. One might take a particular concern, e.g., patriotism, and trace it through the various subjects and activities which were designed, in whole or in part, to teach patriotism, e.g., history, geography, civics, the cadet movement, patriotic occasions, and the content of the early School Journal. Alternatively, one might examine the curriculum subject by subject considering the values and attitudes embodied in the methods and typical content of each. Most of the chapters which follow adopt the first of these approaches following themes like race, a sense of nationhood, religious issues, and patriotism through a number of subjects and contexts for a subject-by-subject analysis tends to repetition and undue complexity. But there is a place for a consideration of individual subjects, not to examine specific content but to look at the general moral benefits the study of a particular subject was thought to bring. A consideration of school subjects under this aspect illumines the moral purposes of public schooling, develops the disciplinary theme of the last chapter, and has been largely overlooked in Ewing's history of the curriculum.

There were, as chapter 6 recounts, those who saw all schoolwork as a field for stern endeavour and the development of determination and diligence. Any subject and any teacher keeping children's noses to the grindstone was to be commended and any subject or teacher failing to do so was morally suspect. In this stern, simple sense it did not matter
what you taught a boy as long as he did not like it; but there were, in
addition, particular intellectual and moral benefits to be gained from
studying some subjects and not others. These specific benefits figured
in arguments for the addition of specific subjects to the curriculum and
for the retention of traditional subjects when their place in the
curriculum was challenged. The defence of Latin in these terms when it
was moribund in schools provides the most recent example. Long after
Latin ceased to be a living language, and long after it ceased to be a
standard means of communication between the learned, it was held to
provide an unparalleled means of improving the memory and pupils' powers
of analysis and classification, powers they would then be able to apply
to any situation or problem.

This was a last ditch defence of Latin in the 1930s and 1940s but
in the nineteenth century the doctrine of "formal discipline" or the
"transfer of training" was an orthodoxy and it figured in textbooks on
school method into the early twentieth century. Selleck notes that
faculty psychology, the name by which this doctrine is now most commonly
known, can be traced back to Aristotle and that it is difficult to
summarise. There were however, three key assumptions on which
nineteenth century educationists were reasonably well agreed: the mind
operated through distinct powers or faculties; these faculties could be
trained and developed; once trained these faculties could be applied to
activities never attempted in the schoolroom. The analogy with physical
exercise and training is clear and, indeed, faculty psychology's critics
derisively labelled it the "mental muscles" theory of mind.

There was no agreement on the number of faculties there actually
were, but the various powers and habits cited by writers of texts on
school method can be divided into three sorts. There were, firstly,
faculties of mind in the stricter sense: memory, observation, judgement,
analysis, synthesis, etc. Secondly, there were the intellectual virtues:
care, precision, attention to detail and to evidence. Thirdly, there were the conventional moral and social virtues: honesty, diligence, obedience, punctuality, truthfulness, loyalty, sympathy, etc.

E.L. Thorndike has been credited with dealing faculty psychology a blow to which it eventually succumbed. Selleck, however, pursuing his historical researches in Britain rather than America, also credits John Adams's 1897 book, *The Herbartian Psychology Applied to Education*, with a major role in undermining faculty psychology on the other side of the Atlantic.²

In 1906, three years after his *Elements of Psychology*, Thorndike published *Principles of Teaching Based on Psychology* which attacked the doctrine of formal discipline in clear, straightforward language. The "superstition of formal training" was, he said firstly, belied by common sense observation.

It is clear that learning to attend to the cloth in the loom improves the power to attend to printed words or the anatomy of animals little, if at all; that improving in addition from two hundred to two mistakes per hundred examples does not reduce one's errors in judging character by ninety-nine per cent of their amount; that gaining the power to resist the temptation to steal has little influence on the power to resist the temptation to over-eat.³

Thorndike was also able to cite a considerable body of research which demonstrated that training students in neatness, accuracy, or speed in one context did not significantly improve their neatness, accuracy or speed in other contexts. He concluded that:

It is extremely unsafe to teach anything simply because of its supposed strengthening of attention or memory or reasoning ability or any other mental power; when a teacher can give no other reason for a certain lesson or method of teaching than its value as discipline, the lesson or method should be changed.⁴

In so far as there was any transfer it was only because the two situations had elements or procedures in common. Teachers who realised this would stop making grandiose general claims and would instead attend
soberly and carefully to the constituent elements of school subjects in relation to future, cognate activities. Thus Thorndike was quite prepared to see moral benefit in some school activities of a practical and realistic nature.

Athletic competitions may be a school of honour and justice; the school recess may be a training class in the social virtues of courtesy, sympathy, and good fellowship; habits of cleanliness of body and dress may be acquired in every school day. School banks for thrift, street-cleaning clubs for civic patriotism, school newspapers for teaching proper control of public expressions of opinion, and school contributions to charities, are samples of the many ways in which efficient teachers use school life for training in moral conduct.5

But he was sceptical of the moral benefits of school subjects.

The advocates of each school subject are fond of asserting that it not only gives valuable knowledge and habits of thought but also strengthens the will and enlightens the conscience. If we are to believe them arithmetic makes you truthful; science makes you patient; geography makes you love your neighbours in the Philippines as yourself; history makes you humble and brave and honourable; literature stirs every noble emotion and gives birth to all the virtues. There is no doubt that the primary intellectual work of learning the school subjects does produce secondarily certain moral results. But there is also no doubt that such statements as these given are gross exaggerations.6

Thorndike's attacks on faculty psychology were well received by educationists who had been nursing their own suspicions and reservations. The "Faculty-Theory", said J.J. Findlay in his 1902 Principles of Class Teaching, was false and had been killed by ridicule heaped on it by Adams.7 Bagley's, The Educative Process, also dismissed faculty psychology, citing not Adams but Thorndike and his experimental work on the transfer of training.8 There was, said F.H. Bakewell, a Wellington Inspector in 1912, not much on which educational experts agreed but they were pretty well agreed on "the fallacy of the theory of special faculty training".9

But one must not exaggerate the critics' success: the doctrine of formal training was by no means dead instantly and everywhere. Bakewell
condemned those who "on the strength of this exploded theory...make such an absurd fetish of arithmetic" and Hogben's 1904 syllabus claimed that children should be taught drawing "to quicken their perceptive faculties, and to train them in habits of accuracy and decision". And Selleck points out that faculty psychology was so deeply entrenched in educational thinking that a substantial group of reformers or "new educationists" were forced to argue their case on the basis of faculty psychology. (Manual training, discussed below, is a good case in point.)

Faculty psychology must not, of course, be credited with too much. The practical teacher of the nineteenth century took the syllabus as given and concentrated on getting children through it and through the inspectors' examinations without pondering very much on psychological theories. There were two distinct genres in books on education: historically, philosophically, and psychologically informed books such as Compiayre's History of Pedagogy or Bagley's The Educative Process and practical school method books such as Dexter and Garlick's Primer of School Method, Gladman's School Method, or Farnie's Manual of School Method. The second sort of book, much more widely read by teachers than the first, concentrated on the requirements set by syllabus regulations, inspectors' examinations and examinations for teachers' certificates rather than on the rout and rally of theories of education. But even if many teachers were quite ignorant of educational and psychological theory, if not positively antagonistic to "airy-fairy stuff", to use a current condemnation, they were, nevertheless still exposed to and affected to some degree by faculty psychology. It was, for one thing, a plausible, common-sensical notion and much in the mouths of inspectors, speakers on education, and leader-writers. It was also the one psychological theory clearly embodied in the practical texts on school method which many teachers did read, if only to cram for their
certificates. And it was clearly in the minds of those who constructed the syllabus regulations to which practical teachers paid such minute attention.

There is another sense in which faculty psychology should not be credited with too much; by no means all subjects and activities were justified thus. Sewing, for example, was included in the syllabus for practical reasons and there was no need to invoke faculties of mind to justify teaching girls such an obviously useful skill. And while considerations of formal discipline added to the case for other subjects they did not constitute the whole case.

Almost any subject or activity, however odd, might have been justified by appealing to some faculty or moral habit or other, but to justify something on the basis of formal discipline alone would have made one's choice look rather arbitrary. If all that could be said for Latin, for example, was that it trained the memory critics might have asked why the memory could not be trained by learning lists of Huntingdonshire cabmen. Why, indeed, poetry, and not push-pin?

But while the doctrine of formal discipline did not determine the curriculum it was an extremely useful doctrine in its place. It provided a ready answer to charges that the schools dealt in dated or irrelevant material, it sustained traditional content and methods, and it justified dealing with practical subjects in a schoolmasterly way. There were strong practical arguments for the inclusion of woodwork, agriculture, cookery, "dairy science", and horticulture in the school curriculum but in practice these subjects tended to become varieties of general science taught from appropriately labelled texts. In this form they were teachable in ways teachers understood, they were examinable, and they were cheaper. Thus in the 1880s the demand for technical education was met by making drawing a compulsory subject and by arguing that the faculties of judgement, estimating proportion, observation,
etc., and the habits of care, neatness, and diligence thus developed would be manifest in any subsequent manual work.

And of course a version of faculty psychology was particularly useful when it came to defending the schools from those who argued that godless schools could not teach morality. The ordinary school subjects could be paraded in reply to such charges along with the more plausible moral payoff from school discipline and codified games, savings banks and school cadets.

Arithmetic's place in the syllabus was justified by tradition and its obvious relevance to a wide range of adult pursuits. School texts, both British and New Zealand, had a strong commercial bias with great attention, especially in the higher standards, to profit and loss, stocks and shares, discount, partnership, the calculation of interest and the construction of invoices and accounts. There was a heavy emphasis on mechanical and mental work, on short-cuts and algorithms, and learning the complicated systems of weights and measures then in use so the pupils were thoroughly familiar with drachms, quarters, roods, poles, perches, links, leagues, tuns and gills.

Endless practice in mechanical work was designed to turn pupils into tireless, uniformly accurate calculators of the sort that businessmen demanded and so often charged the schools with failing to produce. Textbook writers tailored their works to such demands.

The purpose of the "long tots" at the end of the book will be obvious to the teacher and especially to the businessman who expects, and rightly, that every boy who comes to him seeking employment should be able to add a column of figures quickly and accurately. It is certain that too little attention has been given to this department of arithmetic.12

The chapter on arithmetic was almost always the longest in any textbook on school management (when it was not the one on discipline was) and arithmetic took up to one-third of the school day. Cheyne Farnie's specimen timetables in the 1890s allowed for seven to eight
hours per week of arithmetic in standard classes and for nearly six
hours per week in some infant classes.\textsuperscript{13}

The standard pass regulations were demanding and much could be
forgiven a teacher if his pupils offset their shortcomings elsewhere
with a good showing at arithmetic. In 1886 Hodgson thought that
spending one third of the school day on arithmetic was excessive; its
practical value was not as great as people supposed and he doubted its
value as mental training. But, he noted:

There is no other subject which makes so great a show - or, as that singular modern product, the man
of passes, would put it, gives so quick and sure a return as arithmetic\textsuperscript{14}

Gladman would have agreed with some of Hodgson's remarks, but not
all of them. Arithmetic offered a "means of developing one side of the
mind to a degree which no other ordinary school subject can." Very few
people ever had to use compound proportion, recurring decimals, or cube
roots in their "daily avocations" but:

Mathematics are learned, not so much for the practical worth of their facts as for the logical
processes through which the mind must pass in learning them. Mathematical study provides the
reasoning powers with suitable exercise, and thus strengthens them.\textsuperscript{15}

The 1904 edition of Garlick's \textit{New Manual of Method} contained an
impressive catalogue of mental and moral benefits. Arithmetic was a
fine aid towards building up the reasoning powers; it developed the
power of abstraction; it was an enemy to fallacies; it was a "fine aid
to concentration"; it intensified "interest of pursuit", and it brought
intellectual pleasure, a sense of wonder, and - with success - a
"healthy self-esteem".\textsuperscript{16} It is little wonder, in view of these
benefits, that arithmetic was so often given as homework and used as a
punishment.

Teaching arithmetic well was generally reckoned to bring more
intellectual than moral benefits but teaching it badly and failing to
stamp out copying posed a grave moral threat. Fearon thought that appeals to the pupils' honour and recourse to punishment were both useless when pupils copied. The only remedy was to arrange matters so that cheating was impossible.

It is marvellous what a reform is made in the arithmetic of a school when once steps have been taken to render copying impossible. Boys who have been inattentive, learn to attend; boys who have been in the habit of relying on others get the habit of self-reliance, and find themselves so much better and happier that it becomes no very great matter, with a little care and judgement to maintain that habit in them. And this change in their habits, as regards arithmetic, affects not only their progress in that subject but improves their capacity and their work in all the subjects taught in the school. 17

So too with spelling. Spelling improved memory and attention but, Garlick warned, the careless correction of spelling could lead to indifference, untidiness, laziness, cheating, untruthfulness, and loss of respect. 18 Strapping children for spelling errors was understandably common when it was so easy to attribute errors to moral faults rather than the difficulties of English orthography.

There was, it seemed, not much in the way of moral benefits to be wrung out of English grammar but strong claims for its mental benefits were necessary to justify such a formal, futile subject with such a traditional place in the syllabus. In an 1891 revision of the examination and inspection regulations Habens claimed:

The great value of grammar depends on its character as a science of elementary logic, as a study of the forms in which the processes of thought stand revealed. In this aspect it plays a very important part in the development of intelligence, and is pregnant with suggestions that may guide the pupil into the way of philosophical thought when his school days are over. 19

Enthusiasts for grammar were ready to rank it with arithmetic as a source of general mental discipline. "There is", proclaimed Mr W.D. Bean, headmaster of Kaiapoi, "nothing to equal it in its exercise of the reasoning or logical faculties." 20
Handwriting, like arithmetic, was of great concern to employers of clerical labour. There were practical reasons, before typewriters were widely used, for demanding neat, rapid handwriting of clerks but good handwriting was also taken to be a general indication of character and of merit. This was made clear in the 1905 regulations of the telegraph department.

It should be made clear to cadets and those expecting promotion from one class to another that the quality of the handwriting of the officer concerned will have much to do with his prospect of advance.  

It was also made clear to school-leavers in general that their handwriting in letters of application for jobs was very important and copybooks often included specimens of such letters. In 1898 the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution drawing attention to poor handwriting in schools. Mr Reece, the mover, said that forty lads out of fifty answering advertisements for jobs had to be rejected for poor handwriting and composition. (One member, predictably, explained that this was because handwriting was crowded out by the "ologies" and "isms".)

In a similar vein Thomas McKenzie, MHR, waved his son's copybook at a meeting of the Otago Education Board and moved, "That in the opinion of this Board the regulation requiring the teaching of erect writing be abolished as the same is quite unsuitable for commercial purposes." The wrangle over the respective merits of erect, or vertical, writing and sloping script was long-running and occupied both teachers' and employers' attention. In 1903 Thomas Menzies, a South Canterbury schoolmaster, wearying of the debate, undertook research to settle the question and presented his results to an N.Z.E.I. branch meeting. There was no doubt which was to be preferred; he had written to thirty "leading business houses" throughout New Zealand and nineteen of the twenty-three which replied preferred sloping writing.
Writing, Garlick declared, taught children to observe form and proportion, and to observe details; it trained memory, attention, and judgement and developed a sense of beauty and proportion. It also promoted "habits of neatness, care, and accuracy, which help to leaven the whole character". Bad writing was, according to Dexter and Garlick, a moral lapse, evidence of lack of consideration for others as well as carelessness and untidiness.

Handwriting was taken by inspectors and parents as a quick, convenient measure of the tone of a school so that copybooks were keenly scrutinised at inspection visits and often contained a style of writing markedly different from that in other books. The notion that handwriting is a measure of moral character is an old one and treatises on "graphology" are still being published.

One further connection between penmanship and morality should be noted: the selection of moral maxims as the "headlines" or specimens in copybooks. Whole classes could reap the benefit of copying out ten times "A stitch in time saves nine" or "Waste not, want not" and, on the same theory, individual malefactors might be set to write out fifty times some specific confession or injunction by way of punishment.

Geography could be readily classified as "Useful Knowledge" but teachers were also assured that it trained the mind generally. "It affords," said Garlick, "excellent opportunities for intellectual training; observation, imagination, memory and reasoning all being cultivated under its teaching." The chief moral benefits of geography, however, were to be found in the attitudes supposedly engendered by a wider knowledge of the world and its peoples. It is, however, difficult to see how the racial and nationalistic attitudes pervading most geography texts (see chapter 12) could, in Thorndike's words, "make you love your neighbour in the Philippines as yourself". Geography properly taught would, Farnie suggested, show children why
some nations were destined to servitude and others to be conquerors or aggressors; it should show that the Dutch had developed a "calculating prudence, a thrifty sluggishness" because of their situation on low, moist plains while Scots highlanders and the Swiss had become hardy, daring, impatient of foreign control, zealous in the defence of their liberty.27

History was, by common consent, the subject which gave the most scope for moral teaching. As Gladman put it, "Frequent appeals can be made to high principles, and to the noble instincts of the pupils, so that the history lesson may become a great means of moral training."28 Garlick took wing on this topic.

It calls forth feelings of patriotism. It stimulates the national pride, promotes a love of virtue, gives powerful object lessons against vice, and tends, rightly taught, to make good citizens. This ought to be its prime aim...Our sympathies are often called into active play, and anything which strengthens and develops sympathy is a valuable aid to social progress...It helps to brush away national prejudice by giving us some knowledge of other nations. Bias against and hatred and contempt for other nations are often the result of ignorance.29

In 1903 Miss E. Hodgkinson of Southland enlarged on the benefits of history. She claimed that, "Almost every lesson may furnish means of developing patriotism, admiration for courage and self-devotion, abhorrence of cruelty and falsehood, and love of the good and true," but she went on to suggest that history was particularly necessary in New Zealand.

In a new country like this, the influence of history is more needed than in an old one like England, where the venerable monuments of antiquity appeal to the eye and where old traditions and customs linger in the air.

The exclusion of religious instruction made history all the more vital.

Many children in New Zealand grow up wholly without religious instruction and apart from religious influence...As an increasing number of children are
likely to remain outside direct religious instruction there is all the more need (if we would not have them grow up in blank materialism) to utilise all educational subjects lending themselves to the culture of the imagination and the higher sympathies, as poetry, nature, study, and history.30

This emphasis on the moral purpose of history brought a great stress on exemplary biography. Garlick defined the objects of history by citing Carlyle’s dictum, "The history of mankind is the history of great men", and by quoting Froude’s statement that: "The object of history is to discover and make visible illustrious characters, and pay them ungrudging honour."31 In the preface to his Simple Studies in English History William Gillies suggested how such honour might be accorded: a portrait of John Hampden could, for example, be decked with laurels on the anniversary of his death.32 Chancellor notes a growing tendency in the later nineteenth century for British school history texts to feature soldier-heroes. Twelve of the thirty stories for the period 1688 to 1899 set down for Standard V in the 1899 British Code were on wars and soldier-heroes.33

Given the moral purposes of history, textbook writers felt themselves quite at liberty to put words into moral exemplars’ mouths and to embroider where history was silent. Invented incidents in the hero’s childhood were offered as proof of fixity of high moral purpose. An early issue of the School Journal, for example, contained three pieces on Horatio Nelson’s childhood to show that the great man had been a great boy. In one of these pieces the infant hero was asked if he had not been afraid. "Horatio’s eyes opened wide as he answered, ‘Fear, grandmamma! What is that?’"34

For New Zealand textbook writers James Cook provided a convenient cabinet of virtues.

Few more noble and useful lives are recorded in the whole of British history than that of James Cook. He had all the qualities which we like to think of as belonging to our race. He was brave, just, and merciful. He was honest and true; his word once
given was sacred. He also had a great regard for duty. He seldom failed in what he had undertaken, and all through his life he followed the advice of wise Solomon, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might." 35

The moral purposes of school history not only legitimated embroidered accounts of incidents and lives; they made fiction as valid as historians' work. Thus Farnie proclaimed that, "the novelist is the only true historian" and that works of historical fiction, e.g., those of Scott, Bulwer-Lytton, and Kingsley, would give pupils "a truer insight into the inner life of the times...than by merely confining their attention to the inner facts of history." 36

Garlick also recommended ballads by, inter alia, Cowper, F.T. Palgrave of Golden Treasury fame, Mrs Hemans, and Charlotte M. Yonge as well as the anonymous ballads "Chevy Chase" and "Robin Hood and Allan-a-Dale". 37

Although it was universally agreed that history was morally instructive and although its use to convey middle class moral attitudes was generally unquestioned there were some problems in teaching history. Were the right incidents and people presented to achieve the desired results? Cowham questioned the emphasis on captains and kings, battles, plots and intrigue. Pupils might well conclude, he pointed out, that, "the most certain path to renown is to take a prominent part in the butchery of thousands". Moral lessons and a sense of patriotism would be dearly bought if children were led to "applaud the utter want of self-restraint which all such conflicts exhibit". 38 This is not, of course, to question history's moral purpose, nor even the specific values and attitudes to be instilled. It was to suggest a different account of what exactly had made Britain great and secured the undoubted moral advances of the nineteenth century. And that was, for Cowham, "statesmen and men of science, and of invention and discovery, men also who have become the leaders in great political, religious, and social reforms."
Such considerations led many textbook writers to add civilian moral heroes to their lists: Florence Nightingale, Elizabeth Fry, William Wilberforce, Michael Faraday, Isaac Newton, and David Livingstone were all favourite and quite unexceptionable moral exemplars. But consensus broke down when it came to political and religious reforms for it was assumed that no account of the Protestant Reformation or of Irish or Scottish history could fail to offend either Catholic or Protestant.

For this reason the Education Act included the provision that no child was compelled to be present at history lessons if that child's parents objected (see chapter 15).

Civics and political or social economy were both originally appendages to the history syllabus for senior classes. The 1878 list of approved texts included Dame Millicent Garrett Fawcett's Political Economy for Beginners and the syllabus regulations mentioned "the elements of social economy" as a topic for Standard VI history. Dame Millicent's book was hard going for children and was, indeed, later used as an elementary text at the University of Otago (there are alternative conclusions to be drawn here), but a few schools did make a stab at this part of the syllabus. In 1882, for example, Henry Hill noted that political economy was taught in Standard V and VI at Napier and he wished it more widely taught. "Its importance as bearing on the after-lives of the children," he said, "can hardly be over-estimated." 39

The 1885 syllabus revision listed government, law, citizenship, labour, capital, money, and banking as topics for Standard VI history, and these topics were repeated in later revisions with the note in 1894 that "great stress is to be laid on the elementary knowledge of social economy." 40 A New Zealand school text was produced surprisingly early but was predictably unsuccessful. In 1887 James Pope, Inspector of Native Schools, published, The State: the rudiments of New Zealand
sociology, a work which was originally meant for senior pupils in Native Schools but which Pope clearly intended to be used, once it was completed, by education board schools which took the syllabus seriously. There is no need to analyse this substantial work (327 pages) in any detail or to get excited about the transmission of the capitalist ideology to a captive audience for it was rarely used in education board or Native Schools.

That political economy was not taught more often was, however, a disappointment to those who wished to show children the way the economic world was. School readers, urged J.H. Baird, writing in 1895, should contain lessons on "sociology" so that pupils could understand the relative duties of rich and poor, and of master and servant, the law of supply and demand, the question of unions and strikes, and the rights and duties of citizenship in a free country.41

J. Ormond, a few years later, was quite explicit: "Teach the elementary principles of Political Economy, and you sound the death knell of the blatant agitator, for he cannot exist among an enlightened people."42 Similarly, R.E. Rudman, of the Thames High School, told the Cohen Commission that he had been told by the late Mr McGowan, sometime Minister of Justice, Mines, and Immigration, that "we would never stop strikes until we started teaching the pupils some elementary economics in every school in New Zealand."43

Some enthusiasts saw school savings banks as a practical means of attaining the ends others sought by teaching political economy from textbooks. The most notable enthusiast was William Dalrymple of Dunedin, leading light of The Society for Promoting the Introduction of the Penny Bank into the School as a Means of Cultivating Practical and Moral Education. This society seems to have been formed in Dunedin in late 1874 or early 1875. Dalrymple wrote to bankers and educationists in Britain and Europe for details of schemes there and the Dunedin
society published two editions, adapted to New Zealand, of Joshua Fitch's pamphlet on a scheme in Ghent, in Belgium, as well as two further pamphlets of its own in 1876. A detailed plan for savings banks in New Zealand schools was sent to Sir Julius Vogel, Postmaster-General, and in mid-1875 Vogel expressed his approval of the scheme and the society, greatly encouraged, sent out circulars to all school committees, the press, and teachers.

Dalrymple's plans, however, fell victim to a change of government and the end of the provinces and he was told that pressure of government business precluded pursuing his scheme. With the passage of the Education Act, however, he directed his efforts at John Hislop, Secretary of the newly formed Department of Education. At first both Hislop and the Chief Postmaster "stated with extreme regret, their utter inability to forward matters". But Dalrymple's persistence was eventually rewarded when a scheme was gazetted in March, 1879.

The scheme was complicated enough to put all but the most enthusiastic or dutiful teachers and committees off. A trustee and a treasurer had to be formally appointed by the committee and monthly statements made up by the teachers and sent to committees. The Department of Education would supply bankbooks and detailed ledgers for teachers to keep; no one could have more than £5 in a school account and those with more than £2 were to be advised to open a Post Office Savings Bank account instead.

The regulations included the note, "The operation of the bank shall not in any way interfere with school work," and most schools and teachers, in view of the complexity of the scheme, quite reasonably concluded that that ruled out a savings scheme in their school. "A teacher's work is emphatically to teach," said Donald Petrie, the Otago inspector, in reaction to the scheme, "and the less there is to interfere with the exercise of his proper vocation the better it will be for the country."
O'Sullivan, the Auckland inspector, had moral as well as practical objections to savings banks in schools.

They will tend to generate habits of hoarding, which are very different from habits of thrift. They will tend to promote a love of money for itself alone and in the majority of instances children cannot procure money except by begging it from their parents or friends or by still worse means.49

Dalrymple sought to promote the scheme in his last and lengthiest pamphlet on the matter. He cited successful schemes in Britain and Europe and educationists' glowing reports on them. He quoted a letter from Miss Ella Gould of the Otahuhu School describing a scheme which the headmaster had set up on his own initiative. This was to show how clearly some teachers saw the benefits of savings banks and also to demonstrate that women teachers like Miss Gould were perfectly capable of handling such schemes.50 The bulk of the pamphlet, however, was devoted to the moral and social benefits to be gained from school savings banks: thrift, foresight, independence, and an introduction to economics generally. Banking would also combat intemperance: "The boy accustomed to deny himself toffee and pastry and cakes, will, from habit, be quite equal at a later age to resist the allurements of drink."51

Savings would also cushion working men against loss of work and provide for their families in case of accident. Dalrymple reported that the widows of the men killed in the recent disaster in the Kaitangata mines proved to have no savings to tide them over for the dead miners had lived "hand to mouth...simply on a level with the brute creation." Only a few weeks before the accident, Dalrymple noted with horror, all but one of the miners had resisted the efforts of a life insurance salesman and some had actually said that the public would take care of their families if anything happened to them. Such an attitude, Dalrymple concluded sternly, amounted to a fraud against the charitable public and cruelty to one's family and could only be overcome by
education and the early establishment of honourable habits of prudence. 52

The force of Dalrymple's lay sermon was, however, lessened considerably by his pamphlet's concluding pages which set out the accounts of the now defunct Society. The Society had received £79 from subscribers, including the Governor, a number of commercial firms, Robert Stout, and Dalrymple's Dunedin friends and acquaintances, but it had spent £177 sending out thousands of pamphlets and circulars. The Treasurer of the Society would be "glad to acknowledge receipt of further subscriptions to defray the heavy balance on the debit side." 53

Neither Dalrymple's pamphlet nor the Department of Education's urgings cut much ice with teachers or local education authorities. The Nelson and Auckland Education Boards refused even to distribute the necessary circulars and documents and the Department's 1880 report commented that the other boards had shown "in a greater or lesser degree, want of sympathy with the scheme." 54 Only a few boards even mentioned it in their annual reports. The Otago Board noted in 1880 that there were two savings banks in its district and the North Canterbury Board reported that two of its schools planned to begin savings banks. The one notably successful scheme was at the little No-Town School in Westland where there were 25 depositors with aggregate deposits of a little over £20. 55

The Post Office introduced a much simpler scheme in 1881 whereby children stuck penny stamps on cards until they had accumulated twelve and the shilling was formally credited to their accounts. This modified scheme proved much more attractive to busy teachers and by 1883 there were 5,586 accounts. 56 The number of accounts, however, fell to 4,284 the following year and continued to decline steadily in the 1880s. By 1886 there were 3,172 depositors with total savings of just over £2,000 and the Department of Education sent out 4,000 circulars to schools and
distributed a further 40,000 circulars to the public through the Post Office. This may have contributed to a modest increase in total deposits but it did not halt the downward slide in number of accounts. In 1892 there were only 2,223 accounts with total savings of £2,402.58

Here and there committees and teachers made special efforts to promote youthful thrift. In 1891 the North East Valley School in Dunedin opened a school savings bank and school committee members addressed the pupils on its advantages with the result that "quite a rush was made by the youthful depositors" and a hundred accounts, to a total value of £4 16s. 8d., were opened.59 And schoolbooks and the School Journal put in a word from time to time on the benefits of saving. The third Southern Cross Reader, for example included a piece "Provide for a Rainy Day", describing and praising the stamp-sticking scheme.60 In 1906 the Invercargill South Committee, "with the object of encouraging thrift", not only opened a Post Office Savings Bank account for every child passing Standard V but primed the pump by putting a shilling in it.61

These local efforts and schoolbook injunctions, however, made little difference over all.

The reasons for the scheme's lack of success are obvious enough. It took up teacher's time and there was little spare cash in many homes in the 1880s and 1890s and even less in children's pockets. Struggling parents had other ways of teaching children thrift apart from handing over pennies to take to school and the financial dealings of some trading banks were not such as to inspire confidence in banking in any case. Where school savings-banks did flourish it may have been because they were, in fact, the parents', not the children's' banks. J.E. Strachan later recalled that this was the case at Albany Street in Dunedin in the early 1900s and that there were regular withdrawals from school savings banks each month on rent day.62
Civics as a subject had very much the same general moral and social aims as political economy: social stability, industrial peace, and a law-abiding, industrious population. But rather than justifying the ways of the hidden hand of the economic system to men it dealt with the origins and glories of parliamentary democracy and the British Empire and with the rights and duties of citizenship. Where civics was taught the most common text was H.O. Arnold-Forster's *The Citizen Reader*. Selleck describes this text as a blend of "imperialism, stoicism, and grumpy conservativism": it went down well. It was first published in 1886 and went through twenty-four printings in Britain by 1904. There were Scots, Australian and Japanese editions and in 1907 a New Zealand edition appeared. "Progressive teachers" in New Zealand had been using the British edition but the New Zealand edition included local references, portraits of notable men and views of public buildings to inspire "unity of sentiment and pride of possession among our boys and girls". Like the original, the local edition contained "many stimulating examples of heroic deeds from British history".

Being, in large measure, a distillation of the moral and social lessons of recent history civics commended itself greatly to the politically conservative but it was not, according to the Auckland inspectors, widely or well-taught.

Civic instruction is very often taught by special lessons, and very fair work is in many cases done in it; the work can seldom be considered good. In a number of schools Arnold-Forster's "Citizen Reader" is in use. It is the crowded condition of the syllabus that is really responsible for the failure to secure better work here.

While history was reckoned a prime source of object lessons, speaking figuratively, object lessons themselves appeared in the syllabus until 1904, when they were replaced by nature study, and provided as much scope for moralising as the metaphor suggests. Compayré traced object lessons back at least to Rabelais but it was more
generally agreed that they owed most to Pestalozzi and his pedagogy. Children were to be presented with physical objects to handle, taste, smell, and inspect in order to learn about them directly, to exercise the physical senses and to train the perceptive and judgemental faculties. Children would, for example, discover for themselves, under a teacher's gentle guidance, that coal was hard, shiny, brittle, and insoluble and that it burnt. They would thus acquire useful knowledge in a direct and enduring way and their minds, conceived as a conglomerate of faculties, would be furnished and developed.

Although object lessons were promoted as an antidote to second-hand, evanescent, bookish knowledge they went through an inevitable progression in schoolmasters' hands. Currie, for example, wrote in the 1860s:

It is not necessary or expedient to confine their attention to objects which lie within their sphere of observation, for they have imagination as well as observation and all things of foreign lands, wonderful animals, plants, and scenery which admit of being illustrated by things of the same kind at home, are "familiar" things for the purposes of this instruction.'

By the 1870s teachers were able to purchase sets of notes of object lessons which certainly did more to stimulate the imagination than pupils' powers of observation. One such work includes notes of lessons on the elephant, the tiger, the wolf, the llama, the cacao and caoutchouc trees, the cotton plant and the diving bell as well as the more familiar potato, lead pencil, chalk and coal. Its lesson on the ostrich noted that Heliogabalus once had the brains of 600 ostriches served up at a banquet, which is information of a somewhat different order from the brittleness of fine coal.

Both commercial publishers and, on occasion, business houses provided materials so that lessons on some exotic topics involved at least a specimen. In 1887 the Grey inspector noted "good work in object lessons in some schools using Oliver and Boyd's boxes of materials", and
in 1892 the Westland Board graciously acknowledged the receipt from Cadbury Bros. of "two boxes of specimens of cocoa in various stages of manufacture: as object lessons". (Some Canterbury pupils made themselves martyrs to Pestalozzi's principles when they were punished for eating these specimens to extend their gustatory experience.)

In most schools, however, object lessons became a series of lectures on a jackdaw collection of objects represented only by a chart, blackboard picture, or single specimen in the teacher's hands; and large classes tested teachers' disciplinary powers and ruled out Socratic interaction. Miss Guise, infant mistress at East Christchurch, for example, took an object lesson with 217 pupils under the inspector's gaze in 1889. The inspector did not really approve of this approach to object lessons but he noted with approval that, "order and attention were excellent". The wheel turned full circle when by the 1890s object lessons, conceived as alternatives to bookish instruction, could be handled by setting pupils to read such texts as Nelson's Royal Object Lesson Reader.

Currie, canny Scot that he was, was somewhat guarded on the moral benefits of object lessons.

Whilst it is no part of the design of the object-lesson to impart moral instruction, its moral aspects present themselves so obviously, that they should be diligently, though prudently turned to account."

Cowham was much less cautious. Object lessons strengthened such moral habits as "KINDNESS TO ANIMALS, SELF-APPLICATION, PATIENCE AND PERSEVERANCE, EXACT AND CORRECT STATEMENT, PROMPT ACTION, AND A REGARD FOR OTHERS." And a further benefit was that "The marvellous adaptability which many forms of animal and vegetable life develop in order to continue existence, awakens a reverential feeling toward the Creator of those existences."
This was pretty much the standard list of benefits to be found in all methods texts for practical teachers but published notes of object lessons contained a host of specific moral dicta. J. Walker, for example, suggested that children would see that bees are industrious, loyal (i.e., fond of their sovereign), fond of their homes, cleanly, sympathetic, fond of fresh air, early risers, and peaceful. This is, of course, an extreme example and not all teachers would have stuck faithfully to their guides to object lessons, but the significant point here is that everyone understood that in object lessons, as in history, teachers were licensed to moralise \textit{ad hoc}, \textit{ad libitum}.

Object lessons were not replaced by nature study until 1904, by which time the gap between theory and practice in most schools had long been apparent. "It is painful", wrote the Southland inspectors in 1890, "to see object lessons given where the object, or even a picture of it exists in the mind of the instructor alone." In the same year their Otago counterparts concluded, "It is plain that object-lessons are little-liked either by teachers or by pupils." When teachers did deal with familiar objects, however, they were often carrying coals to Newcastle as Grierson, the Auckland inspector, noted in describing a town-bred teacher's lesson on the sheep to a roomful of country children.

The young lady finds exercise for all her ingenuity and skill in restraining some enterprising youngster from jumping up and putting an end to the lesson by telling in a breath all that she intends to spin out over half an hour.

Nature study focussed on the more immediate environment and on plants and animals \textit{in situ}, it ruled out exotica like the llama and the caoutchouc tree; and it required the study of particular topics over time rather than presenting them in disconnected lessons. But its stated aims were still very much those of object lessons. It was, as a teachers' encyclopedia put it, "to increase the intellectual powers that
are already existent, and to see to it that they do not become diminished or atrophied by disuse or misuse.\textsuperscript{77} The two faculties supposed to benefit particularly from nature study were observation and description. The preface to an English text, used in New Zealand and specifically designed to cultivate the observing powers, claimed that botany had a vocabulary more copious, precise and well-settled than any other natural science and that botany was "thus unrivalled in the scope it offers for the cultivation of the descriptive powers."\textsuperscript{78} A 1906 New Zealand text took just the same line.

The value of botany in the school curriculum is that it trains the observational faculty in a way no other subject does, and is also an excellent means of teaching the art of clear, accurate, and graphic description.\textsuperscript{79}

Like history, nature study could offset the lack of religious instruction in schools because, like object-lessons, it demonstrated to children an order and beauty in Nature which could not be accidental. In 1904 the retiring President of the N.Z.E.I. spoke enthusiastically to the Institute's general meeting of nature study and he asked:

As the child learns to appreciate nature, to discover in everything about him, in seed, leaf and flower, rock and insect, a purpose and a plan, will not his thoughts be lifted to a Planner?\textsuperscript{80}

Like object lessons nature study was reckoned to teach children to be kind to animals. In 1904 a correspondent to a Christchurch paper deplored the fact that teachers were, in some districts, authorised by local bodies to pay out money for birds' heads. This, he said, contradicted the schools' message via nature study and reinforced "that careless cruelty towards the lower animals which is so prominent among our colonial boys."\textsuperscript{81}

Arbor Day was to nature study what school banking was to political economy, a chance to form the right attitudes through direct experience. The observance of Arbor Day, it was hoped, would teach the importance of trees, prevent the wasteful felling of native bush, make
children proud of schoolgrounds and streets they had beautified themselves, and generally foster sympathy with "Nature".

Arbor Day was the brainchild of Sterling Morton, Grover Cleveland's Secretary of Agriculture, and first officially celebrated in Nebraska in 1872. The idea spread throughout the English-speaking world. Canadian children celebrated Arbor Day in the 1880s and the Victorian Conservator of Forests made 20,000 trees available to that state's schools for Arbor Day 1890. Arbor Day did not become an official annual event in Victoria, however, until 1901 when the Education Department adopted a plan of choosing one district a year in which Arbor Day would be officially celebrated. Schools outside the designated area could celebrate Arbor Day too but those designated had to make an official report. One rather confused rural teacher reported that, "Arbor Day was observed by cutting down a number of small trees and saplings", but his colleagues read their circulars more carefully and Victorian children planted thousands of trees in the early twentieth century. 82

Arbor Day seems to have been rather more enthusiastically promoted in New Zealand than in Victoria in the 1890s. Some Auckland schools celebrated Arbor Day as early as 1891; 83 and in 1892 the Department of Agriculture sent a circular to boards and committees naming August 4 as Arbor Day, deploring the "reckless stripping of forest from hills and mountain sides", and urging tree-planting by pupils. 84

Many schools took up the suggestion enthusiastically. Arbor Day was observed for the first time in the Otago education district in 1893 with a holiday and a gathering at the railway station where the Mayor addressed the pupils who then sang the National Anthem before moving off to plant thousands of trees. 85 Education boards and government nurseries supplied trees to schools and schools lacking shelter accepted them eagerly. One rural Canterbury committee recorded with satisfaction
that three committeemen had planted 300 of the trees the North Canterbury Board offered in shelterbelts around the playground.\textsuperscript{86}

In Christchurch, where Arbor Day was first celebrated in 1892, City Council offices closed for the day along with government offices and the papers carried lengthy reports of schools' efforts.\textsuperscript{87} Government offices were closed on Arbor Day for the rest of the nineteenth century and in many places a general celebration built up around the schools' tree-planting efforts.\textsuperscript{88} Arbor Day 1895 was marked in Oamaru, for example, with a lengthy procession through the town of friendly societies, school children, bands and football clubs before some children went off to enjoy the rest of their holiday and others set off to plant trees.\textsuperscript{89} By the turn of the century, however, the Department of Agriculture felt it necessary to issue a reproachful circular.

The Government regrets to note that, notwithstanding the rapid denudation of our forests, the spirited interest evinced for the first few years after Arbor Day was instituted has not been maintained.\textsuperscript{90}

Sterling Morton died in 1902 and it looked as if Arbor Day in New Zealand might have died with him. In 1903 the New Zealand Schoolmaster reported that Arbor Day went unheeded by the majority of schools, although a few took a holiday without planting any trees.\textsuperscript{91} Most schools, it seems, had quite enough trees by then, and Arbor Day became a matter of local needs and enthusiasm. There was, for example, a minor revival of Arbor Day in Christchurch in 1905 with the formation of an Arbor Day League to promote tree planting on the Port Hills and along Harry Ell's beloved Summit Road.\textsuperscript{92} Only the senior boys, however, were sent off to clamber about the hills and in 1906 the Arbor Day League was forced to write to schools for help in paying off the debts incurred in its planting programme.\textsuperscript{93}

No Dunedin schools celebrated Arbor Day in 1908 and in 1911 the Lyttelton Times remarked that Arbor Day was more or less dead in
In 1912 Arbor Day observances in Christchurch were confined to the ceremonial planting of a few trees in parks and school playgrounds. This pattern was repeated elsewhere as Arbor Day became, when it was observed at all, a matter of speeches and special lessons rather than large-scale planting. In 1908 the Wanganui Education Board suggested an Arbor Day programme in which actual tree-planting occupied a very limited place. The Board suggested singing the National Anthem, saluting the flag, addresses, songs, and recitations, decorating the classroom walls, tree-planting and a social function to conclude.

The reasons for the rise and fall of Arbor Day, and for its reduction from a series of substantial plantings to a ceremonial occasion or a series of special lessons, are obvious enough. Most of the larger schools had been established for a number of years and were well-provided with shelterbelts and as many ornamentals as local taste dictated. Committees which fretted over the cost of seedlings for shelterbelts in the nineteenth century fretted over the cost of trimming and topping them in the twentieth century. And many present day parks, reserves, and avenues were well-established by the early twentieth century. In order to plant commemorative trees in 1897 to mark Victoria's record reign the Wellington city fathers had to order the well-established trees along the Thorndon esplanade ruthlessly thinned out.

In some schools Arbor Day had an essentially farcical nature. Trees which were solemnly planted on Arbor Day were neglected thereafter and often perished. J.R. Sutcliffe, who went to Marton District High School, later recalled the complete futility of Arbor Day there. Pupils would be asked to bring trees and dozens of saplings would be uprooted from the bush and brought to school. The headmaster would assemble the school and plant a likely-looking specimen after a suitable speech. Sutcliffe concluded;
Lacking a protecting fence it soon expired and joined its unhappy colleagues on the woodpile. I attended seven Arbor Day celebrations at that school, but cannot remember one tree that survived. And during that time no less than three to four hundred young forest trees must have been sacrificed on the Arbor Day altar.  

(In 1893 the Akaroa committee tried to ensure against this sort of thing by promising prizes for children whose trees grew best over the next twelve months, but such is human frailty that most trees died when children poured sea-water around their rivals' trees.  

The School Journal kept Arbor Day alive to some extent by including suitable poems, articles, photographs and stories in its July numbers. The July 1909 issue, for example, included extracts from Pember Reeves's "Passing of the Forest", photos of denuded hills in China and a school garden in Masterton, a prose hymn to the ancient forests of England, a brief history of Arbor Day, and the suggestion that Arbor Day might be celebrated in North Island schools by planting trees and flowers around the graves of those who had fallen in the Maori Wars. This material, of course, simply made it even easier to mark Arbor Day in a schoolmasterly way with reading lessons rather than practical silviculture. And if the nature study programme in Hogben's 1904 syllabus was faithfully followed there would be much less need to set aside one special day a year on which to impress upon children the beauties of nature.  

Nature study was also seen as an important stepping stone to the study of agriculture in the senior standards in that it provided a general introduction to the processes of plant and animal growth and a general orientation towards the land. Agriculture texts appeared in the 1878 list of approved texts for schools, presumably because someone somewhere was using them. The best-known early text was Johnson's Catechism of Agricultural Chemistry, which was first published in 1844 and in its 57th edition by 1863. New editions were still appearing in the 1890s by which time the catechism consisted of 439 questions
beginning with "What is agriculture?" ("Agriculture is the art of cultivating the soil.") Johnson's book was hard going and it was written for the northern hemisphere but as late as 1894, at a conference of inspectors, Robert Lee of Wellington recommended it as a text for schools.

The 1887 syllabus regulations allowed agriculture to be substituted for elementary science in Standards IV, V, and VI but neither science nor agriculture were given much attention for they were not subject to individual examination and teachers were ill-equipped to teach them. Here and there, however, enthusiastic teachers or local experts organised agricultural work in the 1880s and 1890s. The New Brighton School in Christchurch for example, with Mr Cockayne's help, established a school garden in 1894 on scientific lines with each plant labelled and numbered, charts of plantings and records of progress.

There was, in the 1890s and early 1900s, however, a growing insistence from some groups and some educationists that the schools should teach agriculture. Agriculture courses would provide plenty of scope for practical work in arithmetic, science, writing and spelling; school gardens would generally improve the look of schoolgrounds and foster pride in them; and the knowledge gained could only benefit a primarily agricultural country. In the early twentieth century most education boards appointed agricultural instructors to devise school schemes of work, to train teachers, and to travel about the board's district giving demonstration lessons and advising on school gardens. This move was warmly supported by rural lobbies. The South Canterbury Farmers' Union helped meet the cost of that Board's first agricultural instructor for a year or two; Agricultural and Pastoral Associations in a number of districts offered prizes for school gardens and pupils' gardens and trial plots of potatoes at home; and rural MPs routinely praised schools which offered agriculture.
Agriculture, however, did not spread through the school system nearly as far or as fast as its advocates wished. The district high schools which Hogben hoped would become characteristically rural schools were under local pressure to prepare children for public examinations in traditional subjects; properly taught, agriculture was time-consuming and expensive, and it was often reduced to classroom teaching from some suitably titled text. And many rural dwellers openly derided townie teachers' efforts at teaching agriculture to country children. The predictable response to this last was that agriculture brought general, lasting benefits by fostering desirable attitudes. School gardens had been commended in these terms for many years. In 1892 John Smith, a Westland inspector, lavished praise on the teacher and pupils at the Kaniere School who had laboriously covered old dredge tailings with soil to make a school garden. This, Smith said, promoted an innocent, useful amusement and it fostered habits of industry, order, and neatness, and respect for the rights and property of others.102 Thirty years later Oscar Banner, the Wanganui Education Board's agricultural instructor, commended school gardens in the same terms. They begat a suitable regard for honest labour, they trained pupils in accuracy and direction of observation, they kindled "interest in ownership" and they worked against vandalism.103

The greatest benefit to be expected from agriculture and from school gardens was, however, the general orientation of pupils towards country life with all its moral advantages. The moral advantage of rural over urban life has long been an article of unexamined faith for a large number of New Zealanders. Farmers were the "backbone of the country", the true source of New Zealand's wealth; towns were essentially parasitic on the country. Towns were necessary evils at best, if farm produce was to get to market, and they attracted loafers and parasites and demoralised and rendered effete those who lived in them.
Critics of the state schools added the "drift to the cities" to the list of evils caused by an unduly extensive, unduly bookish education system. "Ologies" and "isms" unfitted children for honest labour and led them into essentially unproductive clerical occupations and into a swollen, costly Civil Service propped up by taxes wrung from real producers.

The Auckland Education Board's scheme for agricultural education would, declared James Parr, improve school grounds, and help to correct the unfortunate drift from the country to the town, an inevitable result of a "town-made curriculum". The chairman of the North Canterbury Board advocated agriculture in similar terms.

The Board wished to make the subject attractive to both boys and girls in order to lessen in a measure, the tendency to migrate to the cities. There were large numbers of boys and girls whose chief ambition was to get into the Government Service or into offices. The Board was satisfied that many of them would do much better on the land.

The Lyttelton Times had earlier applauded the Board's appointment of an agricultural instructor.

The right kind of agricultural education will do more than anything else to arrest the tendency of our young people to congregate in towns and enable them to become useful and contended citizens.

Domestic economy was also expected to produce useful contented citizens by providing useful skills and reforming social attitudes. Girls' education will be discussed in chapter 22 and there is no need to go into detail regarding domestic economy or sewing here. It should, however, be noted that these subjects were, by the end of the nineteenth century, bracketed with handwork for junior classes and woodwork for senior boys under the general label "manual training", and this conglomerate subject had a conglomerate rationale.

Sewing and domestic economy for girls were justified by their immediate relevance to women's role and their contribution to social and domestic well-being. The domestic economy texts gazetted in 1878 were
British and clearly aimed at the British working classes. Perhaps the best known of them, William Tegetmeier's *Scholar's Book of Household Management*, aimed to make working class girls reliable servants and thrifty, clean housewives. Domestic economy showed the poor how to make a little money go a long way by economy and self-restraint. It warned girls, for example, not to buy furniture from, "talleymen who call at working men's houses, and sell showy and inferior goods to be paid for by small payments of sixpence or a shilling a week." And it showed how to prepare nutritious meals from cheap cuts of meats and judiciously selected cheap vegetables. Quite clearly the teaching of domestic economy was a partial alternative to outdoor relief or wage rises, just as political economy was an antidote to strikes.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the New Zealand rationale for domestic economy was focussed much more on sex than on class differences. It was seen as preparing all girls for their future roles as wives and mothers, not something chiefly aimed at the feckless working classes.

Domestic economy and sewing for girls were easy enough to justify when it was assumed that all girls would, or should, become wives and mothers, but woodwork for senior boys and handwork for younger children demanded a more complex rationale. Of course all women should be able to cook, but not all boys became tradesmen and only a few became carpenters while plasticine modelling or work in cardboard had even less obvious relevance. What did modelling, paper-folding, stick-laying or making fancy joints in woodwork have to do with genuine, adult occupations? The answer was that manual training and junior school handwork were justified by the mental training they provided, the moral habits they engendered and their contribution to hand-eye co-ordination and overall neurological development.

As a British writer put it:
The primary object of Educational Handwork is not the mere acquisition of manual dexterity, but rather the acquisition of a mental and moral equipment. It is a training by, not in, the use of tools.108

Manual training or handwork counteracted the bookishness of the traditional curriculum and oriented children towards manual rather than clerical work, and, according to their advocates, developed a host of specific moral habits and mental faculties. Thus a teachers' text on carton work claimed:

The objects of the occupation are to train the child in habits of order, exactness, cleanliness, and neatness and to give dexterity in the use of such articles as scissors, rule and pencil.109

An article in the New Zealand Journal of Education, reprinted from a U.S. journal, assured readers that paper-folding taught young children "love for the beautiful, therefore love for the good, neatness, accuracy, carefulness, patience, honesty, industry, unselfishness, and helpfulness to others."110 A Departmental pamphlet on modelling claimed that there was, "no other exercise better calculated to cultivate accurate observation, neatness, manual dexterity, artistic taste, and appreciation of the beautiful in form."111

There were no limits, it seemed, to the benefits of handwork: plasticine could even save you from strokes. Mrs Harbutt's Plastic Methods for Plastic Minds, a manual on the use of the material her husband had invented, included a preface which cited Sir Charles Reed's belief that the use of both hands and the resulting symmetry of development prevented apoplexy. And what better designed to develop both hands and both eyes than modelling in plasticine?112

Plasticine, which could be re-used, was appealingly economical and plasticine work figured along with brushwork, paper-folding, carton work, raffia work and wirework in progressive schools. Mrs Harbutt's book explained how to produce chastely classical work in plasticine: bunches of grapes, medallions, flowers, and so on, and teachers seeking further instruction in plasticine work had a chance to see and hear
Harbutt himself in 1909. In Christchurch, for example, he gave demonstrations at both the Normal School and at Whitcombe and Tombs's bookshop. 113

Woodwork for senior boys was not, according to E.C. Isaac the Departmental inspector of manual training, to produce artisans.

He who undertakes manual training in the school must have in view the full and symmetrical development of the powers of hand and eye as servants of the brain. His aims are briefly these: (a) the cultivation of faculties of observation and perception; (b) the cultivation of habits of order, accuracy and neatness; (c) the training of the eye and the development of a sense of form; and (d) generally the cultivation of habits of industry, perseverance and patience. 114

Educational writers able to produce that sort of justification for simple carpentry had little trouble demonstrating that singing, or "vocal music" was no mere pastime or frill but brought its own moral and social benefits. Singing was not, however, a "pass" subject and few teachers were either competent to teach singing in the nineteenth century or moved to do so beyond training children in one or two songs for the inspectors' benefits. In 1894 the North Canterbury inspectors commented, "Vocal music, which at one time promised to become general, has gradually receded into the background, and finds a place in few but our larger schools." 115 The situation did not improve rapidly and in 1903 Kaiapoi was commended as "one of the few schools in which vocal music is taught on a systematic plan." 116 To teach singing systematically was to teach the tonic sol-fa system devised by John Curwen, a British clergyman who was charged in 1841 with finding a good method for teaching singing in Sunday schools. Curwen became a publisher, founded the "Tonic Sol-fa College", and produced endless editions of Curwen's Standard Course, the most widely used singing text in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 117 Dutiful teachers could labour through Curwen's scheme and those who took to it kindly could obtain Curwen's imprimatur by post. The principal of the Dunedin
Training College proudly reported in 1884 that eight students under Mr George Braik's instruction had gained the Tonic Sol-fa College's elementary certificate of competence in teaching singing.

Singing, according to Garlick, disciplined because it promoted unity and "consensus of will" and it promoted moral virtues. As Curwen himself put it, when a child sings "almost insensibly he is wont to join in the feeling he finds it so pleasant to express." Nineteenth century school songs were predictably moralistic, particularly those in Curwen's own publications.

Life is short, too short for strife;  
Put a world of loving in it.  
When there's good that can be done,  
Do not wait, but just begin it.

Music also gave people a cheap, innocent source of amusement and the dour O'Sullivan defended the Auckland Education Board's employment of drawing and music teachers on these grounds.

It seems to me an eminently practical thing to imbue a people with a taste for refined and intellectual pleasures; pleasures which cost little, which leave no sting behind, and which act as safeguards against coarse, hurtful, and costly enjoyments.

Similarly, Samuel McBurney, principal of the Ladies' College in Victoria, urged the moral benefits of singing while touring New Zealand to promote the tonic sol-fa method. It was particularly important for girls for a musical mother would mean a musical family, "fond of home, gathered around the social circle, and not needing to look beyond themselves for the chief pleasures of life." 

Sport, like music, was more than a mere pastime in teachers' hands or estimation. What is now termed physical education was highly valued for its moral effects. These days physical education includes both repetitious physical exercises and codified games, but in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a much sharper distinction between drill, a school subject, and games and athletics which were slower to win a place in the primary school curriculum.
Physical drill's origins were, as its name suggests, military; and its aims were, particularly in the nineteenth century, primarily disciplinary. The 1885 syllabus regulations for example, referred to "drill and disciplinary exercises". Hodgson, the Nelson inspector, praised drill as, "a potent moral as well as physical factor in bringing up an alert well-poised and readily obedient race." Drill, Garlick promised, would bring proper habits of subjection and a love of order and it would check absent-mindedness and inspire prompt obedience.

By the early twentieth century, however, there was a second clear theme in syllabuses and in method books' pronouncements on drill, namely drill as a scientific, even quasi-medical business which assisted normal physical development and could, judiciously applied, remedy physical defects. Hogben's 1904 syllabus was the first to include a section on physical drill. Exercises, to be performed in strict unison, were set out in precise detail; slow marching was to be at 75 paces to the minute and double marching at 180; and when Indian clubs were used children were to open ranks on the plan set out in the Imperial Handbook of Infantry Training. But the scheme also urged teachers to inspect children for defects of posture, sight and hearing and to include warming-up exercises to avoid strain. Twelve-year-olds with a chest expansion of less than two inches were to be given special exercises to promote deep breathing through the nose and the proper development of the torso.

Codified games and athletics brought rather different moral benefits from drill. Drill was essentially a primary school subject; team sport was part of the ethos of the English public schools. One had been originally designed to teach working class children to be obedient to external authority; the other fostered co-operation but also provided opportunities for initiative and leadership.
Team games were, as chapter 4 described, first promoted in primary schools as part of the movement to tame the playground. At first this simply meant games at playtime and lunchtime with some children staying after school if they were not required at home straight away. But school games and athletics soon became much more than just a convenient way of suppressing bullying and loose talk; they were promoted for their positive moral benefits and to enhance schools' prestige; teachers coached teams for interschool rugby and cricket matches and large-scale athletics meetings were being organised for primary school children in some centres by the early 1900s.

The North Canterbury Public Schools Athletics Association, for example, was set up at the turn of the century and ran its first major meeting at Lancaster Park in November 1900. Soon crowds of more than ten thousand were passing through the turnstiles at Lancaster Park on such occasions and as the time for the annual meeting drew near groups of young hopefuls would be seen practising in parks, streets and playgrounds and begging passers-by to, "put the clock on us, Mister."

Primary schools' interest in team games and athletics brought little or no grumbling about fads, frills, 'ologies or isms. Sport was reckoned to bring enormous moral and physical benefits and it is difficult, indeed, to think of any moral or social benefit not claimed at one time or another for organised games. Dr William Chapple, for example, urged games in schools for the advancement of the race, to offset an undue inclination in the young to clerical pursuits, and to prevent larrikanism by enabling lads to discharge excess vitality safely. 128

This last was a popular argument. Sport would not only tame the playground but reform boys' use of their spare time generally. Thus in 1898 the Lyttelton Times reported a case in which a girl of seventeen sued a boy of eighteen for the maintenance of their child. The Times editorialised:
A healthy body is one of the greatest helps towards a wholesome mind... A healthy boisterous boy cannot be expected to be quietly guided by moralising. In his case a cricket bat is a more eloquent teacher than a tract, and a football than a volume of sermons. 129

But there was more to games than that; they were far more than the moral equivalent of stamp-collecting or a cold shower to flush away lust. Games provided a showcase for colonial physique and character, and New Zealand teams’ successes abroad enabled all New Zealanders to think a little better of themselves. What better way of showing how British New Zealand was and how well the British race had developed here than by beating the British at their own games?

And they were British games, not American or local. There is, for example, no New Zealand equivalent of Australian Rules, and although rounders was popular with children efforts to form baseball teams for adults around the turn of the century soon fizzled out. But not all games played in Britain were equally popular in New Zealand. Why rugby so much and soccer so little? Why did New Zealanders, so often descended from labouring or lower middle class emigrants, take so much pride in their prowess at a game which originated at an English public school? Partly, Phillips suggests, because New Zealanders liked to think of themselves as possessing precisely those qualities of chivalry, energy and physical endurance which were supposed to be the hall-mark of the British upper classes in peace and in war; partly because the New Zealand male stereotype was conceived to some extent by upper class Englishmen whose praise for our troopers in South Africa and for the 1905 All Blacks was such sweet music to colonial ears. These men, Phillips points out, were often products of the English public schools. 130

But there was, of course, a much more direct connection between the playing fields of Rugby and the rugby fields of New Zealand, and that was the New Zealand secondary school working to reproduce what it
took to be the distinguishing features of the best British schools: "houses", even when there were no boarders, prefects, and school games, particularly cricket and rugby. Very few British public school boys stooped to become primary school teachers but boys who had been to New Zealand high schools did, and they took with them their enthusiasm for games and for rugby in particular.

In the nineteenth century the customary way into teaching was by spending a period as a pupil teacher, formal training in a teachers' college was rare, and the majority of pupil teachers were recruited from the senior primary school. A growing minority of nineteenth century pupil teachers, however, had some secondary education, usually as a result of winning an education board scholarship, and the advent of free secondary schooling for the able in the early twentieth century meant a considerable increase in the proportion of primary teachers with secondary schooling.

Secondary schools' published lists of past pupils record a much wider range of occupations among their twentieth century entrants than among their nineteenth century entrants. In the nineteenth century secondary schooling was largely restricted to those whose parents could afford the fees and incidental expenses, and the middle class nature of secondary schools was reflected in the high proportion of nineteenth century pupils who entered the professions. Free places in the twentieth century brought an influx of children of much more humble origins and a great increase in the numbers of old boys who became skilled tradesmen, shop employees, clerks and teachers. There were, for example, 65 entrants to Southland Boys' High in 1900-1901, 3 of whom became teachers. In 1902-03 there were 114 entrants, 16 of whom became teachers. 131

When the training colleges were re-opened and re-organised in 1905, they included considerable numbers of students with secondary schooling in addition to those who had gone straight from Standard VI or
VII to a pupil teacher's job. Of the 216 students in 1906 56 had Matriculation or some higher qualification and many of those without Matriculation had had some secondary schooling.132

The teachers' colleges in the early twentieth century not only included many students who had been to secondary schools and exposed to organised games there, they also encouraged sport themselves. In 1907 Auckland Training College, under the hearty H.A.E. Milnes, offered tennis, swimming, hockey, boxing, and shooting and training college students also joined university cricket and football teams.133 Dunedin Training College only provided tennis on its own limited premises, but its students were well-represented on university teams, some of which consisted very largely of training college students.134

In addition to the chain of influences sketched out in the preceding paragraphs the cult of games was preached to children in print, most notably in the school stories which were such a feature of the Boys' Own Paper and its imitators. School readers and the School Journal did not include school stories in their developed form, but they made incidental references to the cult of games and the moral lessons of the playing field. In 1907, for example, the School Journal printed the words of the song "Forty Years On" which expressed the moral life in sporting terms.

God give us bases to guard or beleaguer,
Games to play out in earnest or fun;
Fights for the fearless and goals for the eager,
Twenty and thirty and forty years on!

The same issue printed part of a letter from a New Zealand Rhodes Scholar under the heading "Manliness in Sport". The anonymous New Zealander assured his readers that British public schools turned out "a fine class of man" as demonstrated by their conduct at games: "If a man is off-side - well, he gets on-side."135

The schools, clearly, had a considerable influence on the growth of New Zealand sport and in determining which sports were the best-known
and the most popular. To claim that the schools were a decisive influence would be claiming too much, but they were certainly a major source of rhetoric about the character-forming benefits of team games. To learn games at school enabled the attentive to acquire a useful stock of fine phrases about games and the schools preached high ideals of sportsmanship, courage and team spirit.

School sports did not, unfortunately, always teach the pure sentiments and lofty ideals proclaimed at prizegivings or in the School Journal. Healthy competition could become bitter rivalry and the much-vaunted team spirit a narrow "them versus us" attitude. There were occasional complaints of rough play and foul language at schoolboy rugby games and there were bitter complaints that some children had an unfair advantage in cycle races at Lancaster Park sports meetings because they had been given expensive racing machines. But these lapses were crimes against sport, not telling arguments against it; the higher moral purpose of team games was taken for granted.

Looking back over the subjects dealt with in this chapter one is left with the impression that if even half of them had done what was claimed for them New Zealand children would have been paragons indeed. One is also powerfully reminded of more recent attempts to inculcate various desirable attitudes by an "integrated approach" so that English, social studies, science, physical education, music, and even mathematics would all contain elements of health education, moral education, sex education, taha Maori, "peace studies" (perhaps), and something on drugs, alcohol, and tobacco. What would, by accumulation, result from a series of overlapping "integrated approaches" sounds pedagogically and organisationally implausible, and one need not be too much of a cynic to conclude that an integrated approach can amount to no more than an elaborate avoidance.
Could not much the same be said of the elaborate moral rationale for the nineteenth century and early twentieth century curriculum? A well-prepared teacher sitting an examination for a Departmental certificate could, no doubt, have written a splendid essay on the moral aspects of the curriculum, covering much the same material as this chapter, but back in his classroom he would probably not have given the wonderful character-forming properties of, say, English grammar, much thought. For most teachers, particularly when the standard pass system was in full force, the important thing was to get children through formal examinations, and grammar was examinable while the extent to which a child was disposed to philosophise in adult life was not.

And if a teacher had kept the moral objectives of syllabus statements and method texts steadily in view and shaped her practice accordingly, what would have been the effect?

No doubt it would have been less than the method texts suggested. Faculty psychology claimed too much and so did the sports-minded; some subjects were late in coming to schools and some of them, not being examinable, got much less class time than others.

Clearly, the "moral psychology" of school subjects was overstated in method texts and sometimes it was downright implausible; just as clearly, many teachers ignored or misunderstood the detailed moral rationale for specific school subjects in their syllabus regulations and method texts. But this does not mean that moral rationales for school subjects were just empty, after the fact, pieties. Some activities were introduced primarily for moral reasons, school games and school banking are prime examples, and some standard subjects were shaped very largely by moral purposes, history and object lessons for example. And while teachers may not have taught grammar with a view to creating a philosophical disposition they often had specific moral purposes in mind when they took particular subjects, paying attention, for example, to
sportsmanship and co-operation when they took games or stressing kindness to animals in nature study lessons.

And while teachers did not operate day-to-day on the full-blown moral rationale for routine school subjects they and the inspectors, nevertheless, shared a simpler, working view of the moral habits these subjects should form. Inspectors expected school work to show care, industry and patience and held teachers accountable when it did not. No matter how much had been covered or how well children had mastered it a teacher could expect to be criticised if the children's work was not neat and clean as evidence of their diligence and obedience. Few teachers may have deliberately set out to milk routine school subjects for the specific character-forming properties method texts claimed for them, but most teachers saw most lessons as lessons at least in neatness, obedience and industry.

Most teachers would probably have agreed that there was a further sense in which all lessons were necessarily moral lessons because the teacher's own speech, manners, dress, and standard of personal cleanliness were always before the pupils as examples. In this sense a hard-headed teacher who claimed to teach arithmetic and nothing more when he taught arithmetic was, nevertheless, providing some sort of moral lesson; in this sense a teacher was never off duty, in or out of school. Teachers' social position and the expectations of teachers' conduct at school and in public shared by parents and the educational authorities are the subject of the next chapter.
Notes to Chapter 7

2. Selleck, p.45.
5. Thorndike, p.185.
9. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.521.
10. NZG, 1904, p.1076.
14. AJHR, E-1B, 1886, p.27.
19. NZG, 1891, p.1125.
22. LT, 24 February 1898.
23. NZJE, August 1906, p.124.
24. NZSM, April 1903, p.131.


27. Farnie, pp.127-8.


34. SJ, Part I, October 1907, p.87.


40. NZG, 1885, p.775; 1887, p.885; 1891, p.1130; 1894, p.949.


42. J. Ormond. Education in New Zealand. NZELM, November 1899, p.115.

43. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.116.


46. Dalrymple, p.6.

47. NZG, 1879, pp.364-5.
49. AJHR, H-2, 1879, p.72.
50. Dalrymple, pp.11-12.
51. Dalrymple, p.17.
52. Dalrymple, pp.16-17.
54. AJHR, H-1A, 1880, p.17.
55. AJHR, H-1A, 1880, pp.77 and 82.
56. AJHR, E-1, Session I, 1887, p.xxiv. Butchers says there were 5,586 accounts in 1885; there were in fact 3,296. See A.G. Butchers. *Education in New Zealand.* p.80.
57. AJHR, E-1, Session I, 1887, p.xxiv.
58. Butchers, p.81.
59. LT, 10 August 1891.
60. *Southern Cross Readers, Third Standard Reader.* Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs [1889], p.27 et seq.
61. NZJE, June 1906, p.81.
63. Selleck, p.304.
65. AJHR, E-2, 1909, p.89.
69. AJHR, E-1B, Session I, 1887, p.29. Westland Education Board Minutes, 13 September 1892.
70. NCEB Records, Inspector's MS Report, 3-5 June 1889.
71. Currie, p.450.
72. Cowham, pp.359-60.
74. AJHR, E-1B, 1890, p.39.
75. AJHR, E-1B, 1890, p.37.
76. AJHR, E-1B, 1903, p.5.
80. NZSM, January 1904, p.84.
81. LT, 9 November 1911.
83. LT, 26 January 1891.
85. NZSM, August 1892, p.2.
86. Kiri Kiri (View Hill Plains) School Committee Minutes, 7 August 1893.
87. LT, 4 August 1892.
88. For notices re closing Government offices see NZG, 1897, p.979; 1899, p.1093.
89. LT, 9 August 1895.
90. LT, 20 June 1899.
91. NZSM, August 1903, p.9.
92. LT, 18 August 1905.
93. LT, 17 August 1906.
94. LT, 23 July 1908; 20 July 1911.
95. AJHR, E-2, 1909, p.41.
96. LT, 8 July 1897.
98. CP, 25 July 1893.
100. AJHR, E-1C, 1894, p.15.
101. LT, 14 August 1894.
102. AJHR, E-1B, 1882, pp.24-5.
103. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.468.
104. LT, 4 August 1910.
105. LT, 15 May 1911.
106. LT, 15 March 1906.
113. LT, 1 March 1909.
115. AJHR, E-1B, 1894, p.18.
116. NCEB Records, Inspector's MS Report, 7 August 1903.
118. AJHR, E-1, Session I, 1884, p.93.
119. Garlick, p.316.
122. AJHR, E-1B, 1881, p.4.
123. LT, 5 October 1887.
124. NZG, 1885, p.773.
125. AJHR, E-1B, Session I, 1887, p.22.
127. NZG, 1904, pp.1078-85.
129. LT, 13 October 1898.
132. AJHR, E-1C, 1907, p.2.
135. SJ, Part III, May 1907.
Chapter 8

TEACHERS AS EXEMPLARS

When particular subjects or activities were extolled for their character-forming properties the benefits they conferred sounded guaranteed, as automatic as they were powerful; but sober speakers on education were much more likely to see the teacher's character and conduct as the key factor in the schools' civilising and moralising mission. As Felix Adler put it:

The personality of the master or principal of the school is the chief factor of moral influence in it. Put a great, sound, whole-souled nature at the head of the school, and everything else may also be taken for granted.¹

Those who stressed the teacher's role also pointed out that no teacher could opt out of influencing children, for good or ill. Teachers might or might not choose to take object lessons, periods of formal moral instruction, or school games but they always presented children with some sort of example and influence through their own conduct. "It is," said Currie, "the teacher's character which determines the character of the school; not what he does so much as what he is." And he summed up in the customary axiom on this matter: "As is the teacher, so is the school."²

This familiar notion got thumping emphasis in laudatory biographies of British headmasters of public schools; praised for their mana and moral purpose and indissolubly linked with their schools to become "Arnold of Rugby", "Thring of Uppingham", or "Sanderson of Oundle". The same myth-making process was applied to headmasters of New
Zealand secondary schools, particularly in biographies and school histories where it is still customary to parcel up the school's life into periods defined by principals. New Zealand secondary schools were quite conscious copies of British public or grammar schools and their historians and successful products could talk naturally enough of "Firth of Wellington" or "Milner of Waitaki", but talk of "Bloggs of Bushtown state primary school" would have stretched things rather too far. The headmasters of some large urban schools did acquire a considerable local influence and reputation for leadership and "tone, order and discipline", but even "Baldwin of Sydenham" or "McMorran of the Terrace" were not in the same league as secondary school principals.

Primary school teachers did not have the same status as their secondary school counterparts; they were journeymen moralists and not expected to impress a unique stamp on their schools, or to articulate a unique moral vision. They and their schools were not dealing with an elite to be imbued with ideals of leadership and noblesse oblige; they were charged with impressing the conventional virtues on the general population to produce industrious, honest, polite, law-abiding citizens. The customary view of the primary school teacher as moral exemplar was not of an Olympian figure like Arnold of Rugby but of a compendium of the conventional virtues. Gladman put it thus:

Some of the more important desiderata in the Character and Habits of the Teacher are: Cleanliness, neatness in dress, methodical habit, cheerfulness, good temper, considerateness for the feelings of others, discretion, self-control, quickness of eye and ear, energy, quiet firmness, organising power, strict integrity, and the earnestness which arises from a due sense of the importance of his work and his responsibility to God.

Gladman was writing for English teachers, but all of these things might have been urged on any elementary school teacher in Canada, Australia, New Zealand or the United States. But what, in practice was expected of New Zealand teachers? What was their social and economic
position and what demands and restraints did it place on them? What did a teacher have to do or shun to display suitable "integrity" or "discretion"?

As to the general social position of teachers Arnold comments that rural teachers were generally accepted on terms of rough equality by the typical yeoman farmer community. This, he suggests, was because, "many teachers seem to have shared in the interests, activities, and even ambitions of their settler neighbours." \(^4\) True enough; many teachers were the sons and daughters of such farmers; they married into such families, and they mixed easily enough with a rural community. And a significant number of male teachers not only shared their settler neighbours' aspirations but realised them when they left teaching to take up farming or a small business.

But a teacher was also someone set slightly apart, someone who, like the parson and the policeman, was never wholly off duty and of whom certain standards of speech and conduct were always expected save in the most private circumstances. An adulterous bushman was none the worse at felling trees; a shearer who "knocked down" his cheque in drunken spree was, when sober, as good at shearing as before; but a good reputation was a necessary part of teachers' stock in trade. The point was nicely and authoritatively made in the case of Murray versus Bragge. Murray, a married teacher in a state primary school, sued Bragge for slander when Bragge told a third party that the teacher's horse had been seen outside a known house of ill-fame in Blenheim. A special jury awarded Murray £25 damages and Bragge appealed the decision but was unsuccessful because, the judge said, to impute adultery to a teacher was to do him substantial damage and to threaten his livelihood by exposing him to dismissal. Mr Justice Richmond commented:

That is tolerated in one profession which would be considered scandalous in another. Is not a character for chastity part of the general good
character which is required in the case of a schoolmaster? The conduct charged here would certainly not damage an officer of dragoons in his profession.\(^5\)

By corollary, a teacher who had been evidently guilty of immorality disqualified himself from the office of schoolmaster, and an education board might, under Section 47 of the Education Act summarily dismiss him. The teacher need not be guilty of habitual immorality or immorality in connection with the school, its staff or pupils; a single action committed anywhere was sufficient grounds for dismissal. These deliverances no doubt pleased Murray, and they might have eased the minds of rakish officers of dragoons, but they would have been of little comfort to teachers who hoped to draw a line between their private lives and public duties.

Murray's case, while it stated certain general principles very clearly, did not establish a general code of conduct for teachers. Murray was deemed to have been accused of adultery but the judgment given does not indicate what his position would have been had he been single, although one imagines that any visit by a teacher to a brothel would have occasioned local scandal. Section 47 of the Education Act empowered education boards to peremptorily dismiss teachers guilty of "immoral conduct or gross misbehaviour", but it did not further define these terms and so did not establish any specific code of conduct. Nor did the Department of Education or the N.Z.E.I. lay down any such code for teachers employed by education boards. The Department did, however, lay down some clear requirements of teachers in its own Native Schools, thereby making explicit for one group of teachers the implicit requirements for all teachers. In the Native Schools the school's socialising role, and the teacher's role as cultural and moral missionary, were thrown into sharper relief than in the case of board schools and these tasks were, accordingly, spelled out in written instructions. (The regulations governing industrial schools are a
parallel case for they bring more clearly to light the assumptions underlying discussions of school discipline in general: the importance of order and routine, the legitimacy of corporal punishment for lapses in conduct, the need for unceasing vigilance by those in charge, and the importance of unquestioning obedience to authority.)

The regulations for Native Schools thus provide a useful summary of community and official expectations of teachers in general: any teacher would have been well-advised to do what the Department formally required of its employees.

It was made clear to teachers that they had responsibilities beyond the school fence and that their own conduct and character were important in this connection.

It is not intended that the duties of the teacher shall be confined merely to the school instruction of the Maori children. On the contrary, it is expected that the teachers will by their diligence, their kindness, and their probity exercise a beneficial influence on the Natives living near them, and that they will endeavour to give the Maoris of the district such culture as may fit them to become good citizens. No teacher who neglects this most important part of his work will be regarded by the Department as satisfactorily fulfilling his duty. A Native School teacher must, above all things, be known as a man of strict sobriety.6

As to character and reputation: Murray's case is only one striking illustration of the general principle that a teacher's conduct had to be exemplary at all times and in all places. Teachers were constantly made aware by inspectors, Education Boards, and school committees that even minor lapses were grounds for complaint against them. In 1903, for example, an Auckland woman teacher offended the locals because she did not wash her face, she wore a shawl over her head at school, and she played cards in the evenings. The inspector investigating the complaints found them "frivolous and vexatious" but also advised her to "avoid the appearance of evil by refraining from playing cards."7 As Henry Hill put it, in 1891:
There are things which, in themselves, are not wrong, but which on the part of a teacher are not at all becoming...I do not think it by any means a proper thing for teachers to be seen smoking in and about a school; nor should hotels be the place for teachers to frequent.\textsuperscript{8}

The injunction to "strict sobriety" on the part of Native School teachers was predictable. Both pakeha authorities and Maori leaders were justifiably concerned about drinking in Maori communities and James Pope, the Inspector of Native Schools, had strong things to say about alcohol in the textbooks he wrote for Native schools. But temperance was, of course, a major issue everywhere; prohibitionists hoped for great things from the schools (see chapter 18); and they were particularly upset and unforgiving when teachers provided the wrong sort of example. The Wanganui Education Board made its disapproval of drinking crystal clear in the 1880s when it resolved:

That before any person shall be appointed teacher in any school under this Board, he or she shall be required to obtain satisfactory testimonials to his or her sobriety.\textsuperscript{9}

The Board further announced that when a teacher came from another district enquiries would be made to ascertain why that teacher had left that other district. Again, in 1886 the Wanganui Board urged committees to report any insobriety at once because:

It is manifestly highly injurious to the discipline and moral tone of a school that such a degrading vice should be tolerated - one that cannot fail to exercise a baleful influence upon the children.\textsuperscript{10}

The range of behaviour covered by different groups' definitions of intemperance or insobriety makes it difficult to determine whether teachers were more prone to drinking problems that other groups: staunch prohibitionists, of course, saw any drinking whatever as headlong plunge to Hell and a black mark against a teacher. But it is clear enough that drinking affected some teachers' work and led to dismissal. In 1894 John Smith, the Marlborough inspector, remarked that intemperance, "though once common, is now happily a rare failing in the teaching
profession"; but he also remarked that there were still cases which were a matter of common notoriety. Like other inspectors he deplored the effect on children: "It ceases to be more than a venial offence, if it does not come to be regarded with gratification as the occasion of extra holidays."\textsuperscript{11} It is not surprising then that an advertisement that year for a new headmaster in Blenheim required applicants to furnish testimonials as to "moral character and perfect sobriety".\textsuperscript{12}

In 1902 the Southland correspondent for the New Zealand Schoolmaster reported that a teacher in that district had finally been dismissed for drunkenness. The correspondent could recall fewer than a dozen such cases in twenty years in that district, but:

> It must be conceded, however, that the Board has been exceedingly tolerant, especially where the teacher has been diligent in the general performance of his duty, and has not failed to secure due progress on the part of his pupils.\textsuperscript{13}

The correspondent stated that, "Teachers are, as a rule, notably abstemious, so far as alcoholic drinks are concerned," but that, "The temptation to be overcome, notably in some of our country districts requires no little resolution." In many settler households whisky was part of Southland hospitality and one needed a strong constitution "to keep pace with the conviviality of some of the sturdy and prosperous patrons of bucolic pursuits." Single, male teachers in the country were most at risk for the hotel was often the only place of entertainment. All in all, the Southland writer concluded, "the wonder is that so few have succumbed to their environment."

Any teacher who drank at all, even in hospitable Southland, risked disapproval and complaints from some scandalised settlers and any woman teacher drinking would have become a hissing and a byword. Teachers were generally aware, often painfully aware, that they were under surveillance and that gossip about teachers was juicy gossip. A farmer or a bushman might shrug off rumours and scandal but a teacher
had to quash such gossip to keep his position, and protecting one's reputation could be costly of time, money, or dignity. In 1890, for example, rumours in a Hawke’s Bay settlement caused a school committee to investigate charges that the headmaster and assistant mistress had been "immoral" together. Both resigned and the woman submitted herself to examination by a Napier doctor who publicly announced that the charges could not be true; and she threatened to go to the Supreme Court for damages and the sake of her reputation.  

It was to everyone’s advantage, particularly in making appointments, to have some system of certifying teachers’ character. The most common means of doing this was by way of testimonials from previous committees which often carried more weight than Departmental certificates, much to the annoyance of the well-qualified but unsuccessful. Certificates, however, merely recorded "literary attainments" while testimonials dealt with the essentials: teachers' disciplinary powers, their moral character and sobriety, and their success at getting pupils through examinations. Testimonials, of course, were not in uniform format, and given the varying prejudices and predilections of their writers there was no easy means of comparing one teacher with another until education boards experimented with grading schemes in the twentieth century and then, finally, a national scheme was instituted in 1916. Inspectors, however, kept a watchful eye on teachers and enabled education board subcommittees to weigh up teachers' character before sending short lists on to school committees. The Otago Board, indeed, formalised and recorded inspectors' judgments in a locked "character book" until 1883.  

In that same year the Auckland Education Board attempted to establish a register of teachers' religious affiliations. The reasons for this high-handed move are not clear: it was either the most blatant religious bigotry or meant to record which teachers were orthodox enough to belong to one church or another. It
brought outcries in Parliament, and from teachers and New Zealand's small Jewish community. The plan was dropped but it shows the extent to which at least some Board members thought it legitimate to record such information about teachers.¹⁶

The civilising mission required of Native School teachers was also expected of education board teachers and although it was not spelled out for them in regulations it was clearly stated by inspectors and emphasised by spokesmen for the N.Z.E.I. concerned to dignify the teacher's role and status. Women teachers in the backblocks were, the President of the Hawke's Bay Branch of the Institute told the Hogg Commission on salaries, "the centre of light and civilisation for the whole of such a district."¹⁷ An Otago spokesman for the Institute was even more emphatic: "It is the schoolmaster who stands between civilisation and barbarism; who renders progress possible and prevents its retreat."¹⁸

Schoolmasters might spread sweetness and light in the general community in any one of a number of ways, e.g., by organising cultural societies, by operating libraries, or by involving themselves in church or charitable work, but all were expected at least to influence the manners and morals of the community through its young and teachers were frequently reminded of this task by inspectors and school committees. Improving pupils' general, out-of-school behaviour was not, however, always easy or straightforward. In theory, and according to the school method books, strict school discipline built up moral habits and attitudes which children carried off with them when school ended, and at the very least children would know what was right, how they should act, how to address an adult politely, and so on. But what was a teacher to do if children shrugged off these "habits" as they shrugged on their coats to go home? Where did a teacher's authority and responsibility end? Relevant court cases did not give a complete answer to these
questions. Mr Just, it will be remembered, was upheld by a Christchurch magistrate for punishing boys for out-of-school misbehaviour but other cases made it clear that teachers could suffer in the courts for similar actions. In 1902 the headmaster of Hikutaia School thrashed a boy for bathing with his sister and other girls and not going to the customary bathing place for boys. The boy's father took the teacher to court where the magistrate ruled that the teacher had no jurisdiction to administer punishment for an offence committed out of school and school hours and fined the teacher £5 with costs.¹⁹

There was, however, some comfort for teachers in the case of Maxwell versus Cox. A boy of thirteen who joined a band of boys cheering and shouting on the road outside a school at 3.30 p.m. was beaten the next day by the headmaster who considered the uproar a demonstration in support of two boys already punished for disobedience. The parent's case against the teacher for assault was dismissed by the magistrate who said that the teacher could not overlook an open mutiny against his authority. It was further laid down that, "A master has the power to punish a pupil for misconduct committed after school hours and on his way to and from school."²⁰

But how far the teacher's writ might run was still not wholly clear, nor is it yet. In the 1960s, after the N.Z.E.I. had sought its solicitor's advice, its Secretary warned teachers of the complexity of this question and the need for good judgment.²¹

Teachers were on much safer ground when they sought to extend their moral influence by positive, exemplary means rather than disciplinary means. They were urged to do this from the very outset of the national system. In 1879 Petrie, the Otago inspector wrote of teachers:

Though nearly all lead most exemplary lives, there are few who attain to the exercise of a wide and weighty social influence. Many appear to invest
themselves with a spirit of isolation and seclusion, which greatly impairs the effect they might produce on the character of the children and on the morale of the district in which they are settled. Frequent changes from place to place tend to confirm these traits and to reduce a teacher's influence outside the school to a minimum. 22

Involving oneself in local affairs was, the New Zealand Schoolmaster suggested, also an act of enlightened self-interest. The Schoolmaster reminded its readers of the frequent clashes between teachers and committees: a recent meeting of the North Canterbury Board had acquitted no fewer than three teachers of local charges. School committees were improving, of course, and teachers themselves could take some credit for this.

One of the first proofs that our system is fulfilling its function will be the influence for good of the men it produces upon itself. Many members have been through the school course themselves; they are what that course and the teacher have made them. 23

But teachers could do much more if they only entered "heartily and unashamedly into the healthy life of a country township". Teachers could involve themselves with public lecture programmes, libraries, glee clubs and other musical societies, debating and reading clubs and charity committees. "We must," the Schoolmaster concluded sententiously, "stoop to lift."

Many teachers needed no urging to become involved with sports clubs and church work and school committee minutes, local histories, and the Cyclopedia of New Zealand list teachers involved in cultural and charitable work, friendly societies, and the Volunteers. To take but one example, the Barrhill School committee in rural Canterbury noted with sorrow the death of a former teacher who had been the moving spirit behind a social club and a debating society and co-founder of the little local library. "The impulses of his energy still operate on the pupils and the more advanced youth." 24
Here and there teachers experimented with what is now known as "outdoor education" during school holidays. A.C. Strack, the headmaster of Invercargill Central School, first took his Standard V and VI boys on a journey by train and foot through Southland at Easter 1890 and as headmaster at Pleasant Point in Canterbury he organised Easter camps for senior boys in the mid 1890s. Mr Baldwin, headmaster at Sydenham, took fifty senior boys camping at Governor's Bay in January 1898. The camps, which lasted for a fortnight, continued until Baldwin's retirement in 1903. These camps were justified in moral, character-forming terms. When Strack was at Pleasant Point his camps were at Arowhenua where the boys "fraternised with the Maoris, attended their religious services, and were assisted by them in fishing expeditions to Millford Lagoon." The benefits were learning about Maori life and "practice in the virtue of self-helpfulness." Baldwin's camps were tightly controlled with bugle calls for rising, dining, assembling, and retiring, church parades and a chaplain in residence, and great insistence on cleanliness, order, and co-operation.

In many communities teachers were expected to involve themselves in certain work as a matter of course. Hard-headed settlers might doubt the value of book-learning but in certain situations the teacher was the obvious person to turn to as secretary of everything, as librarian, or as Sunday School teacher or postmaster. On occasion teachers were sought out for medical assistance. Abraham Barnett told the Cohen Commission that he had, during his thirty-two years of teaching, extracted teeth from pupils and others and, "it has happened that my wife and myself have had to do things in the district in which we worked that no single woman could have done." Teachers' conduct and dress were to provide examples to all and so were their houses, gardens, and the schoolgrounds. In March 1890 for example, the Auckland Education Board sent a circular to teachers urging
them to garden as an example to pupils and through them the families of the district. In 1895, however, the inspectors noted that few teachers had gardens, and they attributed this to the poverty of the soil and "the uncertainty of the teacher's tenure of his post." Other boards regularly sent out similar circulars stressing the exemplary benefits of school gardens and a tidy schoolground and schoolmaster's garden.

Making a school a shining example of order and beauty was not, however, easy in town or country. Rural teachers depended on committees' goodwill to make school grounds anything more than bare paddocks and some city schools were plagued by vandalism.

While teachers were urged to good works in the community they were warned against some sorts of involvement with local life. Native School teachers were civil servants and reminded of their duty to maintain political neutrality.

As an officer of the public service, a teacher is forbidden to make any communication, directly or indirectly to the Press upon any matter affecting the Department in which he serves, or the business of the officers thereof, or relating to the public service, or his own official position, or acts, or upon any political subject or question connected with New Zealand without the express permission of the Minister; and is, further, required to refrain from all actions calculated to give offence to any section of the community, or to impair his usefulness as a teacher.

Teachers in education board schools were not, of course, public servants like Native School teachers, but individual boards from time to time made it clear that they also expected their employees to be publicly, politically neutral. When the Auckland Education Board heard that a teacher had spoken at political meetings during the 1890 election campaign it resolved, "That this Board disapproves of teachers taking an active, prominent part in election matters." In 1896 some Otago teachers took an active, prominent part in a campaign for prohibition and the Otago Education Board, after complaints, issued a circular:
In view of the necessity of promoting harmony between teachers and their communities and the people of the district generally, and of the detriment to the interests of education that is likely to arise from misunderstandings and dissension in the district, the Board enjoins its teachers to refrain as far as possible from taking part actively and publicly in political affairs, in the election of school committees, or in any other local matters, participation in which is likely to bring teachers into conflict with any section of the community. Wilful disregard of this regulation will be deemed a serious offence. 34

The Auckland Board faced the question of teacher politicians again in 1911 when the headmaster at Pukekohe stood as a candidate for Parliament. The inspectors suggested that the teacher's work must suffer and the Board wrote to him asking for his intentions. The Board considered calling on the teacher to resign but after legal advice had to content itself with expressing its strong disapproval. 35

It was however, not always easy or in teachers' interests to be neutral on every issue, particularly when it came to appointments.

The Education Act required boards to "consult" committees when appointing teachers and this often meant, in practice, that committees chose teachers and were often whimsical or partisan in their choices. A teacher might be selected, John Gammell said:

...because he or she belongs to the same locality, or is a member of the same religious denomination as the majority of the committee, or because he has got a large family and will be a good customer at the village store, or, more frequently than all, his style of handwriting is of the copperplate order, and the misguided yokels are captivated thereby, like flies by sugared sticking paper. 36

F.J. Alley suggested, in 1898, that teachers had been appointed because they were Anglicans, teetotallers, Freemasons, or Liberals. 37 As late as 1912 P.G. Andrew, Secretary of the Poverty Bay School Committees' Association, deplored the notorious fact that, "A Presbyterian committee will favour a Presbyterian teacher, and a Prohibition committee a Prohibition teacher." 38 It is difficult to assess these claims or to judge how often such considerations were decisive in one teacher rather
than another getting a job. Committees which made partisan choices did not usually record their deliberations in any useful detail, and although there is clear evidence of religious bigotry regarding teachers (a matter discussed in chapter 15) there is little direct evidence of the influence of politics or lodge membership. A considerable number of teachers, particularly the more senior headmasters, were Freemasons; so was George Powlds, Minister of Education from 1906 to 1911, and so was John Hislop, the first Secretary of Education. It also appears that a significant number of N.Z.E.I. executive members were Freemasons in 1914. An unofficial account of the 1914 A.G.M. of the Institute explained, coyly:

On Tuesday night the secret society men, yclept "Freemasons", forbade an evening session because forsooth, "Lodge Scholastic No. 0" had been invited to visit Lodge Ponsonby "to work a degree", we were told, whatever that may mean.

There might have been dark mutterings about the influence of Freemasonry on teacher appointments and Alley claimed to know of cases, but it was not a public issue. Grand Orient Freemasonry, with which Sir Robert Stout was associated, was European, radical and sceptical, if not atheistic, but English and Scottish Freemasonry was highly respectable and members of the Royal family held office as Grand Masters. The fact that a sizeable number of teachers were members of mainstream English or Scottish lodges chiefly indicates local recognition of male teachers' respectable, Protestant character.

Teachers resented having to canvass committee members for jobs and they often felt threatened by community scrutiny of their professional work and their personal conduct. These considerations, plus their demand for better salaries on a national scale as well as a pension scheme led them to demand, individually and through the N.Z.E.I., a much more centralised system with less autonomy for education boards and much less for school committees. Teachers, as
represented by the N.Z.E.I., were very willing allies of the Department of Education's centralising moves under Hogben for they knew that improved pay and conditions could only come with stronger central control, and they also sought to redefine their relationship with local communities by taking matters of appointment, promotion, and professional judgement out of their hands. Thus while teachers were, at one level, urged to involve themselves with the local community they sought to disengage themselves from it on another level.

Teachers' pay was wretchedly low in the nineteenth century and rates of pay were locally determined. The capitation system put boards with many small schools at a disadvantage and meant that these boards paid salaries markedly lower than those in other districts. But the capitation system could also mean that teachers' pay was locally determined in another, even more painful, sense; if average attendance fell at a particular school a teacher's salary would be adjusted accordingly and in some cases local animosity made attendance fall to injure the teacher. Thus Mr Vereker-Bindon of Wanganui noted, in 1881:

Again, some people who have taken an unmerited dislike to a teacher keep their children at home in order to injure him, not only with respect to his salary, but also at the annual examination.41

At a time when the attendance laws were loose and compulsory attendance was, in any case, at local option there was not much a teacher could do in such cases. Parents might also simply take their children away from one school altogether and send them to another if there was one conveniently to hand. The School Attendance Act 1894 with its "legal holidays" enabled parents to adopt such tactics without committing any offence. In 1901 the headmaster of the Picton School told the salaries commission of a woman who took umbrage when a teacher reported her son for poor attendance. Her response was to send the child to school for the legal minimum number of half-days per week and to campaign for others to do the same in order to reduce the master's salary.42 Such
cases might be multiplied and Lee notes that in the 1900s Otago teachers were said to be reluctant to report truants if there were other children in the family and other schools nearby. 43

In some places local animosity affected teachers, pay: in other cases the effect was in the other direction and the teachers' financial position caused conflict. While teachers' salaries were low and could be lowered by the malicious they were, nevertheless, high enough and guaranteed enough to cause simple jealousy on occasion. In 1895 the Marlborough inspector, John Smith, commented on teachers' relations with local committees:

In large towns and wealthy neighbourhoods he is frequently altogether ignored by those who are supposed to be above him in social position, and in the poorer villages he is as often regarded with a petty jealousy because he appears a little "better off" than his neighbours. 44

These comments were probably prompted by one Marlborough committee's recent refusal to appoint a teacher's wife to the position of assistant mistress in his two-teacher school because, the committee said, he was already getting as much income as any of the settlers in the valley and was getting too big for his boots. 45

It was expected that a teacher's salary, or a significant portion of it, would be spent in the district at local shops and some committees were in a position to demand this. Pearson notes the significant representation of the "shopocracy" on Johnsonville school committees early this century. 46 In 1903 an anonymous writer to the Christchurch papers cited a district in which the local school committee chairman was a merchant and insisted that the lady teacher cash her salary cheques in his shop. 47 In 1895 a Nelson teacher who fell foul of the locals was charged, inter alia, with the crime of not buying his groceries at the local store. 48 In 1894 a Canterbury country storekeeper penned a lengthy tirade against teachers and their unduly high salaries. Teachers' salaries, he said, could be cut by 25 percent all round and
none should get free rail passes for Saturday classes in Christchurch. He was upset because teachers in his district who attended these classes had taken the opportunity to bring back groceries from Christchurch.49

Teachers' efforts to eke out their salaries by having their own children made pupil teachers were a further source of conflict with both boards and committees. In many settlements the teacher's own wife and children were the best qualified for assistants' or pupil-teachers' jobs and some rural schools were, particularly in the late nineteenth century, staffed almost wholly by members of one family. But this sort of arrangement was not favoured by education boards. In 1884 the Wanganui Board resolved that, "It is undesirable that more than one son or daughter of a teacher should be employed in the school under his charge."50 And in 1893 the Otago and South Canterbury Boards ruled against teachers' children altogether if there were other suitable candidates.51 The problem for local relations was, of course, that the "other suitable candidates" were, as often as not, committee members' children and pupil teacher appointments often meant a clash between teacher and committee or between two committee members whose children were applicants.

In larger centres teachers were able to supplement their pay by coaching scholarship candidates after school or at the weekends, and in large and small centres teachers were able to "moonlight" on occasion or to take holiday jobs. In 1906 Mr Weiss, the teacher at Mangaroa, wrote to the Taranaki Board with commendable candour. He had been appointed at £90 per annum but average attendance at his school had fallen and his salary with it. Could he supplement his present salary of £60 per annum, he asked, by acting as a newspaper agent and by gathering edible fungus after school?52

One more person picking fungus for export to China would have been neither here nor there but acting as a newspaper agent was the sort
of thing which caused trouble elsewhere, and Mr Weiss would have been well advised to follow the Native School regulations in this matter: "No teacher shall trade with the Natives, or endeavour to gain any pecuniary advantage from them."\(^{53}\) In one sense, of course, teachers were clearly expected to trade with the natives by patronising their stores, smithies, coalyards, and stables, but trading on one's own account or in any way competing with or affecting local business was a risky business. When, for example, Mr Rundle of Ahaura School in the Grey district acted as an insurance agent the Westland Board received angry complaints from other agents and bade him desist.\(^{54}\) Both the Auckland and the Otago Boards reacted sternly when teachers in their employ became newspaper proprietors on the side. The Otago Board informed the teacher at Cromwell that taking any part in the work of the Cromwell Argus was incompatible with his position as a teacher.\(^{55}\) The Auckland Board gave the headmaster at Aratapu three months notice when he bought the local paper.\(^{56}\)

Teachers' choice of textbooks also brought them into conflict with local storekeepers as did selling books through the school. In 1890, for example, the Kumara storekeeper was able to get the Westland Education Board to over-rule the local headmaster's decision to change texts which would have left the merchant with unsold, unprofitable stock.\(^{57}\) It was darkly rumoured that the whole question of textbooks was a plot by teachers because they themselves had shares in Whitcombe and Tombs. G.H. Whitcombe, indeed, felt it necessary to give this rumour the lie direct in his statement to the Sweating Commission.

It was generally understood that schoolmasters had shares in the company; this was incorrect; not a single teacher under the Board of Education had any interest whatever in the company.\(^{58}\)

It is little wonder, in view of these difficulties, that teachers pressed strongly for a more stable, national system of salaries less tightly linked to average attendance and for a national system of
appointment and promotion. A national salary scale would also enable a centrally administered pension scheme, something long sought by teachers. The Department had, as early as 1878, mooted a "Teachers' Pensions and Widows and Orphans Fund" and asked the actuary of the Government Insurance Department to investigate the feasibility of such a scheme.\(^{59}\) Again, in 1880 teachers were invited to join the Government Life Insurance scheme under a system whereby education boards would deduct premiums from teachers' salaries.\(^{60}\) But the first of these schemes came to nothing and there were few takers for the second. The result was that the school system contained some remarkably young teachers and some remarkably old ones, men and women who might have provided examples of patient suffering and frugality, but not of sustained industry or vigour. G.M. Haining, for example, was nearly seventy when he retired in 1906 and he seems to have done relieving work until he was in his eighties.\(^{61}\) W. McLure, headmaster at Waikouaiti died in harness at 69 leaving a widow and family.\(^{62}\) Mrs Francis of Mt Cook Infants' School, retired in 1899 after teaching for 50 years, during which time she had had charge of 19,000 children and more than a hundred apprentice teachers.\(^{63}\) But these were not the most extreme examples. In 1905 the Wellington Branch of the N.Z.E.I. voted a small sum of money to provide "a few comforts" for a teacher who had retired at the age of eighty and sought shelter in the Old Men's Home.\(^{64}\) He was not the only teacher to benefit from the charity of former colleagues. The log-book of the Mt Cook Boys' School contained an entry in 1895:

Mr Edge, late Inspector of Schools in the 8th Island came professing to be in pecuniary straits. Gave him a small donation.\(^{65}\)

In the absence of a pension scheme elderly teachers worked as long as they could and then made shift as best they could, relying on their savings, the Old Age Pension, public charity or relatives' support. In 1901 a member of the Hogg commission on teachers' salaries asked the
chairman of the Grey Education Board, "What becomes of your older teachers?", and he replied, "I suppose they die off...we have some very old teachers at the present time."66 Life for aged teachers was not easy and from time to time committees sought to have teachers dismissed on the simple grounds of age and infirmity.

Pensions and a national salary scheme meant limiting education boards' discretion but when teachers, individually or through the N.Z.E.I., inveighed against the evils of local control it was school committees and their influence they had chiefly in mind. School committees and local communities, particularly in the country, were condemned on occasion for too much misplaced zeal and, on other occasions, for apathy. Where the locals took a partisan interest in school matters teachers could find themselves, much to their discomfort, the focus of uproarious committee elections. In 1898, for example, factions for and against the teacher clashed at Motupiko in Nelson. "Proceedings," said the New Zealand Schoolmaster's correspondent, "became very lively, pickaxe handles, etc., being used."67 That riot was by no means unique. At a householders' meeting at Lovell's Flat in Otago, to take a further example, there was an uproar and the ballot papers were seized and burnt by one faction.68

There was also the vexed question of schoolwork itself and committees' rights in this area. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century many committees kept a close eye on the inner workings of the school. Butchers, with his strong preference for professionalism and central control, writes of the "perpetual menace" of school committees and their undue interference with teachers' work, and he describes them as "ignorant and narrow-minded tyrants".69 Committees which took their duties seriously regularly appointed "visiting committees" to keep an eye on the school and on schoolwork. Where, as in the cities, committees were made up of suitably educated and respectable persons
there was no great problem but teachers resented the oversight of unduly persistent or poorly educated committee members and made what efforts they could to stand on their professional dignity. What exactly were the teacher's rights in this situation? The South Canterbury Board was asked to define the role of "visitor" when the Rev. George Barclay told, in 1890, of a district where the visitor was a blacksmith and went into the school in his apron and put thumbprints on the copybooks while the female teacher stood by, not daring to complain. 70

The role of the visitor or visiting committee was not, however, further defined and teachers' chief protection against unreasonable interference remained Section 96 of the Education Act which stated:

Any person who shall wilfully disturb any school, or who shall upbraid, insult, or abuse any teacher in the presence or hearing of the pupils assembled in school shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding forty shillings.

That the law could, if necessary, be successfully invoked against committee members was made clear in a 1910 court case in Whangerei in which the chairman of the Maungatapere Committee was fined for "interfering with the lawful discipline by posting a notice on the school door directing the scholars to defy the teacher in authority." 71

While some committees were charged with taking an unhealthy interest in the inner workings of the schools some communities were, by contrast, charged with complete apathy towards their schools. In 1912, for instance, twenty-five districts in North Canterbury either failed to elect a committee or to elect a full committee. 72 One diligent South Cantabrian ensured the election of a committee only by securing nominations before the advertised householders' meeting, and he reported to the Education Board.

At the meeting of householders tonight there was only myself present and after voting myself to the chair, I declared the following duly elected for the ensuing year [names]. Don't laugh. Yours sincerely

__________ (Chairman). 73
Such cases rather contradicted Peter Goyen's hymn to local administration when he compared the New Zealand system with the evils of centralisation in the state of Victoria. In Victoria, he wrote, centralised control had meant inertia in teaching methods and had a "blighting effect on local interest"; but in New Zealand "everybody is interested in education because everyone shares in its management", and "local interest is a living part of the system." 74

Although school-community relationships have been much discussed over recent years there is no firm consensus on what these relationships should be and although the McCombs Report spent some time on this question it is too inconsistent to be of much use. Teachers, however, had developed a reasonably consistent policy well before 1914. Committees should be limited to caring for the fabric of the school and to raising and administering funds for school purposes, and the community should interest itself in children's progress rather than the teachers' personal life, politics, or methods. These days PTAs are the means by which parents are admitted to schools on teachers' terms and attention is focussed on children's performance rather than general questions of policy. Associations of parents and teachers were, in fact, suggested in the 1890s. Mrs Garsia and Mrs Grossman addressed the Canterbury Women's Institute on "The relation of parents to teachers" in 1893, urging the formation of parents' associations like those recently formed in Britain, and there were efforts to form such groups in the early twentieth century. 75 In 1905 Mr Draffin of the Chapel Street School in Auckland organised a "reunion" of parents and teachers to promote confidence and understanding through discussion of matters of mutual, educational interest. 76 There were "Home and School" associations at some Wellington schools by 1912. 77

In what has been said so far regarding teachers' social and economic position it has been assumed more often than not that the
teacher was a male; but while many of the causes of friction mentioned applied to both male and female teachers women were often in a particularly difficult situation.

There was, for one thing, a general presumption in favour of male teachers. The Native School regulations, here as elsewhere, put the matter clearly:

The person appointed to be teacher of a Native School shall be a married man, whose wife shall be required to accompany him; provided, however, that the Minister may, if the circumstances warrant his so doing, place a school in charge of a mistress.\textsuperscript{78}

School committees had the same priorities, especially for sole or senior positions. Men were reckoned better disciplinarians, and they brought a higher salary into the district. Married men, especially those with families, commended themselves over single men because they would spend more in the store and because family men were reckoned safer and more settled. The result was, as one teacher said in 1901, "When applications are called for many positionsit is well known amongst us that an unmarried man has no chance."\textsuperscript{79} This meant that women teachers often arrived to take up a position with the knowledge that they were regarded as a makeshift in place of a man.

The expectation that most sole or senior male teachers would be married was, however, not nearly as strong as the expectation that a woman would not be. Married male teachers provided a suitable example of stability and domesticity; married women teachers, on the other hand, threatened traditional sex roles and the traditional family. When, in 1895, a young married woman was selected from twenty applicants for a job at East Christchurch there were howls of outrage. She was, one householder, suggested, depriving a single woman of a job and, "Our Women's Institutes and Labour Society, who profess to have the cause of women workers so much at heart, should see that this injustice is rectified at once."\textsuperscript{80} Another indignant householder, however, went more
nearly to the heart of the matter:

That there should be an appointment like this is a blot on the social system, tending as it does, to set a bad example and utterly destroy homelife.\textsuperscript{81}

School committees and education boards did not favour the appointment of married women, the East Christchurch committee's aberration notwithstanding, and in 1895 the Auckland Board considered a motion to absolutely preclude any married woman with a living husband.\textsuperscript{82} The motion was defeated by one vote but in Auckland, as in other places, although the new regulation was not formally adopted it operated de facto.

In such a strong climate of opinion against married women teachers the suggestion that married women might be granted maternity leave was greeted with derision or horror. When Ada Wells, a married teacher at St Albans, applied for leave and the committee discovered that she was in fact "to be confined" they promptly dismissed her and sparked off a bitter debate over the back fences and in the newspapers. It was, some argued, unthinkable that a teacher known to be pregnant or, worse still, visibly pregnant should go on teaching. One committee member wrote:

Married women and mothers in more than one district affected by it have spoken to me in loathing of teachers in certain conditions incident to married life teaching their grown-up children, the matter being made worse when the teacher's class is one of boys and girls together.\textsuperscript{83}

The matter had, he assured his shocked readers, even been talked of openly in the playground and he wondered, darkly, if this was not where the vulgar talk of larrikins began.

The Canterbury Women's Institute made an ingenious attempt to defend married women teachers by appealing to the conventional sentimental image of motherhood. Married women should, they argued, not only be permitted but valued because:
The functions of motherhood call out and develop qualities of tenderness and sympathy and a degree of patience with the waywardness of children which are valuable to the higher interests of pupils. 84

The committee and the critics were unmoved by this. Mrs Wells never got her job back and, in any case, sympathy and tenderness were not as valued in teachers as disciplinary powers.

The demand that women teachers be unmarried and the fact, indeed, that most of them were provided a convenient argument for paying women less. Men either had families to support or should be saving to support one in due course, but single women had only themselves to support and as most would eventually marry they did not need to save for their old age. These arguments, thoroughly canvassed before the salaries commission, were endorsed by George Hogben and by male teachers. Male teachers, indeed, were particularly ingenious in finding reasons why their female colleagues should not be paid the same as them. George Grant, headmaster at College Street in Palmerston North, argued that it would be morally bad for young women to be paid too much. If there were no salary differential then, "I think the average female teacher is very likely to become a selfish person, spending all she earns on herself, having no claims on her." Did he really believe, a commissioner wanted to know, that females were in more need of protection than males in this matter? Grant did: he had seen more "hand to mouth...reckless, selfish expenditure" by women. 85

All of this shows that the ringing assertion by educationists that teachers provided a generally good example was sharply qualified in women's case. If they were married but childless they were job stealers and subversive of family life; if they became pregnant they were a local scandal if they did not resign forthwith; if they were single they were a second best to men who had stronger disciplinary powers. If they took up a job and married soon thereafter they put the board to the difficulty of finding another teacher. If they remained single they
aged into spinster schoolmarms, stock figures of fun or the objects of patronising remarks.

And there was, in addition, the general feeling, more and more strongly expressed in the early twentieth century, that the growing proportion of women teachers was a cause for concern. This feeling was strengthened by the report of the Mosely Commission on Education to the United States which reported in terms of horror the number of women teachers there. James Allen, a future Minister of Education, warned the House in 1904 that New Zealand was also heading towards an unduly high proportion of female teachers and he reminded them that the Mosely Commission had, "reported strongly to the effect that a preponderance of female teachers, especially in the case of older boys, led to effeminising." 86

Repeated, vague warnings of this sort led Hogben to write an ingenious piece in his 1913 report to set people's minds at rest. New Zealand did not have such a high proportion as other countries, he noted, and anyway, "It does not necessarily follow that the tendency (in moderation at all events) is bad." About half of all school children were under ten, "and women teachers are presumably most suitable for them." Of those over ten half were girls, "and it is generally conceded that they should be taught by women". And, he triumphantly concluded:

So far as class-teaching is concerned there would be nothing to fear, therefore, if the proportion of women teachers to men teachers were three to one. 87

In fact the ratio was 151:100 for adults and 293:100 for pupil teachers and everyone could rest easy. This passage shows, more than anything else, how widespread was the uneasy feeling that the education system was being threatened, if not damaged, by employing a significant number of women teachers. Hogben seemed to be seeking to reassure himself as much as his readers.
The appointment of single women teachers to jobs in small towns and country districts posed particular problems of accommodation. If there were no schoolhouse a woman had to find lodgings which was not always easy. When suitable board was found it was usually with a family with children at the school, not usually an arrangement to either teachers' or pupils' liking. When there was a schoolhouse a young woman living alone raised questions of decorum and, on occasion, safety. Some young women taking up teaching jobs took a relative with them as chaperon and for protection, a widowed mother perhaps, or a sister. On occasion women teachers had to use much more direct means of protection. In 1907 it was reported that a young teacher in North Otago who lived three miles from her nearest neighbour was asked by a passing stranger for some tea. When she went in to get it he went to follow and put his foot in the door. She calmly walked to a drawer, took out a revolver, cocked and presented it and saw him safely off. 88

Women teachers were also watched even more closely than men for lapses of morality or simple decorum which made their social lives limited and difficult. Any association with single men was a potential source of speculation and gossip and any suspected familiarity with a married man a source of scandal. Many women teachers did, of course, marry and settle down in the district where they had taught: the Education and Health Departments have long been marriage bureaux for rural men. But some women teachers also found themselves the subject of unwelcome attentions. F.J. Alley told in 1912 of one chairman who harassed three women teachers in turn until they left the district and the North Canterbury Board decided it could not send women teachers there. 89 (His pesterings finally led to the adjournment of a committee meeting to the Amberley domain where, in a brawl with another member, the chairman's arm was broken.)
All in all, and as this chapter demonstrates, teachers' relations with the communities they served could be complex and uneasy and their role as general apostles of sweetness and light was not an easy one. Their moral authority out of school was not automatic but depended on their standing with the local community, a standing which was, on occasion, diminished by feuds, jealousy, and gossip. One must not, however, overdo the negative side of the teachers' position and relationships with local communities. Communities generally got from the teacher the high standard of conduct and decorum they expected and well-established teachers in good local standing were considerable figures of authority over children both in and out of school. There were, quite simply, costs and benefits, in being close to the community one served.

Teachers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century generally exercised a broader and less often contested authority over children out of school than they do now; they were also, at a time when committees still had some real teeth, more susceptible to community pressures than they are now when they are distanced from the community by the appointment and promotions regulations and by strong claims to professional expertise.

It is fashionable these days to talk of the expanding role of the school to fill the gap left by retreating churches and crumbling families. But when schools appoint visiting teachers, guidance teachers, and careers advisors they are, in fact, simply taking more explicit steps to carry on their traditional role of spreading sweetness and light in the wider community. What is generally taken to be an expansion of the schools' role in the last few decades can equally well be seen as a contraction of many teachers' roles as other teachers specialise. During the period with which this thesis is concerned, however, and before motor transport and urbanisation allowed teachers
the anonymity of living across town, few teachers could opt out of the role of full-time moral exemplar charged with exercising a beneficial influence on the natives living near them.
Notes to Chapter 8


5. Murray versus Bragge (1888) 7 NZLR, 252.

6. Such instructions were issued to teachers in Native Schools well into the twentieth century. Those cited in this chapter are from the 1909 regulations; NZG, 1909, p.2492.

7. NZJE, November 1903, p.10.

8. AJHR, E-1, 1891, p.19.

9. AJHR, E-1, Session I, 1884, p.66.

10. AJHR, E-1, 1886, p.57.

11. AJHR, E-1B, 1894, p.16.

12. NZSM, May 1894, p.156.

13. NZSM, May 1902, p.147.

14. LT, 26 February 1890.


17. AJHR, E-14, 1901, p.439.

18. AJHR, E-14, 1901, p.198.

19. LT, 7 April 1902.


24. Barrhill School Committee Minutes, 29 August 1918.

25. Zealandia, 1 February 1890; LT, 5 and 15 April, 1895.

26. LT, 7 January 1898. NZSM, January 1903, p.91.

27. LT, 5 April 1895.

28. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.283.


30. AJHR, E-1B, 1895, p.3.

31. In 1882 the East Christchurch Committee put netting over the school windows facing the street to protect them from stone-throwing larrkins (East Christchurch School Committee Minutes, 20 May 1882). See Cumming, pp.206-7 re damage to Auckland schools.

32. NZG, 1909, p.2492.

33. LT, 1 November, 1890.

34. McKenzie, p.224.

35. LT, 17 October and 11 November 1911.


37. NZSM, March 1898, p.117.

38. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.113.


40. NZJE, February 1914, p.6.

41. AJHR, E-1B, Session I, 1881, p.6. See also AJHR, E-2, 1910, p.95 for the same sort of incident thirty years later in the Auckland district.

42. AJHR, E-14, 1901, p.28.


44. AJHR, E-1B, 1895, p.23.

45. NZSM, November 1894, p.51.

47. LT, 26 October 1903.

48. NZSM, June 1895, p.172.

49. LT, 7 July 1894.

50. AJHR, E-1, Session I, 1884, p.66.

51. NZSM, June 1893, p.102.

52. LT, 25 October 1906.

53. NZG, 1909, p.2492.

54. Grey Education Board Minutes, 14 May 1895.

55. NZSM, January 1899, p.90.

56. LT, 3 March 1890.

57. Westland Education Board Minutes, 11 March 1890.

58. AJHR, H-5, 1890, p.46.

59. AJHR, H-1, 1878, p.13.

60. AJHR, E-1, 1881, p.104.


62. LT, 25 April 1891.

63. See LT, 13 October 1899 for a general account of her teaching career.

64. NZSM, April 1905, p.131.


66. AJHR, E-14, 1901, p.67.

67. NZSM, January 1898, p.85.

68. LT, 4 May 1891.


70. LT, 10 July 1890.

71. LT, 21 September 1910.

72. LT, 2 May 1912.
73. LT, 1 May 1905.


75. CP, 24 October 1893.

76. LT, 6 May 1905.

77. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.402.

78. NZG, 1909, p.2492.

79. AJHR, E-14, 1901, p.519.

80. LT, 22 February 1895.

81. LT, 20 February 1895.

82. LT, 2 August 1895.

83. LT, 27 February 1892.

84. LT, 12 April 1893.

85. AJHR, E-14, 1901, pp.402 and 412.

86. NZPD, vol 129, 1904, p.697.

87. AJHR, E-2, 1913, p.13.

88. LT, 23 September 1907.

89. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.391.
Chapter 9

LOCAL TEXTS AND CONTENT ANALYSIS

So far this thesis has been more concerned with the context of schooling than its content, more concerned with general conduct than with the specific attitudes and beliefs conveyed to children in schoolwork. Chapters 10, 11, and 12 examine the social content of school lessons and this chapter, as a necessary preliminary, outlines the development of school textbooks in New Zealand and, briefly, considers some of the methodological problems of content analysis.

School textbooks have been an underused source for the study of New Zealand's education history, but they are crucial to any consideration of the social content of schooling for they flesh out the bare bones of the syllabus, and they display the values and attitudes society sought to pass on to the rising generation, beliefs which were generally accepted and uncontroversial, things which every schoolboy should know. School books are not just something to be used because they are, fortuitously, still available to us: they provide an excellent source of information on the content and methods of schooling at a time when there were few other teaching aids and when teachers relied heavily on textbooks increasingly tailored to an examinable syllabus which teachers followed closely.

School texts have not, of course, been completely neglected by New Zealand historians of education. Ewing's study of the curriculum includes scattered references to schoolbooks and some brief accounts of the most common. Cumming's general history of the Auckland Education Board contains similar scattered references as well as an interesting

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account of the wrangle over the adoption of certain books. But there has been little work in New Zealand to match that of historians of education in other English-speaking countries.  

This neglect in New Zealand is, to some extent, understandable for until recently there were no useful research collections at all and little in the way of systematic bibliography. Libraries have not systematically preserved locally produced schoolbooks and general bibliographies have been somewhat capricious in their inclusion or exclusion of such works. I published a substantial article in 1979 in which I listed the collections then known to exist, most of them either in private hands or ad hoc, uncatalogued, collections; and I outlined the bibliographical sources then available and the problems textbooks pose for bibliographers. There is no need to cover these matters again here, but some subsequent bibliographic work should be noted as an indication of increasing attention to this neglected part of our history. The most recently published volumes of the New Zealand National Bibliography, those covering the years to 1889, are much more useful than those previously published and list early textbooks, some of them now exceedingly rare and only to be found in British libraries. Hugh Price has also begun systematic bibliographical work on textbooks in general rather than confining himself to readers and has produced a useful, but very patchy, first checklist of local publications.  

Penelope Griffiths of the Turnbull Library has also produced an ingenious and very useful guide to dating Whitcombe and Tombs's publications by imprints and printers' job numbers.  

Textbooks used in New Zealand before 1914 can be divided into four "generations", an oversimplification in many respects but, like the concept of "stages" in mental development, useful and convenient. The first three generations were defined or determined by developments in British publishing and the last was local.
The earliest texts were usually single volumes rather than graded series and not always specifically designed for teaching purposes. Simple literacy could be taught from almost any book and one of the most readily available was the Bible. Ellis notes that Bibles were widely used to teach reading in Britain in the 1830s and 1840s, partly for their moral and spiritual benefits and partly because they were so readily and cheaply available from religious societies. Bibles and prayer books were also used to teach reading in New Zealand in the early nineteenth century, particularly among the Maori population whose avidity for the products of missionary printers has been well-documented.

Books specifically produced for school use were also, in the early nineteenth century, single, compendious volumes. Such compendiums are now rare. A surviving example was printed in 1831 and is splendidly entitled "A Collection of English Verse and Prose for the Use of Schools ...to Which are Prefixed a Few Short Lessons for Beginners With An Exercise in Spelling in Four Large Tables...Also An Appendix Containing the Principles of English Grammar." The first lessons are in words of one syllable, quickly followed by simple stories in two, then three syllables. The book then provides increasingly complex pieces of verse and prose from the Bible, classical authors, and English literature as well as the promised spelling tables and grammar and it ends, after 288 pages, with a table of English homonyms.

The next generation of texts were roughly graded readers and texts in specific subjects produced in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s by the various agencies responsible for elementary schooling in England before Forster's 1870 Education Act created school boards to "fill the gaps". The chief producers of schoolbooks of this generation were the British and Foreign Schools Society, the Commissioners for National Education in Ireland, the Scottish Schoolbook Association, the National,
i.e., Anglican, Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. These books were a considerable improvement on the sort of miscellany just described but they were still poorly graded and included many passages in uncompromisingly difficult language. They were also printed in small type and only rarely illustrated. They were, however, produced and sold in large numbers, both in Britain and overseas.

Perhaps the most successful, and the most widely used outside Britain, were the "Irish" schoolbooks for they had been given the imprimatur of both the Anglican and Catholic authorities in Ireland and so were more acceptable in the sparsely settled, religiously mixed settlement colonies than books produced by associations with particular religious affiliations. They were, Akenson notes, the most widely used texts in Britain in the early 1860s and they were used in at least a dozen other countries, including Australia, Canada, and provincial New Zealand. 11

The "Irish" texts were also remarkably cheap in the 1830s and became quite astoundingly cheap in the 1850s as a result of large sales and improved printing techniques. In 1836 the first Irish reader cost 2½d and in 1858 it cost only ½d. Over the same period the cost of the fifth reader, a substantial work, declined from 2/- to 7d. 12

Some commercial publishers, notably Robert Chambers, also produced schoolbooks in the first half of the nineteenth century but, generally speaking, commercial publishers played a limited, associated role producing societies' textbooks rather than planning and commissioning their own series. William Collins and Co., for example, printed and published the books of the Scottish Schoolbook Association.

The third generation of schoolbooks appeared after the British Education Act of 1870 when publishers sought to exploit the market created by the establishment of uneddenominational schools under school boards and to produce books tailored to successive revisions of the
English and Scottish Codes. The range of texts available expanded rapidly as publishers like Chambers, Collins, Nelsons, Blackies, Gleigs, Macmillan, and Sonnenschein established or greatly increased their school series. The new generation of texts were a considerable improvement on the societies' books. They were better produced, better illustrated, and more often written by practical teachers thoroughly familiar with official syllabuses. They also contained rather fewer unduly obscure passages, partly in recognition of children's interests and capacities and partly because they aimed only at the minimum requirements of the code.

Perhaps the most notable series in this generation of textbooks was "Nelson's School Series". Thomas Nelson and Sons had produced a number of texts in the 1860s but in 1871-72 they produced a best-seller in the Royal Readers which for many years remained the nucleus of an increasingly formidable array of school texts. In the 1880s Nelsons also produced the Royal Star and the Sequel Readers as supplementaries to the Royal Readers and they added sets of histories, geographies, and arithmetics as well as single texts in specific subjects to create a series which covered everything required or permitted by British Codes of instruction. By the early twentieth century Nelsons offered a wide range of readers additional to or developed from the original Royal readers: the Royal Crown Readers, Royal Windsor Readers, Royal Osborne Readers, the Royal Princess and Royal King Series and the long-running Queen Primers.

Like the "Irish" texts the Royal Readers went down well elsewhere. There were special editions for various parts of the Empire and they were officially endorsed in the earlier editions of James Pope's Native School Reader and widely used in both Native Schools and public primary schools. The Royal Readers were as well-known to English-speaking children in the British Empire as McGuffey's Readers were in nineteenth century America.
The new texts produced in Britain after 1870 did not immediately supplant older texts, some of which remained in use over a long period. Sullivan's *The Spelling Book Superseded*, for example, was in its 70th edition by 1861 and was still in use in some Irish schools in the early 1920s. The "Irish" readers themselves were in use in New South Wales at least until 1898 and the Scripture books of the "Irish" series were still being used there as late as 1909. And some of the new texts had long runs. Edith Thompson's *History of England*, first produced in 1873 was still in print fifty years later while the *Royal Readers* themselves were in use in some places fifty years after they had first appeared.

Some of the older texts produced before 1870 were still in scattered use in New Zealand in the 1890s, partly because they were cheap and partly because they were well-known and well-established. And some Boards had old stocks to use up. Reeves, for example, told the House in 1891 that the Nelson Board had been using a reader for thirteen years after it had been struck off the official list of books for state primary schools because they had a very large stock to get rid of. Robinson, the Grey Inspector, was recommending Sullivan's speller in the 1880s and it was on the official list until 1899. Other old texts to appear on the official list in New Zealand were Johnson's *Catechism of Agricultural Chemistry*, first published in 1844, and Allen and Cornwell's *Grammar* in its 22nd edition by 1854.

Official lists of approved texts for use in the New Zealand national system were published in the *Gazette* with the first lists appearing in 1878. There were occasional additions thereafter with consolidated revised lists published in 1887, 1892, 1899, and 1905 to follow reprints or revisions of the examination and inspection regulations. Boards chose books from these lists for use within their districts and schools chose from the texts local boards had approved.
An examination of successive lists of approved texts reveals certain clear trends. Lists, firstly, became much shorter. The original 1878 list was a conglomerate list of books in use at the establishment of the national system. When the Department circularised boards regarding textbooks it simply asked for their nominations and indicated that whatever was recommended would probably be approved unless there were "grave objections". The Department also reserved the right to add books to the list itself. The result was a very lengthy list of over one hundred series or single texts which included some rather exotic works: Foster's *Manual of Geographical Pronunciation*, for example, Dicksee's *Perspective*, a daunting treatise on drawing, and Church's *Stories from Homer* which was, presumably, in use and in stock somewhere. By the 1890s, however, the more exotic works had been culled from the official lists: the 1892 list was somewhat less than half the length of that of 1878.

A second clear trend was the increasing number of locally produced texts. The 1878 list only included two New Zealand works, both of them geographies, but the 1892 list included New Zealand readers, arithmetics, geographies, histories, science texts, and drawing and copybooks. By 1905, when the last consolidated *Gazette* list appeared, there were also texts in singing, agriculture, woodwork, domestic science, recitation, and poetry so that all subjects were covered. And where in 1892 there had been single New Zealand volumes on particular subjects, e.g., history, there were in 1905 graded series of texts tailored to the successive standards.

The production of local texts was greatly stimulated by the *Education Act 1877* which created a New Zealand wide market for schoolbooks tailored to the new, national syllabus for primary schools. As in Britain detailed codes of instruction now provided textbook writers with their chapter and sub-headings and texts were produced by
teachers and inspectors thoroughly familiar with the official syllabus and the examination system.

Some texts were produced in New Zealand long before the 1877 Act, most of them geographies, for British texts in the 1860s had little to say about New Zealand and some of what they did say was wrong. But pre-1877 texts were generally single works, not parts of graded series, and in so far as they were aimed at a specific syllabus it was, perforce, that of a particular provincial system.

There was, however, one notable attempt in the early 1870s to produce a complete school series like those pouring from English publishing houses. In 1870 the Rev. T.A. Bowden, sometime teacher at the Bishop's School in Nelson and a co-founder of Wellington College and its headmaster from 1869 to 1874, planned a 24 part "Colonial Series" to consist, when complete, of six readers, plus grammars, arithmetics, geographies, spellers, three books of Bible readings, and texts in chemistry, history, and astronomy. The series was never completed and the British Museum Catalogue lists only sixteen parts, including four of the projected six readers. The books were, in fact, produced by George Philip and Son of London and their title pages bear the proud legend, "Philip's Colonial Series of Elementary School Books edited by Thomas A. Bowden, B.A., Oxon., and Adapted to the Schools of Australia and New Zealand...Sold at the New Zealand Educational Depository, Wellington."23

The first reader has no specifically New Zealand content and can best be described as "litt-le pie-ces for child-ren". The second reader consists of 250 pages of extracts from published work, e.g., from Lamb, Defoe, and Sandford and Merton, plus a further substantial selection of verse. The fourth reader, however, included a good deal of New Zealand material. It was, doubtless, for this reason that it was added to the official list of textbooks in 1879.24 The first 77 pages consist of 10 extracts from published works on Australian geography, flora, fauna, and
history; pages 78 to 194 are made up of 29 prose pieces taken from the writings of Dieffenbach, Hochstetter, and Bidwell, from such books as Edward Wakefield's *Adventure in New Zealand*, Cook's *Voyages*, and from the official report on the battle at Moutoa in 1865. The volume is rounded off with a lengthy selection of British verse, chiefly of an historical and rather bloodthirsty nature.

Even on its first publication this series got a cool reception. Thus Mr Restall, the Canterbury inspector, wrote in 1873:

> Among the best substitutes in case of need, for the Board's selection are some of those books edited by Mr Bowden of Wellington, but since they are not better, and in some instances not so good as those in use, their absolute substitution cannot be recommended. Some of the advanced reading books of the series should be in every school library, because they contain very interesting information on colonial, and especially New Zealand history, but they cannot be substituted for books of general information.

The *Fourth Reader* fared no better under the national system. In 1879 Crompton, the Taranaki inspector remarked:

> I do not know why it should be so, but almost universally, the *Fourth Reading Book*, hitherto supplied, fails to excite the interest or imagination of the children although it contains stories referring to New Zealand and Australia which ought to attract them.

The problem was that the pieces selected were in unduly difficult language for children, set out in dense small type, and not illustrated, faults which Bowden's reader had in common with Reeves's ill-fated 1895 reader. (See below.)

Bowden had rather more luck with some of his other texts. W.C. Hodgson reported in 1878 that the only grammar to be used in the Nelson district was "Bowden's English Grammar for Beginners" and for geography "Philip's Colonial Geography" was chosen because it had been "written expressly for New Zealand schools." Bowden had produced a general geography of New Zealand in 1868. It may have been his success with this which emboldened him to produce a school series and his school
geographies were on the official lists until the end of the nineteenth century.

Bowden's series is worth some attention not only for its scope and early date but for its general failure, despite its local content and editing. To succeed a colonial series of texts had to match British publications in attractiveness and the care with which material was graded. To be really successful texts had to be the work of people who were themselves practitioners within the system rather than well-educated gentlemen on the periphery.

Most successful texts of the late 1870s and the 1880s were written by inspectors of schools or by teachers. Donald Petrie, the Otago inspector, published a Geography of New Zealand and the Australian Colonies in 1878 and it was reissued in various revisions and under various imprints until 1885. Henry Hill, the Hawke's Bay inspector produced his First Lessons in Geography Adapted to Standards II and III in 1882 and it too went through various editions until 1887. Robert Lee of Wellington published his New Zealand Standard Class Book of Arithmetic, the first of a projected series, in 1883 and a couple of years later Peter Goyen of Otago published four arithmetics in Dunedin. J.B. Park, an Otago teacher who had published a School Primer of the Geography and History of Oceana for Young People as early as 1866, published First Lessons in English Composition in 1888 and it enjoyed a modest success.

The most successful early school history was Miss Bourke's Little History of New Zealand, a slim volume for schools which first appeared in 1881 and ran through six editions under various New Zealand and Australian imprints over the next five years. And there were, by the late 1880s, two local science texts: Curnow and Morrisson's Elementary Science and Prof. Bickerton's Materials for Lessons in Elementary Science. Whitcombe and Tombs also produced a number of incidental.
works including the highly successful Southern Cross Penny Table Book and some of Bowden's geographies and grammars.

But while there was a considerable number of New Zealand texts available by the late 1880s there was no New Zealand series to match the scope and popularity of Nelson's School Series until Whitcombe and Tombs developed their extensive Southern Cross Series in the 1890s.

Whitcombe and Tombs's first attempt at producing a local series of school readers, however, ran into serious trouble. Aware of the substantial market for a well-produced local reader Whitcombe and Tombs planned a series of Southern Cross Readers and invited local contributions of 600 to 1,000 words on such topics as New Zealand history, the Maori wars, local industries, and local geography and wildlife.\(^{35}\) The first four readers appeared just as the Sweating Commission made its report and there was strong resistance from unionists, particularly in Otago, to the adoption of the products of a firm which treated its employees as harshly as Whitcombe and Tombs.\(^{36}\) There were angry meetings of householders and school committees in Dunedin, pickets outside at least one school, and accusations that teachers stood to benefit from the introduction of the new readers because they had shares in the firm. Whitcombe himself denied this before the Sweating Commission and the President of the North Canterbury N.Z.E.I. felt obliged to issue a similar denial to the Christchurch papers.\(^{37}\)

By the middle of 1890 only the first four readers had actually appeared but Whitcombe and Tombs claimed that they were in use in Otago, South Canterbury, and some North Island districts and numbers V and VI of the series were in press and would be ready shortly.\(^{38}\) But the readers were still opposed by Trades and Labour Councils which attempted to organise a general boycott of Whitcombe and Tombs's publications. As a deputation to the Otago Education Board put it, the Southern Cross
Readers should not be used "on account of the antipathy of the working classes to the publication." 39

The debate on school texts which flickered and flared in the early 1890s was not just in reaction to Whitcombe and Tombs's relations with trade unions. There was a general demand that local texts should be used in the schools, partly for reasons of relevance and interest and partly because they would provide local employment. There was also the question of uniformity. The Gazette lists allowed considerable choice of texts and the parents of children who changed schools often found themselves having to buy new texts they could ill afford. These demands, taken together, could only be met by a uniform series produced by some agency other than Whitcombe and Tombs and they resulted in the production, in 1895, of a New Zealand Reader produced by the Government Printer under the oversight of Pember Reeves and his Department. 40

The New Zealand Reader, designed for the upper standards, was, however, a dismal failure. Like Bowden's Fourth Reader it was a selection of rather indigestible pieces originally written for adults. There were some pieces by Habens and one by S. Percy Smith "written expressly for this work", but they were also unduly elevated in language and had little appeal for school children. By the end of 1896 the Government Printer had run off 10,000 copies, bound 5,000 of them, and sold only 1,945 copies to recover £110 of the £573 the book had cost to produce. 41 Neither the Department of Education nor the Government Printer felt any urge to repeat this experience by attempting to produce further readers for other classes.

Undaunted by the rumpus over the Southern Cross Readers, and notwithstanding further passages at arms with the unions, and with the Typographical Association in particular, Whitcombe and Tombs pressed on with their Southern Cross series, adding considerably to their lists in the 1890s. 42 The Southern Cross Copybooks, a series of twelve writing
books, was widely available and widely used by 1890 and by the same year the *Southern Cross Arithmetics* were in press. The series of arithmetics was complete by early 1892, proved very successful, and went into a new edition in 1895. The *Southern Cross Geographies*, six books tailored to the examination prescriptions, appeared in 1894 and 1895, and the "Public School Series" of English grammars in 1895 and 1896. The *Southern Cross English Grammar and Composition* series also appeared in mid-1896 as did the first volumes of the *Southern Cross Histories*, a series which was completed in 1898.

Whitcombe and Tombs also produced a number of single works tailored to local requirements. A *Southern Cross Public School Atlas* appeared in 1895, for example, a text in elementary agriculture in 1898, and a text in woodwork in 1899. There was also a market for related works in education and Whitcombe and Tombs produced specimen examination papers, test cards, R.J. Penn's *Aids to Examination*, and a manual of school method by T. Cheyne Farnie in the early 1890s.

Whitcombe and Tombs dominated publishing for schools in the 1890s, but they did not monopolise it. Horsburgh of Dunedin, for example, produced some successful texts in their Zealandia series, most notably Farnie's *Zealandia School Composition* and J.R. McDonald's *Zealandia Geography*. A.D. Willis of Wanganui brought out a new edition of Blair's *Colonial Drawing Book* in 1891 and in 1895 Longmans published a *Geographical Reader for New Zealand* edited by Robert Lee, the Wellington inspector of schools. Curwen also published, circa 1896, a *Zealandia Songbook*, the first such work produced specifically for New Zealand schools.

But these publications, while they were included in the official lists, and while they were used in a number of districts, did not seriously threaten Whitcombe and Tombs's position in the market and, indeed, in 1898 Whitcombe and Tombs bought James Horsburgh out, closed
their own Dunedin premises and operated from Horsburgh's. They also resolved in the late 1890s that the time was ripe for another attempt to produce a miscellaneous reader for New Zealand schools and in 1897 invited "the scholastic profession of New Zealand" to submit pieces, which had to be on "Australasian subjects", for possible inclusion. By 1898 the firm was able to announce that it had in press "the greatest publishing undertaking ever attempted in this colony" and the Imperial Readers (Southern Cross Series) were published in 1899. Whitcombe and Tombs worked hard to puff their readers. They sent complimentary copies to a number of senior headmasters and printed their testimonials in the New Zealand Schoolmaster which they also published. The readers were, the publishers declared, "in advance of anything hitherto produced in the English-speaking world", and:

In asking teachers to give us the benefit of the undoubted advantages which the Imperial series possess over foreign competitors, we would remind them that these books are produced in our own colony, and that the work which must necessarily be created is not only a means of living to a large number of wage-earners, but will also help to engender a feeling of patriotic sentiment so desirable in our schools.

When Whitcombe and Tombs sent out free copies to headmasters they drew their attention to the books' merits and, in particular, to their New Zealand content and the headmasters responded appropriately. "The lessons on New Zealand subjects", wrote the headmaster at West Christchurch, in a typical testimonial, "are particularly appropriate, and supply a want long felt."

The Imperial Readers were duly added to the official list of textbooks in 1899 and were soon adopted in a number of districts in preference to British readers. The Imperial Readers' New Zealand content gave them a considerable advantage over the Royal Readers and over Nelson's later products, but there were, in the early 1900s, other series with similar claims. These readers came not from colonial
publishers but from British publishers with offices in New Zealand seeking a share of the New Zealand textbook market. The most serious contenders against the Imperial Readers were Longmans' New Zealand Readers which contained a good deal of local material, and were suitably illustrated and attractively produced. They got off to a controversial start, however, when it became widely known that Robert Lee who had recommended their use in Wellington was himself the editor. Lee excused himself and denied a conflict of interest by arguing that the new texts were simply a revision of an earlier Longmans series sanctioned by the Board. The Board resolved in favour of the Imperials and individual members had some hard things to say of Lee. Frederick Pirani, MHR for Palmerston, further accused the Department of Education of attempting to press education boards in general into using Longmans' Readers and he raised a cry in favour of colonial manufacturing and employment. Longmans' New Zealand Readers were in wide use in the early twentieth century but not as widely used as the Imperial Readers.

Like Longmans the firm of William Collins and Co. decided to adapt one of its series to New Zealand and in 1905-1906 published the New Zealand Graphic Readers, a series based on their successful Graphic Readers and containing some New Zealand material and some coloured illustrations. These readers, too, commended themselves to some boards and some schools, unlike Blackie's "special New Zealand edition" of the Palmerston Readers. Advertisements in 1899 for this series claimed that they contained "good, fresh, and interesting lessons" which would interest younger readers, imbue them with a love of reading, cultivate their taste and also encourage a "large-hearted and intelligent patriotism". There is no indication in the advertisements, however, that these books contained any New Zealand material, surely a selling point had there been any.
Textbook publishing was a competitive business, costly when one was unsuccessful and highly profitable when textbooks were widely adopted. In 1908 William Tanner, MHR for Avon, called for a return to be made to Parliament of all textbooks in use in the various board districts and of their prices. The detailed return which was duly made enables a fairly precise calculation to be made of the amount of money involved in the adoption of specific works. By 1908 the Imperial Readers were still widely, but not universally used. The purchase value of the readers in use, however, came to £3,068 and had the Imperial Readers been universally employed the total cost would have been £6,393, 46 times the average adult primary teacher's salary.

The sums of money involved in textbook production and sales made it a touchy business politically and it is not surprising that unionists made recurrent demands for local manufacture or that boards, committees, and teachers trod carefully when choosing texts. Textbooks also determined what went on in schools rather more than is the case today when teachers can make use of a wider range of resources and it is, once again, not surprising that advocates of particular subjects made the adoption of relevant texts a central part of their campaigns.

There was a further round of new textbooks with the appearance of Hogben's new syllabus in 1904 and Whitcombe and Tombs quickly published the New Southern Cross Arithmetics, the Imperial Geographies and the Imperial Geographical Readers, further grammar and composition books, and the Southern Cross Poetry Books, all series carefully tailored to the new prescriptions. In 1912 Whitcombe and Tombs produced a further series of readers, the Pacific Readers, which contained both Australian and New Zealand material in a canny attempt to sell on both sides of the Tasman.

In 1904 the New Zealand Schoolmaster reported an exchange between teacher and pupil: "Who were the makers of this New Zealand
history? Why Whitcombe and Tombs, sir!" This vignette nicely expresses the firm's commanding position in school publishing and might even be true. Whitcombe and Tombs remained the major publisher of New Zealand school texts well into the twentieth century and it was not until the 1940s that the Department of Education, hitherto content to use Whitcombe and Tombs as a sort of unofficial Schools Publication Branch, began publishing its own texts in English and Arithmetic.

But while the Department of Education was slow to publish texts in specific subjects it did venture back into the publication of reading material in 1907, not in the form of bound volumes like the disastrous 1895 effort but with the monthly School Journal. The School Journal was prompted by a demand for uniform reading material to lessen the burden on families which changed schools; it enabled the publication of more New Zealand material, and it was more flexible and could be more topical than a series of bound volumes. The Imperial Reader, No VI, for example, was originally puffed because it would contain chapters on the Anglo-Egyptian and Spanish-American wars but by the early 1900s Britain had been involved in a lively war in South Africa, overshadowing doings in Cuba and the Philippines.

The School Journal was hardly a novel venture: the South Australian Education Department produced a paper for schools in 1892, and the Victoria Education Department first produced its School Paper in 1896. And S.N. Brown and Co. of Dunedin produced a periodical called Schoolmates as early as 1897. Schoolmates was not officially approved until 1905, in which year it appeared in the Gazette list under "Other Supplementary Readers", but it circulated in schools nevertheless. In 1897 an Otago correspondent noted:

Although the Minister of Education gave his opinion against the circulation in our schools of the publication entitled Schoolmates, our Board, by one vote, I think, refused to instruct teachers to discontinue its use.
By 1900 Schoolmates had found its way as far north as Hawke’s Bay and Henry Hill noted that it was "quite a favourite" and that although it was not on the official list "we can hardly object to such a paper when it is purchased by the voluntary efforts of children."  

Not to be outdone Whitcombe and Tombs launched their own school paper, the Zealandia School Paper, in 1905, published monthly in three parts for Standard III, for Standard IV, and for Standards V and VI. The Zealandia School Paper, however, was never very successful and it ceased publication altogether early in 1906. Schoolmates, on the other hand, carried on until it fell victim to competition from the School Journal.

The School Journal was foreshadowed in 1905 when Fowlds, in the course of a statement on the question of uniform readers, suggested a Departmental school paper. Planning was well under way by late 1906. In a letter to Mark Cohen of Dunedin, Fowlds said that he had increased the editor’s salary by £50 to get a good man and a couple of days later he noted that he had had a letter from the publishers of Schoolmates but that he would not allow their interests to interfere with the establishment of the School Journal.

When the Journal duly appeared in 1907 it got a cool reception from some. The United Kingdom Publishers’ Association was reported to have circularised its members urging caution in letting their material be reprinted in the New Zealand School Journal and some teachers viewed it with a jaundiced eye. One remarked grumpily that it had, in fact, been financed from money which should have gone to increase teachers' salaries. Fowlds had to defend the Journal in the House. On one such occasion he produced the Queensland School Journal and pointed to material in it reprinted from its New Zealand counterpart. He also denied that the Journal was putting Schoolmates out of business: the Department actually paid a £50 annual subsidy on postage to keep the
Dunedin paper going. 74 "Wets" also kept a weather eye on the Journal lest it become a vehicle for Fowld's views on prohibition and the topical nature of the Journal also meant that successive Ministers of Education had to defend particular issues, but the Journal, nevertheless, quickly established itself as a good source of reading material and useful, local information and it was widely read by parents as well as pupils.

By the early 1900s, then, the syllabus was completely covered by reasonably priced, well-produced local texts carefully geared to the official syllabuses and written by New Zealand teachers and academics. These texts were a considerable advance in format and topicality on British texts in use in the 1880s and 1890s and they were a world away from the "Irish texts" and their contemporaries, books which the Lyttelton Times described in 1905 as "Those quaint mid-century volumes from which the youth of New Zealand used to be taught." But, the Times went on, "we suppose that the books of today will seem as crude and incomplete a century hence as 'Mangnall's Questions' and the 'Child's Guide to Knowledge' appear to us now."75 That century has not yet passed but eighty years later most of the texts of 1905 do not strike one as particularly crude or incomplete, at least as far as their format and general content are concerned. The better readers were quite well-graded, well-illustrated, printed in good clear type on excellent paper; and the better geographies and histories contained a clear coherent text rather than the older lists of capes and bays or the kings and queens of England. The modern reader is struck, not by any amateurishness of organisation or production but by the values and attitudes embodied in the material children were set to read, by repeated fervent praise of the Empire, racial and national prejudice, and by the picture of women presented. The next three chapters explore the social content of school texts, adopting a qualitative, thematic approach rather than a quantitative analysis.
Those who make numerical methods a defining characteristic of content analysis would not, of course, consider a thematic approach to be content analysis at all. Berelson, for example, defines content analysis as "a research technique for objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." Certainly, content analysis gained power and precision and emerged as a distinctive enterprise largely by employing numerical methods and, more recently, by employing computers to handle large amounts of information. But not all exponents of content analysis are as ready as Berelson to reserve the term to techniques that involve counting, and a good deal of methodological discussion has centred on the relative strengths and weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative analyses.

Thematic, qualitative analyses can be rich and flexible but their reliability can be questioned. They can be sensitive to rare but significant statements which might, in a numerical analysis, be buried in some residual category or dismissed for their low frequency, but qualitative analyses can also become selective lists of instances in support of a personal preconception. Numerical analyses, by contrast, can achieve a high degree of reliability but at considerable cost in time and effort, and they are, in their turn, open to the charge that they are often mountains labouring to bring forth mice. There is, Holsti warns, a temptation to use numerical methods in aimless "fishing expeditions" in the hope that something may turn up in the meshes of the statistical net.

Each approach can claim successes which might have eluded the other. George, for example, shows how he terms "nonfrequency analyses" of German radio broadcasts during the Second World War produced useful early indications of shifts in German policy, indications which would probably have been missed in a numerical analysis because they would probably have been lumped with other
infrequent items in a "miscellaneous" or "other" category.  

Garraty, on the other hand, lists numerical analyses which have brought to light themes and concerns the significance of which might well have eluded a more general, qualitative approach. R.K. White, for example, classified and tabulated the value judgements in Richard Wright's autobiography, *Black Boy*. Several aspects of Wright's personality did not stand out until they had been counted, and by far the most important of these was his emphasis on physical safety. White did not notice this on his first reading but it proved, in fact, to be the most frequently mentioned value in the book and accounted for 18 percent of all Wright's value judgements.  

White's study does not, however, show that quantitative methods can operate in splendid isolation from qualitative assessment and analysis. If physical safety had not occurred to White at all as a category then he could not have been surprised at the size of his final tally, and, as Garraty points out, the "discovery" of Wright's concern with physical safety does not explain the meaning of that preoccupation, a meaning which White explores in general, nonnumerical terms.

Hosoi notes that debate over the relative merits of quantitative and qualitative approaches often implies a rigid dichotomy which can be unhelpful and misleading. What might be considered purely qualitative judgements often have a quantitative aspect; they may be based on rough estimations of frequency or imply nominal or ordinal scaling which could be developed in more rigorous analyses. And even the most rigorously quantitative procedures must involve qualitative procedures to select categories and develop hypotheses. The two approaches are, Hosoi concludes, genuinely complementary. As Pool puts it:

It should not be assumed that qualitative methods are insightful and quantitative ones merely mechanical methods for checking hypotheses. The relationship is a circular one: each provides new insights on which the other can feed.
To adopt a generally qualitative approach, therefore, is not to opt for one horn of a dilemma rather than the other. It is, rather, to pursue one's analysis to the extent and in the direction that one's material admits and one's purposes demand. Chapters 10, 11, and 12 are concerned with cataloguing major themes in school readers and exploring the connections between them in order to reconstruct the general accounts children were given of certain matters: the social and moral order, New Zealand and its place in the world, and the nature and significance of racial differences in general and in New Zealand in particular. To say that these are major themes is, of course, to estimate their frequency as well as their significance, but identifying these themes and placing them in context does not demand numerical analysis. By contrast, certain specific questions which arise in chapter 15, in the course of a discussion of the religious content of public schooling, do demand a quantitative analysis. It was widely agreed that school textbooks contained religious references, but how frequent were they and did they become more or less frequent with the production of local texts?

Content analysis by whatever method raises a further question which is not, however, unique to it; namely this, one might be able to show that certain attitudes and beliefs were presented, but can one show that they were absorbed by their intended audience? Here someone analysing old textbooks may claim to be on firmer ground than many others, certainly on firmer ground than those who read great significance into speeches by captains and kings or who take the ideas of the literati for the ideas of the general population. School texts were probably the most widely read books, and read by persons at an impressionable age. They filtered the attitudes they reflected, of course, so that their racism and sexism, for example, were rather more genteel and subdued than the racist and sexist remarks people might have
made in conversation or on the stump, but it can reasonably be assumed that the racism and sexism they still contained, and there was a good deal of it, represented what was generally considered acceptable and unremarkable, what might be voiced anywhere by anyone. Some school books were controversial for the attitudes they sought to inculcate — texts on temperance are a good example — but run of the mill readers and histories presented children with widely held social attitudes which their elders shared in conversation or in print.

Older people's recollections also provide fairly direct evidence that much of what was in school texts sank in and remained with them over a considerable period. Some autobiographies show how textbook passages stuck with their readers. That is not surprising for the sort of people who write books are the sort of people who remember them, but many other people, when their memories are gently jogged, can recall textbook material, sometimes in surprising detail. If one asks elderly persons what texts they read at school they typically say that they cannot remember any of them, but if one produces texts until they recognise one they can then quite often find their way around the book with practised ease after giving a summary of some, at least, of its contents. For these reasons, then, and bearing in mind the problems with content analysis already noted, one can argue with reasonable assurance that school textbooks provide useful insights into certain aspects of social history, into generally held social attitudes, and into the presentation of these attitudes to the young.
Notes to Chapter 9


18. *AJHR*, E-1B, Session I, 1887, p.27.


23. See British Museum Catalogue and A. Bagnall (ed). *New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960*. vol I, for details of this series.

24. *NZG*, 1879, p.790. Some of Bowden's geographies and arithmetics were also gazetted at the same time.


37. LT, 18 August 1890.

38. NZSM, June 1890, p.10. It is not certain whether numbers V and VI ever, in fact, appeared. The present firm, Whitcoulls, has only numbers I-IV in the collection in its editorial department.

39. LT, 20 February 1891.


41. AJHR, E-10, 1896, p.1.

42. For details of this series see Price, 1983; McGeorge, 1979. The only references given here are to notices of the various sub-series. In a number of cases notices in the New Zealand Schoolmaster make it clear that particular items appeared rather earlier than Price suggests.

43. NZSM, June 1890.

44. NZSM, February 1892; January 1895.

45. NZSM, May 1894; August 1894; February 1895.

46. NZSM, June 1895; April 1896.

47. NZSM, May 1896; March 1898.

48. NZSM, July 1895; August 1898; March 1899.

49. NZSM, May 1891; December 1894.


NZSM, October 1890.

NZSM, August 1897.

NZSM, June 1898, p.169.

NZSM, March 1899, p.120.

NZSM, March 1899, p.120.

NZSM, October 1900, pp.41-42.

NZSM, October 1900, p.41.

NZSM, March 1899. I have never seen one of these readers and Price does not mention them.

This very useful return was not printed in AJHR but is preserved in the National Archive (File LE 1/1908/147).

These figures are based on the numbers of children enrolled in classes which were, according to education boards, using particular texts and on the list prices of these texts. For teachers' salaries see A.G. Butchers. Education in New Zealand. Dunedin, Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1930, p.603.

See Price, 1983; McGeorge, 1979 for details of this burst of publishing.

NZSM, November 1904, p.51.

AJHR, E-1B, 1892, p.9 refers to the issue of "a small paper called 'The Children's Hour' which contains stories and poems of an attractive nature."


NZSM, December 1897, p.66.

AJHR, E-1B, 1900, p.19.

LT, 11 September 1905.


LT, 7 August 1907 re British publishers.

LT, 20 September 1907.

NZPD, vol 142, 1907, p.882.

NZPD, vol 144, 1908, p.439.

LT, 23 September 1905.


80. Hosti, p.11.


Chapter 10

THE SOCIAL CONTENT OF SCHOOL TEXTS

It hardly needs to be said that school texts, and miscellaneous readers in particular, were, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, highly moralistic and generally drenched in the attitudes and values of their compilers. This was acknowledged, expected, and a selling point. It was also, in New Zealand, a convenient defence against critics of the secular system who alleged that the exclusion of religious instruction meant that the schools could not teach morality.

Some of the most clamant messages in school texts, those to do with race, patriotism and the Empire, and temperance, are dealt with in their broader context in separate chapters (chapters 12, 18, and 19) as are the New Zealand content of these texts (chapter 11) and their religious content (chapter 15). This chapter deals with general social and moral attitudes, with the conventional morality and conduct urged on children, and with the sort of moral world the textbooks portrayed.

This chapter is based almost entirely on an examination of school readers and the School Journal for these were by far the most widely read texts and were used for spelling, dictation, and composition as well as reading lessons. School readers of the period contained a considerable variety of narrative or expository prose plus a good deal of verse so that they included a number of genres, with moral exhortations very much to the fore in some and muted in or absent from others. Perhaps the best introduction to the morality preached by school books of the period is to be found in those occasional pieces in
which the authors spoke directly to their youthful readers. The last passage in the *Royal Star Reader* for Standard I provides a good example of direct moral exhortation and may usefully be given in full.

**How and What to Do**

Always say "Please" when you ask for anything, and "Thank you" when you get it. Some boys and girls say "Please" and "Thank you" to others, but forget to say these words to their parents and to their brothers and sisters. Always obey your parents and your teachers. They are placed over you for your good. They know better than you do what is best. Obey at once, with a smile, and show that you are willing and glad to do as you are told. Be gentle and kind to all; not only to those who are kind to you but to those who are unkind. Do unto others as you would have others do unto you. Above all, show your love and your kindest feelings at home to parents and friends there. Think of the poor, the old, and the sick. They need all the kindness you can show to them. Gentle words and acts of love will help to make them happy.  

"Little words of kindness,  
Little deeds of love,  
Make this earth an Eden  
Like the Heaven above."

Always speak the truth. Never tell a lie, either for fun or from fear. Better own a wrong than tell a lie. Nobody can trust a liar. Always be neat and clean. Soap and water are easily got, and every child should learn to use them. Never fear hard work. Play when you play, but work hard when you have lessons to learn or anything to do at home to help your parents.  

"Work while you work, play while you play;  
That is the way to be cheerful and gay.  
All that you do, do with your might;  
Things done by halves are never done right."  

Most other series contained at least some pieces as direct as this. The fifth in the series of *Sequels to the Royal Readers* contained nearly fifty pages of "Counsels for the Conduct of Life", short pieces urging decisiveness, self-reliance, concentration on the task at hand, strenuous effort, will-power, attention to detail, the wise use of one's time, punctuality, courage, courtesy, and temperance. The second of Longmans' *New Zealand Readers* contained a passage entitled "Manners" but not confined to mere etiquette. It was, the anonymous author noted, often said that boys and girls learnt many things, but not manners: "A
few words, which will guide young people to behave rightly, may then be of great use to them, if they will only take pains to act upon the advice given here." The advice given is to be "quiet and gentle" in speech and action, polite to adults, straight in speech and dealings with others, unselfish, helpful, clean and industrious, to avoid bad company, and to act with forethought.  

When textbook editors set out to provide moral instruction, however, they generally chose a narrative form rather than a series of simple exhortations. Thus the contents of the Royal Star Readers were classified under the headings "Narrative and Moral Tales", "Animals", "Plants", "General Information", and "Poetry". "Moral tales" in readers for junior classes included a fair number of old fables taken from Aesop, La Fontaine, or European folklore, e.g., The Hare and the Tortoise, The Goose that Laid the Golden Eggs, The Fox and the Crow, The Fox and Grapes, The Boy Who Cried Wolf. Readers at all levels also contained many stories of more recent manufacture with an obvious moral purpose. Two examples will suffice here. A piece in the first Imperial Reader, "Brave Little Kate", tells how a little girl finds a railway bridge collapsed and crosses a dangerous trestle to warn an oncoming train. "Children, how much good even a little girl can do, if she is quick to think and brave to act." Another piece in the same reader, "Jack and the Echo", tells of a boy who complained to his father that a hidden, rude boy across a paddock had called him names. His father explains to him about echoes:

The bad names came first from your own lips. Had you used kind and gentle words you would have had kind and gentle words in return. Kind words bring back kind echoes. And so it is when you speak to other boys and girls.

Those who compiled school readers obviously considered their descriptive, expository passages to be a means of imparting "useful knowledge" rather than moral guidance: the preface to the Royal Readers
distinguished lessons on natural history, "interesting narratives", verse, and history from "lessons having a more directly didactic tendency". Many of the descriptive pieces in twentieth century readers were, indeed, quite matter of fact, but in the Royal Readers and their contemporaries birds, insects, and animals often provided object lessons in courage, industry, and maternal devotion as well as evidence of Divine Providence; and pieces on commerce, industry, and geography were often well-salted with moral conclusions and exhortations. The fourth Royal Star Reader, for example, included a passage on flowers which includes an account of a prisoner who grew a flower in a prison courtyard and thereby gained many "lessons of wisdom", including the sure conviction of God's existence. The same reader also contains a piece, classified under "General Information", on health and hygiene which ends:

A brave boy would no more think of neglecting to wash himself because the water was cold, than he would think of running away from his friends when they were in danger.

Most of the numerous historical and biographical pieces in school readers were designed to provide moral instruction through the exemplary conduct and inspiring words of the moral heroes they depicted. The most common moral heroes of history, ancient and modern, were British military men: King Harold, King Alfred, Sir Philip Sidney, General Wolfe, Robert the Bruce, Lord Nelson, the Duke of Wellington, General Gordon, Kitchener of Khartoum, and Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead, the defenders of Rorke's Drift. The most commonly portrayed peacetime moral heroes were explorers, inventors, and social reformers: Captains Scott and Shackleton (in due course), Stanley, Livingstone, Richard Arkwright, James Watt, George Stephenson, William Wilberforce, and Florence Nightingale.

Two further means of moral instruction commonly employed should also be noted: poems, often highly sentimental and mostly moralistic,
and the disconnected moral maxims and scraps of verse dotted through many readers in convenient spaces. The second Royal Reader, for example, included such maxims as:

Waste not, want not.
A stitch in time saves nine.
He is wise who speaks little.
As the tree is, so is the fruit. 8

Such maxims still appeared in the Pacific Readers, circa 1912, although there were rather fewer of them. The fifth Pacific Reader, for example, included, inter alia:

Do the duty which lies nearest thee.
(Thomas Carlyle)

Up my comrades! Up and doing!
Manhood's rugged play
Still renewing, bravely hewing
Through the word our way! 9

How might one characterise the morality preached in schoolbooks in the different sorts of verse and prose outlined above? Firstly, this is, school readers suggest, a world in which virtue is rewarded and vice is punished or, at the very least, the morally weak fail to prosper. Rewards and punishments are meted out by parents, teachers, princes and governors - but not always. In many stories the world itself punishes wrongdoers who suffer the natural, automatic consequences of their actions. This is, according to many stories in readers of the period, a world of "immanent justice", to use Piaget's term for one aspect of primitive moral reasoning. 10 Thus one story in the first Imperial Reader tells of a lazy and indecisive young rat who is crushed to death when the old mill he lives in is demolished. "Do you not think Grip ought to have made up his mind more quickly? If he had gone with the other rats he would have been still alive." 11 A similar tale in the second Royal Reader has two quarrelsome goats meet on a narrow ledge. Neither will yield the way and both fall to their deaths. "Both might have been saved, if either of them had learnt how to yield at the right time." 12
It is also a world of strict moral book-keeping, a world in which
the balances are always struck in the end, even if it takes years.
Androcles' kindness to the lion is rewarded after many years; a man who
is unkind to an elephant is paid back years later when it drenches him
with water; Sir Ralph the Rover, having removed the bell from the
Inchcape Rock, perishes himself, with all his crew, when he returns to
the area years later and his ship is holed on the same rock. The second
Royal Reader tells how a kind woman gave a poor lad a ride in her coach
to the port when he intended to enlist as a sailor. Twenty years later,
in reduced circumstances, she is given a lift by the lad, now a
prosperous sea-captain who recognises her and settles £25 per annum on
her for the rest of her life. 13

A great number of the pieces in school readers deal with children
and their special moral obligations, and in particular with obedience,
the supreme childish virtue. Children should obey without question and
should never touch things which adults have forbidden. "Meddlesome
Mattie", alone in grandmother's sitting room, fiddles with things she
knows she should not touch and winds up in agony with snuff in her
eyes. 14 "Meddlesome Tom", poking about in his father's study, screams
with pain and fright when he meddles with a galvanic battery. 15 The
Royal Star Reader for Standard IV includes perhaps the most elaborate
such tale, one in which applicants for a job are left, one at a time, in
a booby-trapped room. One by one the young hopefuls are revealed as
nosy-parkers as bells ring, feathers fly, and things crash down on the
hearth. The last boy, however, keeps his hands off things and is
praised and hired. "Years passed away, days during which William
continued to give the old gentleman every satisfaction, and when he died
he left William a sum of money as a reward for his upright conduct and
faithful service." 16
These stories always make the general point that wrong-doers are found out and punished, by human agency, or otherwise, but their chief message is that the rules parents make are wise and loving and to be followed as a matter of prudence as much as duty or affection. "Wilful Alice", chafing under her mother's management, asks to be allowed to do as she pleases for just one day. Predictably she cuts her hand with a hitherto forbidden knife, tears her favourite dress in the garden and, finally, falls off a ladder and breaks her leg. "But Alice was a new girl after this, for she could see now that her mother did not let her have her own way because she loved her."17

Children should also be obedient, industrious, and polite not just because they are weak and ignorant but because faults of childish character can, if unchecked, mar their whole lives. The moral lessons of childhood can, on the other hand, stand one in good stead ever after and bring public esteem and material security. The Royal Star Reader for Standard III makes this point with a story about a boy whose stock response to injunctions to effort and industry is "What's the use?". The result is predictable: "Mark never got on. He lived an idle, useless life. When he went round to the folk of the town and asked them to help him, some of them, in his own words, said in reply, 'What's the use?'"18 As an another passage in the same book put it:

Children! You may decide now what you will be in the future. If you are sluggards now, you will have no pity shown to you when you are older. If you don't work now, you may some day have to beg.19

The importance of childhood was further stressed in some of the stories about the moral heroes of history by showing that great men had been marvellous children. The best known such story is, of course, the apocryphal tale of George Washington and the cherry tree but the writers of school readers also produced equally dubious tales of Nelson's boyhood, of Cook's early industry and application, and of the early moral fervour of various princelings. In 1913 the School Journal
included tales of the childhoods of Nelson, Florence Nightingale, David Livingstone, and Robert Clive and the April issue that year eclipsed other efforts in this genre with an account of a childhood meeting between Oliver Cromwell and the future Charles I. Little Oliver is left to play with the pale, sulky, spoiled prince and manfully bloodies his nose. King James forbids Cromwell père from punishing Oliver and muses, "If thou live to be a man, my son Charles would be wise to be friends with thee."  

There is a further point here in addition to the familiar theme of early intimations of future greatness; Charles was offered a crucial moral lesson which he should have attended to. Many stories hinge about a single, crucial incident, an important lesson or flash of insight which the person remembers for the rest of his or her life — and which the reader can share. The story of Robert the Bruce and the persevering spider is the ideal type of such stories and an obvious model for some pieces in school readers. One of the Royal Readers, for example, has a boy persevering until he masters a difficult piece of schoolwork because he is inspired by a snail crawling up a wall.

These crucial lessons do not always depend on animals, of course: some of them are engineered by parents, prospective employers or teachers and some of them depend on fairies, angels or magic. A little boy, for example, who is unthinkingly cruel to his dog is briefly transformed into a dog himself while the dog becomes a thoughtless boy. Parents, however, are the most common moral teachers of the young; they provide precept and example, they stage manage moral lessons, and they spell out the conclusions to be drawn from such crucial incidents.

"May you never forget this lesson, my son!" said Mr Prentice. "You now possess the secret of success. It lies in never stopping to think about a task being difficult or tiresome, but in going steadily on, with a fixed determination to succeed."
School readers are full of children's duties towards their parents. Children owe their parents love, loyalty, obedience and support in adversity or old age. Fathers, except for the occasional drunkard (usually soon reformed), are men of unimpeachable virtue and figures of unquestioned authority: they are industrious breadwinners, unwaveringly loyal to wives and families, and brave in their defence when the need arises. Mothers are uniformly loving, patient, understanding and self-sacrificing. Their moral virtue and their power to inspire virtue in others both stem from mother-love, a quality lauded in many stories and hymned in poems like "A mother's recompense", "A mother's love", "The sailor's Mother", and "Mother's Kisses". Mother-love is automatic, enduring, and all-conquering and on occasion propels women into uncharacteristic feats of physical courage and endurance. A mother has no need to ponder questions of moral philosophy; acting in accordance with her sacred instinct guarantees the right course of action.

Women's love for their husbands and children defines and justifies their subservient position in the world of the school readers. Women naturally become wives and mothers; only very occasionally does an adult woman have any other occupation, as a teacher, perhaps, or a nurse or shop assistant. There is little or no mention of married women working in factories or on the land for wages and women alone are usually widows or patient tenders of the domestic altars while their husbands are off to the wars, at sea, or travelling to seek work. Such women alone are models of patience, frugality, and self-sacrifice for their children.

Predictably, women hardly appear in history. The few who do are either of royal blood - Elizabeth I, Mary, or Anne - or honorary men like Joan of Arc, or moral heroes by virtue of their superabundance of the feminine qualities of love and devotion - Florence Nightingale and
Elizabeth Fry, the prison reformer. Otherwise women appear briefly and in their traditional role of loving helpmeets and self-sacrificing patient sufferers. Many of the pieces in school readers, including a good deal of the sticky, sentimental verse, were written by women, but pieces on notable authors and their insight and application feature Tennyson, Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray rather than women. The assumption that women necessarily play a subsidiary, subservient role in history and in human affairs generally is nicely displayed in a piece in the School Journal seeking to make amends for the omission of women from history. The editor, having already printed a poem by George Evans of Queensland on Empire-building settlers, was moved to include, in a latter issue, further verses by Evans, "The Women of the West". These, an introductory note says, remind us that women did play a part in this great work and "helped their husbands, sons, or brothers to found new homes and to establish the confines of the Empire." 24

Girls in school readers occupy very much the same subservient position as adult women. They are less adventurous than boys. Estimable boys are sturdy little chaps with physical and moral courage and a manly bearing; girls are winsome and affectionate and those we are meant to like are blue-eyed, ringletted little moppets. Little boys' moral lessons are designed to help them fight life's battles and to make their way in the world; little girls' moral lessons more often than not focus on obedience, cleanliness, order, and sympathy in preparation for their domestic and maternal role as adults. In a typical piece of this sort Anna has two fairy godmothers, Fairy Order and Fairy Disorder, each of which takes her on a magical journey before she decides which of them is to be her sole guide.

"Order shall be my guide in the future," replied Anna; and as she turned again to look at the ill-tempered Disorder, there stood the fairy Order in her place. Anna thanked the fairy Order with all her heart for what she had done for her; and from
that time she was never again found untidy. "A place for everything and everything in its place", was her motto; and all through life she never forgot the lesson she learned from the two fairies, and never failed to keep everything about her room and herself neat, clean, and in order. 25

Little girls were much more likely than little boys to learn their moral lessons from fairies, talking animals, magical journeys, or personified virtues. The Third Imperial Reader, for example, has "little Pearl Honeydew" listening to the growing strawberries and in another piece Daisy is taken by an "Indian fairy" for an illuminating voyage through time and space in a flying canoe with silken sails and a silver anchor. Fairies on occasion provide little girls with "useful knowledge" as well as moral guidance: "'Did I not hear a little girl express a wish to know more about the water?' said the fairy." 26

Little girls learn their moral lessons from fairies, their mothers, and from domestic routines. Little boys profit, morally, from games, playground incidents, and their experiences in seeking work or accompanying their fathers to work or on hunting or fishing expeditions. Poor girls are uniformly patient, forgiving, dutiful and industrious but middle class girls are sometimes lazy, disobedient, prying or spiteful until shown the error of their ways. Boys are also sometimes disobedient or lazy but, unlike girls, can also be rude, bullies, cowards or cruel to animals.

The difference between boys' and girls' interests and capacities is clearly illustrated in a piece in the School Journal for 1913. A little New Zealand girl, Sheila (I), is taken on board a battleship by her father. She cannot understand the engine room, cannot see how anything made of iron can float, and is afraid of the guns, but her father is neither surprised nor concerned. "It does not matter if you do not quite understand everything you have seen", he assures her; it is enough that she has visited the mighty ship and will remember her visit. 27
School readers' portrayal of women and girls is only one aspect of their general support for the status quo. The existing social system and patterns of authority are either taken as given or positively endorsed. Nineteenth century readers in particular assume and accept marked social class differences. Poverty, in the Royal Readers is the result of folly, misfortune, sloth, or being left widowed or fatherless and there are only very occasional suggestions, e.g., in Thomas Hood's "Song of the Shirt", of economic exploitation. The poor are generally honest, industrious, and uncomplaining and the ambitious and deserving among them are able to rise to a position of comfort and security within the existing social structure either by their own unremitting efforts or when their virtues are recognised and rewarded by their superiors. A few heroes, Richard Arkwright and Dick Whittington, for example, rise from poverty to a knighthood and a fortune, but in most tales of virtue rewarded the successful make modest advances up the social ladder and are amply rewarded with a secure job, a modest pension, or promotion to a better, but still modest, position in the army, navy or in a commercial firm.

Ambition and industry are commendable but covetousness, conceit and foolish daydreaming are not and a number of pieces praise people who find joy and contentment in faithfully carrying out the duties of their allotted station in life. Those of humble birth with the right sort of attitudes can find contentment in family life, simple pleasures, and a good reputation; the wrong attitudes, however, can bring disappointment and discontent. The third Royal Reader makes this point with a fable, "The Daw in Borrowed Feathers", in which a jackdaw makes itself ridiculous in cast-off peacock plumes.

This fable shows the folly of those who set their hearts on fine clothes and who try to lead a life above their station. So long as we keep in the place which God has given us, we are happy and people honour and respect us; but nothing is so absurd as
the vanity which makes us seem finer, or richer than we really are.  

The general point is developed in "The Heritage", a poem in the Royal...Sequels No IV, which contrasts the inheritances of the rich and the poor. The poor man's son inherits things which a king might envy: "Stout muscles and a sinewy heart, a hardy frame and hardier spirit", a delight in humble things, fellow feeling with the deprived, and "a patience learned by being poor."

O poor man's son, scorn not thy state;  
There is worse weariness than thine,  
In merely being rich and great:  
Toil only gives the soul to shine,  
And makes rest fragrant and benign;  
A heritage, it seems to me,  
Worth being poor to hold in fee.  

Generally speaking, however, the rich bear up bravely under their burden and, like the poor, grace their appointed position in society.

Captains and kings are typically portrayed in black or white with historical personages clearly labelled "Good" or "Bad" in the manner spoofed in 1066 and All That. Contemporary and near-contemporary persons of rank, wealth, and power are, however, almost invariably good, and when they are British they are uniformly good. There may have been Bad Kings, despotic officials, corrupt politicians or incompetent generals in the past, but there are none now.

The closer a British monarch is to the time of writing the more clearly he or she is a paragon of virtue and wisdom, although Edward VII presented something of a problem. It was, Chancellor notes, "hard to praise the moral virtue of one who had such tastes as Edward" so the textbook writers fell back on his supposed earnest wish for peace, making him "Edward the Peacemaker" and making his little jaunts to France diplomatic missions.

In the world of the school readers the rich and powerful are moral arbiters who dispense justice, recognise and reward virtue, and pause in the midst of important affairs to listen to touching appeals,
and then reprieve the unjustly condemned. A popular literary device is to have rulers wander incognito so that people are revealed in their true colours and subject to immediate judgment. "The Emperor and the Major", printed in the fourth Royal Star Reader has the Czar wandering alone without badges of rank and encountering a pompous officer who seeks to impress the quiet stranger with his rank. The Czar then quietly asks the officer to guess his rank, shaking his head at successively higher estimates until the frightened jack-in-office drops to his knees when he realises who he is addressing. The Czar lets the moral lesson suffice and goes quietly on his way.

But the major never forgot the lesson. If in later years he was tempted to be rude or haughty to his so-called inferiors, there arose at once in his mind a picture of a well-remembered scene. Two soldiers in a quiet country-town make an every-day picture after all; but what a difference there had been between the pompous manner of the petty officer and the easy dignity of the Emperor of all the Russias.31

In a somewhat similar story in the third New Zealand Graphic Reader the Emperor Joseph II of Austria is walking incognito when he meets a poor boy whose father, a military pensioner, has just died and whose mother needs medical attention she cannot afford. The Emperor promptly visits the boy's humble home, sends for a doctor, grants the widow a pension and takes care of the boy and his brothers.32

These, and other stories in which the humble and lowly encounter the great without realising it at first, have three clear implications. The first is that one should always be on one's best behaviour for one never quite knows who one is dealing with; the second is that the rich and powerful, rulers and generals, grace their positions with true humility, generosity and courtesy; and the third is that as soon as those who run things are made aware of wrongs or hardships they will right or relieve them.
This last is a central assumption in the Whiggish view of history taken by school readers and histories. Early and mid-nineteenth century histories for schools often made little concession to children and were chronicles, freely spattered with dates, genealogical trees of royal houses, treaties, statutes and battles. Later works were more closely tailored to children's understanding and adopted a more conversational tone with attempts to paint "word pictures", especially in their forays into social history: "Come, let us peep into a Saxon hall!"

The standard organising theme in these later works is the development of the present happy state of affairs and the motive power in British history is the spirit of the British people, their inborn passion for justice, fair play and freedom. Political history, above all, is an account of the eddies and currents as the tide of British history flows on towards constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy. Walter Murdoch's early twentieth century school history of Britain for New Zealand and Australian schools is, indeed, entitled The Struggle for Freedom and both Murdoch's book and its companion volume, Gillies' Simple Studies in English History, depict British political history as an attempt to preserve, restore, and safeguard traditional freedoms. Gillies, for example, explicitly likens an Australian Shire Council or a New Zealand Road Board to a Saxon moot; all are embodiments of the British spirit and of traditions of great antiquity. British history is a tale of freedom preserved from ambitious nobles, absolute monarchs, European despotism, and unscrupulous princes of the church. This is, as Chancellor points out, an anti-revolutionary view which makes the English Civil War and the installation of William and Mary acts of restoration and preservation, not insurrection or sectional interest.

There is little hint of sectional interest in school readers' and histories' accounts of contemporary life and politics. The Sixth
**Imperial Reader**, for example, includes a section on the "elements of social economy" which deals with parliament, elections, and the mechanics of voting in a New Zealand election, but there is no mention at all of political parties, let alone the particular economic or political interests of specific groups. Murdoch's *Struggle for Freedom* does mention political parties, but treats them blandly with no hint of who is likely to be Liberal or Conservative and no mention of Socialist or Labour parties.

Roughly speaking, we may say that the Conservative is the man who is deeply impressed with what has been done in the past, and fully alive to the danger of violent change; the Liberal is the man whose mind dwells on the evils of the present and the necessity of reform. The danger of Liberalism is in its tendency to make rash changes which may turn out ill; the danger of Conservatism is in its tendency to resist all changes, even changes for the better.35

School readers do not pretend that there are no social ills; destitution, disease, and war are, indeed, crucial elements in many pieces, but poverty and hardship are quickly remedied in individual cases and are generally being diminished by improved communication, processes of production, and the goodwill of the ruling classes. Rulers are benevolent and if there are cases of sharp injustice these are simply because the wise and just persons in ultimate control have not had them drawn to their attention. Thus Thomas Hood's "Song of the Shirt", a strong indictment of sweated labour by clothing workers, is prefaced in the *New Zealand Graphic Reader* for Standard VI with the note, "So profound was the impression made upon public opinion by the publication of this poem that the condition of working women immediately began to improve."36

In similar vein the *School Journal* for 1909 agrees that there are "hard-worked little ones" in British towns and that they often go hungry. But "good men" are planning to provide breakfasts for poor school children, and "kind people give holidays to little workers in the
country or at the beach." Deprivation is, in any case, not that very common;

Most English children in both town and country have very pleasant times...And it is because the children are so well cared for, and the parents are so kind, whether they live in a great house or a lowly cottage, that England has been called "The Land of Homes". 37

School readers of the period are well salted with pieces intended to impart "useful knowledge". These pieces are often in narrative form - "Fred's Trip to the Ironworks" - or in the sort of stilted dialogues so common in The Swiss Family Robinson. ("'Where do sponges come from, I wonder,' said Percy," provoking three pages from Aunt Mary on that subject. 38)

Many such pieces stress the ingenuity and complexity of modern manufacturing, transport and communications and the way in which they make goods and services more widely and cheaply available than ever before. By clear implication the great mass of people, and the working classes in particular, are better off than ever before. The point is made explicitly in the fourth Sequel to the Royal Readers in a piece entitled "What a Working Man May Say". He may say, firstly, "I am lodged in a house that affords me conveniences and comforts even a king could not command centuries ago." The products of distant places, e.g., tea, coffee, and cotton, are now within his means where once they were expensive luxuries and he has access to railways, post and telegraph services, newspapers and books. In fact, thousands of people all over the world are working to provide him with things.

This picture is not overdrawn, but might be much extended; such being the miracle of God's goodness, that each individual of the civilised millions that people the Earth may have nearly the same enjoyments as if he were the single lord of all. 39

New Zealand texts have much less to say about rich and poor, except in pieces taken from older works of fiction; but they present much the same bland, sanitised account of the social structure, the
position of the working classes, politics and history. They generally paint, for example, a bright picture of the settlers' motives and of the Land Wars (see chapters 11 and 12) and have nothing to say about sectional economic interests in New Zealand. But while both nineteenth and twentieth century readers provide a rose-tinted window onto the social structure they are not uniformly bland, and do not spare children all unpleasantness; they contain, indeed, some passages which might now be regarded as very strong meat. Many of the incidents described in school readers are violent, dangerous and end in death. There are fires, numerous shipwrecks, even more wars, and stories in which children and adults die of disease, starvation, and exposure. Death is common in prose pieces and a major theme of the verses, many of them lengthy ballads which served both as reading lessons and pieces for memorising and recitation. A modern reader dipping in these readers is struck by the number of poems in which someone broods over the dead. The most often included was Grey's Elegy in Country Churchyard which was printed in Longmans' New Zealand Readers, the New Zealand Graphic Readers, the Royal Readers, and the School Journal as well as in poetry books and anthologies of pieces from English literature. But it was only one of many poems musing over graves. Mrs Felicia Hemans's morbid verses were particularly popular with compilers of school readers. "The Child's First Grief" is a dialogue between an anonymous adult and a boy who mourns a dead brother. "O, call my brother back!" the child pleads but he is told that death is final; he will never see his brother again, and it is too late now to repine at not having played with him enough when he was alive. "Go! Thou must play alone, my boy. Thy brother is in heaven." The Graves of a Household, also by Mrs Hemans, muses on the scattered resting places of a family. One lies in America, "Far in the cedar shade"; one lies dead "On a blood-red field in Spain"; another "faded 'midst Italian flowers." The Better Land at first holds out
the promise of Mrs Hemans in lighter mood, but the better land is, in fact, beyond the grave: "Far beyond the clouds and beyond the tomb; It is there, it is there, my child."43

A full account of all the poems focussing on death would be tedious, but the range of such works can be illustrated by a brief sample of titles: "The Soldier's Grave", "The Dog at His Master's Grave", "The Pauper's Death Bed", "The Little Boy That Died", "A Butterfly on a Child's Grave", and "Treasures of the Deep". (Mrs Hemans again. The treasures are the corpses of the drowned.) 44

Nineteenth century readers, especially the Royal Readers and others from Nelson's were rife with such poems and the Imperial Readers contained a fair number too while the New Zealand Graphic Readers, which seem to have been based on the Royal Readers to some extent, contained most of Mrs Hemans's offerings as well as other morbid poems. The School Journal too included such verses on occasion, e.g., "A Soldier's Grave", "Grey's Elegy", and "The First Snowfall", a poem in which the settling snow reminds the poet of "A mound in sweet Auburn, where a little headstone stood." 45

The Victorian obsession with death and the development of an elaborate funeral industry and protocol have been well-documented and need not be traversed here. It is sufficient to note that the Victorians and Edwardians were not squeamish about the same things as the current compilers of school readers; and the frequency with which school readers mention death is a reflection of adult writers' intellectual preoccupations and of many children's own experience. A high rate of infant mortality, large families, and the early death of many adults meant that far more school children in those days experienced the death of a close relative, other than a grandparent, than is the case now.
Death in battle is as common in school readers of the period as the deaths of relatives at home. "The Burial of Sir John Moore After Corunna", for example, was a popular poem with compilers as was "Casabianca" (Mrs Hemans once more) and there were many prose pieces on war. War was generally assumed to be part of the scheme of things and readers described a wide variety of conflicts: knightly battles, Horatius' gallant defense of his bridge, the Civil War in England, and the Napoleonic wars were popular topics in older readers like the Royals. Later works had an even wider range of wars to choose from: the Zulu wars, the South African and Spanish-American wars, the Boxer rising, and, in New Zealand works, the land wars of the 1860s.

Warfare is the ideal setting for the display of masculine virtues. Private soldiers and able seamen are true-blue, steadfast and uncomplaining. When they are British and when the need arises they perform heroic feats as a matter of course and express inarticulate puzzlement when it is later suggested that this is anything more than their duty. Officers display cool gallantry, automatic chivalry and inspiring examples of leadership while generals and admirals are full-blown moral heroes who display superhuman courage and wisdom. The exemplary deaths of Generals Moore and Wolfe and of Lord Nelson were favourite topics and were described in prose, verse, and pictures. Nelson was probably the person most often mentioned in school readers of this period. The fifth Royal Reader, for example, contains five pieces about him, three in prose and two in verse, and the Sixth Imperial Reader contains three.

Soldier heroes' reputations were further enhanced by apochryphal tales of incidents illustrating their force of character as children and the many adult virtues they possessed in addition to those displayed in the cannon's mouth. Nelson as a child literally did not know what fear was and asked the meaning of the word and Custer, according to the
School Journal once led a column around a bird's nest on the prairie rather than disturb the fledglings therein. "Then the soldiers knew what a tender heart was beating in the breast of their brave leader."46

Twentieth century readers included, in addition to the customary pieces on Nelson, Wolfe, and Waterloo, pieces on the complexity and power of modern warships. Longmans' New Zealand Reader for Standard VI, for example, ran the gamut with pieces on the last fight of the Revenge, the battle of Inkerman in the Crimea, the Indian Mutiny, the defence of Rorke's Drift and verses on the Victoria Cross as well as articles on modern battleships, torpedoes, and torpedo boats.

War is a central feature of British history and true Britons are never found wanting when the drums beat and flags fly. In peacetime and in the meantime the soldierly virtues of courage and self-sacrifice can be displayed in the "battle of life". In 1908 the School Journal printed a speech by an ex-teacher at Marlborough College lauding lads of his acquaintance who were killed in South Africa. We do not all become soldiers, he concludes, but if you realise that life itself is a battle, "in your heart of hearts you will hear the bugle sounding, and with your mind's eye you will see the old flag flying and you will acquit yourselves honourably."47 Some years later, with New Zealand now at war with Germany, the School Journal made the same point in verse:

"The Right" be your battle cry ever,
As you share in the conflict of life,
And God, who knows who are the heroes,
Will strengthen your arm for the strife.48

A very few passages in school readers or histories condemn war outright. Gillies, for example, takes his readers on an imaginary ride in the track of an invading army during Britain's wars with France and paints a vivid picture of death, ruin, and misery.49 And the sixth Royal Reader includes a speech by John Bright condemning war as horrible, costly, and quite unchristian.50 But Bright's speech is listed as a "rhetorical piece" and these and one or two other pieces of
a pacifist tendency are far outweighed by the frequent suggestion that war is natural, inevitable, even desirable as a test of true manhood.

Schoolbooks had a lot to say about violent death and sometimes went into gory detail. Two examples which might raise eyebrows today will serve to illustrate this point. The fourth Imperial Reader includes an extract from Frederick Maning’s *Old New Zealand* in which a young Maori woman commits suicide with a musket.

> From the waist upwards, the delicate-looking figure was covered with blood. The old man's right arm was under her neck; the lower part of his long grey beard was dabbled with blood; and his left hand was twisted in her hair.51

The sixth Royal Reader describes Sir John Moore's fatal injuries at Corunna:

> The shoulder was shattered to pieces; the arm was hanging by a piece of skin; the ribs over the heart were broken and bared of flesh; and the muscles of the breast were torn into long strips, which were intertwined by their recoil from the dragging of the shot.52

But while schoolbooks said plenty about death they had nothing to say about birth, other than conceding that it happened. There was nothing to offend even the most delicate Victorian, although forbearing from writing of death in childbirth must have been a hardship for Mrs Hemans.

In Victorian and Edwardian school readers relations between nations and between civilised men and savages are a matter of struggle, of victory or subjection, and so, too, are relations between mankind and the physical world and brute creation. The natural world is to be tamed and tidied and made safe for settlement and commerce. Man has dominion over animals and may do just as he pleases with them, as long as he is not needlessly cruel to certain of them. School readers drew a fairly clear and consistent distinction between two groups of animals. The first was made up of domestic animals, pets, and the wild creatures of countryside and garden which a child might encounter. The second was made up of game birds and animals and of the wild animals of Africa,
Asia, North America, and Australia. Pieces on the first sort of animal typically end with an account of their uses or with a plea for kindness to them. Children should not tease their pets, rob birds' nests, or throw stones at animals. A typical piece in this vein concludes, "Now that you know so much about frogs, I am sure you will not throw stones at them."53

The second group of animals were, however, fair game and most series of readers outlined the ways in which certain wild animals could be hunted and killed and included some lively stories of hunting parties with shot by shot descriptions. By the end of the fourth Imperial Reader, admittedly an extreme example, the total bag is three deer, one puma, one peacock, one buffalo, six wolves, and one rhinoceros. Wild animals are shot on sight or attack on sight to be shot by hunters who stand their ground and hold their fire until the crucial moment.

All of this is in the clearest contrast to the conservationist messages which almost invariably round off writing or television programmes on natural history now. There was some conservationist talk in later texts, particularly New Zealand ones discussing forests and birds, but the message was not always clear or consistent. The second New Zealand Graphic Reader, for example, praised the authorities for creating bird sanctuaries and said, "Let us hope that in this way New Zealand will always be able to preserve its native birds."54 But the sixth reader in the same series comments, in a matter of fact way, that kiwis are usually hunted with dogs and afford "good sport" because they fight fiercely with their claws in self-defence, and it concludes, without much evident regret, that "at no distant date even the Kiwi will, in all probability, be a curiosity of the past."55

It is a commonplace in educational circles these days that schools seek to impose middle class morality on children and the same may be said of the texts on which this chapter is based for they are
middle class in more than one respect. The anonymous teachers, inspectors of schools, and journalists who wrote so many of the pieces in them, and the editors who put the books together, were, of course, middle class and often presumed that their readers were too. In many pieces there is easy talk of nurses to mind children, lessons at home rather than at school, of holidays, a choice of clothes, of ponies and pets, books and toys, and of mothers at home rather than working in factories or on farms.

But the most pertinent sense in which the readers are middle class is in the morality they preach with its emphasis on the this-worldly benefits of foresight, self-control, rectitude and respectability. This is a world in which comfort and security are possible, with effort, but not guaranteed by birth or inheritance. It is also a world in which comfort and security are threatened by misfortune, flood, fire, shipwreck, and the death of the breadwinner and the worthy and industrious may slide down to penury. It is not surprising, then, that the existing social order is to be accepted and maintained, by force of arms if necessary, and is to be consolidated by commerce and the subjugation of nature. In so far as there is poverty and want these are to be remedied by individual virtue and industry, by judicious philanthropy, and by extending the benefits of material progress more widely.

Schoolbooks, like the free public school system itself, embodied the gradualist, ameliorist view of middle-class reformers concerned to soften to the worst features of the existing social and economic system and to cautiously free up movement within it, but not to question or threaten it.

To a modern reader old school books appear highly moralistic, more moralistic, one might conclude, than present day school readers. But that is simply a matter of perspective and expectation; a nineteenth
century reader would, no doubt be struck by the values embodied in current school books, their emphasis on conservation, for example, and the dogged attempts some of them now make to present girls in a more favourable light.

One of the best preparations for a content analysis of current school texts is, indeed, to spend some time reading older works for one is thereby alerted to things one might otherwise miss. One cannot but be struck, for example, by older readers' preoccupation with death and thus become aware that modern school books are generally coy about it and that death, when it occurs, it almost always off-stage. By contrast, older texts were coy about pregnancy and birth in either humans or animals, whereas modern texts can be quite matter of fact about these things.

And what, one wonders, has happened to real people as moral heroes - the soldiers, explorers and figures from British history? What, for the matter of that, has happened to poverty and ruinous personal misfortune? The world of the modern school reader or School Journal is, in so many ways, a much safer world without nearly so many fires, shipwrecks, wars, suddenly absent breadwinners and infant deaths from common diseases.

School texts reflect their times in a number of distinct senses. A lot of what they contain simply reflects the contemporary scene in a fairly unexamined way. To take a trivial example, current school readers often mention motor cars but hardly any texts printed before the Great War do. Older texts' concern for social security obviously reflects a time when there were no old age pensions, when the loss of a breadwinner was a double tragedy, and when the workhouse and charity ward were objects of horror. Current readers, by contrast, not only omit this sort of material but include many pieces in which both adults and children get holidays and can afford to travel; people apparently
own their own homes and those homes contain television sets and household appliances.

School texts also reflect particular groups' preoccupations and anxieties and so emphasise certain things at the expense of others. School texts before the Great War were, in the general sense already outlined, middle class but they also reflected the interests and concerns of particular sections of the middle class. The same can be said of current texts. There are probably as many soldiers and warships now as there were before the Great War, but they hardly ever appear in school readers. There is still a British royal family but unless its members do something particularly interesting they do not appear in the School Journal. But current readers, and books in general for children, do include a great number of pieces on what might be termed "human relationships", pieces in which differences are settled by discussion, mutual understanding and compromise rather than by one party giving the other a sharp lesson in duty and obedience.

And, of course, certain aspects of school readers past and present represent quite deliberate attempts to shape children's attitudes. The current revision of New Zealand's basic readers was undertaken, in part, to produce less sexist reading material; Nelson's Royal Readers made a selling point of their moral stories, and Whitcombe and Tombs's Imperial Readers were designed, in part, to stimulate patriotic sentiments.

The world presented to children in school books is always very much a deliberate construction for social and moral purposes. School texts reflect the world as it is, often in ways that the compilers do not realise, but they present even more clearly an ideal world. In the ideal world of school books before the Great War captains and kings were benign, death and misfortune were ever at hand but so was succour for the deserving, parents were loving and self-sacrificing, the poor at least
enjoyed domestic love and harmony, and virtue and industry were always rewarded in the long run.

In addition to an ideal world one can also construct from school readers of any period an ideal child. That ideal child before the Great War was unquestioningly obedient, endlessly industrious, clean, polite and properly respectful towards teachers and employers and full of filial piety and loyalty to monarchy and Empire. (There was, of course, a great deal of incidental material to make that ideal child a racist and a chauvinist with a cavalier attitude to the natural environment and a settled belief in women's natural subservience to men.)

This thesis is organised around the premiss that a great deal of what went on in schools in the past is only fully intelligible when it is viewed as moral education, as an attempt to produce an ideal child who would grow into an ideal citizen. The best place to find that ideal fully displayed is in school readers and texts of the period.
Notes to Chapter 10


5. Imperial Readers, First Book. p.36.


10. J. Piaget. The Moral Judgement of the Child. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968. By "immanent justice" Piaget means the belief that the world itself punishes wrongdoers so that, for example, a boy who has stolen apples falls into a ditch because, and only because, he has stolen.

11. Imperial Readers, First Book. p.89.

12. Royal Readers, No II. p.15.


17. Longmans' New Zealand Readers, Book II. p.72.


20. SJ, Part I, April 1913; June 1913; November 1913.


22. Royal Readers, No IV. p.28.


27. SJ, Part I, June 1913.


34. Chancellor, p.49.


36. New Zealand Graphic Readers, Sixth Book. p.63. The "Song of the Shirt" also appeared in Royal Readers, No VI. p.91.


38. Longmans' New Zealand Readers, Book III. p.120.


47. *SJ*, Part II, November 1908.


49. *Gillies*, pp.64-6.


51. *Imperial Readers, Fourth Book*. p.53.


55. *New Zealand Graphic Readers, Sixth Book*. p.46.
Chapter 11

LEARNING ABOUT GOD'S OWN COUNTRY

Such studies as have been made of social values in New Zealand schooling have focussed on the schools' efforts to foster patriotism and imperial sentiment before the Great War and in the 1920s. They have, in this way, harped again on an old theme in the history of education in New Zealand, i.e., its dependence on British models, attitudes, and concerns, and its emphasis on material concerning Britain. There has, by contrast, been little research on what the schools might have taught New Zealand children about New Zealand and about themselves as New Zealanders.

Perhaps this is quite understandable: the patriotic, imperialistic pieces in the School Journal, for example, were meant to be striking and persuasive and now that their message is no longer fashionable it seems even clearer, even more strident, even more likely to catch our attention than more matter of fact pieces on New Zealand geography and nature study. The New Zealand material in early texts and Journals is not only overshadowed by such striking stuff as Lord Meath's view of the Empire; it can seem unremarkable to a contemporary reader because it deals with quite familiar topics in quite familiar ways.

But this relative lack of novelty makes such material all the more worth examining. Studies of school patriotism remind us that some old myths crawl off to die in schools; an examination of local material may show that some myths we have grown up with were incubated and hatched there.
Syllabus statements do not give an accurate indication of the amount of New Zealand material children encountered in schools before the Great War. Haben's 1878 syllabus included some references to New Zealand as part of the prescriptions in geography. Standard III was to have a "Knowledge of the chief towns of New Zealand and the principal features of the district in which the town is situated"; Standard IV work was to include "the drawing of rough maps of New Zealand with one set of principal features (as capes or towns or rivers)"; and Standard V was to be able to name places of political or historical importance in New Zealand. No other subject prescription, however, made reference to New Zealand and history was clearly labelled "British History" until 1904.

The geography prescriptions were slightly amended in 1891. The work of Standards IV and V was combined into a single block which included such topics as the capital, the chief provincial towns, leading products and industries, the principal ports of New Zealand, "objects of interest to tourists", and "interprovincial transit." Hogben's 1904 syllabus was the first to specify New Zealand history. The old label, "British History" was dropped for "History and Civic Instruction", a subject which included the discovery and settlement of New Zealand, the abolition of the provinces, and the current system of government. The 1904 nature study syllabus, while it did not mention New Zealand much by name, implied a good deal of study of local plants and animals.

But the syllabus regulations taken alone are quite misleading: there was less mention of New Zealand in the nineteenth century schools than the 1878 regulations indicate and much more mention in the early twentieth century than the 1904 syllabus would suggest. Here, as elsewhere, exactly what was covered in the day to day work of the schools depended on the textbooks in use and their contents.
The increasing use of New Zealand material was not universally welcomed. There was, as chapter 9 recounts, political debate and industrial fuss over the economic aspects of textbook publishing and purchasing; some educationists did not see any need for local material whoever published it, and some were openly opposed to giving local material too much space. Opposition to the use of local texts seems to have stemmed from a general belief that colonial products could not match those of the Mother Country. Alfred Saunders, a member of the North Canterbury Board, declared in 1891 that, "The Colonial school books were much inferior to those prepared in England and had failed even in regard to the point of giving information on Colonial matters." As late as 1916, by which time New Zealand readers were very widely used, at a meeting of the Christchurch School Committees' Association "Many speakers praised the old time Royal Readers as being superior to anything now used."

A more serious, more specific charge against New Zealand texts was that they would foster an insular view. Thus Mr Rowe told the School Committees' Association in 1907 that, "a New Zealand textbook would narrow the outlook of young New Zealanders and make them forget that they belonged to a great Empire." Rowe was able to make the same point again when the North Canterbury Board set up a three man committee to report on the newly established School Journal. Rowe, James Hight, and a Mr Jamieson eventually tabled a detailed critique of the School Journal. Its contents were scrappy, it should have been illustrated, there were numerous errors and the literary material was of poor quality. And, the report concluded:

The character of its contents is such as to tend strongly to accentuate the already too strong tendency to insularity and parochialism of thought and feeling fostered to such a degree by our isolated geographical position.

Whitcombe and Tombs obviously took this criticism seriously. The preface
to their *Pacific Readers* noted that some material had been included to "broaden the outlook of the children and to counteract any tendency to insularity."\(^8\)

Some commentators took the straightforward view that New Zealand did not furnish much material worth bothering with in any case. Dean Fitchett, speaking on "Citizenship" to the Otago University Debating Society, doubted that New Zealand history furnished much material for national pride. It would, he said, be difficult to work up much enthusiasm over a catalogue in which "the principal lots were Maori carving, the Maori wars, the early settlers and their adventures and misadventures, the early days of the gold diggings, and the romance of colonial banking."\(^9\) Britain, it seemed, produced more history than it could consume locally, but New Zealand was not even self-sufficient. George MacMorran, a Wellington headmaster, made a special plea for New Zealand history in the course of a paper on the need for history teaching in primary schools, but he sadly noted that in making this plea elsewhere he still met the objection that "in dealing with New Zealand history we are dealing with trivialities."\(^10\)

One common argument for local texts was that those produced in the Northern Hemisphere not only dealt with unfamiliar places, plants, and animals but had the seasons reversed as well so that colonial children were confused by Christmases in winter and spring in May. But John Smith, the Marlborough inspector, was unmoved. If the seasons were reversed in imported books that was actually an advantage for it gave intelligent teachers "an additional motive for a careful explanation of the principles of physical and mathematical geography."\(^11\)

Such diehard arguments and the belief that British was always better than colonial did not, however, outweigh the practical arguments for locally produced texts and the inclusion in them of a certain amount of local material. British texts dealt with much that was unfamiliar to
New Zealand children and some things that were more or less unintelligible without a good deal of explanation. They rarely mentioned New Zealand in the nineteenth century, and when they did their material was often out of date or plainly incorrect. The 1881 edition of Cornwell's *School Geography*, first published in 1847, still referred to the division of New Zealand into New Ulster and New Munster, and his *Geography for Beginners* assured its readers that Mt Egmont was the highest peak in New Zealand. The 1913 edition of *Geography for Beginners* had the mountains sorted out but claimed that Maoris were only to be found in the North Island. There was also a tendency for British geographies to lump New Zealand and Australia together as "Australasia", and to confuse the two, or to lump New Zealand with an assortment of Pacific Islands as "Oceania". Lyde's *Man and His Markets*, an otherwise well-produced work published in 1896, for example, includes a picture of an emu, a kangaroo, a platypus, an echidna and a kiwi all foraging together amongst a botanical miscellany and the text refers to the "kivi bird". Such muddles as these provided very strong arguments for local geographies and histories.

Another line of argument for local texts flowed from the assumption that the schools were the ideal medium for the dissemination of useful knowledge which would contribute to the peace and prosperity of the colony. In 1890, for example, Mr Beetham urged the government to send schools collections of mineral specimens so that children could be taught elementary geology and so know if any rocks they ran across were "auriferous or argentiferous", and in 1891 Reeves was asked in the House what had been done towards publishing local texts in mining and agriculture.

But perhaps the strongest considerations in favour of the inclusion of New Zealand material in New Zealand texts were a growing pride in New Zealand and an awakening sense of national identity. Rowe
might fear a diminution of loyalty to the Empire with local material but
others did not think the two incompatible, and they echoed George
MacMorran's view that, "We wish these boys and girls to be proud of the
little country to which they owe their birth."\textsuperscript{16}

The preface of the ill-fated \textit{Southern Cross Readers} astutely
rehearsed the arguments in favour of local content and is worth quoting
at some length in this context.

The \textit{Southern Cross Readers} are designed to provide
for the public schools of New Zealand reading
lessons that will stand in more direct relation to
life and its surroundings in our own land than the
lessons of foreign "readers" do. Our seasons and
climate, our plants and animals, our social and
political conditions, our landscape and physical
surroundings and the starry firmament above our
heads, are all widely different from those of the
mother country. This being the case, it is surely
fitting that our changed conditions should be
reflected in the reading lessons which form so
important a factor in the education of the young.

Many thoughtful friends of education have remarked
the meagre growth of the faculty of observation
among the pupils of our public schools. This defect
seems to be largely due to the fact that the reading
books in current use deal with a world to which the
young in our land are strangers. It is one of the
chief aims of the present series to correct defects
of this kind by bringing the minds of the young into
more direct contact with facts of life and of nature
as we know and have experience of them here.

The publishers hope that the lessons will help to
foster the growth of national patriotic sentiments,
which are slow in appearing in all new countries.\textsuperscript{17}

What sort of composite picture of New Zealand, then, was to be gained
from school books and papers before the Great War? There were, firstly,
two somewhat different accounts of the New Zealand landscape. On the
one hand a good deal of material played up local flora and fauna, the
variety and beauty of New Zealand scenery, volcanoes, the Southern Alps
and southern fiords - "Tourist Bureau New Zealand". The Pink and White
Terraces, thermal regions, and the Mount Cook area were favourite topics
in this genre and local texts presented New Zealand as a uniquely
beautiful, justly famous assortment of tourist attractions. "The
scenery of New Zealand, too, is famous the world over", said the Southern Cross Histories, No 3: "A land to be proud of, this Queen of the South in which we live." The fourth Southern Cross Geography took the same line: "New Zealand is justly noted for the varied beauty of its scenery. Probably no country in the world presents such a variety of scenery, or so many attractions to tourists." New Zealand was, according to the sixth New Zealand Graphic Reader, "one of the most beautiful and favoured countries in the world."20

A second account, given chiefly in geographies but also in some pieces in miscellaneous readers, stressed settlement and economic development, the introduction of exotic plants and animals, and the still untapped natural resources of New Zealand, which were held to include considerable mineral wealth as well as workable oilfields. There was also great potential for the use of hydro-electric power, something which the Southern Cross Geographical Reader assured its readers, "will surely make New Zealand one of the great manufacturing nations of the world."21 From time to time writers in this vein expressed regret that certain plants and animals were becoming rare as the landscape was transformed, and William Pember Reeves's "The Passing of the Forest" appeared in more than one series of readers. But this was generally regret at the inevitable, and there was little or no suggestion that development should be checked, diverted, or even seriously questioned at all in order to preserve anything autochthonous.

New Zealand's wildlife was, of course, as remarkable, as unique as its scenery. The School Journal, for example, claimed that, "the animal life of New Zealand is more ancient, more peculiar, and more interesting than that of any other country in the world."22 These days such claims would be a prelude to impassioned pleas for conservation but schoolbooks of the period presented economic development as inevitable and of over-riding concern. Bird sanctuaries were commendable and so
was individual concern, but if certain species disappeared that was only an inevitable consequence of settlement.

It is sad to think of the fate that has befallen the kiwi and so many more of the native animals of our island home. It may be that their decline cannot be arrested by any means that the cunning of man can apply. But each in his sphere, should do the best he can to preserve the waifs of ancient creation that filled our land but a short century ago. 23

School books' conservationist messages about native trees and plants were as muted, if not downright inconsistent as their comments on birdlife. The School Journal regularly promoted Arbor Day and urged the planting of native trees and shrubs in playgrounds.

The Native trees and shrubs are usually neglected, and yet they, above all others, should be loved by New Zealand boys and girls...Our own trees are surely worthy of admiration...Most of them are found wild in no other land. 24

At the same time school books routinely praised the industry of the pioneers in clearing bush to make farms and featured the continuing establishment of pastures in the North Island to expand the dairying industry. The Southern Cross Geographical Reader for Standard IV was quite explicit about the need for economic development by transforming the landscape and about its readers' duty to assist one day in this "great task": "It is to fit you to take your appointed share in this task of subduing the earth that the school in which you are now reading this book was built." 25

Given New Zealand's scenic beauty, its temperate climate and its bright future, New Zealand children could reckon themselves lucky to be where they were.

Have you ever thought that there are hundreds of thousands of children in the crowded cities of Europe who never see much of the sun even in summer? These poor creatures live in cellars, or in dark, dirty rooms, among the lanes and the narrowest streets of the great cities. One of these children suddenly placed under a New Zealand sky would be filled with amazement. Let us never forget that this glorious sky of ours and the warm, life-giving
sunshine that scarcely ever fails us, are blessings for which we can never be too thankful.\textsuperscript{26}

The ills of the Old World had been left behind, another text assured its readers, and:

...we must all work together so that the sickliness, and grinding poverty, the class of hopeless paupers, and professional criminals which disfigures so many a spot in the Old World shall never darken our New Zealand lives.\textsuperscript{27}

Some British texts, although they did not wax as lyrical as local works, also gave New Zealand a very good press.

The colonists of New Zealand are a healthy, energetic, and enterprising people. They are very British in their appearance, habits, and manners and their love for the old country is very great. There is no poverty and no poor law, and drunkenness is very rare. Although the public debt of the country is large the people are perhaps the most prosperous in the Empire.\textsuperscript{28}

Not only was New Zealand free of Old World ills but it provided great scope for moral and social advances.

With a high civilisation and small numbers in proportion to their land the new countries, as they are called, can safely try new things, that is to say, make experiments which the old countries are unable or unwilling to try...We call these measures experiments because they are new things which other nations have not yet tried; they show a high civilisation in the nation which proposes them, and we hope that they will help us on to a still higher civilisation than any the world has yet seen.\textsuperscript{29}

One of the things that made New Zealand a wonderful country and assured it of an even brighter future was the fact that the European population was, as Alpers put, "not only British, but the best British."\textsuperscript{30} New Zealand had, according to the second Southern Cross Geographical Reader, been settled by people who loved freedom and well-ordered lives, and who were prepared to work hard.

The early New Zealand settlers were men of better education than was the case in most other colonies. There was never in New Zealand that convict system which brought so much trouble to Australia.\textsuperscript{31}
The virtues of the pioneers and the present generation's debt to them became a familiar theme in New Zealand as in other settlement colonies. Thus the School Journal in a typical piece of ancestor worship:

We may indeed feel proud when we remember that, while so many countries were founded in greed and violence, New Zealand was first explored by men of noble aims and peaceful thoughts, men who left a record of duty and goodwill of which we need not be ashamed.32

It was not just that settlers in New Zealand had been free from the convict taint; they had been directly and indirectly selected. By the 1920s this belief was well-established and a textbook proclaimed:

No colony was ever so carefully and wisely colonised as New Zealand. To begin with only men and women of unusual courage and enterprise were willing to cross the world in sailing ships and seek their fortune in so distant a land. For settlements such as those of Canterbury and Otago, colonists were specially selected, and those pioneers, many of whom were well-educated men of unusual ability, left a deep and lasting influence on the history of a young nation.33

The themes touched upon so far in this chapter were neatly gathered up in the notion that New Zealand was already wonderfully like Britain and would, in due course, become a better, brighter, version of England.

Some writers stressed a supposed resemblance between New Zealand and British landscapes and attempted to add plausibility to this by arguing that New Zealand at least looked a lot more like Britain than Australia did. Those who stressed the transformation of the New Zealand landscape could also stress its increasing likeness to Britain. All of these things came together in the recurrent image of New Zealand as the mirror image of Britain, the "Britain of the South", "newest England", or the "Britain of the Pacific", and it was often claimed, incorrectly, that New Zealand at Britain's antipodes.

The Southern Cross Geography for Standard IV, for example, explained that New Zealand was called the Britain of the South on account of its "extent, climate, fertility, abundant coast-line and
harbours, adaptation for trade, and the bright future which awaits
it."  British texts often took the same line; Cornwell dubbed New
Zealand the "Britain of the South" in one of his school geographies as
early as 1858. Parkin later spent two pages of his Round the Empire
likening New Zealand to Britain, and he concluded, "As we sail away
westward and look back upon New Zealand we feel that this 'Britain of
the South' is one of the most beautiful homes that our race has found
anywhere in the world."  

Race was an important concept in this account of New Zealand.
Given the geographical/climatic theory of racial origins then current,
one might well conclude that if New Zealand was so like Britain then its
European settlers were clearly in the right sort of place while its
Maori inhabitants, being misplaced Polynesians, were much too far south
for their own good. Scholefield, for example, in his general account of
New Zealand, explicitly refers to New Zealand as "the appointed home of
a white race" but in school texts the implication was left dangling.

Self-congratulation was helped along even more by the common
notion that there was a distinctly British "race", a "race" superior in
all respects to all others. New Zealanders were, of course, racially
British albeit transplants, and they therefore had all the supposed
virtues of the British: love of the sea, a passion for freedom and fair
play, and a love of straight dealing and talking. But New Zealanders
were not only specially selected - "best British" - but also stalwart
colonials and could thus have a bob each way when it came to self-
congratulation for they were, as colonials, healthy, resourceful,
independent, and vigorous. New Zealand was British, and more British
than Britain: Britain was Home, but this was God's Own Country.

New Zealand's future could be seen in stockman's terms: a
selected flock of good stock in an incomparable pasture had to do well.

As Alpers coyly put it, using another metaphor:
The Island race is still in its cradle, and it would be rash to describe as distinctive the features of babyhood. It is only safe at present to assert that it is a remarkably healthy infant and strongly resembles its parents. But we know its ancestry, and know the nursery in which it will be reared.38

Some people would have considered such predictions far too guarded; good results could already be seen in New Zealand contingents' records in South Africa. The Boer War certainly helped foster New Zealanders' image of themselves as stalwart, loyal colonials, the "men who could ride and shoot" of Kipling's The Islanders. Jebb, in his study of colonial nationalism, also argued that the idea of federation with Australia was effectively killed by that war which "forced a mushroom growth of the national consciousness which now remains a guarantee against the future revival of the idea."39

The myth of the incomparably brave and resourceful New Zealand soldier goes back at least to the South African War and it was, in its origins, busily fostered in the schools. The Public School Historical Reader for Standard III, for example, has a six-page chapter on the war and devotes nearly two pages of that to the fight at New Zealand Hill, "one of the most gallant events of the war", and the frontispiece to the volume is a spirited engraving of New Zealanders bayonetting and shooting Boers point blank.40

At the turn of the century there was a deliberate attempt to create a local New Zealand literature in the pages of the short-lived New Zealand Illustrated Magazine. Of this journal Hall says:

Maori legends, goldfield adventures and Maori War incidents were its stock-in-trade and gave evidence, along with articles on the various economic and social resources of the country, of the strenuousness of the effort to give a characteristically New Zealand shape to its contents.41

The New Zealand Illustrated Magazine was too ambitious and too soon and it ceased publication in 1905 but Hall's summary of its contents would do just as well as a description of much of the New Zealand material by
then to be found in school texts and, after 1907, in the *School Journal*: although self-conscious attempts to create a national literature for adults failed, school pupils went right on reading much the same sort of thing in their readers and school papers.

The *School Journal* in particular dealt systematically with New Zealand geography and history and with local plants and animals and it worked, along with textbook writers, at the canonisation of a standard list of local moral heroes: Cook, Marsden, Grey, Henare Taratoa who carried water to a wounded enemy at Gate Pa, Julia Martin, the "New Zealand Grace Darling", Bugler Allen who gave the alarm and his life at Boulcott's Farm, and the self-sacrificing stewardesses on the doomed vessels "Penguin" and "Wairarapa".\(^{42}\)

It is easy enough to show that the schools did not deal with British material to the exclusion of New Zealand material, that they fostered pride in New Zealand and New Zealanders, and that Britain was not always given unqualified praise; but one must not claim too much. The New Zealand material reflects a groping towards a national self-image, not an assertion or celebration of it.

Many adult New Zealanders were quick to deny that a New Zealander was anything more than an Englishman living in this country. John McLachlan, for example, a retired businessman who had been born at Manakau in the 1840s, told the parliamentary committee on federation, "We are Englishmen, Scotchmen, or Irishmen as our parents were."\(^{43}\) In similar vein a correspondent to the Dunedin *Star* wrote, "I was born in New Zealand, and am proud to write myself down as an Englishman first and a New Zealander second."\(^{44}\)

The *School Journal* could be as inconsistent and ambivalent on this matter as anyone else. It urged children, for example, to celebrate Arbor Day because "you are helping to build up national sentiment which cannot fail to be productive of good", but a later
number said flatly, "New Zealand is not a nation; it is only part of the largest empire in the world." As late as 1915 the Journal automatically described New Zealanders as English in a dull series, "Round the Breakfast Table", in which breakfast items were the pretext for a series of lessons in geography and commerce. "Do people in New Zealand drink much coffee?", asked Jack. "No; English people, as a rule, drink very little."  

As the nations armed towards 1914 the schools put increasing emphasis on the imperial ideology and on New Zealand's unique resemblance to and relationship with the Mother Country. Of all the peoples of the Empire, the tale ran, New Zealanders had more of the virtues of the British race; New Zealand was the most loyal colony, the most like Britain, and the most ready to pour out blood and money in British wars. It was, for example, claimed that New Zealand had made a greater contribution to the war in South Africa in proportion to her population than either Canada or Australia.

To consciously seek a distinctiveness for New Zealand in her supposed similarity to Britain, to claim for her the uniqueness of being the best copy, was to dabble in paradox, uncertainty and insecurity. Was a visible difference between British and local attitudes or usage an aspect of "Brighter Britain", of promise fulfilled, or was it mere lapse, an unfortunate descent in colonial crudeness?

The schools, then, had no clearer or more consistent concept of national identity than anyone else, but they did present adult views and attitudes on this matter, however ambivalent, to thousands who would never have opened the pages of the New Zealand Illustrated Magazine or read the self-conscious products of local versifiers attempting to come to terms with being here. And school books were clear and consistent on certain matters. School pupils might have wondered whether they were English or New Zealanders but they were left in no doubt that they lived
in a wonderful country with a bright future, a country which produced healthy, vigorous, upright people and brave soldiers, a country which was wisely governed and free from Old World ills and which was the object of world attention for its scenery, wildlife, and progressive social legislation.

It is, of course, much easier to set out the schools' account of God's Own Country than it is to measure that account's impact. One can only point to congruences, e.g., between the schools' account and the boastfulness of the 1920s when, Hall notes, everything about New Zealand had to be higher, longer, or heavier than its counterparts elsewhere. Nor is it difficult to see in the school story of New Zealand possible sources of some of the unlovely attitudes dissected in Bill Pearson's Fretful Sleepers. Again, W.B. Sutch has argued that the psychological impact of the depression of the 1930s was heightened because, "For more than thirty years New Zealand school children had been told that their country was regarded by the rest of the world as progressive."

What the schools did not say about New Zealand history was also to prove significant. Rollo Arnold notes that most twentieth century New Zealanders have precious little idea of their family origins. They have, instead:

...a vague impression that their nineteenth century English forbears were happy small farmers in England who for unexplained reasons undertook the vaguely noble task of becoming "pioneer settlers" in New Zealand.

School books did little or nothing to correct this impression and they often actively fostered it. The Southern Cross Geographical Reader explained colonists' motives in rather bland terms.

The different political ideals among the artisans of the towns and the old landed gentry who once governed England, led to much discontent and a desire for a freer life beyond the seas... A man of spirit and enterprise wished for great opportunities than England offered to a person of small means and obscure family, and he emigrated with the idea of
making himself a secure and independent home. But such a man had no quarrel with his own country, however much he might disagree with some of his countrymen. He felt himself as much an Englishman as the best of them, and an Englishman he meant to remain. 51

The same work had earlier explained Scottish migration to Canada and Irish migration to America by referring blandly to people's difficulty "of maintaining their old mode of life in new and modern conditions." 52 When famine and forcible dispossession could be so described it is hardly surprising that nothing was said of "Hodge" and his flight from rural England to nineteenth century New Zealand.

So children learned something of their country's geography and wildlife and they gained some general notions about New Zealand which enabled them to think very well of themselves, but they were left without a personal history. The textbooks told "Our Nation's Story" or the tale of "Our Race and Empire"; history was "1840 and all that", and it was about famous people, bishops, governors, and generals, but not about one's parents and grandparents. One legacy of the school account of New Zealand is the growing harvest of local histories and genealogical researches as people themselves write the sort of history they want and need.

Sinclair, pondering on national identity, suggests that the first New Zealanders were the soldiers who went to fight in the First World War. 53 They, of course, were of the generation of school children with which this thesis is concerned and they had been presented with the material this chapter discusses. But Sinclair further notes that a sense of national identity grew up among the "inarticulate majority" and that it grew up "in defiance of the tradition among the better-educated section of the population that New Zealand was 'the Britain of the South'". 54 Does this mean that the schools' message in fact worked against the emergence of a sense of national identity? Certainly there is much in school texts to support such a view; there was a lot about
Britain and many passages to suggest that New Zealanders were English
simpliciter, sojourners in a strange land; in it, but not of it. But
that, as this chapter amply demonstrates, was only one side of the coin.
In so far as New Zealand was the "Britain of the South" it was a newer,
fresher, potentially better Britain.

Loved, you are loved, O England,
And ever that love endures;
But we must have younger visions,
And mightier dreams than yours;
Cleaner Londons and wider fields,
And statelier bridges to span,
The gulf which severs rich and poor,
In the brotherly ranks of man.55

More than that, school books conveyed something of the
strangeness of New Zealand, its emptiness and its isolation. One might
well call it the Britain of the South, but what of its brooding, sombre
forests, its volcanoes and recently departed flightless birds, its
towering peaks and its glaciers?

There are two senses in which the schools helped to make children
New Zealanders before 1914. They provided them with a common experience
and a meeting place where they developed common attitudes and beliefs
and a new, distinctively New Zealand pronunciation. But they also
provided them with certain myths and beliefs about their country and
with a clear sense that a New Zealander was more than just a marooned
Englishman.

School books before the Great War were not clear or consistent
about what it meant to be a New Zealander, but one can see in them an
early expression of things that later became articles of faith to which
politicians could profitably appeal: New Zealand's egalitarianism and
racial harmony, its unique natural beauty and benign climate, New
Zealanders' adaptability, sturdy independence and fighting qualities in
Britain's wars. In the 1930s and 1940s a generation of New Zealand
writers wrestled with the question of national identity, but the
majority of their countrymen were quite unconcerned with this problem.
In the early twentieth century, Gibbons suggests, most European New Zealanders gained a sense of collective identity and of their place in the world from a belief in the superiority of the British people and the development of myths about the selection of the original immigrant stock. As this chapter shows, the schools had a good deal to do with the development of these and other, allied myths and with the average, unselfconscious New Zealanders' view of himself and his country.
Notes to Chapter 11

1. NZG, 1878, p.1310.


3. NZG, 1904, p.1086.

4. LT, 3 April 1891.


7. LT, 16 November 1907.


9. CP, 3 May 1897.

10. NZSM, September 1903, p.20.

11. AJHR, E-1B, 1896, p.27.


16. NZSM, September 1903, p.20.

17. Southern Cross Readers, Third Standard Reader. Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs [1889], p.ii. A great deal of this was repeated, almost word-for-word, in the prefaces to the Pacific Readers published in 1911.


32. SJ, Part III, October 1908.


35. J. Cornwell, 1858, p.92.

36. G.R. Parkin. Round the Empire: for the use of schools. London, Cassell, 1892, p.109. The New Zealand Schoolmaster was accustomed to judge geographies and histories by the accuracy of their chapters on New Zealand. Of Parkin's book it commented, "The chapter on New Zealand is the most accurate we have seen in a school book published here." (NZSM, July 1903, p.181.)


42. See, for example, "What makes a nation great", SJ, Part II, May 1910.
43. AJHR, A-4, 1901, p.465.
44. LT, 8 June 1908.
46. SJ, Part II, April 1915.
47. Hall, pp.205-6.
52. Gregory, p.64.
55. Harold Begbie. "Britain beyond the seas". In *Pacific Readers, Sixth Reader*, p.49.
Chapter 12

RACE AND THE MAORI IN SCHOOL MATERIAL

The previous chapter said little about Maoris, but not because textbooks failed to mention them; au contraire, textbooks and the School Journal had so much to say about Maoris and race and racial differences generally that these topics demand a separate chapter.

Maoris, as this chapter will show, got a considerable amount of space in locally produced schoolbooks and got a surprisingly good press within certain limits. These limits were set by the wish to give New Zealand over all a good press, by the claim that race relations were better in New Zealand than in other settlement colonies, and by textbook writers' concept of race.

New Zealand texts, of course, referred to race in dealing with Maoris but both local and British texts also used race as a convenient general form of historical and geographical explanation and made numerous incidental references to race. The standard account of racial differences consisted of three related sets of assumptions: humanity can be clearly divided into different races on the basis of physical characteristics, most notably skin colour; races also differ in intellectual capacity, moral character and their typical cultural products and some races are, on these grounds, to be reckoned "higher" than others; "higher" races naturally displace or dominate "lower" races.

In some histories, geographies, and school readers these assumptions were set out in so many words, in others they were implicit;
but whether implicit or explicit, baldly stated or elaborated on, they were widely held and very useful in explaining matters as diverse as the British legal system, the disappearance of the Tasmanians, the origins of the South African War, and the Englishman's fondness for cricket and pets.

Different texts spelled out the differences between races in different ways, and between them they cited a host of specific physical features, character traits, aptitudes and practices. But they all came up with much the same general order of merit for all of them placed the white race first so that the several dimensions on which the races might be ordered all boiled down to an estimate of the extent to which they approached the standard set by one aspect or another of European civilisation. Thus the white race was best, and best on all counts.

Whites form by far the most important race, for they have the best laws, the greatest amount of learning, and the most excellent knowledge of farming and trade. There are five great races of men, and of these the white race is the highest.¹

They [i.e., whites] are the most civilised, enterprising, and intellectual of the three great types of man, and possess for the most part a pure and ennobling religious faith.²

The Caucasian race is regarded as the highest and the most civilised...The Mongolians are not so advanced in their civilisation as the Caucasians.³

At the other end of the scale some groups failed on all counts. The Tasmanians, mainland Australian aboriginals, and the Tierra del Fuegans were most commonly held to be the lowest races and were not only dark but stupid, ugly, barbarous, treacherous, and incapable of cultural advance even with white guidance.

Some writers found it convenient to expand their systems of classification in order to handle counter-examples and to distribute approval and disapproval more selectively. One common move was to distinguish particular mixtures of "bloods". L.W. Lyde, for example, Professor of Economic Geography at University College, London and a
prolific writer of school geographies, noted that Mongols were, "fatalistic, apathetic, sullen, and reserved", but he explained the high civilisation of ancient Korea and the successes of industrial Japan by attributing to both groups a strong dash of redeeming Caucasian blood. 4 Certain traits in the Portuguese, notably ugliness and intellectual laziness, were the result of an unfortunate infusion of Negro blood, and the Papuans, "being essentially Negroes, not Mongols, are naturally on a lower scale than the Malays." 5

Another useful move was to sub-divide the races, distinguishing, for example, such Caucasian sub-groups as Celts, Slavs, Teutons, Nordics, and the Alpine and Mediterranean types. Thus Lyde could also attribute the virtues of Northern Italians - their business habits, literacy, and self-control - to their Teutonic blood. 6

How had the differences between races come about? The stock answer can be given in a necessarily lengthy quotation from a text first published in 1896 and still in print and unrevised in the late 1920s.

Man inhabits all the climatic zones of the earth from the equator to 84° of latitude, yet it appears that a temperate climate, with a regular succession of seasons is required to develop ingenuity, forethought, and thrift, and to stimulate the intellectual development that leads to high civilisation. The dense forests of tropical America and Africa are still inhabited by degraded savages, while the glacial regions of the northern hemisphere are the abode of semi-civilised Eskimos. A hot climate where clothing is hardly needed, and where the fruit-bearing trees require no cultivation, and supply the necessary food disposes to no exertion and leaves man undeveloped; while a severe climate seems only to lead man to secure bare necessities and then to be content. Temperate regions require the provision of clothing, shelter, and a store of food for the winter season, and these lead to inventiveness, prudence, thrift and other moral qualities that awaken the desire for progress and improvement. 7

The fine distinctions which could be made by distinguishing racial sub-types and mixtures were also readily made by extending this environmental argument.
Climate and other external conditions exercise great influence on national character. Thus the inhabitants of Northern Europe are distinguished by their self-reliance and earnest activity, due to their successful struggle with the hard conditions of their life; while in Southern Europe - the sunny South - we find the inhabitants more listless, more vivacious, and less earnest...Again, easy access to the sea and maritime life, adds greatly in developing national character and the prosperity of a country, for seafaring nations become bold, enterprising, and full of resource.

This account of racial differences moved easily and gracefully from regions to sub-regions and thence to states, from races to sub-types to the nations occupying states and thence to a British "race". It was obvious that Britain was perfectly suited to produce the highest type of the highest race and references to a British "race" became more and more common in school texts between about 1900 and 1910. Some social Darwinists went further still and saw the summit of the evolutionary process in particular groups and classes of Englishmen: the British officer, the successful merchant, those who took up the white man's burden, or the public schoolboy. World history, it seems, had not been striving towards the Absolute Idea but to produce Lord Curzon, Cecil Rhodes, and Generals Gordon and Roberts.

It was, of course, an account of racial and national characteristics which might have puzzled an apt pupil who had learnt her history. Had it, then, been colder in the Mediterranean when Alexander was about or when the Romans ruled the roost? What about Egyptian engineering or Greek or Indian philosophy or architecture? The standard response to such objections was, of course, to make finer classifications or add further determining geographical factors but when the climatic argument had been tortured enough one could fall back on racial differences simpliciter and on differences which might have arisen through climate but were now fixed in the "blood".

Thus J.W. Gregory, who produced the Southern Cross Geographical Readers in response to the 1904 syllabus, gives the standard climatic,
geographical account of racial differences but notes that Asia has good soils, a good climate, large coalfields and workable mineral deposits. Why then have Asians "made no serious contribution to modern progress... no independent, material contribution to modern civilisation or scientific discovery"? The answer is to be found in an inherent Asian weakness: "The weakness of the Asiatic nations lies in their submissive minds." This weakness makes them submit to and stagnate under despotic rule. Westerners' "natural feelings", however, mean that they have different notions of government, and cannot live tamely under despots.

These differences in our ideas cause many other differences between Western and Oriental races. They explain why Western people, like Americans and Australians, do not wish to admit large numbers of Chinese or other Orientals into their countries, as they feel that they cannot properly become intimate with them, and that they cannot comfortably join themselves with them under the same government.

Gregory conceded that the Japanese were "independent", i.e., not ruled by Europeans, and that they had recently "defeated a great European power in a prolonged war." But that had been achieved by copying European methods and by that very submissiveness, i.e., "their willingness to sacrifice themselves for the good of their fellow countrymen." He concluded:

But we should not forget that the Asiatic spirit of individual self-suppression, though it may lead at times to dazzling success, has never yet proved to be the foundation of lasting national strength.

Race was an enormously useful concept, and nowhere more useful that in explaining and justifying white imperialism and colonialism. It was natural and understandable, and therefore fitting and proper that some races should dominate and displace others.

Barbarous races appear incapable of adapting to a civilised mode of life, and therefore disappear before races "superior alike in physical type and in the arts on which progress depends". In Tasmania the original black has become extinct and in Australia his closely related brother seems likely to follow in a short time. In North America the
"redskins" are gradually passing away, with hardly any absorption into the present Teutonic inhabitants, though the aboriginal American of the South, having reached a higher civilisation, has been largely amalgamated through intermarriage with the Spanish conquerors and helps to constitute the mixed people of Latin America. A great part of pagan Africa on the North of the Cape Colony is also undergoing a rapid change of population. The native black races are being in part swept away and in part taught to work at mining and agriculture.12

Where then did Maoris come in all this? The short answer is that various writers assigned them to different races but there was general agreement amongst both British and New Zealand writers that they were very superior savages.

According to Patterson's 1884 Geography of New Zealand and Australia Maoris were a "Polynesian family of the Malay race" who had migrated from either Hawaii or Savaii and "conquered and enslaved the original race, named Morioris or moa hunters".13 Mackay, an English writer, listed Maoris as one of seven separate races of men.14 Gregory hedged his bets: "Thus the Maoris are mainly Caucasian in race, though they are probably much mixed with Negro and Mongolian people, whom they joined in their wanderings."15 An anonymous contributor to one of Longmans' New Zealand Readers simply described them as East Polynesians but did so in order to distinguish them from the "darker and inferior Melanesians of the West".16 Anderson's geography, however, had them Melanesian along with the original inhabitants of Australia and New Guinea.17 Thornton, in a table setting out the races and sub-races of the world, listed Maoris under "yellow" with Japanese, Tibetans and Lapps, but in a subsequent footnote he described them as "probably an Oceanic division of the Caucasian stock."18

While there was no general agreement on the Maori's specific place on the racial ladder there was much more agreement on two other propositions: they were, in any case, "savages" or "natives" but they were very fine savages. They were, according to George Chisholm's Longmans' School Geography for Australasia, "the most intelligent of all
the natives whom the Europeans met with on any of the Australasian colonies." They showed, said James Cornwell, "a greater aptitude for civilisation than any other barbarous people". "They were", said the sixth Imperial Reader, "found by the first European settlers in a state of civilisation scarcely to be expected from savages." The general consensus was that mankind could be divided into two broad groups, civilised men and savages, and that Maoris came at or near the top of their class. The natives of New Zealand, said Cornwell, "were the noblest race of savages in the world." They were, the sixth Imperial Reader concluded, "savages, it is true, but noble savages."

The Maori's high rank amongst savages was accentuated by the uniformly bad press given Australian aboriginals who were dismissed as "one of the lowest races in existence", "lowest in the scale of humanity", "among the least intelligent races of humanity". One school text of the 1870s seemed to question their very humanity. The inhabitants of Papua and Australia were "oriental negroes" according to the Victoria Geography and the "oriental negro" was the "lowest of all savages, living in trees and more like an animal than a man."

The fourth New Zealand Graphic Reader took a similar line in a piece on "Australian Natives":

They were both very dark, almost black, and their heads were covered with long tangled hair, while the lower parts of their faces were hidden under bushy beards. Their flat spreading noses, and small glittering eyes, partly hidden under their protruding brows, gave them a savage almost terrible look...I was silently wondering at their ugliness... The huts of the natives are probably the poorest dwellings made by human beings. They are inferior to the homes of many wild beasts.

A number of texts quite explicitly compared the two groups. J.R. McDonald, for example, wrote in his Zealandia Geography, "The mental faculties of Maoris are much higher than those of most other barbarous races. In this respect they present a striking contrast to the
Australians aborigines. New Zealanders puffing New Zealand were not the only ones to make this comparison. The Britannia History Reader, a British series, described Maoris as "a race of brave and intelligent blacks much higher in the scale of humanity than the aborigines of Australia who are fast dying out." And S.G. Firth, in the course of an analysis of the social content of schoolbooks in New South Wales, notes that the Commonwealth School Paper commented more than once on Maoris' superiority to Australian aboriginals.

What qualities in the Maori inspired such favourable comments? On this point there is a wealth of material to draw on in readers, histories, and geographies of the period. No account of New Zealand, even the thumbnail sketches given in British geographies, was complete without some mention, and usually very favourable mention, of Maoris. The standard way of giving local readers a New Zealand flavour was to inject some material about the Maori into them as was done with Longmans' New Zealand Readers, the New Zealand Graphic Readers, and Whitcombe and Tombs's Southern Cross, Imperial, and Pacific series.

Maoris' intelligence has already been mentioned. They were also physically attractive and robust. They were, according to Cornwell, "a well-developed and handsome race, frequently tall, with a manly bearing and pleasant features." Mackay described them in very similar terms: "They are a tall, well-built, active and intelligent people with curly, glossy black hair and a copper complexion."

It was Maori character and cultural products, however, which got most praise and which stood in such stark contrast to aboriginals' otherness and material poverty. Maoris were naturally and as a race brave and chivalrous, hospitable and, according to their lights, honourable. Their bravery and chivalry were shown in their own wars and in encounters with soldiers and settlers during the land wars; their intelligence was manifest in their carving, agriculture, and
fortifications, in their skill at hunting, fishing, and weaving and above all in their adaptation to European civilisation, their adoption of European dress, religion, and commerce. Longmans' Geographical Reader for New Zealand, which was compiled by Robert Lee, the Wellington inspector of schools, noted that Cook found their reported ferocity over-rated and that they were "in several respects a pleasant and engaging race." Their good qualities included hospitality, courtesy, and a love of pets, children, and music.34

Passages praising Maoris in this way were typically backward-looking; they focussed on "the Maori as he was" and on his pre-European arts and industries and on Maori myths and legends. The Maori as he was, or "Tourist Bureau Maori", was a noble, romantic savage who had done pretty well, all things considered, while cut off from true civilisation. One way of expressing this was to suggest that Maoris had achieved more or less the level of civilisation of the British around the time of Caesar's invasion. Miss Bourke in her Little History of New Zealand, written in the early 1880s, seems to have been the first text book writer to have touched on this theme and there were scattered comments on the parallel between pre-European Maoris and ancient Britons throughout the period with which this thesis is concerned. The School Journal, for example, included the following passage in 1908:

It may occur to those of you who have read history, that when the Europeans arrived in this country the Maoris had not yet found out the use of iron, and were still in the Stone Age, and that although they seem to have been as far advanced in most respects as were the Britons when Julius Caesar visited them nearly two thousand years ago, yet the Britons then knew the use of iron, for they had scythes fastened to the axles of their war chariots. Nor is this to be wondered at, for, though the Britons were very rude and barbarous, they had long been within reach of more civilised nations...Thus the Britons had the chance of learning certain arts which they were not sufficiently advanced to discover for themselves. The Maoris, on the other hand, were for long ages cut off from the outer world, and had to find out for themselves everything that they knew.
The comparison between pre-European Maoris and ancient Britons was made a specific topic in the 1929 school syllabus and textbook writers duly developed the theme. Our Nation's Story, for example devoted a whole chapter to this theme and to the parallels between tohungas and druids, coracles and canoes, and woad and tattoo.  

This parallel added a confused plea for tolerance to the school books' treatment of Maoris and some strictly qualified praise. We should not be too hasty in judging Maoris for we were once like that ourselves, although the time for canoes and coracles is long past. Praise in such qualified terms calls to mind Johnson's comment that a woman preaching was like a dog walking on its hind legs: the wonder was not that it was done well but that it was done at all.

Some texts also gave Maoris good marks for stumbling closer towards true religion than other savages. Miss Bourke, for example, noted that Maoris "knew nothing about the true God" before contact with Europeans, that they had many "wicked customs" and believed in "several gods or spirits", but she also noted that, "They knew more than many other heathen nations, for they believed that they had souls, which never died, and that the gods were pleased if they were brave and kind." Longmans' Geographical Reader for New Zealand took pains to point out that Maoris had not worshipped carvings and hence were not idolators, and it credited them with pre-European belief in Io, the supreme being.  

Maori myths and legends came in for the same qualified praise. They were not, of course, to be taken seriously but they did simple savages great credit. Thus the fourth New Zealand Graphic Reader; introducing the story of Maui:

In the very early days of every country its inhabitants lived in a sort of wonderland. They saw above them the glorious sun and all the radiant heavenly bodies; they felt beneath them the firm earth; and, when they looked around, they beheld
mountains and valleys, rivers, lakes, and seas. Night and day passed in regular succession; the seasons in their turn came and went, and they knew not why. By and by it occurred to the minds of the most gifted that all these wonders ought to be accounted for. Doubtless they pondered upon them deeply, until, at last, they hit on an explanation which satisfied their growing longing for knowledge. To us, many of their explanations seem childish and even foolish; but we ought to remember that we, on our part, have all the knowledge gained by former generations of men to guide us to a right opinion, while they had to work out their problems without any other assistance than that of their own intellect. Some of the legends of heathen people are both beautiful and interesting... 39

The School Journal took the process a step further by explicitly labelling Maori legends "Maoriland Fairy Tales" and lumping them with some odd pieces of purely European manufacture, e.g., one in which a little boy learns about moas from an indigenous fairy, "a tiny little fellow with blue eyes and fair hair, a green suit, and a little cap with a long red feather stuck on one side." 40 The clear implication here, and in the Graphic Reader, was that Maori legends were the product of a race in its childhood and were now fit only for children. There was nothing in Maori culture to be valued by adults for its own sake and no suggestion that Europeans had anything to learn from Maori culture.

In the much less frequent references to Maoris now one can discern another, less clearly developed image of the Maori to be placed alongside the first - an untutored, less than adequate quasi-European who had once been a splendid savage. The contrast between Maoris past and Maoris present is clear in this passage:

The Maoris were much superior to most savage races. They decorated their houses with fanciful carvings and gaily decorated designs. They cultivated a kind of flax and knew how to weave it into mats and cloths, which they dyed with various kinds of bark and roots. They had songs and proverbs, stories and traditions which they handed down orally from father to son. They were great orators and poets as well as warriors, hunters, and seamen.

At the present time the Maoris are a cheerful and fairly comfortable race, very fond of games, riding and feasting. Some of them have visited this country
as members of a New Zealand football team. Unfortunately they are slovenly and careless in their habits and are prone to consumption. 41

Texts which mentioned contemporary Maoris generally stressed their commendable readiness to adopt European ways. Some even went so far as to claim that the process was complete.

They act, you see, just as white people do, and engage in the same occupations. If they had the same coloured skin, I think you could not distinguish a native from a colonist. 42

Whether or not that was true it was obviously an ideal to be sought and it was made quite clear in some texts that the European occupation of New Zealand was something for which Maoris should be grateful. A passage in the second Imperial Reader puts this message into the mouth of a Maori boy who explains that:

...the heat of the sun doesn't trouble me and I don't mind the rain. Nor do I wear shoes and stockings as you do for I feel more at ease without them.

He speaks Maori himself but "all the great men" of his tribe want him to speak English and live in a European-style house.

The men of our race sometimes complain because the white people have taken away so much of their land; but I am sure that our teacher is right when he tells us that we have more land left than we can use. He says too that the white men have given us peace and order and a thousand blessings that we could never have enjoyed but for their coming to settle among us. 43

Another common theme in writing of the current position of the Maori people was their formal equality before the law and their representation in Parliament: "The Maoris may be said, indeed, to occupy a better position than any other similar people in the Empire." In similar vein the School Journal compared the positions of Maoris and American negroes.

We are accustomed to see Maoris sitting at tables with Europeans, talking to them in the street, and competing with them on equal terms in various sports and occupations. The good Maori stands as high as the good pakeha and the bad pakeha sinks as low as the bad Maori. But in some parts of America the negro is always treated as an inferior being. 44
This passage, of course, quietly assumes white superiority; the upper and lower limits of the scale of moral worth are set by good pakehas and bad Maoris respectively. The general impression fostered by school texts and papers was that the equality Maoris had been accorded demonstrated white New Zealanders' tolerance and sense of justice and the rapid progress some Maoris had made, but there were still racial differences and some specifically Maori weaknesses. For example, a piece in the Zealandia School Paper, "What a Maori School is Like", commended Maori pupils' enthusiasm and cheerfulness ("Nearly everything amuses these merry Maori children") and praised their accuracy at mental arithmetic, spelling and modelling, but it also noted that lessons had to be short to match their capacities: "That is one of the faults of the Maori character - it cannot endure keeping up the same thing for a long time." 45

But while the racism of such passages is quite unmistakeable it was not allowed to obtrude to the point of outright condemnation of Maoris or to the point where it might have tarnished the myth of racial harmony in New Zealand, a myth which texts from the turn of the century onwards busily fostered.

It was necessary as part of that myth to tidy up New Zealand's history and to generally justify white treatment of Maoris. The Treaty of Waitangi was presented as a crucial document which Maoris had sought and whites had honoured. The sixth New Zealand Graphic Reader, for example, included the full text of the treaty and concluded:

Although the Maoris have many times since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi waged fierce wars against the Colonial Government, it must, nevertheless, be remembered that Britain's authority in New Zealand was peacefully acquired and was in the main established in response to the voluntary request of the natives. Generally speaking, too, the rights of the natives under the Treaty have been respected, and they themselves do not complain that any of its provisions have been unduly strained or arbitrarily set aside. 46
As the Land Wars receded into history the account children were given of them changed. Miss Bourke's *Little History of New Zealand*, for example, gives a detailed account of the Land Wars and a good deal of gory detail and she notes, without further comment, that Major Ropata, fighting on the settlers' side, shot prisoners out of hand. Later works, however, made no mention of Ropata's short and easy way with captives; they did not go into detail when dealing with Te Kooti's bloody raid on civilians in Poverty Bay or with the death of the Rev. Volckner, and they stressed Maori courage and chivalry. Thus the *Public School Historical Reader No 4*, written early this century, said:

> Never had British soldiers found nobler or more generous foes. If the vanquished, greatly outreached in numbers, were weary or ill-fed the Maoris thought it detracted from the glory of a victory; many times, therefore, they refrained from attacking until their enemy had been reinforced and refreshed.47

While later accounts of the Land Wars glossed over some matters they were much more ready than earlier histories to concede that Maoris who took up arms had had cause to do so. A comparison between Miss Bourke's account of the outbreak of war in Taranaki in 1860 and the *Public School Historical Reader's* account is instructive. Miss Bourke wrote in the early 1880s:

> In 1860 war again broke out in Taranaki. Mr M'Lean was commissioned by the Government to buy some land at a place called Waitara. The sale was disputed by the natives, who would not allow the land to be surveyed. They drove off the surveyors and broke their instruments. A long war followed and many battles were fought.48

The *Public School Historical Reader*, however, which gave much less space over all to the Land Wars than Miss Bourke, went into much more detail at this point to show that the war was all Browne's fault:

> Governor Browne had none of his predecessor's talent for governing, and, on more than one occasion, gave deadly offence to some of the more powerful chiefs. In 1860, his ill-considered course of action was responsible for the outbreak of the second native
war. He wished to buy some land at the mouth of the Waitara River, in Taranaki. A chief, Wiremu Kingi, who had previously stood staunchly by the English, as head chief of the tribes most directly concerned in the bargain, vetoed the sale. The governor persisted in ignoring his claim, which was a just one according to Maori customs, the exercise of which had been recognised by the Treaty of Waitangi. Surveyors sent on to the land were hustled at their work; and, the government refusing to take the warning, Kingi allied himself with the king natives and began hostilities. 49

Thus the Land Wars became more and more the result of unfortunate misunderstandings and the pig-headedness of a few officials rather than the consequences of settlers' hunger for Maori land, more and more a clash between chivalrous warriors on the one hand and brave redcoats and sturdy settlers on the other rather than raids and murders by rebel savages. By the 1920s the process was complete and a school textbook could represent the wars as minor blemishes on an otherwise excellent record.

It has been made clear that there are chapters in the story of British dealings of which everybody should be ashamed but on the whole we may be proud of the way in which the Maoris have been treated. 50

As the twentieth century advanced school books suggested more and more clearly that the Land Wars were fought between whites and "Tourist Bureau Maoris" rather than the immediate ancestors of people now living. Those who fought in those wars were, like pre-European Maoris, noble warriors somehow quite different from the present-day "cheerful and fairly comfortable race, very fond of games, riding and feasting". The real Maori's part in New Zealand's history ended with the last shot of the Land Wars and he receded ever further into the past to join the Greeks and Romans, King Alfred and the Vikings. The Land Wars became, in the words of the 1929 syllabus, a source of "stirring events" like Rewi Maniapoto's defiance at Orakau or Henare Taratoa's brave dash to take water to a wounded enemy.

Before the First World War school books' account of "the Maori" had settled into the pattern perpetuated into the 1960s and after: "the
coming of the Maori", pre-European Maori life, Maori myths and legends, and an account of Maori-pakeha relations up to the end of the Land Wars. In so far as contemporary Maoris were mentioned school books confined themselves to pieties and of such people as Rua Kenana or Ratana there was, of course, nothing.

How to account for the emergence and persistence of this approach? Firstly it must be noted that locally produced texts appeared in the late nineteenth century when the "settlement cycle", common to a number of colonies, was well advanced, i.e., European demands for land had led to open warfare, the defeat of the native race, and the withdrawal of the defeated from competition so that contact between Maori and pakeha was minimal. Not only was the Maori defeated and largely isolated but he was, it was generally agreed, also either doomed to simple extinction or to complete assimilation and it followed that the Maori belonged to history.

The same process occurred, Berkhofer notes, in America where for most people the word "Indian" conjured up only an image of a mounted brave in war-paint and feathered head-dress. There was, Berkhofer suggests, a curious timelessness in defining the Indian proper.

Only civilisation has history...so therefore Indians must be conceived of as a-historical and static. If an Indian changed through the adoption of civilisation as defined by whites, then he was no longer truly Indian.\textsuperscript{51}

To concentrate on the "Tourist Bureau Maori" was, of course, to choose among options. Bill Pearson has pointed out the ambivalent, patronising and downright hostile attitudes to Maoris in some New Zealand fiction. The worst fiction descended to crude parody in which Maoris were cunning rather than intelligent, lazy and superstitious, unreliable, and spoke a stage dialect full of exclamations of "py korry", while some novels, harking back to the land wars or earlier, portrayed "sentimentalised melancholy and noble savages and warriors."\textsuperscript{52}
This double image of other races and nations, and of subject peoples in particular, has been common enough in the popular imagination, in some fiction, and in a good deal of purported humour. Those noble Romans somehow sired a race of funny little Italians, a nation of claymore wielding highland chieftains became comical skinflints, and the race of kings and bards and of Cuchulain petered out into Pat and Mike.

This sort of contrast is nicely exemplified in two utterances by Alfred Domett. As poet he wrote:

A fine old sturdy stalwart stubborn chief
Was Tangi-Moana, the "Wailing Seas",
Both brave and wise in his degree.
Did he not look, aye, every inch a chief?
Did not each glance and gesture stamp him then,
Self-heralded a God-made King of men?

In Parliament, however, when he spoke of another chief, he had done with versifying and spoke of a lousy, gloomy hut and "the red eyeballs and blue face of the old - ruffian he would not say, but of the venerable marauding cannibal and freebooter." 53

Schools and school texts, however, shied away from such stuff and shied away from "Hori" in favour of the pre-European Maori and the chivalrous warriors that British troops supposedly admired and respected as adversaries. A further option, namely a straightforward account of the Maori people's current situation, would always have amounted to an unacceptable attack on some cherished New Zealand myths. In so far as early twentieth century texts gave any account of contemporary Maoris it was an incomplete, sanitised picture to support the official line that Maoris had complete equality with pakehas and that race relations were better in New Zealand than anywhere else.

There was also a strong element of simple boastfulness in a good deal of writing on the pre-European Maori, whether in school texts or stuff for adult readers. Not only was New Zealand a uniquely beautiful country with uniquely interesting flora and fauna but its natives were
better than anyone else's natives, better-looking, more intelligent, and more noble and romantic.

The pre-European Maori and classical Maori culture, like the kiwi and the fern, also provided readily identifiable symbols of New Zealand at a time when these were in short supply. In 1911 the New Zealand Association of New South Wales gave a banquet for Sir Joseph Ward in Sydney. The banquet, reported the *Sydney Morning Herald*, was of a "typically New Zealand character". A replica whare had been erected on the stage and the hall was decorated with ferns, vines, and pictures of Maori chiefs and girls. The menu was decorated with Maori designs and Ward's name was rendered as Hohepa Hori Waare: "On the back of the programme was a picture of a kiwi."

It is hardly surprising then that textbook publishers and compilers wishing to emphasise the local relevance of their products should seize on Maoris and focus on "real Maoris". There was, after all, nothing particularly remarkable about a brown-skinned man in European clothes going about his business.

To concentrate on the nobility and ingenuity of pre-European Maoris was, of course, only to praise by indirection and within strict limits. Textbooks made it abundantly clear that Europeans were superior to all other races, including Maoris. Consider, for example, this piece from the second *Southern Cross Reader*: it is obviously intended to be placatory but it makes it plain that one is not supposed to like Chinese and that in so far as we have anything to learn from them it is by way of an object lesson, much as we might learn from bees or spiders.

The Chinese are patient, hard-working and well-behaved. From morning to night they may be seen busily at work in their gardens, weeding and hoeing and watering. They live on very little and are able to thrive and grow rich where many of our own countrymen would starve...Though we cannot pretend to be very fond of Chinamen, they can teach us some useful lessons. From them let us learn to love our country, to obey the laws of the land, to spend
little on drink and fine clothing, and to be content
with a small share of the world’s goods. Happy are
those who have simple tastes and few wants. 55

School texts also made it quite clear that the English were
better than any other white nation. This was usually conveyed by great
praise for the English, their courage, independence, sense of fair play,
love of adventure, and so on but the message was reinforced by
presenting other Europeans in national quasi-racial stereotypes:
phlegmatic Dutch agriculturalists, loquacious musical Italians, etc. And
a few texts descended to explicit condemnation of other European
nations. Thus Nelson and Son’s The World and its People, published in
1912, assured its readers that:

The Spaniards are, as a rule, ignorant, lazy, proud,
and apt to be cruel to those who do them an injury,
or believe in forms of religion or government
different from their own.

The modern Greeks are excellent seamen and clever
traders – too clever sometimes for they are apt to
be cunning and untruthful. 56

This sort of thing enabled pakeha New Zealanders to think very
well of themselves, of course, but it drove a wider wedge between them
and Maoris who, for all their nobility as savages and for all their
subsequent progress, were simply not white, let alone English, poor
fellows.

By 1914, then, the schools had developed the standard picture of
the Maori which was to be enshrined in subsequent syllabus revisions and
presented to generations of New Zealanders, both Maori and pakeha.
Maoris were presented much more favourably in New Zealand texts than
were Indians in American or Canadian texts and much more favourably than
aboriginals in Australian texts. This parallels rather better treatment
of the native race in New Zealand than in many other settlement
colonies. There were, to be sure, special Native Schools in New Zealand
but there were no reservations. And, as McKenzie points out, New
Zealand was quite remarkable amongst settlement colonies for the way in
which, notwithstanding local prejudice, Maori and pakeha children sat on the same benches in education boards' schools. But for all that, and for all the textbook writers' efforts to present Maoris - and hence New Zealand - in a favourable light, the picture they painted reflected the racist assumptions and attitudes of the day.

Estimating the precise effects of this treatment of the Maori on pakeha attitudes would involve a review of the psychological literature going well beyond the scope of this thesis. It is sufficient here to note the existence of an abundant literature on pakeha insensitivity to Maori values, attitudes, and usages and to note that the schools, with a few honourable exceptions, have not provided pakeha New Zealanders with much understanding of a group of fellow citizens.

McKenzie estimates that there were 2,798 Maori pupils in Native Schools by 1900 and a further 2,522 in European schools. What this material's impact on them might have been can only be imagined. Pakeha pupils were endlessly invited to identify themselves with the British "race", to take pride in its Empire and achievements, and to glory in their descent from sturdy British yeomen and seafarers. But for Maori children there was no such continuity: traditional Maori culture was a thing of the past, some of it, e.g., cannibalism and tattooing, was barbarous or unseemly, and all of it was irrelevant. The sixth Imperial Reader concluded a piece on "The Maoris before the Advent of the White Man" with the hope that Maoris and pakehas might "henceforth live in peace and amity, striving to weld ourselves into a union that shall in all respects be for the benefit of them and us." School books generally spoke of "them" and "us" and left no one in any doubt as to the terms and conditions of such a union.
Notes to Chapter 12

1. M.J.B. Ward. *The Child's Geography for Schools and Home tuition*. London, Marcus Ward, 1879, p.44. This text was approved for use in New Zealand. In the original the last sentence quoted is in heavy type and underlined.


5. Lyde, p.145.

6. Lyde, p.73.


21. The Imperial Readers, Sixth Reader. Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs [1899], p.74.
23. Imperial Readers, Sixth Reader. p.83.
26. Patterson, p.113.
27. L. Valentine. The Victoria Geography. London, Frederick Warne [1872], p.27.
33. Mackay, p.219.
35. SJ, Part III, August 1908.
36. Our Nation's Story, A Course of British History, Standard III. Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs [ca 1929], p.48 et seq.
38. Lee, p.73.
40. SJ, Part I, May 1907.
43. Imperial Readers, Second Reader. p.20.


46. *New Zealand Graphic Readers, Sixth Book*, p.93. The Treaty of Waitangi is printed as Appendix A, pp.264-6, to this reader.


48. Bourke, p.54.


54. *LT, 22 March 1911*.

55. *Southern Cross Readers, Second Standard Reader*. Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs [1889], p.47.


59. *Imperial Readers, Sixth Reader*, p.83.
SCHOOLS AND SOCIALIZATION IN NEW ZEALAND
1890–1914

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
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Chapter 13

SCHOOLS AND THE "COLONIAL TWANG"

So far this thesis has dealt with matters that were largely uncontested or, when people thought about them, generally applauded: the creation of a network of public schools, the enforcement of regular attendance, school discipline and the teaching of widely held moral and social attitudes through schoolbooks and classroom routines. Subsequent chapters will deal with more controversial matters on which identifiable groups clashed as they sought to shape the schools to their own purposes.

It is convenient to begin this section with a discussion of the New Zealand accent, a topic which flows naturally from the preceding discussion of representations of New Zealand in school material. Debate over a New Zealand accent illustrates New Zealanders' ambivalence on questions of national identity, and it provides a nice example of an unsuccessful campaign to change attitudes and habits through the schools. Although inspectors of schools and members of the general public fulminated against the "colonial twang", and many teachers laboured to stamp it out, it was widely established among the young well before the First World War. It became established, indeed, not in spite of the schools, but because of them; for when teachers did take speech lessons, they were, as the more astute recognised and acknowledged, working against the influences of the playground where a distinctive New Zealand accent emerged in the first place.
The triumph of the New Zealand accent provides a nice case study in the intended and unintended consequences of schooling. Its triumph in the face of widespread condemnation and in spite of many teachers' best efforts was a matter on which the pressure groups to be discussed in later chapters might well have pondered with profit.

Sinclair notes of New Zealand history in general that, "very frequently...the shouts of imperialism have deafened historians to the portentous pipings of infant nationalism."¹ Such pipings are, however, clear enough to any historian who cares to cock an ear. The material on New Zealand and what a wonderful country it was which appeared in local texts is one good example and discussion of suitable badges of New Zealand identity is another. The Maori and his art did well enough as quick and convenient symbols but some people also wondered out loud about a new name for the place, a suitable national song, and suitable floral emblems. When would there be a distinctively New Zealand literature and what form would it take? And there was always the question of what New Zealanders as a group (as a nation?) were like.

Some would have readily agreed that there was already a distinctive New Zealand type; vigorous and resourceful, of an easy-going egalitarian temper, fond of sports and good at them. Those puffing other British settlement colonies, of course, claimed just the same for their inhabitants. What was praiseworthy in New Zealand was not unique. And what was unique was not, it seemed, praiseworthy for there was general horror, amongst the middle classes at least, at the thought that New Zealanders might develop a distinctive accent.

The origins of the New Zealand accent are a matter of speculation and this chapter, which is concerned with attitudes to speech, does not pretend to discover them. The homogeneity of New Zealand speech, which developed before broadcasting, is a further puzzle but the answer presumably lies in the similar mixtures of British dialects in the
various settlements and in the considerable geographical mobility of nineteenth century New Zealanders. Dating the appearance of a distinctive New Zealand accent, except in rather general terms, presents a further problem. There is clear evidence from the 1880s and 1890s for the development of a characteristic New Zealand form of speech, but two acute observers of the New Zealand scene denied, around the turn of the century, that there was any such thing. Writing in 1898 William Pember Reeves said that he had listened in vain for any national "twang, drawl, or peculiar intonation", and four years later O.T.J. Alpers agreed that, "there are so far no alarming signs of any colonial 'twang' or of dialectic peculiarities." ²

Some British visitors to New Zealand agreed with Reeves and Alpers. In 1901, for example, the Rev. J.G. Greenhough, President of the Free Church Council of the United Kingdom, found "no indication either that idiomatic changes are springing up, or that the New Zealanders will develop a twang of their own". ³ J.C. Elkington was pleased to find that in Auckland in 1906, "There was no unpleasant accent to jar on one's nerves." ⁴ And as late as 1909 C.W. Baeyertz, who later became one of the severest critics of New Zealand speech, declared flatly in his magazine, The Triad, "I do not think there is any New Zealand accent." ⁵

Other evidence, however, suggests that Reeves and Alpers were not listening to the right people and that Greenhough and Elkington moved in limited circles or did not listen carefully. Baeyertz, too, made his comments after judging speech and singing competitions in Australia and bemoaning the Australian accent he heard there. Sinclair seems much nearer the mark in suggesting that in 1898 "a New Zealand accent must have been the speech of a minority", and in concluding that it was probably characteristic of a majority of New Zealanders by 1914. ⁶
A New Zealand accent first developed among the New Zealand-born. In a radio broadcast in 1951 Arnold Wall drew on his memories of New Zealand speech on his arrival here from Britain in 1898. The professional class, he recalled, spoke standard English, and a great variety of English provincial dialects could still be heard from older settlers and from "some of their immediate progeny", but he was struck by the way in which younger folk "spoke 'N.Z.-ic' English with great uniformity." 7

Census figures also suggest that if those who spoke with a local accent were indeed in a minority in 1898 it was a substantial minority. By 1886 the New Zealand-born made up 52 percent of the population (42 percent in 1878). The report on the 1896 census included, for the first time, a detailed analysis of the ages of the New Zealand-born. In that year 63 percent of the total population had been born here, but 96 percent of those under 15 were native-born. By 1906 the native-born made up 68 percent of the total population, 95 percent of those under 15, and 55 percent of those over 15. In 1896 only 2 percent of New Zealanders over 50 were native-born; in 1906 it was 7 percent. 8 These figures suggest that those who spoke with a local accent or intonation could possibly have been in a majority by the turn of the century, and they also support Wall's report of marked speech differences between older and younger New Zealanders.

It is hardly surprising that the first detailed observations of local speech were made in schools. In late 1887 Samuel McBurney, principal of the Ladies College at Geelong, travelled in New Zealand to promote the teaching of singing by the tonic sol-fa method and he recorded his impressions of children's speech in the phonetic script invented by Alexander Ellis.

McBurney sent the results of his observations in New Zealand and Australia to Ellis who incorporated them into his monumental work, On
Early English Pronunciation, along with extracts from an article McBurney had published in the Christchurch Press by way of introduction. 9

McBurney observed a rather fluid situation; there was a movement towards a new uniform pronunciation but it was much more discernible in some children and in some parts of the colony than others. Isolated children spoke broad Scotch, Irish or provincial English like their parents, but otherwise, he noted, "the influence of parentage is very slight". Again, New Zealand children's speech had many features of Australian speech, particularly, McBurney thought, in Wellington, but there were discernible differences between the two countries. McBurney had looked for differences in pronunciation between the various Australian colonies but found fewer than he expected. "It is only since coming to New Zealand", he wrote, "that I have been definitely able to say, 'There is another type here'." But, he added, this was difficult to define.

In both countries, McBurney said, there was general tendency to a Cockney pronunciation, for example cow became kyow or caow, but in New Zealand certain of the leading features of Cockney pronunciation were much less common and children were much less likely to drop the aspirate, to clip ing (singin', swimmin') and to insert an r between vowels (I saw-r'im).

Part of the reason for colonial developments lay in "the universal tendency of all speech alteration...towards what may be called 'the line of least resistance'":

But why there should be a general tendency, as there undoubtedly is in Australia, to a Cockney pronunciation, when there must have been a very small proportion of the emigrants from Kent, whence this dialect has lately sprung, is a mystery still to be explained. 10

McBurney's original Press article attributed much less influence to teachers than some later writers who, presumably, read only Ellis's
version of it. "It is generally supposed," McBurney wrote, "that two main influences affect pronunciation - parentage and the teacher." But, he went on, in a passage which Ellis omitted:

I have only to ask your readers to note the pronunciation of Colonial children of Scotch parents who perhaps have had an Irish schoolmaster, or that of German parents who perhaps have had a Scotch schoolmaster, to see how very little similarity there is between the three parties of this triangular duel.¹¹

Teachers, understandably enough, claimed rather more influence for themselves.

Throughout the schools a fair amount of attention is being paid to pronunciation, and I am told by the teachers that common errors eradicated in the lower classes, give very little trouble among the older children, and that good habits formed in school are generally retained afterwards.

McBurney's remarks did not occasion much public comment. Ellis, focussing on McBurney's comments on the Cockney flavour of colonial speech, inserted his tables and commentary on them into the section of his work dealing with speech in South-eastern England so that McBurney's work was tucked away in an unlikely part of a work not readily available in the colonies. The only reported reaction to his Press article was a second leader in the same paper three day later.

McBurney had begun by saying, "I think it may be admitted that the pronunciation of the colonies, as a whole, is purer than can be found in any given district at Home." The Press was pleased but not surprised. "The astonishment of untravelled Britishers at the purity of the New Zealand accent is proverbial", said the editorial, "and if there is merit in correct pronunciation, to a large extent we have it."¹²

McBurney's detailed observations could not be ignored, however, and the Press warned that the purity of New Zealand speech was, nevertheless, threatened by the way in which young colonials pronounced vowels: "The sounds are attenuated down from their original native breadth to something very much resembling Cockney." This, the Press
suggested, rather oddly, was the result of an "excessive zeal for fine
speaking" and an "unconscious desire not to appear illiterate", and the
Cockney accent had been adopted by Londoners as a "refinement on the
broad vowel sounds of the provinces."

McBurney's article and the Press editorial between them contained
most of the conflicting claims about New Zealand speech which shaped
later debates: New Zealanders spoke better English than almost anyone
else; New Zealanders sounded like Cockneys; Cockney was a vulgar
affectation; Cockney was lazy, unthinking speech; teachers could
influence pupils' speech for good or ill; teachers played little part in
shaping speech patterns.

The most frequent and most detailed comments on children's speech
in the late 1880s and early 1890s are to be found in inspectors of
schools' annual reports. Given the rather fluid situation McBurney
observed, and given the fact that the inspectors were not trained
observers, it is not surprising that they often differed from each other
and from McBurney. McBurney for example, noted that flagrant misuse of
the aspirate was rare but John Gammell of Southland, a district McBurney
did not visit, wrote in 1883 that, "the initial 'h' is cruelly
neglected."

Similarly Robert Lee described a Wellington boy urging a
friend to "'Old your 'ead down" when playing leapfrog and he noted,
"The language of the playgrounds teems with such expressions." Lee
noted, in 1889, Wellington children's tendency to pronounce oo as ew so
that spoon became spwn. McBurney had noted this "strange
development" in Australia but found it "quite absent in New Zealand"
and he thought that Wellington children spoke more like Australians than
children in any other district.

Inspectors in the 1880s seem to be reacting to English lower
class speech and to provincial intonations and some of them were rather
pleased with the way New Zealand children's speech was shaping. Thus
Hodgson remarked in 1893:

Although various nationalities help to make up the staple of our schools, the result of the blending together, seems, so far, to have resulted in the disappearance of any marked accent or provincialisms.16

But the resulting blend was not to everyone's liking for some heard it as something new, not the negation of all English accents. In 1891 "J.H." drew the attention of those attending an N.Z.E.I. conference to the speech of the rising generation. New Zealand children were prone to mispronunciation, he wrote, through "the wrong use of the muscles of the throat": they pronounced a as i and made the short y into ee and pronounced lady and baby as laidee and baibee. Unless teachers took the matter in hand New Zealanders would, in due course, become unintelligible to people from other parts of the world.17

There were more and more such comments in the later 1890s and early 1900s, particularly from inspectors of schools. And these comments became more and more consistent, focussing particularly on the way vowels were pronounced and rehearsing a standard catalogue of charges against children's speech. The 1908 report of the Wellington inspectors, for example, listed a number of faults on which many observers were agreed. New Zealand children pronounced mine as moine, places as placuz, it as ut, and town as teown.18 In the early twentieth century, by contrast, inspectors had much less to say about the dropped h, once their bête noire but now, linguists agree, a feature of distinctively New Zealand speech.

By the early 1900s, it seems, a uniform, clearly recognisable New Zealand accent with most of the features of present day New Zealand speech was quite well-established among the young. It was, indeed, so well-established that anything else stood out clearly enough to occasion comment. "Several boys, fresh from their Native Yorkshire heath and Yorkshire Board schools, have passed through my hands", commented J.
Grierson, the Auckland inspector, in 1907. "Their dialect was as atrociously uncouth as I remember it thirty-five years ago."

In the early twentieth century children's speech became increasingly a matter for public comment and editorial deprecation. "XYZ", a visitor from Britain, wrote to the Press in 1905, for example, to deplore younger New Zealanders' shocking speech: "It is with intense sorrow that I find, even among my own kith and kin of the younger generation, this vicious pronunciation getting more and more prevalent." The Wellington Post reported, too, that British visitors were struck by the "peculiar un-English speech" of children there and by their "nasal, whining twang" and "careless, lazy way of speaking". By 1910, indeed, Baeyertz was ready to recognise and take up the cudgels against a distinctive New Zealand accent.

The New Zealand twang is coming, surely enough. On all hands one hears harsh accents, vowels broadened and flattened, liquids gobbled and slurred. The New Zealand accent is coming, and it will be very vile.

There were more and more frequent demands from writers to the papers that the schools take steps to rectify matters and inspectors of schools issued stern and sterner warnings to teachers and the educational authorities. The Nelson inspectors, for instance, wrote in 1902, "More care in the selection of our teachers and unremitting attention on their part are essential to maintain the purity of our mother tongue."

When Seddon was asked in Parliament in 1899 if he would direct teachers to pay particular attention to pronunciation he was dismissive: dialects were pleasant to hear, he said, and the government would take no action. But when he was asked, four years later, to consider appointing specialists in "voice-culture and elocution" to go around schools he replied that "all would appreciate the need for this" and that the only reason for not doing it was lack of funds.
Critics of the New Zealand accent were not mollified by Seddon's excuses or by individual teachers' efforts. When the Victorian Education Department appointed a lecturer in voice production to the Melbourne Training college in 1910 Baeyertz was quick to urge the New Zealand government to follow its example. And C.J. Parr, a member of the Auckland Education Board, deplored the way in which children were "obtaining a bad Sydney or Cockney accent". In the 1920s, and as Minister of Education, Parr was to thunder again and again against a New Zealand accent, something he seemed to regard as a treason. In 1908, however, he was relatively mild on the matter, merely urging the Board to "set its face against laxity of pronunciation in schools...a practice which must not be allowed to increase." There were further horrors in store. Not only were teachers not doing enough to suppress the New Zealand accent, some of them displayed it themselves. Thus Robert Lee noted in 1900 that some teachers' "enunciation was defective" and included foive for five and systum for system. Thomas McKenzie, MHR, referred, during the hearings of the Hogg Commission on teachers' salaries, to teachers with "that dreadful Whitechapel Cockney accent." The teachers in question were, it seems, younger men and women, New Zealand-born and products of the public primary schools themselves. In 1903, for example, the Nelson inspectors felt it necessary to suggest to some young teachers that for their own guidance a good pronouncing dictionary should always be at hand. J.G.L. Scott, headmaster at East Christchurch had another solution:

It would be much better if the pupil-teachers were recruited from the ranks of children whose parents were well-off, and whose surroundings were such that they always heard pure English.

The public primary schools came in for increasingly savage attacks on the matter of speech. In 1910 Mr Justice Chapman remarked the "defective enunciation of a youthful witness" in the Auckland
Supreme Court. A lawyer could not understand the witness and the judge explained that this was "The local dialect taught in the schools here", and he added that he himself would, "sooner listen to a Maori than attempt to understand this lingo." By 1911 the local accent had actually infected speech and singing competitions, and J.F. Montagu, one of the judges at the Christchurch competitions, wrote:

I notice that the children from the public schools invariably had the worst accent, and I am driven to the conclusion that the teachers are to blame... Public schools are prolific hatcheries of every evil of our spoken language...I have noticed that at times the accent of the teacher is as bad as the accent of the child, a horrid accent that is becoming such a pestilence in our state schools.

The 1904 syllabus revision enjoined teachers to secure "clear enunciation, good pronunciation, tone, and inflexion" in reading and some inspectors of schools were optimistic about the effects of a bit of practice in pronunciation.

Cases have come under our observation where the evil has been remedied by a few minutes drill a day in a selected list of words in which errors in the pronunciation of vowel-sounds, and omission of the final "d", "t" or "g" most frequently occur.

But teachers were given little guidance. The 1904 syllabus had no specific advice to give on speech training, for example. In 1905 the New Zealand Schoolmaster reprinted an article on "Voice Production" from the New South Wales Educational Gazette which some teachers might have found helpful. And after 1908 some teachers were able to purchase a pamphlet on the subject by the chief inspector of schools in Victoria, Alfred Fussell. But even when teachers had provided themselves with what material they could they were linguistic Dame Partingtons. In 1911 the South Canterbury inspectors commented:

In some of the small schools local peculiarities of intonation and modulation prevail to such a degree that a new teacher finds the reading strikingly disagreeable to the ear, and at first makes a vigorous attempt to show the children a better way. In some cases, we regret to say, the children prove the stronger in the struggle.
Perhaps the greatest commitment to the struggle against the "colonial twang" was made in Otago where the Education Board resolved to appoint a teacher of elocution to the staff of the local teachers' college. A Mr T. de Spong was duly appointed in 1911 at a salary of £50 per annum and the inspectors rejoiced.

During the year we have frequently had occasion to comment on the faulty enunciation and impurity of vowel sounds to be met with among our pupils and even among our teachers; but now that the services of an instructor of elocution are to be provided, we look for a considerable improvement in this regard. 38

Whatever improvement there might have been could only have been temporary, however, for Mr de Spong last appeared on the Board's list of its staff in December 1912, and he presumably returned to private practice thereafter. 39

The most bizarre attempt to improve children's speech came to light in Wanganui during a court case arising from the dismissal of a teacher, Thomas Stagpoole. Stagpoole charged D. Stewart, one of the Wanganui Board's inspectors, with putting chalk in children's mouths, but the chief inspector, G.D. Braik, assured the court that there was:

...nothing unreasonable in putting chalk in children's mouths to make them open their mouths and articulate properly. There had been much talk of incorrect pronunciation by New Zealand children, and the opening of the mouth was an important matter in correct pronunciation. 40

It was inevitable that the question of pronunciation should come up during the hearings of the 1912 Cohen Commission on Education. Louis Cohen, a barrister and sometime member of the Senate of the University of New Zealand, claimed that New Zealand speech was nearly as bad as "Orstailien" [sic]; it was "a blot on our national life" and was becoming more and more degraded. Teachers should, in future, be chosen for their English, he said, and there should be itinerant instructors in speech in schools. 41 Augustus Heine of Wellington College thought that the schools had a duty to "try and check the objectionable colonial
dialect that is spreading so fast," and Sir Robert Stout said that the young people he heard in the law courts did not pronounce English as it used to be pronounced, and he thought that New Zealand speech was worse in the North than it was in the South. 42

Critics did not, however, have it all their own way. Hogben, in an apparent reference to McBurney, asked Heine how he knew that things were getting worse. Had Heine kept careful phonetic records or did he simply rely on memory? 43 And Frederick Pirani, MHR for Wanganui, one of the commissioners, and colonial-born himself, poked fun at the affected speech of some of the secondary school principals who had appeared before the Commission. 44

But the Cohen Commission was more impressed by the doom-sayers than the defenders and its first recommendation on the syllabus was on speech-training.

In order to counteract the tendency amongst young people towards slovenliness in speech, indistinct utterance, and impurity of vowel sounds, it is recommended that throughout the whole school course daily practice be given in correct methods of breathing, and in the right use of the tongue, lips and teeth in speaking...Teachers should be instructed to pay special attention to their own speech in order that their pupils may have, as far as possible, correct models for imitation. 45

These recommendations were taken up in the 1913 revision of the primary school syllabus which urged teachers to make a special effort to secure "purity of vowel sounds" and "the correct use of the vocal organs" as well as setting good examples themselves. In the Junior Division of the schools "purity of speech as to form and sound" was to be fostered and common errors corrected as they occurred; in the Senior Division teachers were to pay increasing attention to these matters and to give "more definite teaching in the sound values of the letters." 46

Such general exhortations were of little practical use to teachers and although the syllabus said that the Department would supply exercises to teachers these did not in fact appear until 1925 when Parr,
as Minister, took the matter up. In the meantime the New Zealand Journal of Education printed a series of notes and exercises based on Fussell's pamphlet.

How many teachers used these, the original pamphlet or some other work on speech-training is not certain, but it was certainly not enough to satisfy the inspectors. In 1913 the Wanganui inspectors were once again warning that the children of New Zealand were in great danger of being swept into a "flood of faulty and impure vocalization" and that the "pristine purity of the English tongue" might be lost in New Zealand. The debate on children's speech is an instructive one. It sheds a certain amount of light on the development of the New Zealand accent itself, demonstrating, for example, that some young adults were speaking with a marked New Zealand accent by the turn of the century and indicating the main characteristics of that accent. But it sheds much more light on social attitudes to schooling and on New Zealanders' perception of themselves. The common claim that New Zealanders sounded like Cockneys is, for example, significant. New Zealand speech is much like some Southern English speech, but it is not Cockney. And yet the claim that New Zealand children sounded like Cockneys was common by the turn of the century. In 1901, for example, J.T. Hornsby, MHR, said in the House, "Take the ordinary accent of the boys you meet here, and you would think that they were newly arrived Cockneys from London." The absurdity of this claim is nicely demonstrated by an encounter a few years later between Spencer Westmacott, a young New Zealand-born farmer, and a lad who was newly arrived from London. Westmacott was intrigued by the boy's accent but finally realized that he was speaking "in an accent I had learnt to know as Cockney". The boy, for his part, was surprised to learn that Westmacott, who had been to Waitaki Boys' High, was not English: "Go won, you talk like it."
McBurney, of course, noted some Cockney features in New Zealand speech in the 1880s and was puzzled by them. Ellis, however, omitted McBurney's comments on the lack of immigrants from Kent and Arnold Wall, who knew Ellis's book, unhesitatingly labelled New Zealand speech Cockney and was sure that this was because the first school teachers had included so many Cockney speakers from London and its vicinity. 52

This seems implausible and the evidence to be gleaned from the turn of the century *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* tells against it. This work gives potted biographies of the headteachers of a number of schools, of a sizeable number of sole teachers, and of a smaller number of infant mistresses and first assistants in large urban schools. The *Cyclopedia* is not a complete Domesday Book: it listed notables but others listed tended to be those who had subscribed in advance for the volume covering their province. The *Cyclopedia* therefore provides details of only 633 teachers in 566 schools, but it does enable some assessment of Wall's claim about teachers from London, especially when it is remembered that the teachers listed tended to be the more senior members of the profession, men and women who had been working in New Zealand schools for a number of years.

Table 16 sets out the results of an analysis of the birthplaces, where these are recorded, of these teachers. It can be seen that only 24 teachers can be put down as Londoners without a doubt, and it is very likely that few of these spoke with a Cockney accent. If sheer weight of numbers had counted a Scottish accent should have triumphed, particularly in Canterbury, Otago and Southland. There were more Irish-born than London-born teachers listed, and more Australians.
Table 16

Birthplaces of Teachers Listed in Cyclopedia
of New Zealand 1897-1908

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<td>New Zealand</td>
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<td>Australia</td>
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<td>Scotland</td>
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<td>England and Wales</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Home Counties</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear, not given</td>
<td>31</td>
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</tbody>
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Note: "Other" includes teachers born in Europe, India, Ceylon, Denmark, United States, St Helena, and on board ship.

"Cockney" was much more a convenient summary term of abuse than an accurate description of New Zealand speech. Cockney was the speech of working class people, unredeemed by the suggestions of bucolic charm some found in British regional accents, and it smacked of urban squalor which should have been left behind in the Old World. To warn that New Zealanders would wind up speaking Cockney was to warn that New Zealand might not, after all, turn out well, and might not be a better Britain.

Given the view that a New Zealand accent, like Cockney, marked one as a member of the common herd it is not surprising that state primary schools came in for particular abuse and that private and secondary schools made particular efforts to stamp out a "colonial twang". "Firth of Wellington College", according to his adulatory biographer, allowed no "slovenly speech" in his school and poured scorn on boys who failed his test piece: "Shall we go for a sail in a whaleboat? Oh, no; not today." 53 Margaret Lorimer, Principal of Nelson
Girls' College, told the Cohen Commission that she and her staff were always "waging war against the colonial accent", and when seeking a teacher for the preparatory department of her school she declared that they must have, "at least an approximately correct English accent, otherwise we might have to close down the department."^54 The obvious way to try to ensure good speech was, of course, to hire English teachers as private schools often did. Samuel Vaile assured his English readers that not all young New Zealanders spoke badly.

The upper classes, however, generally send their children to private schools, where they are very well taught by highly qualified teachers from England and the Continent.^55

Some middle class boys had, he noted, a "defective accent" but it was not nearly so pronounced amongst middle class girls.

I attribute this partly to the fact that there is a far larger percentage of English and foreign teachers in the girls' schools than there is in the boys'. In the schools of the colony, particularly in the state schools, the great majority of the masters are New Zealand-born and educated. They are, in many cases, spreading the objectionable practice.^56

Some of those who fretted about the New Zealand accent overcompensated and wound up speaking "fraffly", as Pirani pointed out during the hearings of the Cohen Commission. Had critics not heard such affected pronunciations as faive for five and taime-table for timetable? What hope was there for change, Pirani wanted to know, when secondary school principals appearing before the Commission spoke like that. Had Heine ever heard a primary school teacher do worse than that?^57

Heine replied, significantly, that he had never heard a male secondary-school teacher speak like that. While he himself thought the colonial accent should be suppressed, he did not believe in "overdoing it, as we find in the case of some people who have been Home."^58 This, and Vaile's comments, suggest that overcompensation and speaking "fraffly" were particularly characteristic of girls' high schools and in
1914 an anonymous writer to the New Zealand Journal of Education laid specific charges.

Although the "highly educated" raise white, delicate hands in horror at the death-cry of the language which is being slaughtered by the uneducated and the illiterate, they, poor souls, have, as often as not, the blood of the same maltreated language on their own hands. 59

"Dissatisfied" noted such pronunciations as tahn for town, raight for right, and deah and mothah for dear and mother. Seven out of ten who used such affected speech were, he said, women and they learnt it at "various young ladies' colleges and high schools."

Speech was a complex business for the socially anxious members of the middle classes. Those one might consider one's natural allies against the New Zealand accent could, on occasion, pour scorn on incorrect approximations to proper, cultivated speech. A columnist in the Press sneered, in 1896, at a "gilded youth" and his pretensions: "Being a born Colonial he affects an English drawl". 60 And the Lyttelton Times, a Liberal organ, to be sure, but staunch against the New Zealand accent, openly mocked private schools' efforts.

Great care is taken in one New Zealand secondary school - a North Island institution - to teach the boys the correct sound of every vowel and the correct value of every accent. The pronunciation is that known as aristocratic. "Cow" is pronounced as "kaa", "towel" as "tahl" and so on. The language can hardly be considered safe in such hands. 61

In 1910 the Wellington Post condemned "fraffly" by referring to an indisputably aristocratic English authority, the Governor opening Parliament.

The ear waited in vain for the English (the alleged highly respectable English) "Ay" for "I"...It seems that circles which ape the affectations of the English smart society's pronunciation will get no support from Lord Irlington's utterance. 62

All of this indicates very clearly that Britain set the standard and that middle class New Zealanders, at least, were anxious to be able to pass for English when necessary. There were occasions on which one
might want to be a New Zealander, when New Zealanders' exploits on the battlefield or rugby field were under discussion, say; but it was quite another thing to be instantly and hopelessly branded a colonial, either by a ripe New Zealand accent or by a patently spurious English accent.

That English speech — middle class Southern English speech — set the standard is also quite evident from the remarks of those who defended rather than damned New Zealand speech. The view that New Zealand speech was the negation of all accents persisted and the myth was established that New Zealanders spoke, in fact, better English than was spoken in any other part of the Empire. Canadians, Australians, and South Africans had identifiable accents but New Zealanders were, of course, the "Britons of the South" in this as in other matters.

In this, as in other matters, too, the "Britain of the South" myth could be supported by referring to matters across the Tasman where, everyone would agree, things were much worse. Thus a young Christchurch woman was reported in 1913 as saying that New Zealanders were much in demand in Australia for office work because they were hardworking and less frivolous than the local product.

Besides that, the Australian girl has developed a decided twang, which amounts almost to a misuse of English. This "gets on the nerves" not only of her employer, but also in many cases, of his customers.63

There were, she noted, many Englishmen in business in Sydney on whose ears the Australian accent "grates most exasperatingly".

One further defence of New Zealand speech was the claim that it more nearly approximated "correct English" than some British regional accents. The North Canterbury inspectors took this line in 1912 in defence of the primary schools.

The so-called "colonial twang" we in no way condone, but critics are too prone to dilate upon and exaggerate this defect which suffers little by comparison with the uncouth dialects still frequently introduced by importation from the
Homeland. When we notice how rapidly these barbarisms are softened or disappear under the refining influence of our schools we can congratulate the latter upon possessing and maintaining to some degree the purity of the English tongue.  

New Zealand speech, it seemed, was either very bad because it was very un-English or very good because it was very English; no one was prepared to simply describe it as different and leave it at that, or to see it as something that simply marked a New Zealander off from other colonials. "Jarec", writing to the Lyttelton Times in 1891 to deplore the "slovenly and vulgar corruptions" of New Zealand speech, expressed the majority view of the respectable when he said:

In all our social and political aspirations let us by all means be true New Zealanders, but in our language I hope and trust that we shall be purely English.

Middle class attacks on the New Zealand accent, and middle class demands that the schools should suppress it were singularly unsuccessful, for a variety of reasons. Critics were divided among themselves on the causes and cures of the problem and, indeed, on precisely what the problem was. Teachers were left to make bricks without straw had they been minded to follow the syllabuses' injunctions, and, in any case, critics of the New Zealand accent were unduly optimistic in imagining that classroom lessons could solve the problem.

Critics were quite correct in reckoning the schools an important factor in the development of a New Zealand accent. Middle class parents suddenly found, to their horror, that their children were picking up a local accent in the primary schools, and, as the inspectors noted, immigrant children quickly lost their English accents once they attended a local school. But the New Zealand accent was not taught in the schools as Mr Justice Chapman claimed, and it was not determined by teachers' speech as Arnold Wall suggested; it was the result of children mixing in the playground and on their way to and from school. Sinclair
comments, "New Zealand speech developed among children, out of the babel of voices they heard at school - or at home." Obviously children were more often immersed in a babel of voices at school, their major meeting place, than they were at home.

Had schooling in New Zealand been established along clear social class lines there might have been much less fuss about a New Zealand accent; the middle classes might have been secretly pleased, in fact, at the way in which working class children were so conveniently adopting a useful social indicator. As things stood, however, children from a variety of backgrounds rubbed shoulders in the public primary schools and the campaign against the New Zealand accent was primarily a middle class campaign to protect middle class children from contamination. But while New Zealand primary schools were more democratic than, say, British board schools, some parents were still able to send their children elsewhere. The middle class parents who were most anxious that their children should not acquire a colonial accent could resort to private schools and so did not need to pursue a campaign against primary schools and the colonial twang to the bitter end.

But even had the campaign against a local accent been pursued more vigorously, even had the teachers been effectively mobilised and supplied with teaching material, it is unlikely that a distinctive local accent could have been suppressed. One thing notably lacking from the discussion of the schools' role in fostering a local accent was a clear analysis of how schooling shaped behaviour. In the absence of such an analysis it was simply assumed that official directives plus goodwill on teachers' part meant effective action. That belief fuelled the controversies dealt with in subsequent chapters.
Notes to Chapter 13


3. LT, 21 November 1901.


5. Triad, 1 November 1909, p.10.


7. From tape obtained from Radio New Zealand Archives, Timaru.


10. *CP*, 5 October 1887. Ellis omits McBurney's comment about the small number of immigrants from Kent.

11. *CP*, 5 October 1887.


17. LT, 23 December 1891.

18. *AJHR*, E-1B, 1908, p.16.


22. Triad, 11 April 1910, p.3.

23. *AJHR*, E-1B, 1902, p.28.
27. *LT*, 18 April 1908.

36. A. Fussell. *Exercises in Phonics*. Education Department of Victoria, 1914. (Circular of Information no 13. First issued 1908.) My copy belonged to a Timaru teacher. The introduction by Frank Tate, Director of Education in Victoria, condemns slovenly speech, the faulty formation of vowel sounds and a nasal twang.

41. *AJHR*, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.460.
42. *AJHR*, E-12, Session II, 1912, pp.611 and 620.
43. *AJHR*, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.624.
44. *AJHR*, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.624.
45. *AJHR*, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.17.
46. *NZG*, 1913, p.3687.

47. For developments in the 1920s see: C.M. McGeorge. Hear our voices, we entreat: schools and the "colonial twang" 1880-1930. *NZH*, vol 18, no 1, 1984, pp.3-18.
49. *AJHR*, E-2, 1913, appendix C, p.x.


57. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.624.

58. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.624.

59. NZJE, March 1914, p.33.

60. CP, 29 February 1896.

61. LT, 19 October 1901.

62. LT, 1 July 1910.

63. LT, 10 June 1913.

64. AJHR, E-2, 1912, appendix C, p.xxxvii.

65. LT, 29 December 1891.

Chapter 14

THE BIBLE IN SCHOOLS ISSUE

It is quite likely that more ink has been spilt, by combatants and historians, over the Bible in schools issue than over any other specific issue in New Zealand education. The issue is one that goes to the heart of people's world views and raises profound questions regarding personal conscience and the proper provinces of church and state. It is also an issue which demonstrates, if we take their claims at face value, many reformers' shared belief in the power of schools to shape attitudes for good or ill, to crush or foster true religion, to enhance or shatter social harmony, to guarantee or to quite preclude the reform of manners and morals.

Certain aspects of the Bible in schools question have, however, attracted much more attention than others. The parliamentary and extra-parliamentary debates and manoeuvres which led to the deletion of Bowen's original provision for prayers and Bible readings have, for example, come in for considerable attention from historians, but very little attention has been given to the origins and development of the Nelson system or to other practical moves to supply religious instruction outside school hours. And yet these moves, while they involved relatively few children, made immeasurably more difference to what actually happened in schools than all the pamphlets and rhetorical broadsides against the secular clause.
This chapter outlines the standard arguments of the period for and against religious instruction in state schools, and it describes the way in which these arguments were deployed in three major campaigns to overturn the secular clause. In doing so it adds material omitted or overlooked by previous writers; and, in keeping with the central purpose of this thesis, it pays due attention to the pedagogical plausibility of what was proposed and to the moral benefits claimed for Bible lessons. It then deals with the origins of the so-called Nelson system, with official and unofficial views on the vexed question of its legality, and with its early operation.

As to the origins of the secular clause itself it is sufficient here to note that its enactment completed a process which had proceeded apace during the later years of the provincial period as religious instruction was limited or excluded altogether. There were protests, of course, against the secular clause from the very inception of the national system as well as Anglican and Catholic demands for the state aid to private schools which the 1877 Act failed to provide, but many Protestants were able to view the secular clause with equanimity, if not satisfaction. If the price of a national system was the exclusion of religious instruction, so be it. Church and state would complement each other; Sunday schools, parents' own efforts and religious instruction outside school hours would supply what was missing from state-provided schooling.

The Education Act was, most people agreed, a social necessity and, perforce, a series of compromises. Defenders of the Act came to see and to represent it as an inspired compromise, a "settlement" or treaty to be honoured. To tamper with it in any way would be to re-open the complex debates of 1877 and risk the dissolution of the national system.
The balance of forces which produced the Education Act continued, in the 1880s and 1890s, to preserve it. Catholic and Anglican demands for state aid were opposed by those taking a separatist view of the functions of church and state; Protestant demands for religious instruction in state schools were opposed by the same separatists and by Catholics who feared for Catholic children in state schools. It was, however, a balance of forces which might be significantly altered by the creation of new alliances as a result of experience or mutual concessions if, for example, Protestant denominations could sink their differences and present a united front. In the nineteenth century, however, denominational differences and Anglican hankering for state aid told against the Protestant alliance which might have been prompted by the increasing evidence that voluntary, out-of-school efforts to provide religious instruction were clearly failing to achieve the coverage and standard hoped for when the Education Act was passed.

Of that failure there could be no doubt. At the 1874 census the number of children recorded as attending Sunday schools was equivalent to 53 percent of the population aged 5 to 15 years while the number attending public primary schools was equivalent to 48 percent of the same age group. By 1878 the number attending Sunday schools was equivalent to 59 percent of 5 to 15 year old and this figure rose to 69 percent by 1901. This was progress of a sort, but actual attendances did not match enrolments, and in rural areas far fewer children attended Sunday schools than national statistics suggested. In Sounds County, for example, 41 children were recorded as attending Sunday schools in 1906 while there were 248 children aged 5 to 15 in the area. That same year Presbyterian Southland had only 2,589 at Sunday school while there were 5,389 school age children in the county. Facilities, lesson materials, and teaching also often left much to be desired, although Sunday school teachers included a considerable leavening of state school
teachers with some knowledge of classroom methods. The result was, Breward suggests, that many Sunday school teachers simply perpetuated their own childhood religious education. 4

Attempts to give religious instruction at schools out of the usual school hours were even less successful than attempts to provide Sunday schooling. Many committees were cautious or unsympathetic, and even where committees were supportive there were difficulties of time and geography. In 1893, for example, the Rev. C.A. Tobin, an Anglican, noted the some schools were shut to him and others distinctly uncooperative. At the "best school" in his parish the teacher was a "Churchman" and a lay reader, nearly half the children stayed for lessons and the teacher remained to ensure discipline. 5 That was an ideal rarely obtained. Clerics often had trouble with discipline; children were required at home to help with house and farm work or were keen, in any case, to quit the classroom; and it was impossible to cover the schools in large, rural parishes. Tobin noted that he had been in a parish of 800 square miles which included seventeen schools but no metalled roads or railways. With churches' resources limited voluntary teachers after school were left, like Sunday school teachers, without materials. In 1898, for example, the Rev. E.E. Chambers, Vicar of Lyttelton West, reported that he had managed to get 90 percent of school children to remain after school for religious instruction but his requests to the church authorities for books, maps, and pictures had been refused. 6

Chambers's retention rate of 90 percent was, if correct, quite remarkable. In 1908 the Rev. W.S. Bean, a popular and respected Anglican clergyman, made a much more typical report to the Addington householders' meeting. There were nearly 600 on the roll at Addington but only 130 were on the roll for religious instruction and average attendance was less than 80 in spite of the fact that attendance was not
limited to Anglican children. Even this sort of report, however, was the exception rather than the rule. A return to Parliament in 1893 showed that only 96 New Zealand schools had religious instruction classes out of school hours.

In some places, e.g., where education boards set their faces against the Nelson system, efforts to provide religious instruction quite outside regular school hours were made well into the twentieth century, but they ran into the same problems as ever. In 1909, for example, the East Christchurch Committee inserted a notice in the local papers inviting clergymen to co-operate to give religious instruction out of school hours. The scheme got off to an enthusiastic start but when the headmaster was interviewed by a reporter in 1911 he wondered whether the enterprise should not be abandoned. Six hundred children did not stay for religious instruction and very few of those who did stay were not Sunday school pupils in any case. But what most annoyed the headmaster was the "slackness" of an instructor who had only turned up on one of the last five occasions.

In a few places in Canterbury the Nelson system was employed, long before it was "invented" in Nelson, to meet some of the problems which arose when children were asked to stay on after school. As early as 1878 Bishop Harper of Christchurch pointed out, in the course of a pastoral letter, the "loophole" in the secular clause itself.

For the Act does not require more than four hours, on five days each week, two of which in the forenoon and two of which in the afternoon are to be consecutive. It would be possible, therefore, to gain for religious teaching at least one hour on every day of the week without interfering with the suggested course of secular instruction, or taxing too severely the physical and mental energies of the young.

I have dealt with Harper's approaches to the North Canterbury Board and to school committees elsewhere, and noted various examples of religious instruction in nineteenth century Canterbury within the
customary school hours. All that need be said at this point is that the scheme was not a great success and, in spite of William Montgomery's commendation of it in the House in the 1880s, it does not seem to have attracted the sort of attention the same scheme attracted in Nelson. Many committees clearly regarded it as an evasion of the spirit of the Education Act or as likely to stir up local discord. Teachers were reluctant to forfeit time which might be spent on preparation for inspectors' examinations, and the assumption that clerics would teach only the children of their own flocks meant drafting children off and disturbing school routines.

The inadequacies of voluntary efforts to provide religious instruction gave both supporters and critics of the secular clause useful ammunition. Supporters could charge advocates of religious instruction with sloth or insincerity for not taking advantage of the opportunities offered and charge them with wanting to shuffle off their obligations onto long-suffering schoolteachers. Critics of the secular clause, for their part, could reply that even where there was evident goodwill and genuine effort these could not overcome problems of time, distance, and youthful fatigue. These claims became standard parts of the cases for and against the Bible in schools, along with arguments advanced in debate on the Education Act and on a succession of private members' bills thereafter, in pamphlets and material in support of petitions to parliament, in letters to newspapers, and in speeches from platforms and pulpits.

One common Bible in schools argument was that New Zealand was constitutionally and statistically a Christian country. Prayers in Parliament, oaths on the Bible in courts of law, and the provision of chaplains and Bibles in prisons were most commonly cited as evidence of official recognition of Christianity but A. Blake, writing in 1886, extended the list considerably. The laws of Alfred the Great and Edward
the Confessor cited Scripture as authority, coins were inscribed D.G. (Dei Gratia: God willing), the flag bore the cross, and the state had legislated against blasphemy and Sabbath-breaking.13

Census returns also showed that New Zealand was a Christian country. (The most bigoted added, not always sotto voce, that it was, statistically, a Protestant country, what is more.) Those advancing this argument glided easily from assumption to assumption: all those recorded as members of one denomination or another were practising Christians; all Christians, or at least all Protestants, favoured religious instruction in schools. And when a church court came out for Bible in schools there could be no doubt that members of that church should be added to the tally of Bible in schools advocates. The statistical argument could issue in one or another of two conclusions: either the Government should act forthwith in accordance with the wishes of a clear majority or it should take a referendum on the matter, a referendum which Bible in schools advocates could feel perfectly confident about.

On the statistical argument, and ignoring the Catholic position, only a very few professed pagans could be against religious instruction in state schools, and the will of the people was being thwarted by an ungodly, obstructive minority. Secular education, said an intemperate pamphleteer in the 1890s, was in deference to the "tender and ignorant consciences of a miserable minority of Atheists, Freethinkers, Jews, Musselmen, and Agnostics or know-nothings."14

A second standard argument for religious instruction was that Christianity had influenced European culture to the extent that certain matters could hardly be understood by anyone without a certain amount of religious knowledge. A 1914 advertisement by the Bible in Schools League put this view forcefully.
How can they understand the history of their race or their literature without a knowledge, if only from a literary point of view, of that Book without which the history of England could not be written; and without which her literature, her poets, her historians, her Acts of Parliament, her great writers, and even her newspapers today would be unintelligible. 15

The most common argument for religious instruction was, however, the argument from morality, the old, familiar argument that the reform in question would save money on jails, police, hospitals, and outdoor relief. The cultural argument tended to make the Bible a textbook in literature and history: this argument made it a book of moral lessons. Thus the Rev. John McKenzie to the Cohen Commission in 1912:

The principal aim in education is the production of character. Therefore some textbook of morality is an absolute necessity. The best-known textbook of morality is the Bible. 16

There were stronger and weaker versions of the argument from morality. On the weaker argument, which McKenzie was apparently advancing, humans have some glimmerings of right and wrong without revealed religion but the Bible is, as a matter of fact, the pre-eminent source of moral knowledge and motivation. On the stronger version, however, revealed religion was the only source of moral knowledge, and without religious instruction children could not know right from wrong. On either argument, of course, secular education would have dire social consequences.

Colonial life, like human life everywhere, argued J.M. Moore, showed that only the Bible could preserve man from degradation: colonial larrikinism "might have been checked in its origin had the Bible been read in primary schools from their first start." 17 Secular education in F.W. McKenzie's view, meant that a large proportion of young New Zealanders were "practically heathen", and:

Family life is out of date, the contagious diseases are spreading, the birth-rate is falling and the death-rate is rising. The remedy is to give the children a high ethical training so as to develop
How can they understand the history of their race or their literature without a knowledge, if only from a literary point of view, of that Book without which the history of England could not be written: and without which her literature, her poets, her historians, her Acts of Parliament, her great writers, and even her newspapers today would be unintelligible.  

The most common argument for religious instruction was, however, the argument from morality, the old, familiar argument that the reform in question would save money on jails, police, hospitals, and outdoor relief. The cultural argument tended to make the Bible a textbook in literature and history: this argument made it a book of moral lessons. Thus the Rev. John McKenzie to the Cohen Commission in 1912:

The principal aim in education is the production of character. Therefore some textbook of morality is an absolute necessity. The best-known textbook of morality is the Bible.

There were stronger and weaker versions of the argument from morality. On the weaker argument, which McKenzie was apparently advancing, humans have some glimmerings of right and wrong without revealed religion but the Bible is, as a matter of fact, the pre-eminent source of moral knowledge and motivation. On the stronger version, however, revealed religion was the only source of moral knowledge, and without religious instruction children could not know right from wrong. On either argument, of course, secular education would have dire social consequences.

Colonial life, like human life everywhere, argued J.M. Moore, showed that only the Bible could preserve man from degradation: colonial larrikinism "might have been checked in its origin had the Bible been read in primary schools from their first start." Secular education in F.W. McKenzie's view, meant that a large proportion of young New Zealanders were "practically heathen", and:

Family life is out of date, the contagious diseases are spreading, the birth-rate is falling and the death-rate is rising. The remedy is to give the children a high ethical training so as to develop
the faculty of self-control and the ethics of Christianity will effect the object more surely than any other system.\(^{18}\)

Even simple courtesy might fall victim to secularism. Bishop Cowie claimed that when he asked why some confirmation candidates did not rise to shake his hand he was told, "The master of the Board school here is an unbeliever, and the children have no habits of courtesy."\(^{19}\)

The existence of state and church schools in New Zealand, and the fact that some European nations and some Australian states had religious instruction in state schools while others did not, meant that a wide variety of comparisons could be made to assert or deny the moral advantages of Bible lessons in public schools. If religious instruction promoted good behaviour, why then, secularists asked, are Anglicans and Catholics more numerous in jails and industrial schools than might be predicted on the basis of census results?\(^{20}\) Because, Bishop Cleary argued, those classified "Catholic" were not really Catholics: they were lapsed or "census Catholics", many of them had not, in fact, been to church schools and others had been incorrectly classified as Catholics by prison chaplains. If Catholics were over-represented it was because of the social position of Irish immigrants in an English colony.\(^{21}\)

Bishop Nevill argued for religious instruction by comparing Germany and its "well-governed, law-abiding and powerful people, pre-eminent in science, in literature, and the arts of life" with France and its "impiety, physical and moral corruption, revolt against authority, assassinations, and suicides."\(^{22}\) Robert Stout, by contrast, proved to his own satisfaction, in evidence to the Cohen Commission, that the illegitimacy rate in New Zealand had not only declined since 1877 but was lower than in the Australian states with religious instruction in state schools.\(^{23}\)

New Zealand itself was, predictably, cited in similar debates in other countries. In 1906 W.S. de Winton, one of the directors of Lloyd's Bank, claimed in the course of debate in Britain that the crime
rate in New Zealand had risen much faster than the population between 1890 and 1903 and provided a grim warning against secular education. Others, of course, saw New Zealand as a shining example. Britons should, said J.A. Picton, take note of "those states of Greater Britain whose eyes discern the future more surely than ours": Britons should follow the "splendid examples in the United States, Australia, and New Zealand." Some New Zealand advocates of Bible in schools also took the opportunity, while visiting Britain, of telling horror stories to attentive audiences. Bishop Neligan of Auckland and the Rev. A.C. Hoggins of Christchurch both addressed the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908 on the connection between secular education and the crime rate in New Zealand. Neligan told a British reporter, that backblocks settlers in New Zealand were lapsing into paganism. He told of a boy who had never heard of Jesus and who burst into incredulous laughter when Jesus' life was outlined to him by a clergyman. Neligan's remarks about paganism were widely reported in New Zealand where they probably did the Bible in schools cause more harm than good.

Bible in schools advocates also argued that the school system was not, as it was claimed to be, neutral on the question of religion for it was not merely secular but secularist. By design or accident - that depended on the speaker - the New Zealand school system taught children materialism; it taught them that religion was unimportant, and it induced the irreverence so many people considered a characteristically colonial failing. That the schools were not, in fact, neutral towards Christianity was demonstrated by their exclusion of the Christian God, but not Greek, Roman, or Eastern deities. Canon Garland pointed out in 1914 that while Christianity was excluded from New Zealand schools the School Journal itself printed pieces referring to Mahomet [sic], Confucius, and the Japanese deity, Jizo. How odd it was to have "Jizo, but not Jesus."
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The case for secular education was composed partly of arguments advancing different considerations from those stressed by the Bible in schools lobby, partly of direct denials of that lobby's claims, and partly of arguments which stood Bible in schools arguments on their heads. The secular clause, it was claimed, embodied a precious principle of religious liberty and protected teachers' and children's consciences and the rights of minorities. Bible in schools advocates stressed the will of the Christian majority as against the "secularistic tyranny of a few political schemers"; those opposed to religious instruction in schools, on the other hand, represented minorities as people of firm, sincere principles and faith whose rights and consciences were to be respected. Protestant religious instruction would trample on Catholics' beliefs and what of New Zealand's Jews?

And what of the teachers who would be asked to give religious instruction? If they were required, without exception, to give such instruction then Catholic teachers and members of other minorities would either have to act in bad faith or give up their jobs. If, on the other hand, there was a conscience clause for teachers those who used it might suffer when competing for teaching positions.

From time to time Bible in schools advocates played right into their opponents' hands by making incautious or intolerant remarks on teachers' position should the secular clause be amended. In 1882, for example, the Rev. J. Macky, an Auckland Presbyterian, said that to guard against irreverent treatment of the Bible, "no profane person nor professed infidel should be admitted to nor continued in the office of teacher." Macky was by no means the last to give his opponents such ammunition. In 1902, for instance, the Rev. J.J. North said that if teachers could not teach what was proposed it would be "better for the state that they should retire." This drew applause from his immediate audience but did not go down well with teachers who were already aware
that the existing system enabled school committees, on occasion, to display religious preferences in making appointments.

The N.Z.E.I. consistently voted, when the question arose at Council meetings, for the status quo which led some opponents of Bible in schools to claim or assume that all teachers were of that mind. This was far from the case, however, as some male teachers acknowledged when they voiced dark suspicions of their colleagues', and especially their female colleagues', allegiances. Other teachers openly favoured the Bible in schools in print and at N.Z.E.I. Council meetings, to the annoyance of their secularist colleagues and the delight of Bible in schools advocates.

A second major argument against religious instruction was that it would endanger the national system. The secular clause was as necessary for the system's survival as it had been for its establishment. When Protestants argued that all Christians could at least agree on straightforward Bible reading without comment they ignored the Catholic view. During the 1877 debate one member of Parliament had said of what Bowen proposed, "Is it not Protestantism, pure and simple?" and Catholic spokesmen continued to ask this question of each new scheme proposed. The projected scheme of Scripture instruction, said the Catholic bishops in 1904, might relieve the consciences of a section of the Protestant clergy, but it would also make Catholics pay for the conversion of the State schools into Protestant Sunday schools. 32

It was widely agreed that making the state schools "Protestant" would make the Catholic case for state aid very strong, if not irresistible. That led many people to oppose Bible in schools, some because they feared the dissolution of the national system as funds were diverted, especially if the Anglicans also decided to establish schools, and some because they were simply opposed to Catholics getting any public funds. Thus the ultra-Protestant Howard Elliot, a Baptist
clergyman who later became notorious for his leading part in the Protestant Political League and for his scurrilous attacks on Catholics, argued strongly in 1912 against Bible in schools. "But endow Protestantism and who will dare deny the rights of the Romanists to an endowment?"

When Bible in schools advocates arrived at the lowest common Protestant denominator by urging Bible reading without note or comment they left themselves open to the charge that what they proposed was pedagogically odd. If teachers added glosses to what was read they might stray into doctrinal matters; if they made no comment children might be left uncomprehending or with quite the wrong end of the stick. How could simply reading the Bible without note or comment provide effective religious instruction or moral guidance? One hopeful reply to this point was that God would provide. "I believe the Bible to be God's Word", said the Rev. W. Baumber in 1895, "and I believe that God, through his Word, can speak to the hearts and consciences of children, apart from any human interpretation."

There was a further problem with simple Bible reading, some defenders of the status quo pointed out. It might prove to be not just ineffective but positively harmful. Professor Macmillan Brown made this point forcefully in 1889:

> If I wished any noble doctrine or noble book staled and profaned forever throughout a country, I would make it the daily routine work of the schools...Were an enemy of religion at the helm of the state, the most machiavellian piece of statesmanship he could put into force would be to make compulsory the daily reading of its sacred books in every school. 35

As Mark Twain might have said, "It doesn't matter what you teach a boy; he won't like it."

And was the Bible in any case suitable reading matter for schools? "Veritas", writing in the New Zealand Schoolmaster, was only one of many to make this point in opposition to Bible in schools
advocates. If the moral passages had, as was claimed, an automatic
influence on children, might not the same be said of the unseemly,
vViolent passages? Might not certain Old Testament passages have a
distinctly barbarising influence? Nor did the books of extracts
proposed in the 1890s and in the early twentieth century escape such
criticism. A letter writer to the Christchurch papers asserted
indignantly that, "there are passages in the Irish text-books that no
decent, respectable man would dare read to his sons and daughters, and
yet the boys and girls will have to read them in mixed classes." 37

When it came to the question of secular education's moral effects
defenders of the status quo met the Bible in schools lobby head on. It
was quite untrue, they said, and a slur on schools and teachers, to
claim that they did not teach morality. One had but to look at the
textbooks in use, at school discipline and routines, and at the moral
dexample of teachers and the standards of behaviour they required to see
that the schools were ever striving to produce honest, upright,
courteous citizens. Separatists were able to operate, in this
connection, on an assumed link between religion and morality which was
as tight as that proposed by Bible in schools advocates but rather
different in kind and in its implications; namely, that the schools, in
fostering morality, had seized on the moral core of true religion and
were teaching "practical Christianity" without opening the Pandora's box
of distinctive doctrines. J.H. Chapple, on whom Maurice Gee's eponymous
Plumb was modelled, even suggested that Bible in schools advocates were,
if the truth be known, really worried because the schools were teaching
morality so well that the "splendid unchurched goodness found today"
weakened their case. Unthinking adherence in the past to the words of
the Bible had brought misery, war, persecution, and the murder of
supposed witches; but there was a higher morality than that "promoted by
promise of heavenly reward and hellish fears." 38
On the question of morality and secular education, however, statistics were a better counter to Bible in schools advocates' claims than Chapple's maverick views, and defenders of the state schools were ready to match figures with figures, comparison with comparison to show that secular New Zealand was morally more wholesome than places with religious instruction in public schools.

Some political radicals saw the whole issue as another manifestation of the class struggle and condemned the Bible in schools movement as something inspired by capitalists to keep workers in their place. The Maoriland Worker, Beward notes, expressed this view from time to time. An anonymous writer to the Lyttelton Times, in citing social class differences in Britain, may have struck a chord in older settlers who remembered parson and squire in league in the villages they had quit for the colony.

If we wish to avoid the class hatred, bigotry, and blunders of the Home land we will take the advice of our visitor, Mr Hodge, member of the Imperial parliament, to keep all ministers of religion out of our state schools. Many would go further and keep parsons and sky-pilots out of school committees, as by their fruits ye shall know them: Britain, for example, where the Tory vicar claims to be immaculate, impregnable, and indispensible.

The journal Outlook, in urging the Bible in schools, gave unwitting support to the Maoriland Worker's interpretation of the issue when it asserted in 1913, that:

Only in so far as Bible truth sinks into the childish consciousness of the nation will the present conflict between Capital and Labour come to an end.

Some defenders of the status quo, finally, were quick to challenge their opponents' motives, to meet charges of dogmatic secularism with charges of insincerity and inconsistency. Bishop Julius might deplore the lack of religious instruction, said a Press editorial, but what had the Church of England done about it?
It does nothing to remedy the evil except to utter a plaintive bleat from time to time for the State to step in and give the religious education which it is too stingy or too indolent to provide. 42

The arguments pro and con religious instruction in state schools which have just been summarised were rehearsed and refined in a succession of campaigns for the Bible in schools and in the pamphlets and petitions, newspaper correspondence, and parliamentary rhetoric produced as counterblasts to those campaigns.

The most determined assaults on the secular clause in the late 1870s and in the 1880s were very much the work of individual churches with the Presbyterians of Otago and Southland first off the mark with a Bible in schools committee which gained the support of a majority of school committees and of the Otago Education Board and duly petitioned Parliament for Bible reading in state schools. Anglican opposition to secular education, however, issued in a demand for state aid to private schools, something which many other Protestants viewed with suspicion or met with outright opposition. Anglican commitment to the principle of state aid, largely because of the inflexible views of Bishop Hadfield, plus teachers' and Catholics' opposition to Bible in schools gave, as Breward puts it, "ample reason for politicians to do nothing". 43

By 1890 Bible in schools advocates could see that the only way forward was by combined Protestant action in some national alliance or association. There had been efforts in the 1880s, of course, to secure joint action. Nelson Anglicans formed a Bible in schools committee to seek the cooperation of Bible in schools movements elsewhere in the colony, and they and the Presbyterians of Otago and Southland circularised other churches in the late 1880s in an attempt to secure support for sympathetic parliamentary candidates. 44 But these efforts were hardly successful in their immediate objects and did not result in any formal association.
There were also various organisations in the 1880s whose titles at least gave an appearance of co-operation. Blake noted that a Bible in Schools Association, which included members of the North Canterbury Education Board, was formed in Christchurch in 1883 and there were also associations in Auckland and Wellington. A Scripture Gift Association was formed in Auckland in 1877 to press for Bible readings in schools and it was still in existence in 1890. But these and other associations were small and local and often the creation of one denomination or another. The Otago Bible in Schools Association formed in Dunedin was very much a Presbyterian organisation and so was the North Otago Bible in Schools Association formed in 1892.

The 1890s, however, saw a coalescence of Protestant churches as church leaders and church courts took stock of their previous failures and as Anglican synods declared themselves no longer in favour of state aid for denominational schools.

In 1891 the Wesleyan Conference set up a committee to confer with other denominations, and in 1892 the Christchurch synod set up a commission on religious education to seek, inter alia, means of co-operating with other denominations. Presbyterians north and south of Waitaki agreed in 1892 to co-operate in the same matter but made it clear that their support for Bible in schools did not mean support for state aid.

The result of all these negotiations was the formation of a series of associations to press for the use of Scripture textbooks in schools. Breward says these were formed in 1894, but a Scripture Textbook in Public Schools Association was, in fact, formed in Christchurch in October 1893 at a meeting which included Anglicans, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Free Methodists, Bible Christians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and members of the Salvation Army. In November 1893 Bishop Cowie of Auckland chaired a meeting in that city to form a
Scripture Textbook Association modelled on the Christchurch organisation. Matters did not, however, go quite as smoothly there as they had in Christchurch. The Anglicans declined to give assurances that they would not, in the future, press for more than simple Bible reading and although the committee of the new association included Presbyterians and Wesleyans, six clergymen, one of them a Presbyterian and the remainder from smaller denominations, opposed the formation of the association. 50

By November 1893 the Christchurch association was able to report that 10,000 handbills had been distributed in North Canterbury, that eight out of twelve North Canterbury parliamentary candidates supported the association's programme, and that an association was soon to be formed in Dunedin. 51 In due course associations were formed in Dunedin and in Nelson and the scheme received the blessings of the Presbyterian General Assembly, Anglican synods, and the Wesleyan Conference. 52

The Scripture textbooks which the associations sought to have read in state schools were familiarly known as the "Irish" Scripture textbooks. They had been compiled in that country as part of the early nineteenth century attempt to create a system of education acceptable to both Protestants and Catholics. "Irish" textbooks in other subjects were, as chapter 9 shows, widely used throughout the English-speaking world because they could be said to carry a Catholic and a Protestant imprimatur and to overcome denominational difficulties, and the scripture texts were used in some Australian states. But it soon turned out that the Scripture Textbook Associations had been unduly optimistic in thinking that settling on an existing text, acceptable elsewhere, would overcome local opposition. Catholics were opposed to the use of these texts and as early as 1883 Bishop Redwood had condemned them before a parliamentary committee. 53 The books drew on both the Authorised and Douai versions of the Bible but they were very largely
the work of Archbishop Whately of Dublin whose comments on weaning Catholic children from the "abuses of popery" were long remembered. It was too much to expect New Zealand Catholics, with their strong Irish background, to tamely accept products of English efforts at education in nineteenth century Ireland.

The textbooks were also heavily weighted towards the Old Testament, the prophetic, and the miraculous and so open to a number of objections. They not only reflected an outmoded view of the Bible and of Christianity, they included much that would be unintelligible to children without explanation and some things that were unseemly, e.g., the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife.

The arguments for and against the "Irish" Scripture texts were rehearsed before a parliamentary committee in 1895. The committee noted Jewish, Catholic, and teacher opposition to the texts and that introducing them would strengthen Catholic claims for state aid, and it reported that it had no recommendation to make. A bill to introduce the textbooks into schools failed in the same year and left the campaign's organisers to cast about for other means of advancing their cause. The Auckland synod, for example, urged a referendum on the question and the Scripture Textbook Association emphasised the percentage of New Zealanders who must favour the texts "by decision of their church courts." In 1896 a number of candidates for election to local school committees ran on a Bible in schools ticket and in some school districts gained a complete victory. This success was not repeated elsewhere and the New Zealand Schoolmaster noted that a Bible in schools candidate for election to the Otago Education Board came a poor last. By 1898 the Lyttelton Times was able to sneer that the Bible in schools question was a "bagged badger" let out for a run once a year when church courts met, and that the movement had lost all real momentum.
That the Scripture textbooks campaign failed is not at all surprising. The leaders of the movement, and Bishop Julius in particular, were keen to present a united front, and Julius proved a heavy-handed chairman at meetings of the association in Christchurch in his eagerness to stifle dissent. When Sir John Hall claimed that the Juvenile Depravity Bill before the House had been necessitated by the secular school system the headmaster of a large local school rose in indignation but was ruled out of order and Julius refused to allow any discussion. On another occasion he declined to entertain a motion amending one in favour of the Irish texts: "Those who objected could call a meeting of their own." 

Neither heavy-handed chairmanship nor inflated statistical claims, however, could disguise the obvious fact that many Protestants were not at all in sympathy with the Scripture textbooks scheme. In 1893 the Baptist Union, after lengthy debate, resolved against religious instruction in state schools, agreeing that while the Union would take no action, it would leave "each member unfettered." That same year the Auckland committee of the Congregational Union resolved against religion in state schools, condemning it as an attempt, at bottom, to secure state aid and denying that the state had any legitimate connection with religious instruction.

Many members of the smaller Protestant denominations remained suspicious of Anglican intentions and of Anglican hankerings for clergymen to have right of entry into schools. Julius himself fuelled such suspicions when he spoke at synod in 1895.

\[\text{He thought the textbook a poor thing, but favoured it as a beginning, seeing that it was the only thing the various denominations agreed upon; and that it could be improved on or supplanted in time if the thing were once started.}\]

In 1896 open cracks appeared in the Protestant facade that had been achieved when a Dunedin meeting chaired by Bishop Nevill failed to reach
agreement on religious instruction in schools. The Anglicans favoured the New South Wales system which included clerical right of entry while the Presbyterians stuck to their customary advocacy of simple Bible reading.\textsuperscript{64}

At the turn of the century Irvine and Alpers concluded that the Bible in schools issue was pretty much a dead duck: the question had "disappeared from practical politics" and at the last general election scarcely a candidate could be found who would pledge himself to support religious instruction in public schools.\textsuperscript{65} Irvine and Alpers were, however, only noting a temporary lull. In the early 1900s a new campaign was mounted under the leadership, primarily, of the Rev. James Gibb, a vigorous, able spokesman for the newly united Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. The new campaign stressed popular support for religious instruction in state schools and sought to demonstrate this, not by appealing to census figures which could be disputed, but by conducting plebiscites to gather incontrovertible evidence of the people's wishes. The 1902 general election stimulated a flurry of such plebiscites - in Timaru, Waimate, Oamaru, Palmerston North, Dunedin, and Waikouaiti. These plebiscites seem to have been the result of local initiative rather than the work of any national organisation. The Timaru survey was the work of the local Protestant clergy and a few laymen; the Waimate survey was undertaken by the local branch of the New Zealand Mothers' Union.\textsuperscript{66}

In due course, and at Gibb's instigation, a national organisation was formed in the shape of a Bible in Schools League. The events leading up to the formation of this League are, at this remove, not perfectly clear. There was a Society for the Promotion of Bible Teaching in State Schools in Christchurch by late 1902 and another in Auckland. Both included representatives of a number of Protestant denominations.\textsuperscript{67} In March 1903 the Christchurch Society was in
communication with committees in the three other main centres with a view to forming a national committee to press for religious instruction in state schools. 68

Whether these efforts led to or were made redundant by the association which emerged from the April 1903 meeting Gibb called in Wellington is not clear. 69 What is clear, however, is that the Society for the Promotion of Bible Teaching was not heard of, at least under that name, after 1902.

After 1903 Gibb and the Bible in Schools League moved to centre stage and pressed vigorously for a national referendum on Bible in schools and for the use of yet another set of Scripture textbooks, not the Irish texts but those in use in the state of Victoria. Gibb's campaign and his battles with Seddon have been well-covered by Breward and Barber and there is no need to follow them in detail here. 70 Seddon dragged his feet over a specific referendum on Bible in schools and on more general legislation for referenda on a range of issues, including Bible in schools. Gibb's anger at Seddon's letting the relevant bills lapse at the end of parliamentary sessions led to sharp public exchanges between the parson and the premier. "Dr Gibb goes for King Dick", said a Free Lance headline in 1904. 71

The year 1905 saw a whirlwind of activity from the League. It renamed itself the Bible in Schools Referendum League, opened many new branches, appointed a fulltime organiser at a substantial salary, and delivered broadsides of pamphlets. It was all, however, to little effect. A private member's bill for a Bible in schools referendum was squeezed from the parliamentary order paper by Seddon's parliamentary management and Barber concludes that by 1907 the League was moribund. 72

This campaign had many of the features of the 1890s campaign and many of its weaknesses. The Victorian textbooks were open to much the same objections that had been made against the "Irish" texts; Catholics
and teachers were opposed to the introduction of religious instruction in state schools; and it proved impossible to present a wholly united Protestant front. Once again members of the smaller Protestant denominations stressed the dangers of state supported religious instruction and once again the Anglicans expressed a wish for more than simple Bible reading. The 1904 Anglican General Synod, indeed, rejected the League platform because it did not give ministers the right of entry. 73

"Defence leagues", i.e., organisations created to defend the status quo, took a rather more prominent part in the debate than they had in the 1890s. There were, although Breward does not mention them, at least two local defence leagues in the 1890s. A National Schools Vigilance Committee set up in Auckland in 1893 to oppose the "Irish" texts. 74 And a National Schools Defence Association was established in Wellington in 1896 to oppose the Irish texts and, in an unusual twist, to organise religious instruction out of school hours. 75 By this means the Wellington league obviously hoped to disarm those who stressed the inadequacy of voluntary efforts and, therefore, the need to overturn the secular clause.

The defence leagues prompted by Gibb's campaign attracted more national attention that those of the 1890s and were more enthusiastic pamphleteers. A State Schools Defence League was formed in Wellington in 1904 and one in Canterbury in 1905. The Wellington League joined battle with the Bible in Schools Referendum League in the newspapers, and it produced a trenchant pamphlet pointing out the inadequacies of the proposed textbook. 76

The third major Bible in schools campaign during the period covered by this thesis has been well-covered by Breward and Snook, so that, once again, there is no need to follow the struggle blow-by-blow or to provide more than the necessary outline of events. 77
The new campaign had a good deal in common with previous campaigns. Gibb and Julius worked to create a new Bible in Schools League in 1912 which absorbed earlier associations; once again a textbook of Scriptural passages was proposed, this time a book in use in New South Wales; once again a referendum was demanded, and once again Parliament set up a committee to hear the arguments for and against religious instruction in schools. There were, however, some new elements, most notably Presbyterian endorsement of the New South Wales system which Anglicans had long favoured and which included not only Bible reading by teachers but right of clerical entry to schools under specified conditions. Another significant new factor was the entry onto the New Zealand scene of Canon David Garland who had organised a successful referendum campaign in Queensland and who had been sounded out by Gibb as early as 1910 on the question of leading a New Zealand campaign. 78 Garland arrived in New Zealand in 1912, a Bible in Schools League was formed, and he set up an elaborate organisation which included a dominion executive, local committees, and a parallel women’s branch of the League. "If committees could have won the campaign," Breward comments, "the League would have won hands down." 79

The League was able to make an impressive show of Protestant unity, claiming, for example, that only 86 out of 1,400 Protestant clergymen did not endorse its platform. It was able to organise some enormous public meetings and it claimed that tens of thousands had signed membership cards. Garland, too, proved himself an able controversialist and, before the parliamentary committee, a considerable strategist in cross-examination.

Once again, however, the campaign for Bible in schools failed. The Referendum Bill lapsed, and the parliamentary committee declined to recommend any change to the secular system. 80 The outbreak of war, finally, captured public attention so thoroughly that it was reported in
October 1914, that the Bible in Schools League had "withdrawn agitation for the present."\textsuperscript{81} The Bible in schools issue made a brief reappearance in the news with the election at the end of 1914. In February 1914 Garland spoke of the need for a "League of Earnestness" composed of those sworn to put the Bible in schools issue before all others at the forthcoming election.\textsuperscript{82} In May two hundred Bible in schools workers in Christchurch duly signed "earnestness cards" at a meeting and, presumably, took more cards away with them to press on others.\textsuperscript{83}

The Bible in schools issue seems, however, to have made little impact on the election results. John Caughley, President of the N.Z.E.I. and a leader in the campaign to oppose Bible in schools, was able to claim, unchallenged, that eleven of the thirteen Canterbury candidates pledged to Bible in schools failed and that the other two were returned to safe seats with reduced majorities.\textsuperscript{84}

The reasons for the failure of the campaign of 1911 to 1914 are fairly clear. The New South Wales textbooks were, in fact, a revision of the old Irish textbooks and open to all the familiar objections to Bible reading without comment. The League made a clear distinction between Bible reading, which teachers would take as a matter of course, and the lessons clerics might take when they exercised their right of entry. Teachers, the League said, were only being asked to supervise reading lessons, not offer specific religious instruction, and they could not, reasonably, object to that. Having made this distinction the League proceeded to make a tactical blunder by not including a conscience clause for teachers. When it was pointed out that this omission might put teachers in a ticklish position the League insisted that teachers had no real reason to object, and it argued that there was no trouble on this score in New South Wales.
A 1914 newspaper story, which looks very much like a paid advertisement for the League, featured the views of Mr A. Inglis, a Southland inspector of schools, in support of Bible in schools. There was, according to Mr Inglis, no difficulty in Australia and no need in New Zealand for a conscience clause. Nor did teachers, in any case, have the right to demand a conscience clause. Did customs officers who had to handle liquor have a right to object if they were temperance men? What about other state servants who had, for one reason or another, to work on Sundays?

This was hardly designed to comfort worried teachers and nor was the careless remark of Mr Noel Gibson of Christ's College that teachers who would not give Bible lessons "had no function in the state." This got wide publicity and Gibson claimed that he had been misreported. The Lyttelton Times, however, said that it had checked with others present at the meeting, that Gibson did indeed say that, and that Gibson was wrong to claim that the Times had ever apologised for misreporting him. 86

Defence leagues played a prominent part in opposition to Garland's campaign. A Secular Education Defence League was established in Wellington in 1910, probably to counter the efforts there of the New Zealand Citizens Bible in State Schools League and the Wellington Householders' League, both small organisations which kept the flag flying after Gibb's Referendum League went into recess. 87 In 1912, however, a new National Schools Defence League was established in Wellington, and in 1913 a New Zealand National Schools Defence League was established with branches in the main centres. 89 The National League included some big guns: George Fowlds, ex-Minister of Education, Howard Elliot as Secretary, and Professors Hunter and McKenzie of Victoria University, and it produced a stream of pamphlets and press statements exploiting the weaknesses of the Bible in Schools League's platform.
The N.S.D.L. also included a sprinkling of Protestant clerics, most notably the Rev. T.A. Williams, a Baptist, and this weakened the Bible in Schools League's claims that Protestants were of one mind on the matter.

Protestants were, of course, more united than they had ever been which made maverick members of denominations which were supposed to be onside particularly annoying. It also made the Bible in schools issue appear, on occasion, to be a straightforward Catholic-Protestant contest. Julius, addressing a Bible in schools rally, went so far as to say:

The League had opponents, and boiled down they were all Roman Catholics...I do not see why in the world the mass of the people are to be governed by a handful of Roman Catholics. 89

That, predictably enough, was the Orange view too. In 1914 the Conference of the Grand Lodge of the Loyal Orange Institution declared for the Bible in schools platform. If Parliament refused a referendum, the Lodge declared, that would be an endorsement of Catholics' "extraordinary position that the people are not allowed to settle their own affairs." 90

Clumsy suggestions that Catholics were simply an obstructionist minority working, Orangemen suspected, for their own fell purposes could only stiffen Catholic opposition to Bible in schools. Not that it had ever needed much stiffening. Bishop Cleary, once editor of the Tablet and well-used to educational controversy, emerged as his church's ablest spokesman on the matter during Garland's campaign. Cleary produced half a dozen vigorous pamphlets and innumerable speeches, letters and press statements, and he left the parliamentary committee in no possible doubt of the Catholic community's staunch opposition to the League's programme.

A major factor telling against the Bible in Schools League was politicians' estimate of how much support it actually had. It is clear
enough from the League's own records that it found it easier to get people to cheer at mass meetings than to get them to raise money or to canvass methodically. Breward notes, too, that while the Outlook consistently gave the impression that a mighty movement was sweeping the country the Auckland Herald scarcely acknowledged that anything was going on at all.91

The Nelson system, too, while by no means universal, was well enough established to commend itself to politicians as a workable compromise which had the great advantage of not requiring politicians to do anything. Thus the 1914 parliamentary committee was able to decline to amend the secular clause while pointing to existing facilities for voluntary instruction within school hours.

Although the Nelson system featured in debate during Gibb's 1903-07 campaign, and featured rather more in Garland's campaign, it has been more convenient to deal with the main lines of development of those campaigns and to postpone a discussion of the Nelson system until this point. As demonstrated earlier in this chapter the scheme later known as the Nelson system seems to have originated in North Canterbury, but it was also discussed in other districts in the 1880s. Bishop Cowie noted that at an Auckland synod in the 1880s:

One speaker suggested that the present number of hours for secular teaching might be shortened on one or more days of the week, so as to allow for religious instruction being given on those days.92

It seems, however, that the synod did not pursue the matter because it felt that the syllabus was already so crowded that schools would be reluctant to make the necessary time available.

Things went much further in Otago. In May 1883, a conference of Protestant clergymen sought permission from the Dunedin Schools Committee to give religious instruction in its schools from 9.30 a.m. to 10.00, clearly within the customary school hours. The committee, however, decided to grant the use of school buildings only from 9.00 to
9.30 a.m. In June the Otago Education Board, however, agreed that religious instruction could be given in the Normal School from 9.30 to 10.00 a.m.

Later in 1883 the Milton School Committee resolved, at the urging of the Rev. Chisholm, to permit prayers and Bible reading in the district high school it controlled between 9.00 a.m. and 9.15 a time within the school's usual hours. The headmaster was willing but the other teachers jibbed. The New Zealand Educational and Literary Monthly sided with the teachers and argued that what was proposed was quite clearly illegal. For Chisholm to argue that only two of the morning hours had to be strictly secular was a mere quibble, said the Monthly, and it added that the Minister of Education had ruled that the requirement was to give purely secular instruction during the "whole school session, be it four hours, or be it ten."

The ruling referred to was, however, by no means as unequivocal as the Monthly suggested. It was alleged in 1883 that the Education Act was being breached at the Colombo Road, i.e., Sydenham School, and the headmaster had cited the minimum requirement of four hours secular instruction per day. The Secretary of Education, John Hislop, acting on the instructions of the Minister of Education, Thomas Dick, wrote to the North Canterbury Board:

I am to take the opportunity of pointing out that the master of the school, in his letter dated 10th inst., misinterprets section 84, Regulation 2. The "four" hours are here mentioned as the minimum length of time a public school shall be kept open each day; but if a Board or School Committee officially direct that any school shall be kept open for a longer period each day than for four hours, then the requirement of the Act as to the character of the teaching applies as much to the whole of the period as it does to the minimum of four hours. In other words the requirements of the Act as to the character of the instruction to be given in a public school, apply to the whole time during which a public school is kept open, whether that time extend to the minimum "four hours: or to a longer period."
Just what this letter does and does not allow must be carefully considered. It might be argued that it rules out religious instruction during those hours the community has come to consider regular school hours, but it does not. It might be argued that it rules out modifying the official times of opening to permit religious instruction, but it does not. What it does make crystal clear is that religious instruction is illegal within the official hours of opening. But it does not say that these hours must be the same every day of the week and it specifically acknowledges committees' and education boards' right to determine school hours so long as the statutory four hours are included. Thus anyone reading the Minister's letter might reasonably conclude that religious instruction could be given within the customary school hours but not within (suitably amended) official hours.

This is, of course, precisely the distinction on which the Nelson system rests. The Minister's letter thus amounted to a reminder that schools were to be officially closed for religious instruction when this was given during the usual school hours. The North Canterbury Education Board certainly did not seem to regard it as ruling out amended hours. In 1884 when the Board heard that religious instruction was given at Rangiora from 11.30 a.m. until noon it decided that, "this was no infringement of the Act as the two hours in the forenoon and the afternoon respectively were devoted to secular instruction."98

It is difficult now to determine how widely the device which came to be known as the Nelson system was used. References to religious instruction outside school hours may refer to instruction outside the customary hours or to instruction within them but outside amended official hours. Nor is it always clear that religious instruction between 9.00 and 9.30 a.m. was within the customary hours for some schools opened at 9.00 and some at 9.30. Contemporary reports, however, make it pretty clear that what was proposed at Milton was within the
customary hours and it is quite evident that this was the case in Canterbury schools where religious instruction was given in the late morning. Some remarks Charles Bowen made to the North Canterbury N.Z.E.I. in 1894 suggest that the Nelson scheme was not only legal but positively anticipated and provided for by Parliament in 1877. Bowen said:

It was not generally known that the Act contemplated that the children should have religious teaching, but it was provided that the committees could grant the use of the schoolroom for such purposes, and 9.30 a.m. had been specially named as the hour at which schools should open, so as to allow half an hour for religious teaching before hand. In 1907, and in response to a distinctly leading question, the aged Bowen suggested even more strongly that the Nelson system had been specifically provided for. He was asked:

Was it your expectation at the time of the passing of the Education Act of 1877, of which you had charge, that as the schools of the colony generally opened at 9 a.m., the requirement of two hours secular teaching before noon would allow school committees, where they desired it, to arrange for Bible lessons between 9.00 and 9.30 a.m., and still leave time to comply with the requirements of the Act? Bowen replied, "Yes, the Legislature deliberately left the matter in the hands of the school committees."

If this had been Parliament's intention Parliament seemed quite coy about it. It was certainly contemplated in 1877 that committees might permit religious instruction before or after the customary school hours but when the so-called Nelson system, with its distinction between customary and official hours, was mooted in the late 1870s and 1880s it struck many people as a novelty — and it struck some as quite illegal.

But, to make a complex matter a little more complex, Bowen could, after all, be said to be correct. Had committees everywhere permitted religious instruction before the official opening of schools, and had there been sufficient teachers to provide this instruction everywhere
and on every day of the week, then the situation later created in some schools by the so-called Nelson system would have been obtained. The customary school hours would have included religious instruction but people would have distinguished the customary hours from the official period of secular instruction. The crucial point is what is customary, and the Nelson system was controversial because it trenched upon what had become the customary hours of purely secular instruction and because it involved different official hours on different days of the week.

There was, of course, nothing like the necessary number of teachers and nothing like the quantity of goodwill which would have been needed to make an additional period of religious instruction a routine part of the schools' daily programme in the sense described. The result was that when the Nelson system was mooted it trenched upon established timetables and there was no general consensus on its legal status. The *Educational and Literary Monthly* thought Hislop's letter ruled it out, but the North Canterbury Board did not. Others agreed that it might not breach the letter of the Act, but they thought that it contravened its spirit.

As far as interpreting the Act went it was committees' views which counted most, for nothing could be done without their consent. Where committees did agree to alter the official hours of opening denominational differences and teachers' objections could still pose problems. In 1883 at a meeting of clergy to arrange religious instruction in Dunedin schools between 9.30 and 10.00 a.m. Archdeacon Edwards announced that he would teach "all who pleased to come and he would teach nothing else than the Catechism of the Church of England", and he resisted Dr Stuart's pleas to confine himself to "kindly common doctrine". Some Canterbury teachers, like their colleagues at Milton, vetoed the system. In 1891, for example, the Rev. Mathias presented himself at Cust School at 11.30 a.m. as arranged with the
committee, but the teacher objected that schoolwork would suffer and "after a little parleying Mr Mathias withdrew."102

The Nelson system attracted national attention when it was introduced in Nelson in 1897 by the Rev. J.H. McKenzie, a Presbyterian who was probably aware of developments in Canterbury and Otago in the 1880s but who chose not to cite them in support of the scheme he advanced. McKenzie enlisted Anglican support in calling a meeting to organise a petition to the single committee which controlled the Nelson town primary schools and of which he, conveniently, was the chairman. Parents were circularised and declared themselves very largely in support of the scheme and the committee duly agreed. There was a violent controversy in the local papers and this, and an appeal to the Education Department, gave the scheme national publicity and inspired attempts elsewhere to work within school hours.

In 1900 the Auckland Education Board was asked to approve shortened school hours at one of its schools to permit religious instruction. The Board sought an opinion on the matter from the Department of Education and Hogben replied that the Education Act precluded such a move because it required teaching to be secular:

...so that a scripture lesson cannot be inserted within the existing school hours, even though there may be left two hours of consecutive teaching during the forenoon; in other words, religious instruction, if given, must be entirely apart from the course of secular instruction, and outside the hours arranged for such instruction, namely, either before the assembling of the school, or after the dismissal of the school.103

This deliverance is somewhat surprising in the light of Butchers's claim that the Crown Law officers examined the Nelson system and declared it strictly legal.104 Butchers might, of course, have been wrong about this and it was, indeed, reported in the 1950s that the then Director of Education had been unable to find any record of such an opinion ever being delivered by the Crown Law Office.105 But if it were
not clearly established that the system was legal how then was the Town Schools Committee able to carry on with its scheme, as carry on it did? How, indeed, did it carry on if Hogben was so clearly opposed to the Auckland suggestion? The most likely explanation is that Hogben might reply if asked but he was not prepared to make an issue of existing schemes and that it was, in any case, a grey area in law—so that the Nelsonians were able to brazen it out. That Hogben was broadly in sympathy with the idea of some sort of religious instruction in public schools is clear enough. In 1896 a meeting of the Christchurch Scripture Textbooks Association was heartened to learn that:

Mr George Hogben, headmaster, Timaru High School, wrote expressing his sympathy, and stating that for the purposes of instruction the reading of the Bible was of the highest value, especially from the literary, historical, and moral aspect. 106

As Inspector-General, however, his only recorded comment on the matter was in 1908 when, in response to Michael Sadler's international enquiry into moral education, he noted, sadly, that religious instruction was ruled out because of denominational differences. 107

The important point, however, is that, whatever the Crown Law Office might or might not have said, and notwithstanding Hogben's letter to the Auckland Board, the Department of Education did not act against the Nelson system in the early twentieth century, leaving it to local boards and committees. The Department's "hands-off" policy after 1900 did not, however, lead to any particularly rapid expansion of the Nelson system.

The North Canterbury Education Board, which might have been expected to be most tolerant of the scheme, was one of the first to pronounce firmly against it. In 1900 the Board told the Kaiapoi Island committee that, "the interruption of the ordinary school routine caused by the imparting of religious instruction must be discontinued." 108 In 1901 the Board, after advice from its solicitors, resolved that schools
were to give five hours of strictly secular instruction each day. 109

That an education board had the power to rule out the Nelson system was made clear in 1908. In 1907 the Wanganui School Committee decided that on one day each week the schools under its control would be open for four and a half hours rather than five to allow for religious instruction. One headmaster refused to comply, the Wanganui Education Board demanded five hours every day, and the committee sought an injunction against both Board and headmaster. The courts, however, upheld the Board in 1908. Mr Justice Cooper made it clear that he was not ruling on the wisdom or otherwise of the Nelson system or of religious instruction: "This Court has nothing to do with that. I have to determine a bare legal point." And the bare legal point was that the Wanganui Board was paramount in this matter and could set school hours. 110

The North Canterbury Board, in the wake of this decision, reasserted its 1901 decision and issued a further circular requiring five hours of strictly secular teaching each day. 111 Those who favoured the Nelson system now very clearly had to ensure both board and committee co-operation and it proved difficult in many places to convince both. In Dunedin, for example, the Union Street committee declined to open its school half an hour later at local clerics' request because that would be "an evasion of the spirit of law". 112 C.J. Parr used almost the same words in 1910 at a meeting of the Auckland Board. To condone the Nelson system, Parr said, would be an ingenious evasion of the real spirit and intent of the Act. 113

The Nelson system made some slow progress. The Hawke's Bay Board agreed in 1908 to this system and the South Canterbury Board gave general approval for the Nelson system in its schools, where committees agreed, in 1910. 114 By 1910 an anonymous writer to the papers claimed that 173 committees had so far agreed to the Nelson system. 115 That
same year the president of the Wellington Householders' League reported that the scheme was operating in Nelson, Feilding, Napier, Wanganui itself, some Dunedin schools and in Oamaru and Hawke's Bay. Over all, he claimed, ten thousand children were receiving religious instruction and he urged the sympathetic to ensure that the right people were elected to school committees. 116

Predictably, the Nelson system was touted as the perfect compromise or, if not ideal, then at least good enough to nullify Bible in schools advocates' claims. Just as predictably Bible in schools campaigners branded the Nelson system as inadequate and piecemeal. Garland dismissed it as "utterly inadequate from a national point of view." 117 Julius, hopeful of clerical right of entry, was even more emphatic.

An attempt has been made to offer us the so-called Nelson system. Let it be clearly understood that we will have none of it. Undenominational teaching is not Christian teaching, nor anything like it. 118

The Bible in Schools League was also able to point out, quite correctly, that education boards' and committees' attitudes, plus the problems of time and space attendant on voluntary efforts, meant that the Nelson system hardly provided anything like complete coverage. "Why is the Nelson system inadequate?" read the heading to a League advertisement. 119 Because public school average attendance stood at 181,400 while "the warmest admirers of the Nelson system only claim 16000", about 9 percent of pupils. Even in Nelson, the League noted, only eleven out of 121 schools operated the Nelson system. The League further noted that no Catholic cleric participated in the Nelson system and it argued that the scheme strengthened Catholic claims for aid as much as the League's platform. Finally, the League said, in what was probably its chief objection, the Bible must have a recognised place in the curriculum and not be treated as an extra, something admitted by grace and favour.
Those opposed to making religious instruction part of the ordinary work of the schools came, by 1914, to warmly endorse the Nelson system in an attempt to weaken the League's case, but not without some initial suspicions. The *Lyttelton Times*, for example, was initially very cool towards the Nelson system.

The Nelson Bible Teachers' Association has issued a circular, in which it prides itself upon having defeated the obvious intention of the Education Act ...by a little subterfuge in the arrangement of hours...We have grave doubts about the legality of this "scheme", which has been in operation, we understand, for ten years.\textsuperscript{120}

By 1910, however, the *Times* was arguing that the New South Wales system was not needed because of the Nelson system and it condemned Julius's advocacy of the New South Wales system because it would impede the progress of the home-grown compromise.\textsuperscript{121}

Butchers saw the Nelson system as a novel, clever expedient and he concluded that, "Had the breach thus made in the Act been vigorously followed up all over the Colony with the same devotion and harmony as was the case in Nelson, the religious instruction problem might then and there have ended for New Zealand."\textsuperscript{122} That was far too optimistic. Harmony and devotion alone could not overcome the problems of time, space, and manpower and many people long held the Nelson system to be an evasion of the clear intention of the Education Act. Boards and committees had the right of veto and parents, clerics, and teachers had to reach a suitable consensus. Nor should it be forgotten that McKenzie's original scheme stirred up a local storm of opposition. There might have been rather more harmony and devotion in Nelson than in some other places but there was certainly not complete harmony on this matter.

But soberly acknowledging the Nelson system's limitations, and the opposition it provoked, should not blind one to its genuine achievements. The Nelson system, as a matter of simple but easily-
overlooked fact, made immeasurably more difference to what actually happened in schools than all the clamour of successive national campaigns for the Bible in Schools.

The Bible in Schools League, of course, scorned the Nelson system as a purely local, piecemeal matter, but that was precisely the system's strength for it capitalised on goodwill and co-operation where these existed and where the Nelson system was successful it was based on the sort of Protestant consensus national campaigns found so difficult to achieve. In 1909 J.H. McKenzie described the system as it operated in the city of Nelson. There were sixteen teachers, five Anglican, three Presbyterian and three Baptist, two Methodists, and one each from the Congregationalist, Brethren, and Salvation Army congregations. The schools opened at 9.00 except that on one day they officially opened at 9.30. On that day children had hymns, recited the Lord's Prayer, and were given lessons from an agreed, printed syllabus. The session closed with the Benediction and there was a five minute interval before secular teaching began. Most of the school teachers remained in the classroom during the period of religious instruction and McKenzie reported that almost one hundred percent of children attended. This was fairly much the pattern elsewhere and for many years thereafter but the scheme McKenzie described in 1909 had one additional, notable feature: there were examinations in religious knowledge in December of each year with papers set by the Principal of the Girls' College.

Successive Bible in schools campaigns were, in summary, defeated by a combination of factors: Catholic and teacher opposition, Nonconformist separatism, the pedagogical implausibility of what was proposed, anti-Catholic sentiment, the development of the Nelson system, and politicians' estimates of public opinion on the matter.

All three of the major campaigns discussed here depended very largely on linking religious instruction with moral conduct, and
specifically religious or spiritual arguments were surprisingly infrequent. Neligan, to be sure, warned of paganism and the Rev. Baumber looked to the Holy Spirit to act on children when schoolmasters were silent, but Bible in schools advocates generally spoke about larrkinism, manners, prison statistics and understanding English literature and history rather than about fellowship with God, the workings of the Holy Spirit or the salvation of immortal souls.

Some Bible in schools advocates may have confined themselves to the mundane benefits of what they proposed because they sensed that spiritual arguments would not appeal much to hard-headed colonials. When Colonel Brett, MLC, spoke in favour of a Bible in schools bill in 1881 he made a rare appeal to explicitly spiritual considerations. Members, he said, should support the bill on children's behalf because, "It was a motion on which the salvation of their souls in large measure depended." His fellow members greeted this with laughter.124

A more plausible explanation, however, is that public debate was shaped by the acknowledged moral purposes of schooling and by the need to effect and maintain a Protestant consensus. Bible in schools advocates certainly hoped to convert or recall New Zealanders to Christianity and they regarded Bible reading as a genuinely religious matter, not just a literary exercise or a matter of moral instruction. Baumber voiced a standard Protestant view when he cited the immediate spiritual benefits of Bible-reading without comment. Heathens, "Colonist" claimed in a letter to the newspapers, had been converted simply by chancing on a Bible and "the verses read in the day schools without comment may be taught to the children by the Holy Spirit himself."125 But such considerations were generally kept in the background in public debate on the Bible in schools issue.

Given the moral, socialising mission of the schools it is hardly surprising that arguments for Bible reading in them should be framed
largely in terms of its moral and social benefits, but purely religious considerations were also muted because they were likely to enhance the denominational differences which provided such a good case for retaining a purely secular system. Emphasis on the Bible as God's immediately accessible Word emphasised Catholic-Protestant differences, and to pursue the question of how exactly the Holy Spirit worked and how exactly people might arrive at a state of grace would have been to lose oneself in the thickets of Protestant theology and to threaten a hard-won Protestant unity on the Bible in schools issue.

To emphasise the connection between Bible reading and moral conduct, as Bible in schools advocates did, was potentially a great strength and potentially a great weakness, a great strength because it exploited the general assumption that the schools were there to form character, a weakness because it meant that people had to be convinced that the schools were failing in this task. Some people were easily persuaded, as some always are, of the iniquity of the rising generation. But convincing the great mass of people that the great mass of children were turning out badly because of secular education was another matter altogether. The failure of the Bible in schools movement was not, in the end, a rejection of religion; it was an acknowledgement that the schools were making a fair fist of their accepted, expected task of socialising children into a society New Zealanders were well enough content with.
Notes to Chapter 14


3. Census, 1906, "Education", Table IX.


5. CP, 9 November 1893.

6. LT, 12 March 1898.

7. LT, 28 April 1908.


9. LT, 12 July 1909. Clergymen were invited to give religious instruction in the East Christchurch, Phillipstown and South Belt schools between 8.30 and 9.15 a.m. on Wednesdays.

10. LT, 5 May 1911.


15. LT, 9 June 1914.

16. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p. 459.


18. LT, 18 April 1910. McKenzie was president of the Wellington Householders' League and an industrious writer to school committees throughout New Zealand in an attempt to mobilise them in his cause. See LT 19 April 1910 for a letter from A.H. Vile pouring scorn on McKenzie and claiming that the Householders' League consisted only of McKenzie and a few friends.


23. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.612.


26. LT, 30 July 1908.

27. LT, 10 April 1908.

28. LT, 12 May 1914.


30. Breward, p.28.

31. LT, 21 October 1902.

32. LT, 23 April 1904.

33. LT, 21 August 1912.

34. AJHR, I-2A, 1895, p.12.

35. LT, 25 March 1889.

36. NZSM, October 1903, p.41.

37. LT, 17 December 1895.

38. LT, 1 September 1913.

39. Breward, p.68.

40. LT, 1 February 1911.


42. CP, 19 October 1893.
43. Breward, p.29.
44. Breward, pp.27-8.
49. CP, 12 October 1893.
50. CP, 3 November 1893.
51. CP, 20 November 1893.
52. LT, 20 February 1894; 14 March 1894.
53. AJHR, I-11, 1883, p.11.
54. AJHR, I-2A, 1895.
55. LT, 1 November 1895.
56. CP, 29 April 1896.
57. NZSM, March 1896.
58. LT, 12 January 1898.
59. LT, 21 October 1896.
60. CP, 4 March 1896.
61. CP, 17 November 1893.
62. CP, 7 November 1893.
63. LT, 6 February 1895.
64. LT, 15 July 1896.
66. LT, 25 September, 2 October 1902.
67. LT, 22 May, 21 October, 27 October 1902.
68. CP, 6 March 1903.
69. See Breward, pp.49-50 for Gibb's efforts.
73. Breward, p.50.
75. *CP*, 8 June 1896.
78. Breward, p.53.
79. Breward, p.56.
82. *LT*, 27 February 1914.
83. *LT*, 19 May 1914.
84. *LT*, 14 December 1914.
85. *LT*, 4 July 1914.
86. *LT*, 19 February 1913.
87. Snook, p.31.
88. Breward, p.60.
89. *LT*, 26 February 1913.
90. *LT*, 15 April 1914.
93. *ODT*, 22 May 1883. I am grateful to Dr David McKenzie of Dunedin for drawing to my attention attempts to introduce the so-called Nelson system into Otago schools in the 1880s and for making his research notes on this matter available to me.
94. *ODT*, 22 June 1883.
95. *ODT*, 6 September 1883.
96. *NZELM*, 3 November 1883, p.2.
97. *NZELM*, 7 July 1883, p.16.
98. NZELM, 1 June 1884, p.16.
99. LT, 31 March 1894.
100. LT, 2 July 1909 referring to story in Outlook, May 1907.
102. LT, 15 July 1891.
103. LT, 17 May 1900.
106. CP, 4 March 1896.
108. LT, 21 June 1900.
109. NZSM, May 1901, p.156.
110. Bruce and others versus Wanganui Education Board (1908) 27 NZLR, 565-7.
112. LT, 9 September 1905.
114. LT, 30 July 1908; 27 July 1910.
115. LT, 22 April 1910.
116. LT, 18 April 1910.
117. LT, 27 February 1914.
118. LT, 15 October 1913.
119. LT, 9 June 1914.
120. LT, 20 May 1905.
121. LT, 7 September 1910.
122. Butchers, p.89.
123. LT, 16 May 1909.

125. *LT*, 8 September 1887.
Chapter 15

HOW SECULAR WERE THE SECULAR SCHOOLS?

Most writing on the religious issue in New Zealand education has focussed, understandably enough, on the lively Bible in schools debate to the relative neglect of the schools themselves and of the content of school programmes: accounts of religion in schools have often been, in fact, analyses of speeches in halls.

But how secular were the secular schools? A number of matters mentioned in the previous chapter point to this neglected question. The schools were, firstly, charged with dogmatic secularism, with excluding "the very name of God", with telling children about Jizo, not Jesus, as Canon Garland put it. Supporters of the status quo were quick to deny this and to cite texts which did, indeed, mention God. But what sort of references were these, and how common were they?

Secondly, there is the question of how much difference a victory by the Bible in schools lobby would have made to the routine work of the schools. Bible in schools advocates repeatedly warned that the continued exclusion of religious instruction would have the gravest social consequences. Neligan, with his gift for extravagant statements on the Bible in schools issue, warned that the Empire itself was threatened.

God has called England and has given her the Empire; England's greatness has been built on England's religion; England's Empire has been founded on Christian principles by Christian men; England's Empire can only be stable if the bond of Empire continues to be Christianity; the bond of Empire can only continue to be Christianity if the boys and girls, white and coloured, are taught the facts of the Christian religion normally and ordinarily by

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people who believe these facts in the schools throughout the length and breadth of the Empire.¹

According to the most fervent advocates of the Bible in schools the introduction of religious instruction would reduce larrikinism and adult crime, illegitimacy, disease and drunkenness. Bible in schools advocates were, however, also ready to claim that what they sought was modest, reasonable, and hedged about with the necessary safeguards. But the more Bible in schools campaigners moderated their demands to extend their appeal the less likely it seemed that the introduction of religious instruction would cleanse the nation. How could religious instruction have so much moral effect when it would make so little difference to the school programme as a whole?

John Caughley of the N.Z.E.I. put his finger on precisely this point when he appeared before the parliamentary committee of 1914. The daily work of the schools, he pointed out, would remain very much the same, except that it would be preceded by a period of Bible reading. All that was wrong with secular education would still be wrong with it.²

Caughley's point was an important one and it should have called to order those enthusiasts who seemed to believe that amending the secular clause would somehow effect a complete transformation of primary schooling. And to ask how much difference amending the secular clause to admit Bible reading would have made leads one to wonder again how much difference the secular clause made in the first place. To what extent was Christianity acknowledged in the material children encountered under the national system? Was there an unbridgable gulf between church and state after 1877? Did the clergy have any connection with the schools after the national Education Act?

It is convenient to deal with the last of these questions first. Although there was provincial precedent for prohibiting clergymen from
being teachers or inspectors of schools, the Education Act made no such restriction, and a number of Protestant clergymen taught in state schools after 1877, a few acted as inspectors of schools, and a considerable number were elected to education boards or school committees.³

The secular system was, of course, originally under the direction of a clergyman, the Rev. W.J. Habens, who was Inspector-General until his death in 1899, but he was not the only ordained inspector. The Rev. James Cumming, a former head of the Christchurch West School, was an inspector for the North Canterbury Education Board in 1882-83, and George Hogben, the new Inspector-General, appointed his co-religionist, the Rev. E.C. Isaac, an inspector of manual and technical instruction in 1901.⁴

Numerous clergymen served on education boards and school committees. It would be difficult to arrive at a final count of those who sat on education boards and probably impossible to tally up the total number of clerical committee members, but those who served as chairmen of education boards can be readily listed; the Ven. Archdeacon Henry Govett (Taranaki, 1881-84), the Rev. D. Sidey (Hawke's Bay, 1898-1902), Bishop Suter (Nelson, 1889-91), the Rev. George Barclay (South Canterbury, 1883-84), and the Rev. P.B. Fraser (Otago, 1901).⁵

It is, perhaps, not too surprising to find that clergymen sat on education boards for they would have been just the sort of respectable persons those who framed the system of board elections wanted to see in that position. Clerical committee members were still at one remove from the classroom, but it is noteworthy that clergymen were also employed as teachers in some state schools long after 1877.

Over fifty Protestant clergymen appeared in nineteenth century lists of teachers certificated by the Department of Education or
employed by education boards. Some of these, of course, had actually
given up teaching for the ministry. Percy Scott Smallfield, for
example, was a pupil teacher in 1878, left teaching in 1883, appeared on
the Registrar-General's list of officiating ministers licensed to
perform marriages in 1885, and eventually became a canon of the Church
of England. Alexander Don taught at Port Chalmers in the 1870s, learnt
Chinese in Canton in order to become a lay missioner to Otago's Chinese
community, and was ordained in the same year as Smallfield. Others of
those on the Department's lists were elderly men who had taught in
provincial times and had secured one of the new Departmental
certificates after 1877 but never, in fact, taught in the new national
system.

There were, however, certificated clerics who had long and
distinguished teaching careers in the new "Godless" schools. Henry
Tuckey, an Anglican, taught in Nelson, became headmaster at Featherston
in the 1880s, was rector of Rangiora High School for a time, and from
1889 to 1893 did relieving work for the Wellington Education Board,
including a spell as acting headmaster of the large Terrace School.
Richard Coates, another Anglican, was head of Newton East in Auckland,
which had a roll over over 600, from 1884 until the turn of the century,
while Thomas Porritt replaced Tuckey at Featherston.

Those who held the most senior positions often brought valued
qualifications and experience to the new system. Coates and Tuckey were
both graduates while Porritt had won a Queen's Scholarship to Durham
College, been head of an Anglican school in Hartlepool, and had taught
in Nelson, Marlborough, and Wellington before 1877.

Others, less well-qualified, taught in small schools to fill an
obvious need or, perhaps, to supplement their stipends. Thomas Fifield
Reeve, a Methodist, taught in Wellington in the 1870s and 1880s and then
at a tiny aided school in Wanganui until 1891 while the Rev. Abraham Scholes, possessed only of a "district licence" rather than a Departmental certificate, taught at a succession of tiny schools on Banks Peninsula between 1885 and 1901. George Wilks, an Anglican, was at Heathcote from 1877 to 1881 and at Manaia for seven years thereafter. Charles Connor, a Presbyterian, was sole teacher at Pembroke in Southland in the 1880s and at the Native School at The Neck on Stewart Island in the 1890s. William McGregor, another Presbyterian, taught in Canterbury schools from 1880 until 1895 while Johnson Selby was sole teacher in various small Auckland schools between 1887 and 1914.

It might be argued that these men hardly count as clergymen and were, perhaps, men who had left the ministry or been eased out of it. The latter is, however, rather implausible for such men would hardly have commended themselves to school committees had there been a breath of scandal about them. It might also be argued that these teacher-clerics are evidence for one denomination's "capture" of a school committee. But that seems unlikely in view of the system of cumulative voting for committees, a system designed to ensure the representation of minorities, nor does it seem plausible in the case of large town schools, or when one of these men taught at a succession of schools.

Generally speaking, teacher-clerics stood or fell on their competence at teaching, and they were so judged by inspectors. Scholes, for example, won repeated praise from the North Canterbury inspectors for his gentle, efficient handling of his small schools and shy charges: McGregor did not.

The work of these teacher-clerics might be taken as evidence of boundless toleration and the complete absence of any fear of clerical influence, but if there was toleration and trust they were within limits; all ordained teachers were Protestants, and the majority were
Anglicans, and their position as teachers is, rather, evidence that the schools operated in an essentially Protestant milieu. This view is supported by the way in which the Protestant clergy sat on committees, were present on formal occasions like flag-raising and prize-givings, and were able, on occasion, to gain access to state school pupils organised as school cadets.

In 1906, Lt-Col. Loveday, Commandant of the Public School Cadets, noted that boys in camp at Ashburton had been mustered for church parades. In 1909 the clergy were even more closely associated with the cadet camps and Loveday reported, approvingly, that "chaplains and clergymen in turn took up their quarters in the camps and conducted Divine service at frequent intervals." Church parades for state school cadets were not confined to camps: the Addington School cadets were paraded for church services at St Mary's conducted by the Rev. Walter Bean, Seddon's son-in-law.

While some clergymen assisted in the work of the state schools many state school teachers employed their own pedagogical skills in the Sunday Schools. Jessie Mackay, for example, whose verses later won some local fame, used to drive back at weekends in the 1880s from her parents' home to her little country school to conduct a Sunday school, and school committee minutes record numerous instances of teachers being granted the use of the buildings for Sunday school work. On occasion state school teachers helped to train Sunday school teachers. In 1901, for example, the Rev. A.C. Hoggins, the diocesan inspector of Canterbury Sunday Schools, arranged for several well-known primary teachers to give courses of lectures on teaching methods to Sunday school teachers. In the 1880s, Henry Worthington, a senior Auckland teacher, acted as expert examiner for the "Bishop's Prizes" awarded to Auckland Sunday school pupils.
In some places, particularly in small settlements, it seems to have been expected, as a matter of course, that teachers would turn to at the weekends and conduct Sunday schools. The Tablet, indeed, claimed that Catholics were passed over for teaching jobs not because of their Catholicism, per se, but because their appointment would create difficulties with the local Sunday school.12

The extent to which denominational considerations told on teachers' job prospects is difficult to assess. One of the few firm historical beliefs that teachers now hold about the system they work in is that such considerations were of prime importance, but documentary evidence is not as common as folklore suggests. Those who wrote school committee minutes were discreet enough to make overt references to religious considerations rare in local records, but from time to time a local rumpus would surface in the newspapers or in Parliament. The chief problem was with Catholic teachers and Protestant committees. In 1892, for example, Parliament was told that Mr R.P. Clarkson had missed out on a job at Ladbrooks because he was a Catholic. The North Canterbury Board replied that it had no grounds for overturning the appointment as Clarkson was working on hearsay as a result of personally canvassing committee members.13 Two years later the Moa Flat committee in Central Otago refused to accept a Miss White because she was a Catholic and closed the school amidst uproar.14 A Southland committee jibbed at another Catholic woman who was told by the committee, "There are many districts in Southland where the fact of your being a Catholic would prove of little moment, but this is not one of them."15 The Southland applicant was further informed that no one would offer her board and that children would be withdrawn from the school if she appeared to take up her duties.

There was a similar brouhaha in Canterbury in 1910. Mr J.P. Kalaugher stated publicly that he had been passed over for an important
job in the South Canterbury Board district because he was a Catholic. Then when he applied for the headmaster's job at Southbridge the current holder of that position wrote to ask Kalaugher's views on temperance, whether he was a Mason, and whether he would object to the local Protestant minister giving religious instruction. The letter concluded, Kalaugher said, "Please answer at once, for the committee meets on August 1 to decide." 16 The South Canterbury committee in question denied, of course, that Kalaugher's religion had had anything to do with his disappointment and the Southbridge committee asked the headmaster by whose authority he had written to Kalaugher. The last word was left to an anonymous writer to the newspapers.

I should like to ask Mr Kalaugher what chance a non-Catholic would have of obtaining a position as teacher in any Catholic school in any part of the world. Surely if Catholics have the right to choose who shall teach their children it cannot be very wicked for non-Catholics to have the same right too. 17

Perhaps the most dramatic such incident occurred in 1899 when a Miss Annett, a Catholic, was appointed to a school in the face of local opposition. The school door was "bespattered with filth" and the school was later burnt down. The fire had a sobering effect and the committee apologised to Miss Annett, who had lost some of her possessions in the fire, for the way she had been treated. 18 Miss Annett publicly stated that the harassment was the work of one zealous family and that she wanted it known that she had otherwise been kindly treated, and the Department of Education, in due course, paid Miss Annett £70 by way of compensation for her lost property. 19

In some cases, it seems, the mere suspicion that a teacher was a Catholic was enough for some zealous locals. In 1901 a member of a rural committee near Woodville organised a petition against a newly appointed mistress because she was a Catholic. The unfortunate teacher, who had a widowed mother to support, resigned her position and turned
out not to be a Catholic after all. At that point those who had signed
the petition wrote to apologise but the teacher declined to accept their
expression of regret.²⁰ In 1895, however, the papers reported a contrary
case. A very Presbyterian committee in rural Otago gladly appointed a
young teacher with excellent testimonials from Presbyterian ministers.
To the committee's chagrin the young man turned out to be a Catholic.²¹

Where school committee and the local Protestant congregation
hoped to get two teachers for the price of one it was not enough for the
candidate to be just a Protestant for census purposes; he or she had to
be an active church-member. In 1904, the Lyttelton Times claimed to
know of three recent Canterbury appointments which had turned on the
candidates' religious attitudes. In one case applicants had simply been
asked to state their denominations, in another the committee had made it
clearly known that they wanted a "godly man" to take Sunday school and
train the church choir. In the third case, according to the editorial,
a highly qualified man was turned down because he was an "atheist" who
went fishing on Sundays.²²

Religious considerations entered into appointments as long as
committees were directly involved. As late as 1911 one Canterbury rural
committee bluntly resolved, "That Miss B. Dynes be elected if she was a
Protestant."²³ A few years later, of course, a national system of
grading teachers for appointment and promotion came into effect and
reduced committees' role to one of acquiescence to a mechanical
operation.

The New Zealand Educational Institute argued against the
introduction of religious instruction on the grounds that it might
violate teachers' consciences and that it would certainly raise problems
in making appointments, but this was a majority, not a unanimous view,
and some teachers were strenuous advocates of the Bible in schools. One
such notable advocate was Philadelphus Fraser who, while headmaster of a
small Oamaru school, produced the shortlived journal *The North Otago Bible in Schools Advocate* before leaving teaching for the Presbyterian ministry, and, eventually, a seat on the Otago Education Board. Bible in schools advocates, like the temperance movement, had great hopes that their cause would be advanced when women were able to vote, and it was suggested from time to time that women teachers were much more likely than men to favour religious instruction in state schools. It is difficult to assess this claim, although there certainly were women teachers who publicly urged a change in N.Z.E.I. policy; for example, Mary Morrison of Sydenham who wrote an article for the *New Zealand Schoolmaster* in favour of religious instruction, and Miss Craig who at the N.Z.E.I.'s 1906 A.G.M. moved:

> That the introduction of Bible reading and religious instruction in state schools is desirable and that teachers desire to afford the ministers and other authorized clergy every opportunity to give such instruction. (Applause)\(^{24}\)

The matters discussed so far in this chapter were at one remove from school work, but school books also contained religious references to which people on both sides of the Bible in schools issue referred, some to defend the schools from charges of "Godlessness" and some to argue that the system should go the whole hog and include Bible reading.\(^{25}\)

Many older texts contained passages to which Catholics could object, a matter which was thoroughly canvassed in Otago when Bishop Moran complained in 1871 about some objectionable passages in certain common texts. A committee set up by the Otago Education Board to look into the matter grudgingly conceded Moran's point:

> Most of the objections preferred to passages in schoolbooks are such as arise from the strong views held by Roman Catholics upon statements accepted as historical by other denominations of Christians. There are, however, a few expressions in some of the books which in the opinion of your committee, are fairly objectionable; although it would be difficult
to find books possessing literary merit superior or equal to that of the Scottish School-Book Association's books, which are very generally in use.  

John Hislop, the Board's inspector of schools, and Secretary of Education after 1877, carefully considered publishers' offerings before settling on Nelson's Royal Readers as replacements for the Scottish books and it was not until 1873 that a list of approved texts was published, along with a list of books to be dropped as soon as possible.  

Hislop's explanation of his choice was used by Nelson and company as an excellent puff for their books:

I was directed by the Education Board to co-operate with the teachers in selecting a set of Reading-Books as free as possible from giving any just cause of complaint to any religious denomination. I accordingly procured from Britain copies of nearly all the school Reading-Books published in the home country. A Committee of our School-masters' Association and I carefully examined and compared these books, and unanimously and unhesitatingly resolved to recommend the "Royal Readers" as decidedly the best series of Primary School Books published.  

Ironically, Coutie's Word Expositor, one of the books in which Hislop's testimonial was published, was dropped because Moran and others had objected to the definition of "mass" and "transubstantiation" therein. Oddly, Collier's School History of the British Empire, which was widely used, was retained in spite of its general condemnation by Catholic parents and clergy.  

Scottish school books are now hard to find, but if the core series of readers was at all like the Second Book of Instructive Extracts Moran certainly had grounds for objection. Irish Catholicism, for example, is referred to as "the ancient superstition" and the Reformation in Scotland is described as "overthrowing the Romish hierarchy, with all its abuses and abominations, and establishing in the land the light of Protestant truth."
From time to time Bible in schools advocates urged secularists to have the courage of their presumed convictions and purge all "references to a Higher Power" from the school books. This was an obvious invitation to make a fool of oneself and no defenders of secular education in New Zealand rose to the bait, but in Victoria the Royal Readers were revised, a process which A.G. Austin has termed a "solemn farce", and in the Victorian edition "Paul at Athens" was replaced by "Wonders of the Cotton Manufacture." 30

While the infant national system had to rely on imported books, the inclusion of some religious references was more or less unavoidable, unless one took the Victorian option, and Hislop's search for the least objectionable series was the only practical course. But one might have expected the compilers of New Zealand texts to quietly arrive at the Victorian position by setting aside, or revising, all offerings including religious references. A brief inspection of locally produced texts, however, shows that this was not the case; there were no lessons like "Paul at Athens" in the Imperial Readers, for example, but there were certainly a number of incidental references to religion.

On the other hand an inspection of the New Zealand texts gives one the impression that religious references were somewhat fewer. In order to test this hypothesis, and generally to assess the relative frequency of religious references in school readers used in New Zealand and elsewhere, a quantitative content analysis of seven series was undertaken. These series were: Nelson's Royal Readers, McGuffey's Eclectic Readers, Whitcombe and Tombs's Southern Cross, Imperial, and Pacific series, the Queensland Readers, and a sample of School Journals. 31

It was decided that for comparative purposes a single, straightforward measure would suffice, rather than attempting an exhaustive and potentially problematic definition of a "religious reference". The
following analysis is thus based on a simple count of the number of pages on which God is mentioned.\textsuperscript{32}

The results of this analysis are presented in Table 17. The two older series, the Royals and McGuffeys, do not differ significantly from each other, but they contain rather more references than the others. The others form a second cluster with the Pacific Readers containing fewest references of all.

Table 17

Percentages of Pages in School Readers Referring to God

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reader</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McGuffey</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Cross</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperial</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Journals</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1912-13)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: - unobtainable.

"Pages" refers to verse and prose to be read by pupils and omits prefaces, indexes, spelling lists, grammatical exercises, etc. Percentages are calculated on pages of text.

The clear "secular trend" in the successive series used in New Zealand, and the general abandonment of the Royal Readers by the turn of the century, cannot simply be attributed to the "secular clause", or to the sorts of objection raised against the Scottish readers.\textsuperscript{33} There were fewer religious references in the later series, but they were obviously not taboo; and although Moran told a parliamentary committee in 1883 that public schools taught many things "odious to Catholics" he was chiefly concerned with history books. When he was asked about the Royal Readers he said, "I have not yet discovered anything to which I
could positively object." Hislop and the Otago teachers had chosen well.

The place of the "secular clause" in a full explanation of the decrease in religious content in school readers is clarified by a qualitative analysis. References to God in, for example, the Royal Readers, may be roughly classified according to context and purpose. Firstly there were passages which were largely or wholly religious, the passages cited in the nineteenth century Bible in schools debate. The sixth Royal Reader, for example, contained prose accounts of the Deluge and of Paul's visit to Athens, a chapter on "Evidences for Design in Creation", and another entitled "Problems of Creation", while the fifth Royal Reader contained six pages of "Hymns for Recitation".

Pious ejaculations in stories make up a second category: "God help us!", "The Lord's will be done"; "God's blessing on you, sir, for your kindness to an orphan lad"; "Providence has brought us safely to shore"; etc.

Thirdly, there are religious references as part of the moral tags at the ends of stories or expository pieces or as fillers at the foot of pages.

Thus a piece on sparrows in the Southern Cross Readers ends with a sparrow putting in a word for accepting one's lot.

I have no pretty feathers like the parrot; but I do not mind that for I am quite content to be what God made me, a plain little sparrow.

Again, a piece on Queen Victoria concludes:

Queen Victoria's time is not her own. She cannot always be seeking to please herself; for God has given her a great Empire to rule over. The Bible tells us to honour those who rule over us; therefore it is our duty to obey the laws of our country.

Fourthly, there were references to God as creator and designer, and hence as an explanation of certain phenomena. After some discussion of swallows' migratory habits the fourth Royal Reader commented:
We call it instinct, but that is only another name for the guiding hand of that great Creator who, as the Bible tells us, bids the swallow observe the time of her coming.38

Spiders' webs could be similarly accounted for: "God has given these creatures the power to do their work, and that is why they never make any blunders." Nor was the presence of camels in deserts any coincidence: "No horse could carry heavy loads across these great deserts; but God has given to man another animal fitted for the work."39

A consideration of locally produced texts in these terms suggests that the "secular clause" affected some categories more than others. Explicitly religious passages, like "Paul at Athens", were considered beyond the pale and when Brook's Australasian Readers, which contained paraphrases of portions of the Scriptures, appeared in a Departmental list of approved texts in 1899 Frederick Pirani, MHR and a member of Wanganui Education Board, asked Seddon to have them withdrawn.40 At first Seddon was dismissive and jocose, and he and Pirani engaged in an exchange of pleasantries, based on the passages in question, about congregations of the discontented (Seddon re Pirani) and killing Philistines (Pirani in reply). But when, later in the session, Pirani asked again, Seddon replied that the offending works were to be withdrawn lest there be any suspicion that their approval "was seen to a slight extent admitting anything of a sectarian nature into our schools."41

Incidental references to God, however, although they grew less common, were not proscribed or, as far as can be ascertained, a point of contention. The pious utterances of characters in stories, so common in Royal Readers, were, however, less common in material written or selected for the newer readers, and were increasingly confined to older material. A number of nineteenth century readers, for example, contained the story of fatherless Pierre whose distress was relieved when Madam Malibran sang a song he had written and gave him and his
mother the proceeds. This story was used again in both the Imperial and New Zealand Graphic Readers and in both cases:

  Pierre, ever mindful of Him who watches over the tired and tempted, knelt down at his mother's bedside and uttered a simple prayer, asking God's blessing on the kind lady who had deigned to notice their affliction.  

The ill-fated Southern Cross Readers, produced in 1888-9, still included reference to God as part of moral tags to expository pieces. A little Maori boy, for example, is made to say, "I hope you will always treat us with kindness and justice and remember that God is the Father of the Maori as well as of the white man"; and an article on native hawks urges pupils not to destroy them: "It is much better to leave them to do the work for which God has fitted them." But while local texts routinely included moralising conclusions to stories and expository pieces these conclusions less and less often made reference to religion.

There was a corresponding decrease in the frequency with which God was invoked as an explanation of natural phenomena or animal behaviour in pieces written for New Zealand readers. The general decrease in incidental references to God reflected a change in literary conventions, rather than a deliberate response to the secular clause. As the twentieth century advanced religious references in school readers were increasingly confined to extracts from established authors, rather than pieces written when the books were compiled.

Religious references were also more likely to be found in verse than in prose. More than half of the references to God in the Royal and McGuffey Readers are in poems. The poems printed in school readers were often much older than the other material, but in any case poets were licensed to dabble in the sublime and matters of "ultimate concern", to use more recent jargon.

Thus the fifth Pacific Reader included Leigh Hunt's "Abou Ben Adhem" and explained:
The lesson to be taken from this poem is not that it is better to love our fellow man than to love God... Yet God is best worshipped by our loving our fellow man, and the Lord loves them that do so. 44

But the stories in the Pacific Readers, and the short passages describing birds, plants, and animals, contain very few of the incidental references to God to be found in comparable passages in the Royal Readers.

The early School Journal, too, could invoke God in verse and on solemn occasions.

Children of a glorious nation,
By our flag, Red, White, and Blue,
We are taught to shun temptation,
And to God and self be True. 45

Empire Day numbers of the School Journal contained a number of such effusions but generally, in the School Journal as in the Pacific Readers, God's sphere of action seems to have become restricted. He sustained the Empire, sanctified the family, and called the young to stern duty; but He no longer taught spiders how to spin or swallows the way home, nor was every childish misdemeanour submitted to His judgement.

The incidental references to God in the Royal Readers, and in later books, did not venture into theological complexity. They simply presented God as creator and sustainer of the physical universe and as author and arbiter of the moral law without attempting any exposition of Christian doctrine. Christ, indeed, was rarely if ever mentioned. The Royal Readers thus met the requirements of the "Cowper-Temple clause" of Forster's act which prohibited any catechism or formulary "distinctive of any particular denominations". 46

History teaching, however, presented another, more intractable problem for it was generally held that any account of the past doings of specific denominations must offend someone. New Zealand's 1877 Education Act accordingly included a conscience clause in respect of history lessons. 47 When Bishops Moran and Redwood appeared before a
parliamentary committee in 1883 they both objected to the histories used in state schools, and Moran made particular reference to Collier's History of the British Empire, a book he had brought to the attention of the Otago committee in 1871. This book seems to have been something of a bête noire to Catholic parents forced to send their children to public schools. In 1881 it was withdrawn from the Westport School because Catholics found it offensive but, Parliament was told, a group of "ultra-Protestants" on the school committee insisted on restoring it to use.

Collier certainly gave a favourable account of the Reformation, suggesting that it diminished crime, "owing to the diffusion of God's Word among all classes", and he concluded that James "did good" with his Ulster plantation.

There might have been more rumpuses like the one in Westport if history had been more commonly taught. It was widely agreed that history offered great possibilities for moral instruction. Richard Laishley, for example, argued in 1894 that in the absence of religious instruction history was particularly needed, and should be made a compulsory subject, because it demonstrated "the workings of the laws of right and wrong." But it was equally widely agreed that history was not widely or well taught. There is some scattered evidence that denominational difficulties contributed to this; a Westland inspector, for example, noting that a number of schools in his district did not teach history at all, thought that it was because so many availed themselves "of the clause in the Act which allows them to refuse this subject". But there are no national data on the use of the conscience clause.

Around the turn of the century a number of teachers sought to form character in their charges by the simple expedient of posting moral injunctions on classroom walls. "Good Manners" charts were the most
widely used, but British suppliers of educational requisites also
offered charts enjoining thrift, punctuality, kindness to animals, duty,
patriotism, temperance, and good health.\textsuperscript{53}

It was inevitable that those who were determined to get some of
the Bible into State schools somehow should clutch at this straw, and in
1904 the Auckland Scripture Gift Association sent schools copies of the
"Home, Factory, and School Wall Sheet" which the Auckland Education
Board had declined to distribute. This placard bore the inspiring
legend, WORD OF GOD. THOU SHALT NOT STEAL. THOU GOD SEEkest ME. HOW CAN
I DO THIS GREAT WICKEDNESS AND SIN AGAINST GOD.\textsuperscript{54} In 1905 Richard Knight
of Wellington petitioned Parliament to have the Ten Commandments posted
in all public schools for the "religious, moral, physical, and
commercial well-being of the children." The Education Committee
decided either to endorse or rule against this proposal: "each Board
may take steps...as it thinks proper."\textsuperscript{55}

As far as can be determined no education boards vetoed the
posting of the Ten Commandments and the Wellington Board itself received
a supply of the Decalogue mounted on rollers in 1909 and authorised
teachers to put them on school walls.\textsuperscript{56} In North Canterbury, however,
whether or not the Commandments were put up in particular schools seems
to have depended on more local efforts. After some theological debate
the Christchurch School Committees' Association resolved in favour of
hanging copies on school walls and consulted the price list of the New
Zealand Bible and Tract Society.\textsuperscript{57} The West Christchurch Committee, on
the other hand, was given three copies of the Commandments by the Loyal
Orange Lodge and the Kaiapoi School Committee was approached by the
local branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.\textsuperscript{58}

Not all schools, however, posted the Commandments and in 1912 it
was once again suggested that the authorities should ensure that all
classrooms had a copy. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, at its
annual convention, urged this, and so did Rabbi Isaac Bernstein who not only suggested that it would solve the religious difficulty but also offered his own translation from the Hebrew.\(^{59}\)

It might have been argued that these efforts to fly the Christian flag by placarding school walls violated the neutrality enjoined by the secular clause, but Bible in schools advocates' standard reply to arguments about neutrality was that there could be no such thing: "He who is not for Me is against Me". In failing to teach religion, it was said, the schools were not secular, but secularist; not neutral, but anti-religious; they hastened the spread of an "infidel" view of life. Defenders of the schools, in reply to this, pointed to the sort of textbook material discussed in this paper.

This appeal to the textbooks usually concluded such exchanges but there was one matter which the zealous might have made much more of in support of their charges, and that was the evolution of plants and animals. Older British texts had little or nothing to say about evolution, but New Zealand texts included a surprising number of explicit, favourable references. The sixth Imperial Reader, for example, included a piece on the tuatara which talked of fossils millions of years old, anathema to Biblical literalists, and talked of the "very remote ancestors from which living reptiles are descended."\(^{60}\)

Mulgan's *New Zealand Nature Study Book* also made it quite clear that horses and kiwis had evolved from quite different creatures; and one of Gregory's *Southern Cross Geographical Readers* said of local plants, "Sometimes they changed so much as to become new kinds or species, which are not to be found anywhere but in New Zealand."\(^{61}\) Passages implying or asserting that plants and animals had evolved into new species or assuming that the earth was very old are to be found in a number of other local texts and even in the *School Journal*.\(^{62}\) Some readers also praised Darwin himself in passages which some current creationists
would, no doubt, object to. The third *Southern Cross Reader* spoke of Darwin's "beautiful researches" and called him the "greatest student and interpreter of Nature in our age". The *School Journal*, in 1912, included the anniversary of Darwin's death in a list of appropriate days on which the school flag might be hoisted. The sixth *Pacific Reader*, however, heaped more praise on Darwin than any other reader, and more than many publishers in some parts of the world would risk today.

All the ingenuity, all the learning of hostile critics have not enabled them to adduce a single fact irreconcilable with his theory, and today, as Darwin sleeps on in the home of England's greatest men, his theory is being carried by ardent supporters into yet wider realms, so that one may rightly say that it is universally accepted as the central, all-embracing doctrine of zoological and botanical science.

Garland made specific reference to the sixth *Pacific Reader* in 1913 when he quoted a teacher on Great Barrier Island who had complained that teachers were forced to teach Darwinian theories, something of an overstatement of the case. In 1910 Mr Tanner complained to a meeting of the Hawke's Bay Education Board that a schoolmistress had taught her pupils that men were descended from apes and that the appendix was the remnant of a tail.

But these were isolated complaints. Over all, references to evolution and to Darwin provoked remarkably little reaction and certainly nothing like the campaigns which have disturbed some American states in recent years. This lack of reaction can hardly be attributed to sheer lack of interest in what was in textbooks. Textbooks were routinely reviewed in teachers' papers and, from time to time, in general newspapers and periodicals; and various educational debates indicate that quite a number of people were quite familiar with the contents of standard textbooks. What seems a more likely explanation is that the sort of well-educated liberals who not only took an interest in education but made public comments on it did not see a direct conflict
between their view of evolution and Christianity, while literalists who might have been upset fumed in silence or failed to attract much attention when they protested.68

Evolution could be seen as a matter of blind chance and hence quite contrary to Genesis, as evidence that human life was no different from any other life and without ultimate meaning or purpose. Alternatively, evolution could be seen as one further manifestation of God's grand design, a wonderful and intricate scheme for furthering His over-arching purpose. Certain passages in textbooks express just this reconciliation between Christianity and evolution. Thus William Gillies, in the preface to his First Studies in Plant Life, remarked, "What the power of adaptation is we do not know; we can only say that the Creator has given to the plant the power to change within certain limits." Gillies was playing safe in talking about change within limits, but he was emphatic that plant and animal life was not fixed and could alter over time. This he saw as a manifestation of the Divine plan, and a source of inspiration rather than despair: "Many a reformer, grown weary in the task of lifting human nature, has got fresh heart from this discovery."69

Many a weary reformer did, indeed, take heart from evolutionary notions: they were, for example, at the heart of the eugenics movement's optimistic programme for human perfection through selective breeding from the best. And, predictably, there were those who thought that children could profit morally from being led to the same discovery. W. Kerr, in a paper on the broader significance of nature study, made a number of oblique references to evolution, referred specifically to the survival of the fittest, and then stressed the lessons children might draw from nature study, particularly the lesson that, "nature discovers a purpose and points to an end."70 This is a far cry from some Victorians' black despair on learning that all was change and chance.
Religious references in school texts and the continued involvement of clergymen in some aspects of education suggest that the secular clause had less effect on schooling than might at first be supposed, and certainly less than was suggested by those who claimed that it made the schools not merely Godless but agents of atheism. It is important here to consider the first and the final drafts of the secular clause. The first draft of the Education Act stated:

The school shall be kept open five days in each week for at least four hours, two of which in the forenoon and two in afternoon shall be consecutive. The school shall be opened every morning with the reading of the Lord's Prayer and with a portion of the Holy Scriptures. With this exception the teaching shall be entirely of a secular character.71

Parliament deleted the second sentence and replaced the first three words of the final sentence with the word "and" to give the familiar secular clause of the Act. Clearly the religious exercises proposed were to be a specified departure from an otherwise entirely secular system and deleting those exercises did not substitute one general form of education for another: it simply changed what happened during the first lesson of the day.

In a number of provinces the secular clause made little or no difference to what in fact happened in schools for there had been a general movement during the later provincial period to exclude religious instruction, or to limit it to voluntary work outside the customary school hours. The Auckland Education Act of 1872, for example, said:

No religious instruction shall be given in any of the schools established under the provisions of this Act at any time within the regular hours authorized by the Board.72

The Marlborough Education Act of 1870 said, flatly, "In all schools established under this Act the teaching shall be entirely of a secular character."73

It should also be noted that in a few schools religious instruction or religious observances within school hours continued after
1877. In most cases that can be traced this involved the very early use of the Nelson system but in an unknown number of cases it was in simple defiance or ignorance of the law.

In 1912 A.M. Barnett, then headmaster at Kakanui, stated publicly:

I have known the education system in New Zealand since 1868, and I have so believed in developing as far as possible the spiritual as well as the mental side of those under my care that I have for twenty-nine years given a ten minute's Bible lesson per diem. 74

In 1914 C.A.C. Hardy told the Legislative Council that thirty years earlier a young headmaster, newly arrived in Hardy's home town of Rakaia, wanted to open the school with the Lord's Prayer. Hardy was not then in Parliament but he was the storekeeper, chairman of the committee, and very much the local big-wig and he supported the teacher. According to Hardy, school opened with the Lord's Prayer for ten years with "hardly a word of dissent" and then a new teacher arrived and complained that what was done was contrary to the Education Act. Hardy claimed to have said to the new man, "If you know which side your bread is buttered on, and you take my advice, as we are very conservative people here, you will go on as we have been accustomed to." 75

Thus the secular clause did not always delete religious instruction from school timetables: in some cases this was because there was nothing to delete and in other cases because religious instruction was given after 1877 as before. Nor did the secular clause transform the content of schooling. This, as the analysis of textbooks shows, did become more "secular" but that was as much the result of changing literary conventions and pedagogical concerns as it was the result of scrupulous adherence to the Education Act.

The relationship between legislation and educational practices and outcomes is more complicated than many accounts of educational developments suggest. To attribute too much effect to legislation alone
is to run the risk of being led into a purely symbolic crusade, as some Bible in schools advocates were in their refusal to accept anything less than legislative recognition of Christianity in schools. In pursuing this campaign these Bible in schools advocates seemed to become victims of their own rhetoric by claiming quite astounding benefits for the repeal of the secular clause and making correspondingly exaggerated claims about its pervasive influence over schooling.

In fact, and as this chapter shows, the schools operated in a professedly Christian, predominantly Protestant milieu which allowed references to God in school texts, the involvement of clergy with the operation of the schools, the decoration of classroom walls with the Decalogue, and, in some places, the continuation of religious observances without serious challenge.

Such manifestations in state schools grew less frequent as the twentieth century advanced, because schools reflected society at large. In the nineteenth century, and last week, religious references and observances were about as common in the ordinary work of the schools as they were anywhere else in public - on a weekday.
Notes to Chapter 15


2. AJHR, I-13B, 1914, p.57.

3. Wellington Province. Common Schools Act Amendment 1857. Section 3: "Nothing in this Act contained shall be taken to authorize any Minister of Religion to teach in or otherwise interfere in the conduct of any school otherwise than prescribed by the said Act." Auckland Province. Education Act 1872. Section 13: "It shall not be lawful for any minister of religion to hold the office of Secretary or Inspector of Schools under this Act."


5. Butchers, appendix B.


7. AJHR, B-2, 1909, p.152.

8. Addington School Committee Minutes, 12 December 1906. Householders' meetings in this district regularly passed votes of thanks to Bean for conducting religious instruction after school.


10. NZSM, September 1901, p.21.


13. NZPD, vol 76, 1892, p.50.

14. NZSM, November 1894, p.51.

15. NZSM, November 1894, p.57.


17. LT, 15 September 1910.

18. NZSM, October 1899, p.35.

19. AJHR, B-7, 1901, p.56. "Compensation to Miss Alice P. Annett for loss sustained through the burning of the school-building at Rongahere - £70."

20. LT, 2 March 1901.
21. LT, 20 July 1895.

22. LT, 11 November 1904. The leader writer was upset at these religious tests but made it clear that he would not want teachers to be atheists and would, on the whole, prefer a teacher who did not fish on Sundays.

23. Kiri Kiri School Committee Minutes, 9 May 1911. She must have been: they hired her.

24. M. Morrison. The Bible in schools. NZSM, September 1903, pp.25-6. Miss Morrison argued that teachers, not clerics, should give religious instruction because the clergy could not cover all schools and were not all good disciplinarians. She also suggested that teachers who might invoke a conscience clause would really only be avoiding extra work. Miss Craig's motion was reported in NZSM, January 1906, p.85. Her motion was withdrawn in favour of another, viz: "That the NZEI, whilst acknowledging the importance and necessity of Bible instruction for the children of our schools, strenuously protests against the proposal that the primary school teachers of New Zealand shall be asked to give Bible instruction during school hours."

25. See, for example, P.B. Fraser. Mental Mutilation of the People's Children by Exclusion of the Bible from Schools. Oamaru, printed by North Otago Times Office, 1892, p.4. "Surely if secularists can tolerate the religiosity and doggerel appearing in the books they might as well allow their children to read the Bible itself." Fraser was referring to Chambers' Readers in use in his school. He professed to find the religious references therein "perfectly unintelligible" and a "sort of sop to Christian people."


31. For a general account of the New Zealand series see chapter 9. For bibliographical details see general bibliography. Whitcoulls' editorial department does not have a set of the Imperial Readers and I have so far been unable to purchase a copy of the second reader. Only four Southern Cross Readers are held in Whitcoulls' editorial department. Books V and VI of this series may, in fact, never have been published.
32. This involved simply recording the number of pages on which God is mentioned at least once. More than one mention on the same page still meant just one tally. Tallies were also made when synonyms were used: Creator, Maker, Lord, Providence, He, One who cares/watches/judges etc, Christ, Redeemer, and so on. This method obviates making the sort of choices required in framing and applying a general definition of "religion". (When, for example, is a reference to a cathedral a religious reference and not an architectural note?) It also omits references to religions other than Judaism and Christianity.

33. All textbooks in use in 1908 were listed in a return to Parliament (National Archives, File LE/1908/47). Only the Nelson Board mentioned the Royal Readers, with the note "rarely used".

34. AJHR, I-11, 1883, p.24.


36. Southern Cross Readers, First Standard Reader. p.37. The same piece also appears in the first Pacific Reader.

37. Royal Readers, No II. p.118.

38. Royal Readers, No IV. p.145.

39. Royal Readers, No II. p.44.

40. I have not been able to locate any of these readers, but an anonymous review of the series (NZSM, August 1899) notes that they contained "condensed chapters of early Biblical history."


44. Pacific Readers, Fifth Reader. p.48.

45. SJ, Part II, June 1912.


47. New Zealand Statutes. Education Act 1877. Section 84(1): "...But no child shall be compelled to be present at the teaching of history whose parents or guardians object thereto." The same clause appeared in the Canterbury Education Ordinances of 1873 and 1875.

48. AJHR, I-11, 1883, pp.9 and 24.

49. NZPD, vol 38, 1881, p.250.


52. AJHR, E-1B, 1886, p.44.


55. AJHR, I-14B, 1905, p.3.

56. AJHR, E-2, 1909, p.46.

57. Christchurch School Committees' Association Minutes, 25 May 1908.

58. LT, 15 and 22 July 1910.

59. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.419. LT, 22 March 1912.

60. Imperial Readers, Sixth Reader. p.177.


62. See for example SJ, Part III, September 1908 which mentions fossils formed "probably millions of years ago."

63. Southern Cross Readers, Third Standard Reader. p.158.

64. SJ, Part III, April 1912.

65. Pacific Readers, Sixth Reader. p.199.

66. LT, 25 August 1913.


68. On this point see J. Stenhouse. The wretched gorilla uglification of humanity: the "battle" between science and religion over evolution in nineteenth century New Zealand. NZJH, vol 18, no 2, 1984, pp.143-62. Stenhouse writes: "The leading scientists were and remained orthodox religious believers...The leading churchmen, whilst firmly rejecting the materialistic evolutionism of Haeckel, eagerly sought rapprochement between Christianity and modern science, certain that evolution and Christian belief were compatible."


71. Education Bill 1877. This quotation is from the late Will Dennis's transcription of the first draft of the bill from the New Zealand Times, 25 July 1877.


73. Marlborough Province. Education Act 1870. Section 28.

74. LT, 20 December 1912.

75. NZPD, vol 168, 1914, p.87.
Chapter 16

DELIBERATE SECULAR MORAL EDUCATION

As chapter 15 indicates, when campaigners for the Bible in schools accused the secular schools of failing to teach morality, defenders of the national system had a standard reply. It was, however, a rather lengthy reply which lacked the rhetorical force of the accusation. The critic could take as his premisses the fact that religious instruction was forbidden and the widespread assumption that morality depended on revealed religion and he could move easily to a disturbing conclusion. The case for the defence, on the other hand, depended on statistical arguments, which the accusers could match, if need be, and a series of invitations to view school activities under their character-forming aspects plus an appeal to the contents of school textbooks.

The two parties to this debate, moreover, represented morality and moral education rather differently. Bible in schools advocates stressed moral knowledge, the inculcation of general principles, and formal, timetabled instruction; defenders of the secular schools replied chiefly in terms of the habits built up by discipline, school routines, and school subjects. The case for the defence of the schools was not, of course, purely behaviouristic; it included reference to the teacher's example and to general principles and rules of conduct which might be winnowed from school readers. But its main emphasis was on moral learning as an incremental, incidental, social business rather than something required by the syllabus and readily identifiable on a timetable.
A specific scheme of moral instruction would not, of course, have silenced advocates of religious instruction in schools, but it might have weakened their case somewhat. Some New Zealanders clearly saw timetabled moral instruction as a way of dishing the Bible in schools lobby and so, at the turn of the century, did the British Moral Instruction League whose work was known in New Zealand, but those who argued in the 1880s for deliberate moral education were simply stressing the schools' accepted civilising mission rather than addressing themselves specifically to the religious issue.

In 1882 Robert Lee, the Wellington inspector, reported:

In some few schools I found that specific instruction was given regularly in subjects of moral training. In others the subject matter of the reading books was so enlarged on by the teacher that the lesson became practically one bearing on the whole duty of man to man. The reading books certainly abound in material of the kind, so much so that I think, if the matter of the readers was well expounded in every school, the children would not be lacking in moral precept.  

Lee went on to urge regular periods of moral instruction in all Wellington schools. Teachers in large schools should make "due provision in the time-tables for regular and specific teaching", and in small schools "the teacher should address all children collectively, say twice a week on such subjects as I have indicated to him."

There were similar suggestions elsewhere. Mr Vereker-_bindon of Wanganui urged teachers to set time aside for impressing on children the moral lessons in their readers. E. de Montalk of Christchurch urged schools to dedicate an hour each week to instruction on "the duties man owes to himself, to his fellow creatures, and to the state."  

The most widely-reported and most significant advocate of systematic moral instruction in the 1880s was, however, George Hogben, then an inspector of schools for the North Canterbury Education Board. In 1885 the New Zealand Schoolmaster printed a piece in which Hogben argued that schools should capitalise on the fact that "at some ages
children are far more ready to propose and discuss suitable moral problems than adults." This reference to mental development and the suggestion that morality might be discussed in class have a very modern ring, but Hogben was neither foreshadowing Kohlberg's account of development nor the open-ended discussion now assumed to be obligatory. He mentioned children's interest in order to argue that this "faculty" should be trained and that teachers should "impress upon the pupils those axioms of conduct on which we are all agreed."^4

Hogben favoured a set of suitable reading books made up of "apt stories from fiction or fable" as the basis of a course of moral instruction, and he hoped in due course to publish a model lesson. The specimen lesson was never published, but in 1887 Hogben returned to the topic in his address to the N.Z.E.I. as its retiring president.

All children, he said, should be taught morality and religion, but he did not see the two as inseparable:

Personally I feel that the present system is right as regards the teaching of religion by the state... But the case is somewhat different with morality. On a large, common ground we are practically all agreed.^5

He acknowledged teachers' general influence and stressed the need for teachers of the highest moral character, but he went on to say that the common moral ground was only partly covered by existing textbooks. What was needed, he argued, as he had in 1885, was a series of special readers.

In these reading-books, each of the main topics should have one or more lessons to itself, and the greater part of every lesson should consist of some apt and forcible illustrations taken from history, biography, fiction, fable, or some other suitable source. The moral lessons conveyed should be clearly pointed out, but this part of the lesson should be neither long nor abstruse.

Hogben foresaw few problems. Readers of the sort required would be easy enough to prepare, he thought, and he cited J.A. Picton's Rough Notes on Moral Education, a scheme for moral education in London Board schools,
in support of his own plans. There would, however, be difficulties if a scheme of moral education were to be saddled with examinations, a natural temptation if there were textbooks. Hogben had already devoted a good part of his address to the evils of formal examination and he was emphatic that the new subject he was proposing should not be examined.

Hogben's concern for moral education was widely shared but his specific proposals did not find much favour. The Press, like some delegates to the N.Z.E.I. Council meeting, pointed once more to the sound moral advice to be gleaned from existing textbooks. Robert Stout, the Minister of Education, speaking at the conference dinner, took the opportunity to give his standard lecture on crime rates in various countries and the proportions of prisoners belonging to different denominations. Stout had obtained a French text of the sort Hogben had in mind, but he had not had it translated because the existing texts contained so much relevant material and because James Pope was writing a book for Maori schools which would contain useful lessons and which would probably be useful in education board schools as well.

The Institute's standard reply to demands for moral education continued to be that there was a lot of it about already. In 1891, for example, the Devonport School Committee urged the Institute to seek "definite instruction in morals given by the head teacher", and the Institute's A.G.M. resolved to reply with "an intimation that true moral teaching occupies a prominent place in the instruction imparted in our schools."

A textbook of moral instruction did, however, appear in 1888, but G.W. Russell's Catechism of the Duties of Life was hardly what Hogben had had in mind. George Warren Russell (1854-1937) was a morally earnest journalist who had spent three years as a probationer for the Wesleyan ministry before returning to newspaper work. He later became an MHR and held cabinet posts in the short-lived McKenzie ministry of 1912 and the National government during the First World War.
Russell's book does not seem to have been prompted by Hogben's arguments for moral education but by his own interest in social matters and education. (In later years he was a member of the North Canterbury Board and of the Canterbury College Board of Governors.) The immediate inspiration for the book might well have been discussion in the newspapers and at education board meetings of reports of scandalous misbehaviour in schools in 1888.  

The secular character of the school system, Russell said in the preface to his book, should not preclude moral education, but the lack of a suitable text had hitherto prevented steps being taken to teach the "Duties of Life" in schools. But all would agree, no doubt, that children should be taught certain "broad and noble principles", the dignity of honest labour, and the duties of parents and children, masters and servants, and citizens in general.

The religious difficulty, Russell admitted, had had a good deal to do with excluding "Morality and Duty" from schools but morality and religion were not necessarily inseparable and he considered the lessons he suggested to be "acceptable alike to those who believe in a religious education and to those who believe in a purely secular system."

Russell's general line was very similar to Hogben's, but his book was in catechetical form and notably lacking in moral tales or apt and forcible illustrations. When the Education Bill was being debated in 1877 Bowen had urged the merits of the Bible over "some namby-pamby textbook of moral maxims which will go in at one ear and out at the other." Russell, however, meant his moral maxims to be memorised and kept between the ears forever.

The catechetical form has been used, so as to secure that both questions and answers shall be committed to memory. Thus the benefits of the instruction will be felt in afterlife, even though only an imperfect grasp of the lessons and duties taught may be obtained at school.
The catechism took up 58 pages and was made up of 207 questions divided into twenty sections: Duties of Life, Labour, Relationships of Life, Parents and Children, Masters and Servants, Duties of Children, Matters of Opinion, Recreation, Contemplation and Reflection, Truth, Selfishness and Dishonesty, Kindness, Temperance, Anger, Habit, Thrift, Health, Influence, Success in Life, Self-Reliance and Fortitude.

Russell's little book ended with a selection of inspiring verses, including two contributions from Russell himself — "Work" and "Love of Parents". The preface stressed the importance of poetry.

The learning of poetry is regarded as a most important factor. Poetry is the natural and best means of conveying noble thoughts, and any child who learns the selections contained herein will have implanted within his or her breast the seeds of noble thoughts and actions.15

Russell's book would have been heavy going for children. The first question set the plonking tone for the rest of the work and gives a good indication of the level of language maintained throughout.

1. Question. What are the chief duties of life?

Answer. The chief duties of life are: To provide by honest toil for the wants of ourselves and those who are dependent on us; to improve our minds; and to endeavour to improve the condition of others.16

The book is a true catechism, not a dialogue, and there is no philosophical perplexity in it and no doubt that moral right and wrong are fixed and knowable.

36. Q. How should we treat the views and opinions of others?

A. On matters of principle relating to what is just and right in itself, we should be firm and unyielding.

37. Q. And in regard to other matters?

A. On those subjects upon which there is ground for difference of opinion, we should respect and treat with consideration the views of others, however strongly we may differ from them.17
There seems, however, to be very little on which opinions may
legitimately differ.

74. Q. Will any circumstances justify departure from
the truth?

A. None whatever. Even where our own interests
will apparently suffer by sticking to the
truth, we should neither hesitate nor
prevaricate. 18

True to his intention to produce a work for a secular school
system Russell makes only passing reference to God.

79. Q. What is an oath?

A. An oath is a solemn affirmation in which God
is appealed to as to the truth of a statement
made or a promise given. 19

Right conduct is indicated and justified, not by religious
sanctions but by considerations of honour, self-esteem, and enlightened
self-interest. The Golden Rule provides the key to correct relations
with others and utilitarian principles should determine broader social
matters.

A. The object of all government should be to
promote the greatest present and future
happiness of the greatest number of
individuals, and only by endeavouring to
secure this is true patriotism shown. 20

Russell's pioneering publication met a predictable fate. He
secured the endorsements of Sir George Grey, Robert Stout, R.J.
O'Sullivan, the Auckland inspector, and Prof. Aldis of Auckland and his
book was duly gazetted as an approved class-book for public schools in
1889. 21 But committees and teachers showed little interest in it and
the New Zealand Schoolmaster, while it rather approved of the selection
of verses, did not like the catechetical form and generally gave the
book an unfavourable review. 22

When the matter of moral instruction arose again in 1891 the
Schoolmaster was even firmer in its views. Habens had probably been
correct to omit formal instruction from the syllabus, and the recitation
of formulae was no guarantee of good conduct although, "At first sight it seems the easiest thing in the world to write a catechism or textbook on morality." 23

Russell's book dropped from sight: it is doubtful that it was ever used anywhere; and there were no further nineteenth century attempts to produce textbooks of moral instruction. But the campaign for the "Irish" scripture textbooks and general concern for juvenile character meant that there were demands from time to time in the 1890s that schools make more organised efforts at moral education. These demands were met, in part, by posting "Good Manners" charts on school walls and some teachers made these the basis of occasional formal lessons.

There do not appear to be any surviving "Good Manners" charts used in New Zealand but those most commonly used were published by Edward Arnold and Son of Leeds and based on the rules of the Children's National Guild of Courtesy. 24 The preamble to the charts stated:

Courtesy, Politeness, or Good Manners means kindly and thoughtful consideration for others. A Celebrated writer has said that a Boy who is Courteous and Pure is an honour to his country. Brave and Noble men and women are always Courteous. Three of the bravest and greatest men who ever lived - The Duke of Wellington, General Gordon, and General Washington - were distinguished for their courteous behaviour.

The body of the chart consisted of a series of rules to be observed at home, at school, at play, in the street and at table. The rules ranged from general exhortations to pure and noble conduct to specific matters of etiquette, and the result was often bathos.

Be Honest, Truthful, and Pure.
Keep out of Bad Company
Keep your Face and Hands clean and your Clothes and Boots brushed and neat.

...
Help your Parents as Much as you can, and do your best to please them.
Be kind to your Brothers and Sisters.
Do not be Selfish, but share all your Good Things.

... Do not Cheat at Games. Do not Bully; only Cowards do this.

... Do not make Slides on the pavement, nor throw Orange Peel or Banana Skins there, dangerous accidents often result from these practices.

... Do not put your knife in your mouth.
Do not sit with your elbows on the table.

... Always mind your own Business. Be Punctual. Be Tidy.

All these rules reflecting your conduct towards others are included in the one Golden Rule. Whenever, therefore you are in doubt as to how you should act towards others ask yourself this question, "How should I like them to act towards me if I were in their place?" and then Do what your conscience tells you is right.

At first Canterbury committees procured Good Manners charts themselves. The Addington Committee, for example, resolved in 1897 to buy a chart for each room. But education boards were soon induced to supply charts and distribute them. By 1899 the South Canterbury inspector was able to observe, with satisfaction:

Conspicuously displayed in every schoolroom is the "Good Manners" chart which sets forth in short, terse sentences what courteous boys and girls should be careful to observe.

In that same year the North Canterbury Board resolved to supply all schools in its district and ordered an initial 250 charts.

The Good Manners charts soon figured in catalogues of the ways in which schools formed character but how much specific reference teachers might have made to them is impossible to determine. One suspects that in many schools they were simply hung up and forgotten, and Mrs Neligan, wife of the Bishop of Auckland, thought it necessary to establish a local Guild of Courtesy to reinforce the message of the charts. Children promised to refrain from smoking, swearing, disrespect and
disobedience and teachers were given badges to present to the most courteous and obliging pupils.

Given Hogben's advocacy of moral instruction in the 1880s it is not surprising that his 1904 syllabus revision included it. Moral instruction was required in all classes, but not as a specific subject.

It is not intended that these lessons should occupy, any more than they have done in the past, a separate place on the timetable, or be considered as forming a subject apart from the general instruction or from the life of the school. The moral purpose should, indeed, dominate the spirit of the whole school life, and the influence of the school and its teachers upon the pupils should be such as is calculated to be a real factor in the formation of good character. Many of the reading lessons and sometimes other lessons, and the ordinary incidents of school life, will in most cases furnish sufficient occasions for the inculcation of such principles are as furnished below.

There followed a lengthy list of desirable habits and moral virtues very reminiscent of Russell's section headings and of the Good Manners charts and including almost everything ever urged on the schools by particular interest groups. After dealing with particular duties, e.g., kindness to animals, consideration for the sick and afflicted, and cleanliness of person, the list ended with a lengthy catalogue of general virtues.

Candour; honour, love of home, forgiveness and forbearance, peace; duty, accuracy and painstaking; contentment; and benevolence or humanity; cheerful-

ness; self-reliance; self-respect; modesty; courage; prudence; zeal and energy; justice; loyalty and patriotism; respect for law; magnanimity; integrity of purpose; precept and example; formation of character; and the golden rule.

The final paragraph might have been taken from one of Hogben's speeches in the 1880s.

The experience of teachers will guide them as to the best time and manner in which to impart these lessons; it will probably be recognised that abstract moral teaching fails to excite any interest in the minds of children generally, and that it is best to enforce the principles of moral conduct by examples taken from history, biography, poetry, and fiction, and by anecdote, allegory, and fable.
Hogben's syllabus statement on moral instruction appeared when the English Moral Instruction League was in its hey-day. Various individuals had in the 1880s suggested secular moral instruction as a direct alternative to religious instruction. J.A. Picton, to whom Hogben referred in 1887, was not only a member of the London School Board, but a lecturer to the Hampstead Ethical Society, and he published pamphlets in the Rationalist Press Association series. In 1897, however, a group of high-minded sceptics, members of various Ethical Societies in Britain, met to form a Moral Instruction League to press for secular moral instruction in public primary schools.\(^{29}\)

At first the League pressed for moral instruction as a complete alternative to religious instruction but in 1902 it modified its policy. If room had to be made for moral instruction, the League suggested after 1902, then it might be necessary to curtail another secular subject. This more accommodating policy, the League's publicity, and the obvious moral seriousness of its members gained it some notable successes in the early 1900s. Two League members gained seats on local education authorities; and the education codes of 1904 and 1906 and the Board of Education's 1905 Suggestions to Teachers all endorsed classroom moral instruction.

By 1908 the League was able to report with satisfaction that 100 of the 327 local education authorities of England and Wales had made some provision for moral instruction of the sort the League urged and 40 of those authorities had made it a timetabled subject.\(^{30}\)

These initial successes were not, however, consolidated or extended. Rather than concentrating on local education authorities the League focussed on the central Board of Education and on securing legislation to its liking, but its parliamentary efforts were unsuccessful in 1909, the movement lost its initial momentum, turned for a time to efforts to have moral instruction included in teacher-
training, and the League petered out during the First World War after a series of name changes.

One of the key figures in the League was Frederick Gould who as a young teacher reacted against "the morbidness and tearful slop of Methodism, Evangelicalism, and Revivalism". After considerable personal anguish, Gould became an avowed humanist, left teaching and became a busy writer of texts of moral instruction. He produced a specimen lesson on moral education to accompany the Moral Instruction League's earliest pamphlets and petitions and he was appointed lecturer and demonstrator for the League in 1909, in which capacity he travelled widely throughout Britain, to the United States, and to India where he gave demonstration lessons and lectures to educationalists in the Bombay Presidency.

Hilliard points out that Gould's lessons might now seem naive but they were a considerable pedagogical advance on the religious instruction given in public schools at the time. Gould himself records that he was, while working in the United States, criticised by John Dewey and others for his ignorance of the "principle of immediate reaction", i.e., for ignoring the place of activity work in moral education, and his lessons were, indeed, simply teacher-talk. But it is clear that his lessons were models of their kind and that Gould had considerable dramatic talent, a capacity to pitch his material at a suitable level and a good sense of when to press home his points and when to forbear. Gilbert Murray, the great classical scholar, has left a rare, if not unique, eye-witness account of Gould taking a demonstration lesson with forty children. The lesson included mime, stories, and some skilful questioning, and Murray noted that both adults and children laughed again and again during the lesson and that some had tears in their eyes at the end. Murray was not a completely unbiased witness but his glowing account can be taken as evidence of
Gould's ability to give very much the sort of lesson Hogben seems to have had in mind, lessons very different from the droning recitations Russell's book would have produced.  

Gould's books were sold in New Zealand and there is no doubt that some New Zealand educationists and humanists were well aware of the Moral Instruction League's efforts. In 1902, for example, W.W. Collins, MHR, successfully moved at a conference of Christchurch committee members:

That in the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived when more systematised efforts should be made in the direction of ethical training of school children.  

William Whitehouse Collins (1855-1923) was an Englishman who had known Charles Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant, been an accredited lecturer for the National Secular Society, and emigrated to Australia to work for the Sydney Freethought Association. He came to New Zealand in 1890 and was a leader in the Canterbury Freethought Association which became the New Zealand Rationalist Association.

This is not to argue that Collins had any influence on the 1904 syllabus; it is merely to demonstrate that there were at least some people around who were very much in sympathy with the Moral Instruction League's programme and shared its motives. Demonstrating a direct connection between the appearance of moral instruction in the 1904 syllabus and the Moral Instruction League is, however, impossible on the basis of existing evidence. The League sent out copies of Gould's specimen lesson to the Victorian Education Department in 1898 where it was well-received by the Minister and reprinted in the Department's paper for teachers, but Hogben does not seem to have made any specific reference either to the League's efforts in Britain or to official interest in Victoria.

What can be said with certainty is that Hogben's 1904 statement appeared when the Moral Instruction League was very active in Britain;
it was very much in accord with the League's post-1902 policy; and, although it shied away from timetabled lessons, it envisaged lessons very much like those Gould took so successfully.

Inspectors' published reports show that they, like teachers, varied in their understanding of what was required by the new syllabus section. The Southland inspectors, for example, noted in 1912 that, "Very little direct moral instruction is provided in our schools except on special topics such as intemperance", but they were not upset: "Nevertheless we are satisfied that a great deal is done incidentally to elevate the moral tone of the pupils."

Strachan, the Marlborough inspector, on the other hand, clearly expected special efforts. In 1906 he urged teachers to read over the relevant syllabus section and reported, "I noted only thirteen schools where I could feel confident that any extended instruction of this class had been attempted." His urgings had some result and in 1910 he reported that moral instruction received definite attention in 36 Marlborough schools.

As moral instruction was not a timetabled subject the only way teachers could show inspectors that they were ready to deliver lessons when the occasion arose was to make suitable entries in log-books and schemes of work, and inspectors came to accept such entries as evidence of adherence to the syllabus and to demand them. Thus the Auckland inspectors in 1906:

In general, moral instruction and health have received a fair amount of attention during the year. It is important that full records of what is done under these heads should be entered in notebooks, so that the complete course, spread as it is over several years, may be available for examination.

Satisfying the syllabus requirements and meeting inspectors' expectations was a rather complex business when teachers had to give specific moral instruction without setting aside time for it and had to plan for moral lessons which might never be given. In 1911 the Auckland
inspectors distinguished between moral training, which fostered good habits, and direct moral instruction which imparted "ideas, ideals, and moral insights". They felt that very little was done by way of direct moral instruction in some schools and they wanted to see plans for a "short programme of systematic and graduated instruction." In 1912, after public and teacher reaction, they had to explain further. They did not mean a rigid, detailed syllabus, but they did mean that some definite plan should be made, tailored to the particular circumstances of each school. This, of course, did not make the matter any clearer and indicates the inherent difficulty of interpreting the syllabus.

One obvious way of giving shape to the rather vague syllabus in moral instruction, and of satisfying inspectors, would have been for schools to adopt a suitable textbook, but while local publishers, particularly Whitcombe and Tombs, produced a wide range of texts in response to the 1904 syllabus no one ventured any capital on a text in moral instruction.

Hogben as Inspector-General still seems to have favoured a textbook if possible, but in his reply in 1908 to Sir Michael Sadler's international enquiry into moral education he suggested that the exclusion of religious instruction precluded organised moral education or a textbook. He distinguished the use of the Bible as literature or for the illustration of moral principles from its use for influencing the religious emotions or for teaching "theological doctrines." He did not think that the use of the Bible as literature or for ethical lessons would really transgress the principle of strict secularism, but sectarian feeling in New Zealand meant, unfortunately, that the average person could not separate the two uses of the Bible.

But I wish that, in the definition of secular education, there could be included the use of materials drawn from the Bible - from its biographies, its poetry, its allegories, and its parables. Were this done, I should be distinctly
in favour of having a graded course of moral instruction, the subject-matter and illustrations of which would be drawn from Biblical and other sources. 44

In the absence of any enthusiasm from either the Department of Education or commercial publishers for a textbook it was left, as in the 1880s, for a zealous individual to produce the only local scheme of moral instruction, but Coleman Phillip's 1908 material was even balder than Russell's and even more clearly unsuccessful. Coleman Phillips (1846-1925) was variously a sailor, merchant, barrister and solicitor, and farmer as well as a pamphleteer, a religious bigot, an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in Parliament, and a fervent advocate of ferrets as the best means of controlling rabbits. 45

Phillip's "Moral Lessons for Primary Schools" were set out on a poster and consisted of 120 dicta classified into seven groups for Standards I to VII. The poster ended with these instructions:

The teacher will please paste this sheet upon cardboard, and with the consent of the School Committee, suspend it in the classroom. The children will copy out their respective lessons for home use. 46

Phillips had, in fact, simply produced a rather lengthier and rather odd Good Manners chart. Some of the lessons, indeed, were highly reminiscent of that chart:

Standard I

1. Good thoughts; good words; good deeds.
2. Be punctual, patient and persevering.
3. Be kind to animals: they have their feelings: that which hurts you hurts them...
4. Attend to the instruction of your teachers.
5. Politeness costs nothing: say "Good morning" or "Good afternoon" to those you meet.

Other "lessons" had been lifted from the Bible or from English literature: "Whatsoever your hand findeth to do, do with all your might"; "A soft answer turneth away wrath"; "Laugh and the world laughs
with you; weep and you weep alone." Some lessons were rather Delphic - "The world globes itself in a drop of dew" - and some sacrificed ease of comprehension for an epigrammatic form - "He who knows and knows that he knows is wise. But he who does not know, and does not know that he knows not is hard to teach."

Phillips, it seems, publicly stated that his lessons were a substitute for Christian teaching in schools but his real purpose was to outflank Catholic spokesmen on education. Alexander Turnbull wrote to Phillips in 1908 for a copy of the moral lessons and Phillips replied:

My dear Turnbull,

I send you the Moral Lessons...This tablet is to remove the taunt that our public schools are Godless, - viz, not under Roman Catholic influence - the only Christian God now is the Pope of Rome. The sole reason of Seddon & Ward's popularity is that they are obedient servants of the Roman Catholic Church...P.S. It is the same in Australia - which practically now is a Roman Catholic country - Seddon and Ward, wherever they went or go, were and are cheered on with Roman Catholic support, in return for the magnificent help they give every Roman Catholic settler. The whole of our Public Service here is rapidly becoming Roman Catholic. 47

Phillips's "tablet" did, in fact, make references to God: "God hateth no one, why should you?"; "Have no fear, for God is here"; "Say each night 'God bless dear father and mother, for they cared for me when I was little and care for me still"'; "God is all, and all is good. We make our own evils." But notwithstanding these references the Lyttelton Times felt that Phillips's representation of his lessons as a substitute for Christianity would upset people and even be taken as blasphemy. Some might object to injunctions to strictly abstain from liquor or to Phillips's apparent endorsement of mental healing: "When you are sick have no fear, say 'I shall soon be well again' and you will get well." 48

The Times was prepared to concede that Phillips had "made an honest effort to provide a series of moral lessons which will reach the hearts and minds of children" and that he had achieved a considerable measure of success, but over all its reservations and doubts outweighed this
praise. The Wellington Education Board, when Phillips offered to supply his posters free, did not accord them even a mixed review. The Board, said the Chairman, Robert Lee, could not endorse all these lessons, and another member found some of them most objectionable. Phillips's offer was brusquely declined.49 There is no record of Phillips's lessons being used in any other board district. They reflected his own quirky views; they had been publicly condemned by at least one education board; and there was nothing to commend them over the Good Manners charts.

The belief that moral instruction could be systematised and made more effective through published lesson material died hard. In 1913 C.J. Russell gave notice of motion at a North Canterbury Board meeting.

This Board is of the opinion that the Education Department should take a more serious view of the situation and so frame the syllabus as to bring pure morals and manners more prominently forward, with a view to minimising the loss to the community and the state through infantile degeneracy.50

Russell was unsuccessful, however, in his appeal to his fellow members. As one of them put it, "The dominion's youth were good...and the syllabus was already full enough".51 Russell then appealed for public support in a campaign for a manual of morals and manners. This, he argued, would settle the religious question, lessen illegitimacy, bring better social relations, and get rid of "strike-views" and militarism.52 Russell continued to urge the Department to prepare such a manual in 1914 but failed to attract any general support for this proposal.53

The only new development in moral instruction, if it can be called that, was an addition to the relevant section when the syllabus was revised and re-issued in 1913. A new paragraph at the end now stressed the importance of self-government in schools; some pupils should be elected by their classmates with the teachers' consent and "made prefects or monitors, and invested with authority accordingly."54
The net effect of putting moral instruction in the syllabus was much less than it might have been had it been made a timetabled subject or had there been an agreed text. The syllabus meant, in practice, that teachers were obliged to make some appropriate entries in schemes of work for the inspectors' benefit but not to seize all suitable moments to deliver ad hoc moral lectures. Those who were moved to deliver such lectures were, however, now licensed to do so. In 1907, for instance, reporting on moral instruction, the Marlborough inspector noted approvingly that, "The tragic death of Mr Seddon at the height of his career afforded an opportunity for the inculcation of many a noble and inspiring lecture."55

Candidates for teachers' certificates had long been expected at least to be able to write about moral instruction. In 1902 those sitting the D and E papers in school management were required to write full teaching notes for a lesson of 40 minutes duration on a topic chosen from a list which included "loyalty" and "steam".56 But there was no systematic attempt to train teachers or to provide them with materials, let alone produce any moral instructors with Gould's skills.

The syllabus section's main benefit was that it formally acknowledged the schools' role in moral instruction and provided the eductional authorities with a further defence of the secular, national system, while it left moral instruction a matter of local option like religious instruction under the Nelson system.

In making moral instruction obligatory but not requiring formal, timetabled programmes Hogben went as far as he could without running into serious opposition. One source of that opposition would have been teachers who doubted the value of formal lessons. Gould was clearly able to deliver interesting and illuminating lessons but few teachers could have matched him in this, and uninspiring, routine lessons would have been of doubtful value, if not counterproductive. Many teachers
would have agreed with Sir Michael Sadler that, "Fussy chatter and copybook truisms produce reaction and resentment among children of the greatest promise."\(^57\) Hogben, indeed, had warned of the dangers of unduly abstruse teacher-talk and his biographer suggests that Hogben's own efforts at moral instruction while head at Timaru High School provide a case in point. The local papers reported that the audience at Speech Days grew restive as Hogben enlarged on the mottoes he had taken as his texts.\(^58\) At the 1909 N.Z.E.I. Annual General Meeting it became quite clear that delegates were, as the President remarked, "divided as to the efficacy of set lessons in Morality."\(^59\)

The debate on moral instruction early this century and Hogben's syllabus invite comparison with the Johnson Report in the late 1970s and the reaction it provoked. The Johnson Report had much more to say about pedagogy with its references to Kohlberg's research, the Lifeline curriculum, and "values clarification" methods. What it had to say on them was not very illuminating and gave little sense of the theoretical differences between them, but in this respect at least the Johnson Report was considerably more sophisticated than the Moral Instruction League, and immeasurably more sophisticated than either Russell or Coleman Phillips.\(^60\)

Hogben's syllabus and the Johnson Report differed most in the extent to which they saw moral values as problematic or relative. The Johnson Report became hopelessly bogged in questions of personal commitment versus adherence to community consensus. It both urged schools to stand up and be counted on moral issues and to cautiously ascertain what people thought on moral issues. Hogben's syllabus section, on the other hand, gives no hint of any problem in knowing what is right or wrong, no suggestion that reasonable people might disagree. Moral instruction for Hogben, as for Russell, was not a matter of recognising differences of opinion but of showing children what the clear facts of the matter were.
But while morality was less problematic for Hogben than for the earnest liberals who wrote the Johnson Report explicit moral instruction was just as politically difficult in 1904 as it was in the late 1970s and for much the same reasons. The conservative groups which mounted the most strenuous opposition to the Johnson Report attacked it for its "humanism" and for its failure to endorse conservative Christian ethics, and any formal scheme of moral instruction which might have been produced in the early 1900s would, doubtless, have run into the same sort of opposition. To present a scheme of moral instruction as a conscious alternative to religious instruction was to invite trouble, as Coleman Phillips soon learnt; and the British Moral Instruction League found it expedient to modify its original policy of displacing Scripture lessons with secular exhortations. But whether or not a scheme of secular moral instruction was presented as an alternative to Bible in schools it would have brought changes of slighting Christianity if not of hacking at the foundations of society by teaching atheism. Any formal scheme of moral education would have been damned if it included religion, and damned if it didn't.

Chapter 14 concluded by suggesting that one reason for the failure of the Bible in schools movement was that enough people were happy enough with the job schools were making of socialisation and character-formation. Now it is argued that moral education was blocked by the Bible in schools issue. But there is no paradox here and no inconsistency for there were two models of moral education, the social/incidental and the didactic, and educationists saw no reason to believe that one had broken down so badly that it had to be supplemented by the other, no matter what the costs in controversy.
Notes to Chapter 16


6. Neither the British Museum Catalogue nor the American Union Catalogue list this work.

7. *CP*, 7 January 1887. *LT*, 8 January 1887. Stout was, no doubt, referring to Pope's *The State: the rudiments of New Zealand sociology for the use of beginners* which was duly published later that year.


10. The Wellington Education Board sent all the other boards relevant newspaper clippings. Vide Westland Education Minutes, 16 August 1888.

11. G.W. Russell. *Catechism of the Duties of Life: being lessons in conduct intended for use in schools or in homes*. Cambridge, printed at the Waikato News Office, 1888, p.iii. A second edition was produced in 1889 by the Auckland Star Office. Some attempt was made to simplify the language in the second edition at a few points, but it was, in most respects, identical to the first. Both editions seem to have been small, particularly the first.


21. NZG, 1889, p.438. Russell's account of the fate of his catechism, and of the endorsements he secured, are to be found in the preface to his third and final attempt at a book of moral lessons for New Zealand schools, viz: G.W. Russell. The Duties of Life: being lessons in character and conduct for use in schools and homes. Christchurch, G.W. Russell, 1920, p.4. This book is not in catechetical form but its content is very much that of the older works.

22. NZSM, July 1889, p.224.

23. NZSM, August 1891, p.11.


25. CP, 12 June 1897.

26. AJHR, E-1B, 1899, p.43.


35. Hilliard, 1961, says that Murray was a member of one of the Ethical Unions which gave rise to the Moral Instruction League and was later a Vice-President of the League.

36. Christchurch School Committees' Association Minutes, 29 March 1902.


40. AJHR, E-2, 1910, p.124.
41. AJHR, E-1B, 1906, p.6.
42. AJHR, E-2, 1911, appendix C, p.viii.
43. AJHR, E-2, 1912, appendix C, p.vii.
46. The Turnbull library has only one edition of this poster and had dated it 1920. The poster has a handwritten note across the top, "Published about 1920. To go with my other Pamphlets. Mr Turnbull collected." Turnbull in fact sought a copy from Phillips in 1908 and Phillips sent him one. It looks as if the aged Phillips made a note on the poster some time in the 1920s but was confused about dates. The poster contains many "lessons" quoted in newspaper reports in 1908 and also refers to Standard VII. The "1920" poster in the Turnbull library thus appears to be either the 1908 poster or a later straight reprint of it. The cataloguers at the library agree with this view and have decided to re-classify the poster as published in 1908.
47. Phillips to Turnbull, 4 November 1908. (Alexander Turnbull Collection, MS Papers 57, Folder no 72, Turnbull Library, Wellington.)
48. LT, 13 February 1909.
49. LT, 26 October 1910.
50. LT, 30 January 1913.
51. LT, 20 February 1913.
52. LT, 29 October 1913.
53. LT, 5 March 1914.
54. NZG, 1912, p.3700.
55. AJHR, E-1B, 1907, p.25.
56. AJHR, E-1A, 1902, p.9.
Chapter 17

SEX EDUCATION

Gould argued for systematic, timetabled moral instruction because the incidental method often amounted to nothing more than "pouncing on misdeeds as a species of penal exercise", and because, "We are besieged by enthusiasts who long to exploit the machinery of education in favour of a special virtue."¹ Without a systematic programme efforts to promote kindness to animals, temperance, thrift, or patriotism would overlap or run foul of each other to produce a piecemeal, wasteful approach to moral education.

Had Gould been familiar with the educational scene in New Zealand he might well have cited it in support of this point. In the absence of a comprehensive scheme of deliberate moral instruction those who wished to exploit the machinery of education made direct, sometimes competing demands on the schools' time and attention and made it easy for teachers to plead an already crowded curriculum. This is not to say that all efforts to add to schooling for particular social and moral purposes failed; some were highly successful. The interesting question, of course, is why some failed and some succeeded. An answer to that question, like an examination of the Bible in schools issue, illuminates the social and moral context within which schools worked. This chapter and the next three will deal with some major attempts to use the schools to promote particular causes: purity through sex education, temperance through "scientific instruction", and patriotism by a variety of means, including military training.
The folklore of the mildly-educated would suggest that a chapter on sex education must be a brief one because prudery and the persistence of "Victorian attitudes" would have ruled out not only sex education but any suggestion of it. There is certainly plenty of evidence of Victorian prudery and reticence; for example, Bowdler's excisions from Shakespeare, the delicacy which made legs "limbs" and the coyness of Victorian novels. And the innocent Victorian bride is an established part of folklore, not without reason. A few years after her disastrous first marriage Euphemia Ruskin wrote, "I had never been told of the duties of married persons to each other and knew little or nothing about their relations in the closest union on earth."

More recently, however, there has been a spate of books to show that not all Victorians were "Victorian" and to demonstrate the range and variety of Victorian sexuality. Stephen Marcus's *The Other Victorians* and similar works bid fair to establish a folklore among the literate as lopsided as the older folklore. Working class Victorians did not always share the anxieties and inhibitions of the middle classes and many middle class Victorian males held a clear double standard. But not all middle class men were like the anonymous "Walter" whose memoir, *My Secret Life*, is such a distasteful catalogue of powerless women bribed or bullied into submission. Victorian sexual experiences and attitudes do not reduce to "Walter" on the one hand or Mrs Ruskin on the other: they were varied and complex, shaped by social class, upbringing and formal education, local traditions and religious experience and affiliation.

The myth of universal prudery in the past has been fostered by middle class literature's conformity to the conventions of respectability and by the fact that until very recently the only readily available Victorian or Edwardian writing on sexual matters was the work of puritanical social reformers and crusading doctors and clerics. The
same is true of New Zealand and has given rise to the tradition amongst
writers that New Zealand is a particularly austere, repressed,
puritanical place and always has been, and it has led social historians,
Eldred-Grigg argues, to pay a great deal of attention to purity
movements in the past and to run the risk of over-estimating their
influence and representativeness.

Social reformers, Eldred-Grigg notes, were very good at
publicity, at setting up organisations and churning out pamphlets and
manifestos while few spoke up for alcohol and no one for fornication and
narcotics. He demonstrates, at some length, that there was a lot of the
Old Adam in nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand for
puritans to be puritanical about, a lot of prostitution, drug-taking,
drinking and smoking, and he demonstrates that vocal purity movements
constituted a clear minority of New Zealanders. This amounts to a
reminder that one should see purity movements in their proper
perspective; it is not an argument for ignoring them or concluding that
they were inconsequential islands of rectitude in a sea of vice. Purity
crusaders may not have spoken for the majority of New Zealanders but
they loomed large in certain areas of educational debate and this
chapter, pace Eldred-Grigg, is largely devoted to their attempts to
enlist the schools in their cause.

Purity crusaders were particularly concerned with prostitution,
illegitimacy, venereal disease and sexual assaults but would have been
horrified at present-day suggestions that these things should be
eliminated by tolerant attitudes, antibiotics and contraception. The
only legitimate sexual activity was conventional intercourse between
married couples and even that, the most zealous thought, should be a
rare, solemn event for the sole purpose of producing children.

It would be easy to dismiss crusaders for sexual purity as just a
bunch of frightened wowsers driven by a simple desire to stamp out
pleasure, but it would be wrong. They, like the temperance crusaders, the Bible in schools movement and Truby King's Plunket Society, held up a positive ideal; a prosperous and moral nation, free of Old World ills, populated by healthy, law-abiding people with a happy, stable home-life, able to subdue the earth and defend this corner of the Empire.

Predictably, campaigners for sexual purity sought legislative reform. Raising the age of consent, for example, would help suppress youthful sex and child prostitution in particular. The age of consent was raised to 16 in Britain in 1885 in the wake of Stead's sensational articles on the procurers of young whores, but in New Zealand it remained at 12, where it had been set by the Offences Against the Person Act of 1867, until 1889 when it was raised to 14. In 1894, at the urging of purity movements and of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in particular, it was raised to 15 and in 1896 it became 16 years.

This conformity with British law did not satisfy those who wanted to suppress youthful prostitution and there were repeated unsuccessful demands for the age of consent to be raised to 18 or even 21 years. As late as 1911, for example, the Society for the Protection of Women and Children saw 21 as the ideal but was willing to settle for 18. Meeting these demands would not have automatically ruled out teenage marriages for the age at which one might marry was a matter of British common law and a minimum age of 16 for marriage did not become law until a 1933 amendment to the Marriage Act.

More direct attacks on youthful prostitution and promiscuity were made in a series of unsuccessful bills in the 1890s. The Juvenile Depravity Suppression Bill 1896 would have given the police the power to detain girls apparently under 16 out on the streets after 10 p.m. when constables had reason to suspect that they were loafing with improper intent. The police would also have had the power to enter places occupied by Chinese, prostitutes or gamblers when they suspected young persons were present for immoral or illegal purposes.
The Young Persons' Protection Bill 1897 had the same general purposes as its predecessor and provided, in addition, for the enrolment of respectable "discreet women" as a voluntary moral police to remove young people from the streets to suitable "refuges". This bill, in various forms, was introduced into Parliament again in 1898, 1899, and 1900 without any more success.

Demands for increased penalties for sexual assaults enjoyed rather wider support and met with much more success. The Offences Against the Person Act 1867 did not provide for adults to be flogged for any offences, but in 1868 it was amended to include flogging for indecent assault and the unlawful carnal knowledge of a girl under 12. In 1893 the Criminal Code Act provided for flogging for 11 separate offences, 8 of them sexual, including homosexual acts and carnal knowledge of a mentally retarded woman or girl.

Censorship laws were also tightened in the 1890s and the early twentieth century to suppress indecent literature such as Emile Zola's novels, to limit the advertisement of abortifacients and contraceptives, and to suppress quacksalvers purporting to cure "female irregularities" and "male debility".

Censorship and the use of the postal regulations were an indirect attack on the sale of contraceptives and the spread of contraceptive information, but there was a direct attack in 1901 in the form of a Sale of Preventives Bill which prescribed a penalty of up to one year in jail for a third offence. This bill, which was not given a second reading, would have outlawed the sale of "any contraceptive or thing for the purpose or with the intention of hindering or preventing conception", and it would have given the police powers of search without warrant.

Clerical and medical condemnation of contraception did not end with the failure of the bill. Bishop Julius, for example, addressing the Christian Social Union in Christchurch in 1903, condemned
"artificial restraints" and hoped that with God's help "New Zealand would again occupy the proud position she held when her birthrate was the highest in Australasia. (Applause)." A year later Dr Collins, President of the local branch of the British Medical Association, issued a grim warning against contraception.

So soon as people begin to consider their own selfish needs to the exclusion of the well-being of the community, it followed that in the end the race must suffer. Interference with functions that are natural to the body must produce deterioration and disease, such dread diseases as melancholia and other forms of mental disease, and cancer.

Not that all sexual reformers favoured unrestricted fecundity. Some of them deplored the fecundity of the criminal, the mentally retarded, and the unhealthy while the healthy and upright limited their families. The most gloomy eugenicists were sure that the "British race" faced imbecility or extinction unless matters were set right. New Zealand stood at the crossroads; decisive action now could spare us hereditary crime and disease; failure to act could mean that a single pair, like the original Jukes or Kallikaks, could spawn an evergrowing number of degenerates who would be a costly burden on the state.

Matters had already gone far enough, said Mrs Wilson to a conference of hospital boards:

...so that in this good land of ours, scarcely sixty years old, removed by leagues of sea from the waste and drift of large cities, with a population largely selective, we are spending over a million a year in charities of one sort or another and maintaining in our institutions the third generation of degenerates.

The answer, she said, lay in a special school for retarded girls and in their strict segregation and sterilization if need be.

These views were most forcefully presented by William Chapple, M.D., who urged the sterilization of the "unfit", a category which included those suffering from a wide range of supposedly hereditary physical and moral weaknesses. At the same time Chapple demanded that
the voluntary sterilization of the "fit" should be subject to at least the same penalties as abortion. A Eugenics Education Society was formed in 1911 to press for scientific breeding, the regulation of marriages, the isolation of the "unfit" and the spread of genetic knowledge. By 1912 the Society had branches in the four main centres and included an impressive array of doctors, clerics, university staff, and politicians.

Eugenicists, crusaders against prostitution, and some clerics concerned to uphold traditional Christian teaching all saw the school system as a natural means of working for social purity. Truby King's attack on higher education for girls and his campaign for domestic training have been well-documented (see chapter 22) but there were, in addition to these efforts to produce pure, fertile, domestically-inclined women, specific demands for sex education. Lectures on sexual morality would reinforce and supplement purity campaigners' legislative efforts, and there were some matters which could hardly be legislated against, e.g., impure thoughts and masturbation, but which might be suppressed by appropriate exhortations to the young.

And could it not be argued that some young people sinned through pure ignorance? A steady trickle of very similar cases came before the courts: a young girl did not, apparently, realise that what she was doing would result in pregnancy, did not realise that she was pregnant until her time was near, and gave birth in secret to her own great danger and that of her child. The Christchurch courts heard of a typical case of this sort in 1905. A fifteen-year-old Canterbury girl, whose family did not, it seems, realise her condition, gave birth to a child in a farm building, buried it, milked two cows and walked home before collapsing.

Graver crimes, moralists concluded, could only be the result of ignorance when committed by the young and otherwise respectable. In
1906 Mr Justice Denniston presided over a Supreme Court case involving a 17 year old who had fathered a child on his 15 year old sister. This, Denniston remarked, was not the first such sad case he had heard, and he was sure that such cases resulted from "senseless prudery" and a "reluctance to inform children of the elementary conditions of their existence." It was impossible that these children could have come before him had they realised the consequences of their actions. The *Lyttelton Times* agreed and urged doctors to give suitable lectures in schools.

Did "senseless prudery" in fact keep all children in ignorance, blissful or dangerous, of sexual matters? What sources of information were available to the young? Those urging sex education routinely argued that parents were not facing their responsibilities in this matter and there is plenty of evidence of parental reticence and outright refusal to discuss the matter. Wood recalls that as a little boy his questions were answered with, "You'll find out about that when you grow up", and he soon learned that sex was an "unspeakable subject". Pat Lawlor recalls that he knew "little or nothing about the origins of life" until he was well into his teens, although he was often warned, vaguely, of "indelicacies", and when he finally ran across a copy of one of Havelock Ellis's books he was "overwhelmed, disturbed, nauseated."

Nor was there very much to be gleaned or deduced from standard school books, even when their subject matter might have looked promising. E.K. Mulgan's *New Zealand Nature Study Book*, for example, included a section on the pollination of flowering plants to which was appended a fretful footnote:

> If it be considered desirable, this phase of the subject may be entirely omitted, although it seems a pity that a matter of such importance should be left out altogether in a scheme of Nature-study.

Gillies's *Insect Life in Australia*, used in some New Zealand schools, was equally reticent about reproduction although Gillies appeared to
have cornered himself in broaching the subject of bees swarming. He managed, however, to glide by the snag under the surface.

The new queen has to take a marriage-flight high into the air before she can begin to lay eggs, and who knows what dangers she may run during this flight. And if she should be lost the hive would be ruined. Let us suppose that she returns safely from her flight in the air. Soon she is busy laying eggs... 22

Notwithstanding the delicacy of school books there were occasional complaints when material presented to children appeared to break the conspiracy of silence. In 1894 Shakespeare's "As You Like It" was set as a text for Standard VI and VII scholarship candidates and some indignant Wellington parents condemned the play, presented in an expurgated edition for schools, as "wholly unsuited on moral grounds for the study of children". 23 There was a rather similar fuss in Christchurch when a cinema proprietor put on a programme of educational films for children. One of the films was on the life-cycle of fishes and provoked indignant letters to the papers, one of which remarked editorially that, "It had value as a lesson in natural history, but was, perhaps, rather too intimate in detail for presentation to children." 24

Some of those who favoured a conspiracy of silence assumed that young children, left alone, would have no interest in sex. A conference of doctors in Wellington, for example, favoured coeducation at least until age 10 for that was "the lowest figure at which any sex ideas could enter children's minds." 25 But those closer to the schools were not at all convinced of that and there was, over the years, a good deal of fussing about impure talk in playgrounds. When the Education Act was first passed, for example, the Otago Daily Times raised the matter:

In Dunedin the roughs will taint the atmosphere of the respectable children...there will be special problems with girls who are apt to learn a good deal more from school than is set down in the lesson roll. 26
Autobiographies and inspectors' reports make it clear that there was a good deal of discussion of sex in schools when teachers were not about. The language of the playground, Francis Bennett recalled, was "heavy with reference to sex and the excreta". In 1900 Dr Anderson found the Natural History plates in one Canterbury infant room "disfigured with crude pencil markings of an indecent suggestion"; in 1902 Mr Wood found similar cards "defaced in a way which leaves no doubt of the impurity of mind of the miscreants"; and inspectors in all parts of New Zealand commented from time to time on indecent graffiti in lavatories.

Clearly children picked up a good deal of information about sex, and a good deal of misinformation, from their more knowing classmates, from observing animals, from life in crowded homes and, in some cases, from bitter experience. As John A. Lee grimly remarked, "The sex education of the pretty and neglected daughters of the very poor is completed at a very early age, and is as thorough as it is cruel."

Although school books and respectable fiction were very reticent some printed sources of information were available to persistent or fortunate children. Newspaper advertisements promised informative pamphlets for both men and women who cared to write for them.

The Truth. Private Book FOR MEN about themselves; 100 pages. Posted, 6d. in New Zealand Stamps. Prof. Webster, Specialist, Exhibition Street, Melbourne.

FREE BOOKS for both sexes, of Vital Interest concerning yourselves and your welfare. POSTED FREE. Write to Charles Gerlach, 300 Collins St., Melbourne.

Some of these advertisements were, in fact, for contraceptives or abortifacients by mail, or for preparations to relieve menstrual pains and other female disorders.

Wanted, Ladies to enclose stamps for copy of Descriptive Pamphlet of Nurse Lepine's (of Paris) medical preparations for ladies' use. Thoroughly genuine and reliable. Address: New Zealand Agency, Box 404, Christchurch.
Some were aimed specifically at the young, and young men in particular.

Young Men, Write to me for Valuable Free Book concerning Yourselves. Prof. E. Hermann, Specialist, East Collins Place, Melbourne. 33

Evidence presented to the parliamentary committee on the Quackery Prevention Bill makes it clear that some advertisers, Melbourne "Professors" and "Specialists" in particular, were not only charlatans but blackmailers on occasion. The free book would suggest that some perfectly natural matter, nocturnal emissions, for example, was a matter for grave concern which required a course of treatment at the specialist's direction and using his concoctions. If the boy embarked on a course of "treatment" by correspondence and then gave it up some advertisers wrote to express their concern and to suggest that they would have to write to the boy's parents, teachers, or clergymen for the boy's own good. Dr J.M. Mason, the Chief Health Officer, told the parliamentary committee of a clergyman's son who resumed sending money on receipt of such letters. The boy was being treated for "nervous debility" which the quack had assured him was the cause of his blushing in the presence of women. 34 The sums extracted from some lads were quite considerable. In some cases parents learnt what was going on when their sons sold bicycles, firearms, and cameras or resorted to theft to get the money, and Josiah Hanan told parliament that he had seen a Christchurch lad's receipts for £18 for a course of "special treatment". 35

One obvious way to suppress such frauds was to suppress their advertisements and even before the Quackery Prevention Bill was passed into law the proprietors of most major papers agreed among themselves not to accept suspicious advertisements and not to have anything at all to do with certain notorious Melbourne firms. Another way of safeguarding young men was, of course, to make sure that they were no longer
ignorant enough to be duped by loaded questionnaires and bogus medical pamphlets. Illegitimacy and incest might or might not be attributable to simple ignorance but quacks’ successes depended directly on it, and sex education would put quacks out of business more surely than anything else.

Another source of printed information was the "home doctor" book. Before cheap medical services were widely available these bulky guides to amateur diagnosis and the home treatment of illness were common in New Zealand homes, shelved beside a dictionary and a Bible. To a twentieth-century reader who has been well-fed on stories of Victorian prudery some of them can appear surprisingly explicit but most books’ general tone on sexual matters was puritan and alarmist. Nevertheless they did contain a good deal of information that would have been of interest to the children of reticent parents and one suspects that a considerable number of children surreptitiously read them and scanned their engravings and coloured plates.

Less reticent, more dutiful parents could, finally, resort to pamphlets and books on sex education for parents’ guidance or children’s information. In the 1890s Sylvanus Stall, D.D., wrote a series of books whose titles have become catchwords. What a Young Boy Ought to Know and Stall’s other collections of misinformation and moral exhortations sold millions of copies and were translated into a number of other languages.36 Stall’s was not the only such series: Lyman Sperry and Emma Drake produced a very similar series of which Confidential Talks to Young Men and its companion volume for young women were the best known.

The standard English work for parents was The Training of the Young in the Laws of Sex by a man of impeccable credentials, Canon the Hon. Edward Lyttelton, an old Etonian and master at Haileybury.37 Lyttelton’s book was written for a limited class: he assumed that his readers would have servants and nurses to care for their children and
that older boys would go off to boarding schools. Much of his book, like Stall's, is devoted to conquering the habit of self-abuse, but he was far less alarmist than Stall.

Most sex education books available in New Zealand were British or American, but two pamphlets by the Rev. Edward Lush of Auckland should be noted. *Anthropology for Adolescents* was written in 1889, revised and entitled *A Waybook for Youth* in 1900, and revised and reprinted in 1917. *A Waybook for Girlhood* appeared in 1903. For Lush, who described himself as an "Anglo-catholic priest", sexual knowledge was only pure when it was inseparably linked with exalted religious sentiment. It could be "marvellous, pure, and holy, a part of God's creation as the blooming of flowers", or it could be "a topic covered with filth of the most impure and loathsome description." Thus his treatment of heredity in his book for girls quickly slides into a discussion of original sin: "Get this clear. You have a damaged heredity from Adam." Only two chapters of the book for girls are devoted to reproduction in plants and animals. Male and female anatomy are given two pages without illustration, and birth is hardly mentioned, except to point out that the reader's birth was "no doubt a terrible agony to her mother". Menstruation is given two pages and he sensibly urges girls to avoid tight-lacing and not to let false modesty stop them seeking competent medical advice when necessary. The remainder of the book consists of injunctions to chastity, pure thought and speech, prayer and church attendance. Lush also carefully points out that the hymen affords clear evidence of virginity and he warns that men's and boys' passions are easily aroused.

*A Waybook for Youth* is, in its final form, a similar mixture and gives much the same hurried, rather embarrassed account of reproduction. The boys' book, unlike the girls', spends a great deal of space on the evils of self-abuse.
Far more of the lunatics in our asylums went there from giving way to this habit than has ever been openly published. And, far short of that, more boys have failed their school examinations from want of living energy brought down from this vice than can be reckoned. As to religion and spiritual life it is so deadly a sin that it breaks fellowship with God at once.

Lush is at pains to warn boys against quacks and explains that nocturnal emissions and having one testicle hang lower than the other are perfectly natural and that only a charlatan would suggest that these things required treatment. But over all this little book, too, is allusive and incomplete and would have been unlikely to meet its stated aim of innoculating lads against further curiosity.

How much influence for good or ill Lush's books had one cannot tell but they seem to have met a need: A Waybook for Youth went through three editions and the last of these was a commercially produced run of 2,500 copies. Taking Lush's works together with imports from Britain and America it is clear that a considerable number of sex education books and pamphlets were available in New Zealand before the First World War and that a number of parents eased their consciences by handing such works over to their older children.

Charles Brasch describes how his father took him to his office one day.

Without explanation he sat me down in a corner to read some squalid little book on elementary biology, which he no doubt assumed would teach me those facts of life that he did not feel able to tell me about.

Brasch was not impressed but some young people found such works illuminating and helpful. Eileen Soper spent a weekend with a friend and,

May's mother, realising how greatly I required instruction in the rudiments of growing up, bade her daughter lend me "What a Young Girl Should Know" [sic], which put everything right. This straightening out of the tangle of lies and half-truths gathered from Primary School was a relieving experience and I was deeply grateful to May and her
dear enlightened parents, so different from my dear but unenlightened own.\textsuperscript{42}

Anyone who found one of that series anxiety-reducing must have been wonderfully anxious at the outset.

Even enlightened parents did not, however, give their children such books until they were at or beyond puberty. Toss Woolaston, for example, was fobbed off as a child and he was 14 before his parents gave him some of Stall's books in the mid-1920s.\textsuperscript{43} Edith Howe's \textit{The Cradle Ship}, published in 1916 and specifically designed for younger children, was a bold new venture, and although it wrapped a very little information about human reproduction up in a lot of talk about plants, animals, and insects and a lot of talk from didactic fairies it created a considerable sensation.\textsuperscript{44}

Those who wanted sex education in schools wanted to present all children with the clerico-medical orthodoxy of the sex instruction books. Providing children with a minimum of information would inoculate them against unhealthy curiosity and forestall dirty talk in playgrounds, and wrapping that information up in moral exhortations and dire warnings would help reduce juvenile experimentation, illegitimacy, and venereal disease and help to glorify and sanctify marriage and motherhood. Ewing claims that the earliest discussion of sex education in New Zealand schools occurred in the early 1920s, and I corrected him by pointing to a considerable debate on the matter in 1912 during the hearings of the Cohen Commission.\textsuperscript{45} We were both mistaken, in fact, and there were public demands for sex education in schools as early as the 1890s, if not earlier. Edward Tregear, Secretary of Labour, was moved to write to the Wellington Post when yet another unfortunate girl was charged with causing the death of an infant. All of this was the result of an incomplete school syllabus.
Not a word as to their functions as mothers and wives, or of their duties as a married woman, a duty which the greater majority of them will have to fill. A shameless prudery, miscalled purity, usurps the teacher's place and makes it indelicate even to tell her that her dinner will pass into her feminine stomach and not into her feminine boots. We take our girl-children, let them grow up among the temptations of the passions and the poison—flowers of a corrupted civilisation, and to guard them against weakness we teach them about the population of Berlin. D____ the population of Berlin. 46

Tregear's outburst got nation-wide attention and a good deal of support and there were repeated calls during the 1890s for a suitable addition to the syllabus. It was much to be regretted, said "H.C." in a typical letter to the papers, that physiology was not "one of the most important items of teaching in our public schools" in order to suppress the terrible consequences of venereal diseases arising from "the social evil", i.e., prostitution. 47 Some people, of course, reacted to the suggestion with horror. "The idea of having lectures in schools, as has been suggested, is shocking," said a Methodist minister: "It would simply tend to make the children too precocious." 48

Could not parents be led or helped to discharge their responsibilities? Mrs W.S. Bain, in an address delivered at various places and printed at the urging of the National Council of Women, urged parents to shake off the "spurious modesty which treats the holiest subject under the sun as a thing unclean." Even very young children could be interested in botany and "step by step, they can be led to decipher the lovely analogies." 49 Truby King thought the problem might be overcome if the B.M.A. prepared a suitable pamphlet.

A small, concise, moderate pamphlet, issued under the auspices of the Association, bearing no name and containing nothing to which all could not subscribe, would certainly prove a boon to youth and to persons upon whom devolved the duties of upbringing and directing them. 50

There was no B.M.A. pamphlet, however, and the realistic questioned parents' competence or willingness to "study God's beautiful laws and teach them to their children." One could not expect parents to
perform this delicate task, said the Lyttelton Times:

It ought to be undertaken in the higher standards of the state schools by competent medical men, who would be glad enough to assist in stemming the torrent of depravity that is undermining the strength of the race. There could be no more valuable kind of technical instruction, and if it were imparted with a due regard for the capacity of the pupils we should soon see a vast improvement in the moral health of the community.  

Most of those who suggested special lectures had in mind the sort of "purity" or "health" lectures given to restricted audiences by clerics or doctors. In 1887, for example, the Rev. J. Berry addressed men and boys over 16 on "their temptations and how to overcome them." The "delicate, yet manly way in which difficult and unpleasant themes were handled" was, according to the reporter, met with solemn stillness. Why not, asked "Pater", get Dr Russell to modify the lectures he is now giving to adults so that they are suited to boys aged ten and upwards.

"Purity lectures" did not meet with universal acclaim. The Rev. S. Lawry thought that a great deal of mischief arose from "the misdirected efforts of a certain class of lecturer." Ettie Rout, later to bring down a storm of abuse on her head through her efforts to stamp out venereal disease among New Zealand soldiers by prophylactic rather than repressive means, was more irreverent. "Lectures to 'women only'", she said, "consist of a dash or more or less inaccurate physiology in a bucketful of sentimentality."

In the event, the only sex education in primary schools before 1914 of which there is any record was the work of an itinerant purity lecturer, Mr R.H.W. Bligh of the Australasian White Cross League. The White Cross League was founded in Britain in 1883 by Miss Ellice Hopkins. In due course it had branches throughout the Empire and in the United States where it was known as the White Shield League. The League organised purity lectures, produced pamphlets, and distributed pledge
cards to be signed by those undertaking to protect women, to keep themselves pure, to oppose "indecent language and coarse jests", to "maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women" and to spread the League's principles among their companions.\(^{56}\)

Bligh first visited New Zealand in 1902 in company with Dr H. Grattan Guinness, an evangelist conducting a "United Gospel Mission" to New Zealand. Bligh was then the General Secretary of the Australasian White Cross League and both he and Guinness gave lectures to men only but do not seem to have had much to do with schools. When Bligh sought leave to speak to boys over 13 at the Christchurch Normal School, indeed, the North Canterbury Board turned him down.\(^{57}\)

Bligh was back in New Zealand in 1906 to address both adults and school pupils where he could. He addressed public meetings for men only and women only and spoke at factories and Volunteer camps and by April had distributed 3,000 pledge cards. His efforts to get into schools were much more successful although he did refer to "the prejudice that such instruction should be kept from children."\(^{58}\) He was able to gain access to a number of Christchurch secondary schools - Christ's College, Christchurch Boys' High, and the Marist Brothers' school - and, more important, to address senior boys in state primary schools.

Bligh was back in Sydney by January 1907 after travelling throughout New Zealand, but he wrote to the New Zealand papers to warn against an enterprising fellow who had been lecturing in Dunedin and falsely claiming to represent the White Cross League.\(^{59}\)

He returned to New Zealand in late 1907 and by April was back in Christchurch claiming to have addressed the senior boys in almost every state school from Bluff northwards. The only schools which had been closed to him were those which had been closed on his previous visit and his work had been formally approved by the Otago Education Board. Once again he divided his efforts between talks to pupils and addresses to
adult audiences, and he spoke at factories, the Y.M.C.A., and to an audience of 1,200 in a local theatre before making his way northward.\textsuperscript{60}

His 1911 visit followed the same pattern, a northward progress through the dominion with lectures to school children and adults. This time he had the warm endorsement of Frank Milner, rector of Waitaki Boys' High who urged the national importance of Bligh's "clean and tonic addresses", addresses which would "never mar the bloom of the most delicate purity, but would purge youthful life of polluted imagination and morbidity.\textsuperscript{61}

Such endorsements were crucial to Bligh's work and he sought them where he could and publicised them when he got them, but while he was approved by various education boards he never quite managed to secure the Department of Education's official blessing. George Fowlds, Minister of Education from mid-1906 until late 1911, was certainly very much in sympathy with Bligh. Fowlds wrote to Bligh in 1906 to say that the good opinions of headmasters and others had convinced him of the value of Bligh's work and of the "lasting benefits on the lives of those who have been privileged to hear you.\textsuperscript{62}

But when C.J. Parr led a deputation to Fowlds in 1908 to seek Bligh's appointment as an official lecturer for the Department of Education Fowlds drew back. He was glad to hear support for Bligh but there were difficulties when so many specialists had similar claims and he was rather opposed to schoolwork being disrupted by numbers of visiting experts.\textsuperscript{63} When Bligh was back in New Zealand in 1911 he wrote to Fowlds requesting a letter which would assist him to gain entry into schools and Fowlds dutifully replied, "I believe your work in the Dominion has been of a very beneficial character", but a letter of introduction from George Fowlds, Congregationalist, moralist and temperance advocate, was not an official appointment by George Fowlds, Minister of Education.\textsuperscript{64}
Bligh was able to get into most of the primary schools he approached, but he was not given unrestricted access to pupils. The Addington Committee, for example, readily gave him permission to visit the school but made it clear that he was only to speak to boys in the upper standards. The St Albans Committee limited him to boys over 12 years with their parents' permission. The South Rakaia Committee steered an even more cautious course and granted him the use of the schoolroom out of official hours on a sort of Nelson system.

There are no extant, detailed reports of Bligh's lectures but their contents can be quite readily deduced. Like other purity lecturers to men and boys he spent a great deal of time on the evils of self-abuse. Bligh and Dr Syme, medical officer to the Burnham Industrial School, shared a horror of self-abuse and both advocated surgery for selected inmates. Syme, according to John A. Lee, used to inspect the ranks for boys to be further examined for the effects of masturbation and in 1903 he suggested vasectomy for masturbators and boys addicted to unnatural vice. Bligh, in his turn, wrote to Hogben in 1906 to suggest circumcision for boys under state control as a cure for self-abuse, and on his visits to Burnham Bligh interrogated boys privately.

In an interview in 1906 Bligh said that for his lecture material he depended largely on the League's own publications and on Lyman Sperry's Confidential Talks with Young Men, a book, he said, "written in a sane spirit, full of interest and wholesome information."

Sperry was a lecturer in Sanitary Science at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, and his book was first published in 1894. Like most other sex education books of the period it sidles up on human reproduction through chapters on plants, fishes, birds and mammals, and it presents sex as an extremely dangerous business. There is no need to catalogue all Sperry's false claims, inconsistencies and obvious
prejudices, but his clearest messages to boys and young men require some comment. Sperry gives some information on reproduction and on male anatomy but very little on female anatomy, copulation or childbirth. His principal message is that young men should abstain from all sexual activity until marriage and that to fail to do so is physically dangerous. More than thirty pages are devoted to the perils of self-abuse and the dangers, indeed, of any loss of semen, a "highly nutritious material" which should, ideally be "returned to the blood." Masturbation, if long continued, leads to permanent injury, spinal damage, eyestrain and "perhaps complete ruin, mental, moral and physical." He makes some attempt to be re-assuring about nocturnal emissions but if these are unduly frequent, more than a very few times a month, say, they too are cause for concern.

The sex organs should "remain imperfect and inactive in the case of a boy till he has reached at least his twelfth year, and it is better if they continue dormant till he is well into his teens."

If amorous desires crowd upon you, sing a soul-stirring hymn, or read the Sermon on the Mount, or pray for help, or think of your mother's pure love, or take a walk out of doors.

It is also best to avoid all highly seasoned food, rich cakes, tea, coffee, cocoa, liquor and tobacco, "for all of these, if taken during boyhood, overstimulate and irritate the sexual organs."

Like Lush, and like most other purity lecturers, Sperry saw sex as either filthy and dangerous or, in the right circumstances, pure and holy, if not obligatory.

The propagation of our species is the highest, Divinest act of our physical life; in its best expression it is the most beneficent of all our varied functions...The emotions and impulses which belong to the legitimate fields of reproductive activity are the highest, purest, and noblest experiences of which our earthly life is capable.

Over all Sperry's inconsistencies and misinformation would not have helped young fellows to follow what he considered his most
important injunction: "Quit at once and forever, all your worrying about sexual matters."\textsuperscript{77}

It is unlikely that Bligh was as explicit as Sperry on male anatomy, prostitution, or venereal disease when he lectured to primary school pupils, but comments on Bligh's lectures, veiled though they are, indicate that he followed Sperry closely, stressing the same themes: the physical dangers of self-abuse, the place of will-power and religious inspiration in overcoming impure desires, reverence for womanhood, and the sanctity of marriage, motherhood, and family life.

Most of those who disapproved of Bligh's efforts simply stayed away from his public lectures or denied him access to pupils but there were, from time to time, public criticisms. Bligh financed his tours by taking up collections at public lectures, being billeted with sympathisers, and through donations from his more substantial supporters, but money was always a worry and in 1908 he wrote to the papers appealing for funds. The \textit{New Zealand Free Lance}, however, warned its readers against the "apostle of purity" now stumping the dominion.

To tell the truth...R.H.W. Bligh is by no means a person who deserves encouragement. His speciality is a lecture entitled "Dangers of Impurity"; but it is not a lecture that is likely to exercise any beneficial influence on the juvenile members of the community.\textsuperscript{78}

Bligh came in for the same criticism from some of those attending an Anglican Men's Society conference. One delegate reported, for example, that:

In a Christchurch school there had been a marked increase in filth and lewdness after the visit of the lecturer, and the leading boys had requested the master to prevent him from visiting the school again. For that reason the lecturer had never been to the school again.\textsuperscript{79}

But over all Bligh got more bouquets than brickbats in the newspapers on his various trips to New Zealand, and in 1912 the suggestion that his lectures or something like them should be put on a
regular, official footing in the schools and extended to girls came in for considerable discussion.

Oscar Flamank, President of the N.Z.E.I., set the ball rolling in his address to the Institute's annual meeting. He expressed concern at the increase of the "unfit" and the number of fallen women in the dominion and he commended the eugenics movement to every right-thinking teacher. The schools were, in spite of sensational reports to the contrary, generally "pure" but children picked up the wrong notions in the streets and in bad company. Parents should, ideally, set their children straight on sex but so many of them shrank from their duty in this matter and not all children came from good homes in any case. Flamank had had doubts about Bligh's work when he first heard of it but after hearing Bligh, and noting that there were no complaints from parents, he was "an out and out advocate" of Bligh's lectures. Impurity in word and deed was prevalent to an alarming extent in the community and something had to be done but New Zealand could not rely on Bligh and the Eugenic Societies to do all that needed to be done, nor should New Zealand have to rely on the benevolence of an Australian organisation. The Department of Education, Flamank concluded, should appoint two full-time itinerant lecturers, one male and one female and both Christian, to go around schools addressing pupils over twelve. At the appropriate stage in the meeting Flamank moved accordingly:

That the Minister be urged to provide two special instructors for the purposes of giving the senior pupils of our primary schools a course of instruction in the elements of sexual physiology similar to the course already given by the Secretary of the White Cross League.

An amendment, that all words after "physiology" be deleted, was defeated and the motion became Institute policy, and was discussed, along with a wide range of other educational issues, during the hearings of the Cohen Commission later that year. The verbatim record of those hearings, printed as an appendix to the Commission's report, thus
provides as far as can be determined, a unique record of discussions on sex education before the Great War.

Influential secondary school principals were clearly divided on the need for any such instruction. Frank Milner, as might be expected, was warmly in favour. He would not have taken charge of a boarding school unless given a free hand in "providing expert instruction in sexual hygiene", and he cited Lyttelton's Training of the Young... as the best guide for parents and teachers.82

Christina Cruickshank, principal of the Girls' College in Wanganui, not only approved of sex education but had taken steps to provide it. At her previous school and at Wanganui she had asked women doctors to come and talk to the girls. Dr Dunn, she said, "treats the matter quite as a matter of course, and the girls themselves do too, and I see nothing but good as a result of it."83

T.D. Pearce, rector of Southland Boys' High, was another who thought that parents' indifference or reticence demanded some effort on schools' part. He had, a few years earlier, purchased "fifty copies of a little book by Bisseker" which he distributed once a year for boys in each class to read privately and return.84

W.J. Morrell of Otago Boys' High, however, was strongly opposed. It was a matter for parents, clergymen or doctors, and visiting lecturers were "liable to take a distinctly morbid view of the subject." When asked whether White Cross lecturers had visited his school he replied, stiffly, "No, I found myself unable to give facilities for that purpose."85 C.E. Bevan-Brown of Christchurch Boys' High was of the same mind: it would be dangerous to appoint lecturers because that would stimulate interest and encourage the imagination to dwell on the subject.86 Miss Jobson of Southland Girls' High School confessed that she had never considered the matter sufficiently to give any definite opinion. It might, she thought, be necessary for some of the senior girls but she would not strongly advocate it.87
As a group, inspectors of primary schools appearing before the commission were far from enthusiastic. Most agreed that some form of sex instruction was required but hedged this approval about with reservations. It should be a matter for parents, said C.D. Hardie, but he would have to be assured that it would be given in schools by the right individual in the right way. Who that right individual might be Hardie was not so sure. To ask teachers to do it was an unduly dangerous experiment while a visiting specialist would be a stranger to the children. T.R. Fleming also thought sexual physiology should be taught but not as a class subject. The inspectors generally hedged their bets, stressing practical difficulties rather than voicing outright opposition and only David Strachen of Marlborough was openly dismissive. People were always urging new subjects on schools, he said — drill, swimming, life-saving, sexual physiology and "Dr Stenhouse of Dunedin used to want chess". It was a subject "to some extent morbid" and should be left to medical men.

Inspectors might have been cool to the suggestion and some secondary principals clearly opposed but the weight of evidence tendered to the Commission was in favour of some form of sex education. P.G. Gibbs, headmaster of the Nelson Boys' School, was warmly in favour of special lectures and the Chairman of the Wanganui School Committees' Association reported that his organisation "heartily approves and endorses the recommendation of the Teachers' Institute". Medical men, too, supported the proposal and one of them, Dr Home, forwarded a specimen lesson which teachers themselves might give. Lush and Oscar Flamank both made written submissions in support as well.

The N.Z.E.I. resolution, of course, raised the question of how suitable Bligh's lectures were as a model, and here again opinion differed. The Stratford Branch of the W.C.T.U. suggested simply that Bligh himself should be appointed official Departmental lecturer and
Gibbs thought his lectures were of great value, "not so much for the matter he conveyed in the lectures as for the manly attitudes towards the subject that he inculcated." 94

Others were not so sure. J.E. Vernon, rector of Palmerston North High School, had heard Bligh recently: "I never like to refuse him, but after the lecture I am as far away as ever." 95 The inspectors of primary schools were careful on this question too. George Braik "had not any direct evidence as to the services rendered by Mr Bligh", and Thomas Fleming, although he had heard one of Bligh's talks, was "unable to offer any opinion of value to the Commission." 96 F.A. Tyrer, the head at Stratford, however, was in no doubt. He had heard an itinerant lecturer and "not good, but harm was done." 97

This, unfortunately for Bligh and his admirers, was also Hogben's general view of itinerant lecturers. The year before he had told the Hospital Boards' Conference that sex education should, ideally, be a matter for parents and that while there might be a place for some instruction in secondary schools primary schools were not, he thought, the place. 98 "Personally," he told the Commission, "I think there is more danger from general lectures than there is the likelihood of good, but I know there are great differences of opinion and it is difficult to be dogmatic." 99 He was, however, firm in his view that whatever lectures might be given should not be by strangers to the children and he concluded that, "the best evidence the Commission has got in this respect is that of Miss Cruickshank", i.e., a special lecture by a local, qualified person.

The Commission's conclusions on this matter clearly reflected Hogben's views.

Evidence has been given upon the question of teaching sexual physiology to the older boys and girls in our primary schools and secondary schools. The general opinion seems to be that something of the kind should be undertaken, but there is much
diversity of view as to when and by whom this instruction should be taken.

The Commission agrees that advice should be imparted to all boys and girls at some time before they finally leave school—preferably by the parents, but in view of the fact that such necessary instruction is too often neglected by the parents the Commission recommends that teachers should be enjoined to adopt a form of lecture such as has been suggested by Dr Home...but better still, every head teacher should, where practicable, deal personally and sympathetically with each individual pupil. And we would direct special attention to the evidence on the point given by the principal of the Girls' College at Wanganui, where Miss Cruickshank has arranged for a series of excellent lecturelets by a medical lady of experience and sound judgement. 100

This was at odds with the Institute's policy in favour of special Departmental lecturers, but a Commission established to look at the cost-efficiency of the school system was unlikely to recommend hiring two more Departmental officers.

The Institute did not push the matter further and at its 1913 meeting approved the Commission's recommendations "up to a certain point", i.e., no further than the words, "preferably by the parents". 101

None of the assistant teachers appearing before the Commission had spoken in favour of teachers rather than lecturers giving sex instruction, and some had been at great pains to point out that the N.Z.E.I.'s original resolution was a resolution against teachers having to do any such thing.

Nor did the matter go any further with the Department, Government, or the inspectors of schools. A parliamentary committee which met in 1913 to consider the Cohen Commission's report made no mention at all of sex education; and a conference of inspectors of schools in that same year found itself unable to consider the question of sex education for lack of time. 102

Sex education, then, was considered seriously but filed under "too hard". The reasons for this are not far to seek. Teachers shied away from the subject individually and through the N.Z.E.I.'s 1913
resolution because it was a sticky subject generally and because of the
number of small schools in New Zealand. How, when everyone assumed that
men would only speak to boys and women only to girls, could a sole-
charge teacher handle Home's lessons? It is significant that William
Lamb, President of the Auckland Country Teacher's Association, was one
of those most emphatic that it was not the teacher's job when he
appeared before the Commission.\footnote{103}

Another problem with teachers was that so many of them were young
and single. Dr Robert Church of Dunedin voiced a common attitude when
he told the Commission that he strongly opposed any suggestion that
single women might teach "sexual physiology" to girls.\footnote{104} That, of
course, ruled out a lot of women doctors and it ruled out the vast
majority of female teachers.

But ruling out teachers did not necessarily rule out sex
education. F.A. Gibbs thought it would be enough for a speaker to visit
the schools once every two or three years.\footnote{105} Lush, modestly omitting
any reference to his own books, said, "One solid lecture in the life of
the child ought to do - that is one a year to all of the Sixth
Standard."\footnote{106} If all that was required was the disclosure of "the facts
of life", suitably embellished with moral exhortation, rather than a
developmental programme, then teachers were not needed. A few
specialists would be enough.

But who would those specialists be? Bligh, doctors, clergymen,
Departmental officials? All had their advocates and all presented
problems. Bligh was \textit{persona non grata} in some places; clergymen would
not be acceptable to all; and the doctors who made submissions to the
Commission showed no great eagerness to spend their own time travelling
around schools.

But the problem of who would bell the cat was not the decisive
problem. The crucial difference between those who favoured sex
education and those who opposed it was in their fundamentally different moral psychologies. On one view knowledge was power and brought fore-
sight and control; on the other knowledge was dangerous and tempting and liable to arouse emotions which the young could neither comprehend properly nor control. Purity lecturers' best efforts to present sex as a dangerous business could still not satisfy those who held this latter view. There was much more agreement in 1912 on the evils of masturbation than there was in the 1970s when sex education hit the headlines again but the men and women of 1912 were not about to reconcile two essentially different moral psychologies. In the event the practical question of who was to do the teaching was sufficient to ensure that nothing came of the 1912 discussions, but settling that problem was a necessary, but not sufficient condition for more organised efforts at sex instruction.
Notes to Chapter 17


6. I say, "Pace Eldred-Grigg" because in an unpublished MS he suggests that those who have written about puritanism in New Zealand have included an undue proportion of people whose names begin with "Mac". (S. Eldred-Grigg. Sex, drugs and social purity 1840-1915. Unpublished MS, Christchurch, 1982.)

7. LT, 15 March 1911.


9. Bills Thrown Out, 1897. No 18-1, Mr Seddon, Young Persons' Protection.


12. LT, 2 October 1903.

13. LT, 15 March 1904.

14. See AJHR, B-3, 1903, pp.10-11 for a New Zealand "Kallikak" family and their cost to the state.

15. AJHR, H-31, 1911, p.192.


17. LT, 13 November 1905.

18. LT, 13 February 1906.


23. *NZSM,* April 1894, p.139.


30. *LT,* 29 August 1898.

31. *LT,* 2 March 1901.

32. *LT,* 19 August 1899.

33. *LT,* 15 February 1898.

34. *AJHR,* I-14, 1907, p.9.

35. *NSPD,* vol 141, 1907, p.480.

36. Stall's publications were: *What a Young Boy Ought to Know* (1897), *What a Young Man Ought to Know* (1897), *What a Young Husband Ought to Know* (1897), and *What a Man of Forty-Five Ought to Know* (1901). These were still in print in the 1930s. I have *What a Young Man Ought to Know* "new up-to-date" edition. London, Vir Publishing, 1936.


46. Reported in LT, 25 November 1895.

47. LT, 17 September 1898.

48. LT, 18 March 1904.


51. LT, 2 May 1900.

52. LT, 14 July 1887.

53. LT, 7 August 1897.

54. LT, 18 March 1904.

55. LT, 24 May 1905.


57. LT, 27 February 1902.

58. LT, 7 April 1906. See also LT, 24 and 28 April 1906 for further accounts of Bligh's work in Christchurch.

59. LT, 17 January 1907.

60. LT, 25 and 27 April, 1 and 21 May 1908.

61. LT, 7 November 1911.

62. LT, 12 December 1906. Powlds to Bligh, 19 November 1906. The publication of this letter was, no doubt, Bligh's work.

63. LT, 23 December 1908.


65. Addington School Committee Minutes, 11 April 1906.
66. St Albans School Committee Minutes, 11 April 1906.

67. South Rakaia School Committee Minutes, 3 April 1911.

68. For Lee's account of medical inspections at Burnham see Here and Now, March 1957, p.16. Lee claims to have been interviewed privately by Bligh who told the manager that Lee was so innocent that he was in no danger. This hardly squares with some passages in Lee's Children of the Poor. For Syme's advocacy of sexual surgery see AJHR, E-3, 1904, p.14. Of vasectomy, Syme wrote, "It has been performed also for the cure of epilepsy and insanity resulting from masturbation, with the happiest results."


70. LT, 7 April 1906.

71. L. Sperry. Confidential Talks with Young Men... Edinburgh, Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1894, p.73.

72. Sperry, p.65.

73. Sperry, p.49.

74. Sperry, p.78.

75. Sperry, p.64.

76. Sperry, p.178.

77. Sperry, p.82.

78. New Zealand Free Lance, 5 September 1908.

79. LT, 20 April 1911.


81. NZEI, p.37.

82. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.229.

83. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.484.


85. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.241.

86. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.417.

87. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.317.

88. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.366.

89. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.517.

90. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.576.
91. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, pp.491 and 605.

92. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, pp.741-2. Dr Home's lesson had remarkably little to say about human reproduction, but it does include some "lovely analogies".

93. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, pp.743-4.

94. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, pp.605 and 744.

95. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.479.

96. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, pp.496 and 518.

97. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.476.

98. AJHR, H-31, 1911, p.252.

99. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.714.

100. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.20.


102. AJHR, I-13B, 1913; E-12, 1913, p.14.

103. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.110.

104. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.743.

105. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.605.

106. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.743.
Chapter 18

ALCOHOL AND TOBACCO

The long struggle for prohibition in New Zealand with its fiery speeches and pamphlets, its processions, public meetings and parliamentary manoeuvres has, naturally, attracted a good deal of attention from historians. But while historians have noted juvenile auxiliaries to temperance groups - the Band of Hope was, of course, the best known and there were young Templars and young Rechabites - the temperance movement's impact on the schools has not been considered in any detail. This chapter assesses that impact and briefly outlines the parallel, lesser known, lower-key campaign against youthful smoking.

Children figured in the temperance movement's short-term and long-term strategies. Children and family life were central to temperance rhetoric aimed at adults in order to secure legislative reform. Drinking deprived wives and families of money, it led to domestic violence and it lured fathers from the domestic hearth. Temperance workers had great hopes of the women's vote and temperance speakers and pamphlets made much of the pathetic appeal of children. "Father, Dear Father, Come Home With Me Now," and "Don't Sell Daddy Any More Rum" were only the best-known of a number of melancholy songs designed to appeal to adults better instincts, and temperance literature was full of stories of drunken fathers called to their senses and to parental duty by children.

Failure to achieve victory at the ballot box did not shake temperance reformers' belief that women's votes could still be mobilised on behalf of sobriety. The 1893 election showed that women were, as
Grigg puts it, "no more cohesive a unit in society than men", but prohibitionists' reaction was to make even more strenuous efforts to secure the support they considered rightfully theirs by urging women who could vote to consider the interests of children who could not.¹

Implanting temperance attitudes in children themselves promised some short-term advantages: children might sway adults when it was time to vote, for example; but the most substantial benefits of temperance work with children would be longer-term and realised when a right-minded generation became parents and voters. The temperance movement's standard response to defeat at the polls was to increase its efforts at education, broadly defined, and these efforts came, in due course, to include demands that the government make a specific place in the school syllabus for temperance. Thus the New Zealand Alliance, at its 1906 A.G.M. urged "scientific temperance instruction" in all schools.²

Nineteenth century efforts to win a place for temperance teaching in schools were not, however, directed at central government but at individual school committees and education boards. As was so often the case when the merits of some new subject were canvassed, a new textbook was urged on schools — B.W. Richardson's *Temperance Lesson Book*. Benjamin Ward Richardson (1828-1896) was a physician, a sanitary and social reformer, and a prolific writer on temperance, medical matters, antiquarian researches, cycling, and public health, and he also wrote songs, poems and plays. His medical interests and experiences were diverse but he had a special interest in pharmacology and anaesthetics, and his research in these areas led him to conclude that alcohol was such a powerful drug that it should only be used by skilled hands in the direst emergencies.³

The Temperance Lesson Book, written at the request of the Committee of the National Temperance League, consists of 52 short chapters, each followed by questions for pupils by way of revision and
summary. The League believed, Richardson says, that people drank from ignorance, not choice, and that temperance was best promoted by "the simple process of diffusing knowledge." Richardson's book is, accordingly, presented as an objective, scientific account of alcohol and its effects on humans.

The early chapters are devoted, not to alcohol, but to water to show how vital it is to plant and animal life and to show that those who sneer at "water-drinkers" are themselves as dependent on water as everyone else but get it in an expensive, polluted form. The next eighteen chapters deal with the discovery of fermentation in ancient times, the more recent discovery of the distillation of alcohol, and the molecular structure and chemical properties of various alcohols and the constituents of various alcoholic beverages. The remainder of the book deals with alcohol's effect on the body and on general physical efficiency. Richardson is at great pains to point out that the warmth alcohol seems to provide is only illusory and that alcohol has no food value. Alcohol has caused many people to succumb to cold and to disease. It lessens the capacity for physical or mental effort and it damages heart, lungs, liver, kidneys, stomach and brain.

His concluding paragraphs make it plain that the only informed choice is total, lifelong abstinence:

Whatever argument you may hear in favour of alcohol you are now fully aware of its fatal power: how it kills men and women wholesale, sending some to the grave straightway, and some to the grave through that living grave, the asylum for the insane.

This is your knowledge. I would not advise you as juniors to intrude it in argument on your seniors, for that were presumptuous. But treasure it in your hearts. Let it keep you in the path of perfect abstinence from alcohol in every disguise and believe me as a man who seen much of men, that your example will be all the more effective with older persons because it is a young example. Believe, finally, that you yourselves will, under the rule of total abstinence, grow up strengthened in wisdom, industry and happiness, and that your success in
life will reward you a thousandfold for every
sacrifice of false indulgence in that great curse of
mankind, - strong drink.\footnote{5}

The book was added to the official list of approved texts in 1879
and to promote its use Sir William Fox offered four £10 prizes to be
awarded on the basis of a competitive examination on its contents. This
offer Habens duly conveyed to education boards in a departmental
circular in 1881.\footnote{6}

Fox's offer did not stimulate any great rush to adopt the book
but it was used here and there in the 1880s. The Auckland Education
Board resolved in 1883, "That it is desirable to introduce Dr
Richardson's Temperance Lesson Book into the schools", and inspectors'
reports in the 1880s indicate that some schools were, indeed, using it.\footnote{7}
The East Christchurch School Committee, for example, wrote to the
headmaster to:

\begin{quote}
...request you will use in the Main School Dr B.W.
Richardson's Temperance Class Book [sic] as a
scientific book in addition to other subjects now
taught and that you will give it the amount of
attention as proposed by you in the timetable you
submitted to the committee a short time back.\footnote{8}
\end{quote}

In 1892 Henry Hill, the Hawke's Bay inspector, remarked that, "the only
way to eradicate a growing evil like intemperance is through the medium
and instrumentality of public schools", and he noted with approval that
some schools were using Richardson's book for health lessons.\footnote{9}

In Auckland, however, the book stirred up great controversy.
When temperance societies urged the book on the Auckland Board its
senior inspector, R.J. O'Sullivan, spoke against it and Auckland
remained aloof when the examination for Fox's prizes was conducted in
1882. In 1883, under Richard Laishley's chairmanship, the Board changed
tack and authorised schools to use Richardson's book but it was
discovered that no copies were available. Nor did the use of the book
in the middle school fit the standard pass regulations which did not
provide for elementary science below Standard V.
The Board got round this problem by authorising a simpler work, *First Steps to Temperance*, also published by the National Temperance League, for Standard III and Richardson's book for Standard IV and above, both to be used as reading books at the committee's discretion. Some teachers and committees objected to Richardson's book but the Board made temperance teaching compulsory in 1888 - only to make it optional again when a number of committees protested.¹⁰

Prof. Aldis damned Richardson's book as "the extreme utterance of an extreme member of the strictest sect of the Pharisees of teetotalism", and he likened its introduction to making the Bible compulsory.¹¹ In 1889 the Auckland delegates to the N.Z.E.I. Council meeting urged the removal of temperance texts from the gazette lists because "they contain an amount of controversial matter which renders them unfit for use in public schools." This general motion was clearly aimed at Richardson's book and after some debate the Institute resolved:

That this council, while advocating temperance principles, does not think Dr Richardson's Temperance Lesson Book the most valuable for that purpose and does not approve of its use as a textbook.¹²

The Auckland Board was presented with a petition signed by a thousand temperance advocates and heard a deputation led by Fox himself but took no further action to enforce temperance teaching. The result was that in 1897 no Auckland schools were using the book and in 1900 the Board, revising its lists of texts, declined to approve it.¹³

The book was used here and there in North Canterbury, and during the 1880s and 1890s various groups and committees urged the Board to make it compulsory, but the Board contented itself in 1897 with approving it, but not requiring it.¹⁴ The Grey Education Board, by contrast, declined to approve the book when the Greymouth School Committee sought its adoption in 1893.¹⁵
Temperance was a highly contentious political issue, of course, and Richardson was known, even by those who had not seen his book, to be a strict teetotaller. Thus the *Lyttelton Times*, pleading in 1897 for its readers to approach the subject with an open mind, noted that people might assume that anything from Richardson must be "bigoted advocacy of the severest tenets of the prohibitionists" but that the book, in fact, "contains valuable information and sound advice" and people should read it before judging it.\(^{16}\) The safest course for the educational authorities was to authorise it but not compel its use and so to pass the buck. When Pember Reeves, as Minister of Education, was asked in Parliament if he would take steps to introduce Richardson's book he was able to reply, innocently, that it was already on the approved list and that, "Anything more must be done by local bodies".\(^{17}\) Education boards like Auckland and North Canterbury could make the same reply.

Few committees or teachers, however, were sufficiently in favour of temperance teaching to adopt Richardson's book. The Auckland Board sought committees' opinions in 1888 and only 6 expressed themselves in favour of the compulsory use of Richardson's book: 34 objected and 5 favoured its use at committees' discretion while the vast majority expressed no view at all on the matter.\(^{18}\)

There was also the problem of the availability and cost of the book. It cost at least as much as a standard school reader and there was a lively controversy on the cost of school books in the 1890s so that requiring children to buy a further text, and a controversial one at that, did not commend itself to committees.

Temperance groups and zealous individuals continued to urge Richardson's book on boards and committees throughout the 1890s, and "F.A.", writing to the Christchurch papers in favour of compulsory temperance teaching, recommended it as the best text available as late as 1912, but by the turn of the century it was perfectly clear that the
nation was not to be saved by the Temperance Lesson Book.\textsuperscript{19} Inducing an
education board to add the book to its approved list gave the appearance
of victory, but only the appearance.

In the late 1890s and early 1900s the temperance movement put
considerable effort into out of school work with the young and in to the
formation of Bands of Hope.\textsuperscript{20} It was claimed early in 1900 that between
seven and eight thousand Christchurch children were involved in
temperance work and there were some enormous rallies in Hagley Park as
well as regular Band of Hope meetings and concerts.\textsuperscript{21} One thousand
children, for example, were reported to have taken part in a 1901 Band of
Hope procession through the city.\textsuperscript{22} It could be argued that the growth
of Bands of Hope obviated the need for temperance teaching in schools
just as Sunday schools obviated religious instruction. But were both
movements not really preaching to the converted and leaving untouched
those in most need? The Temperance and Morals Committee of the
Methodist Conference concluded in 1904 that Bands of Hope had not been
as effective as had been hoped; they were too concerned with mere
entertainment and what was really needed was temperance teaching in
public schools.\textsuperscript{23}

Those urging "scientific temperance instruction" in the early
1900s were also spurred on by overseas example, particularly in the
United States. There the Women's Christian Temperance Union had made
efforts to have temperance texts used in schools but had resolved in
1881 to campaign for individual states to legislate for temperance
teaching. After a vigorous campaign the Vermont government legislated
for temperance teaching in that state's schools, followed by Michigan in
1883, New York in 1885 and Pennsylvania in 1885. The Pennsylvania
legislation was significant in that it was the first to impose financial
penalties on school boards which did not comply. In the late 1880s and
early 1890s a large number of states fell into line so that by 1892 all
but 10 states required temperance teaching and by 1901 all states had appropriate educational legislation. By 1901, it was claimed, 22,000,000 children in the United States were receiving "scientific temperance instruction" in schools, a figure often quoted in New Zealand. 24

The state of Victoria also furnished an example of temperance teaching closer to home. An amendment to that state's Education Act in 1889 required schools to give lessons in temperance and the laws of health and in 1891 the Inspector-General, Thomas Brodribb, and an officer of the Health Department, wrote a Manual of Health and Temperance. 25 There were also examinations in "temperance physiology", run at first by the Independent Order of Rechabites and later by the Rechabites and the Education Department in co-operation. 28

With these examples and the failure of Richardson's book in mind, temperance groups turned their attention to central government and the Department of Education rather than individual education boards, and they urged "scientific temperance instruction" as a compulsory, timetabled subject. 27 The New Zealand Alliance sent a deputation to the 1899 conference of education board members and inspectors but that conference declined to receive the deputation, whereupon Mr Bridge of Wanganui moved that, "the effect of the use of alcohol on body and mind be included in science for Standard IV, V, and VI." This motion was defeated by fifteen votes to five. 28

It was reported in 1901 that 9,000 people had signed a petition to the Governor seeking "scientific temperance instruction" but that Hogben had questioned the accuracy of the sort of instruction that was proposed. 29 There was a rich crop of petitions to parliament in 1904 seeking "temperance hygiene" as a compulsory subject for Standard III and above, but the petitions committee had no recommendation to make. 30 Harry Ell, MHR and staunch temperance man, was indignant. It was all very well to point to education boards, he said, but they did nothing.
In the meantime 4,500 had signed petitions to no effect. Twenty-two million children got temperance instruction in the United States: it was time for the New Zealand Parliament to take the matter up.\textsuperscript{31}

The W.C.T.U. urged compulsory teaching at its annual meetings and in regular deputations to Seddon as Minister of Education. The government should act, said a Christchurch W.C.T.U. deputation, "to make provision that will enable the laws of health and the truth concerning the physical effects of alcohol to be clearly taught to every child in our public schools."\textsuperscript{32} Seddon was able to shuffle the matter off in a number of ways. Another textbook would be a burden on parents; he would consult education boards; deputations should wait and see what provision the new syllabus made. In 1905 he suggested, misleadingly, that introducing temperance teaching would require legislation. If the No-License deputation wanted compulsory temperance lessons they must submit the matter to Parliament, and get the syllabus altered.\textsuperscript{33}

There was nothing much in Hogben's 1904 syllabus for temperance advocates. Section 57 of the new regulations certainly stated that, "lessons on the structure of the body and on health should be given in classes S3 to S6", but this did not necessarily have to be timetabled.

The instruction may be given partly in nature-study or science lessons, and partly in special oral lessons, or in lessons contained in the reading-books of the higher standards. If this be done, it will not be necessary to allot a separate place for the subject on the time-table.\textsuperscript{34}

The prescriptions for the new subject were sketchy. It was not to be a course in physiology but "an introduction to such a knowledge of the laws of health as every individual of the community ought to possess." The regulations, five paragraphs in all, included one paragraph which set out a bald list of topics. The closest these got to temperance was "the choice of clothing, food, and drinks...the avoidance of evil and unhealthy habits." The new syllabus, like the placing of Richardson's book on official lists, permitted temperance teaching but
certainly did not require it or give any guidance to teachers of a mind to take it up.

George Fowlds's appointment as Minister of Education in 1906 heartened temperance workers considerably. Seddon's parliamentary manouevres had convinced prohibitionists that he was hand in glove with "The Trade", but Fowlds, a staunch temperance advocate, was a natural ally. Temperance deputations lined up to see Fowlds almost as soon as he took office, but Fowlds quickly learnt that as a member of the cabinet he had to quieten his private views in the face of public opinion. In September 1906 he told a joint deputation from the W.C.T.U. and the New Zealand Alliance that he was sympathetic to their request for temperance teaching but there were "difficulties". Education was, he reminded them, locally controlled by education boards who, of course, chose textbooks, and textbooks were costly. But could temperance not be made a compulsory part of health lessons, one of the deputation asked? Hogben, also present, replied that it was not clearly set out under health and could not, at present, be made compulsory, and the deputation left with Fowlds's promise that a forthcoming textbook would be a "temperance handbook for teachers."\(^{35}\)

In 1907 a deputation of members of the Alliance plus some MPs waited on Fowlds to suggest either an itinerant Departmental expert or government subsidies for an instructor from the Alliance itself. Fowlds professed himself unconvinced that visiting experts would be the right answer and he declined to issue a free rail pass to the Alliance. The most he could promise was that a future syllabus revision would make the subject more definite.\(^{36}\) (This was more at least than he promised Bligh's supporters when they made a similar request.)

By 1908 Fowlds and his senior Departmental officers had a stock, well-rehearsed reply to deputations and committees. In that year W.J. Anderson, Assistant Inspector-General of Schools, appeared before a
parliamentary committee considering the petition of the Presbyterian General Assembly for temperance lessons in schools. There was, Anderson suggested, already a lot of it about and certainly plenty of opportunity for schools if they wished. The health syllabus permitted temperance teaching and there were valuable lessons in the newly founded School Journal. Fowlds took a very similar line in response to an Auckland deputation. Temperance was dealt with in the School Journal, "Boards had most of the control" in the New Zealand education system, and there were "objections to continual alteration of the syllabus." Fowlds's replies were cautious - disappointed deputations might have called them timid, if not shuffling - but he was justified in referring to temperance material in existing texts and, particularly, in the School Journal. The moral tales in general reading books made reference from time to time to the evils of strong drink, and included a few pieces which might have been lifted from temperance tracts. The first Royal Star Reader, for example, had a piece on the Band of Hope followed by "The Water Song". The third Southern Cross Reader included a piece, "The Power of Love", in which little Mary goes to bring her father home from the tavern on a stormy night lest he fall and drown in the flooded gutter. The father is moved to tears and promises to reform.

And he kept his word. The child's love had done what prayers, warnings, sufferings, and shame could not do - it had conquered a bad habit. Mr Brown lived many years a strictly temperate man. His home recovered its charm and its former look of comfort. His wife and child remembered, with lasting pleasure, the incidents of that stormy night, and never ceased to thank God, that he had been pleased to make a child's love the means of restoring a confirmed drunkard to sobriety and happiness.

The Southern Cross Domestic Science also devoted three pages to alcohol, giving very much a summary of Richardson's account of the effects of alcohol. The warmth it provided was illusory, it was "intoxicating and degrading", it injured the brain and lowered
endurance. The conclusion, however, was a little milder than Richardson's: "Most people are better without alcohol; therefore it is a luxury and money spent on it is waste." 41

Temperance reformers' hopes were raised when it was announced that the government planned to produce a health text for schools. Harry Ell was able to tell a school committees' conference in Christchurch, early in 1902, that the proposed health text would contain lessons on temperance. 42 Things sounded even more promising when it became known that the text was to be largely the work of James Pope, Inspector of Native Schools, and to be akin to his Health For the Maori which had a good deal to say condemning drink. Pope's chapter on "Clean Water", for example, warned that alcohol damaged brain, liver and stomach; it led to crime, poverty and insanity, it damaged family life, and it caused accidents and thousands of premature deaths. 43

He was just as emphatic in the Native School Reader where he painted a vivid word-picture of a stumbling incoherent sot who had spent all the money he had earned working at a mill.

What a foolish man he must be to drink a thing that makes him poor, ragged, and dirty as well as sick and stupid. When we are grown up we ought, I think, to drink tea or water, and not rum or beer. 44

But by 1905 the promised text had not appeared and when Ell enquired about it Seddon told him that Pope had retired, no one else in the Department of Education had time to work on it, and the new syllabus allowed for temperance teaching. 45 The hopes temperance reformers had of the projected text were transferred to the School Journal. Fowlds's temperance views were well-known and when he announced that he was pressing ahead with a school paper there was public speculation on the extent to which it might be a vehicle for those views. The Observer, for example, carried a cartoon by J.C. Blomfield showing the infant journal eyed by "The Trade", "The Moderate", and "The Unionist" while "Prohibition" whispered in Fowlds's ear. 46 Fowlds himself assured
deputations and private correspondents that the Journal would include temperance material: "Scientific temperance teaching will become universal in New Zealand with the assistance of the projected School Journal." 47

And temperance advocates were not, this time, to be disappointed; the Journal contained a series of pieces explicitly devoted to the evils of drink. "The Heat of the Body", for example, assured readers, once again, that alcohol provided only an illusory warmth and was the cause of many people freezing to death, a message repeated in another article the same year, "Alcohol Neither Health-Giving Nor Heat-Giving." 48 "The Effects of Alcohol" listed crime, poverty, and impaired digestion, kidneys, heart and lungs among those effects as well as misery for wives and families, and, touching on another major theme in the School Journal, it linked temperance with military efficiency and male valour generally.

When a great doctor (Sir Frederick Treves) was in South Africa during the Boer War, he noted that the drinking men were the first to give in on long marches. Nansen, the Arctic explorer, would not allow his men to take alcohol; he knew well that, in spite of the feeling of warmth that follows, alcohol was of no use for keeping out the cold. 49

A 1909 article, "About a Poison" appealed to pride of race.

We Caucasians are apt to look with a superior pity on the Chinese for being addicted to the use of opium; but with just as much reason, from a medical point of view, might I invite a friend whom I meet in the city to smoke an opium pipe at my expense as to ask him to pour a nobbyer of whisky down his throat. Both belong to the class of drugs that are first excitants and then narcotics, and even in small doses are entirely needless for a healthy man. 50

The School Journal's temperance material generally adopted a reasonable, matter of fact tone and could be plausibly represented as "scientific temperance instruction", and it omitted two genres common in more strident temperance tracts: a parade of selected texts from the Bible and harrowing bits of fiction about reprobating children, repentant
parents, and exemplary deaths in garrets. The Journal's message was stern and strong and "drys" or "moderates" might have objected that some of its claims were too sweeping or exaggerated, but it was only rarely patently wrong. The well-informed might, however, have raised an eyebrow at the claim that the wine Italian children drank was "just unfermented grape juice and is very nourishing." 51

How much teachers made of this material is not clear, but it would certainly have been a help to teachers who took advantage of the opportunities the health syllabus offered. At the very least temperance advocates could rest assured that the one source of reading material used in all public schools contained some suitable material which would be used for routine reading lessons. Wesley Spragg, one of Fowlds's fellow Congregationalists and an ardent supporter of the New Zealand Alliance, was well-pleased with the Journal's pieces on temperance, and he wrote to tell the Minister "you have the thanks of all good people." 52

But how could the temperance cause be further advanced in schools? One possibility was for speakers to gain access to schools for occasional lectures like Bligh's purity lectures. Fowlds had declined to appoint Departmental lecturers or to subsidise the Alliance but that did not stop some individuals from making their own arrangements. Mr David Gain, President of the Otago Band of Hope Union and a member of the Independent Order of Good Templars, for instance, was able, with committees' and headmasters' consent, to address pupils in the larger and more accessible Otago schools on the benefits of total abstinence. 53

Efforts of that sort, however, could hardly achieve the scope and force of regular teaching as part of the standard syllabus and temperance advocates' hopes were raised again when the Department published its Outline Scheme for Teaching Temperance and Hygiene in 1909. This pamphlet, one of the Department's series of "Special reports
on educational subjects", was a reprint of the relevant portions of the British Board of Education's Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and it gave more space to cleanliness, diet, first aid, fresh air, and good posture than to the effects and dangers of alcohol. What it had to say on alcohol was condemnatory but it was not a tract for teetotallism. Of alcoholic drinks it said, for example, "If these things are taken in small quantities they do no harm, though they are never necessary for healthy people and never do them any good." It was, however, emphatic regarding children: "Children should never take beer ... beer and spirits are always bad for children." 54

By 1909, then, it was clear that the Department of Education, notwithstanding Fowlds's personal predilections, was not going to produce a temperance tract or make temperance a necessary part of health teaching, and temperance advocates, casting about for ways of carrying their message into classrooms, stepped up their demands for temperance charts in schools.

The charts published by the Victorian Department of Education for use in its schools had been available in New Zealand from the turn of the century and both used in schools and urged on the New Zealand Department. Harry Ell offered the Addington School Committee a supply of these charts in 1900, conveniently mounted on calico and blind rollers. 55 There were, it seems, two charts, one headed "Should young people use alcoholic drinks?" and the other "The physical effects of intemperance." 56

In 1901 Ell asked in Parliament if the Government would distribute copies of the Victorian charts. William Hall-Jones replied on behalf of the Minister of Education that the matter was under consideration, charts would, of course, have to omit "all controversial matters" and "perhaps pamphlets relating to public health would be best." 57 When Ell raised the matter again in 1902 he was told that the
Department of Education was bringing out a health text in which the subject of temperance would be dealt with.\(^58\) This was to be the stock answer until it had to be admitted that Pope's project had been abandoned.

In 1909 the matter was taken up by temperance groups which approached individual education boards. The Otago Board resolved, after a deputation from the Dunedin United Temperance Reform Council, that the chart "Physical Deterioration and Alcoholism" could be displayed in its schools.\(^59\) This met with the approval of almost all Dunedin committees. The householders' meeting in 1910 to elect a new committee for the High Street School passed a vote of censure on the outgoing committee because it had been the only one in Dunedin to refuse to "exhibit placards in the school making known the detrimental effects of alcohol on the human system."\(^60\)

The Canterbury Branch of the W.C.T.U. approached the North Canterbury Board, citing the example of their southern counterpart, and the Board resolved, in 1910, to allow the Union to supply temperance wall sheets to schools.\(^61\) Similar approaches were made to education boards elsewhere and to the Department of Education and in 1910 the W.C.T.U. was told that the government would print its own wall sheets for schools.\(^62\) Three such sheets were produced in 1911, but only one can be located in New Zealand libraries - "Temperance Wall Sheet, No 2", a 98cm by 60cm poster printed for the Department of Education by Ferguson and Mitchell of Dunedin.\(^63\)

This chart begins with the statement that alcohol is a poison in the same sense as chloroform, strychnine, and opium are poisons and it goes on, in a series of brief, numbered sentences, to claim that alcohol damages the stomach and impairs digestion, and damages the liver, lungs, blood, heart, kidneys, and brain. Its conclusion, in heavy bold type, is that:
The constant drinking of alcoholic beverages not only may have bad effects upon the body of the individual, but may also be followed by still more serious consequences — namely mental and moral injury to himself and great harm to others.

Temperance campaigners pausing to estimate the success of their campaign to enlist the machinery of education in their cause before 1914 might have concluded that they had neither won nor lost. The schools had not been closed to the temperance message, but they had not been completely mobilised on its behalf either. Temperance had not been made compulsory, but there was no denying that the School Journal and the temperance wall sheets had put temperance material in all schools. Fairly much the same sort of balance sheet might have been drawn up at the end of the campaign to stop young people smoking, a campaign with a number of clear parallels with temperance campaigns.

The public attack on tobacco-smoking differed from temperance campaigns in being almost wholly aimed at the young. Those most opposed to smoking certainly argued that it was something the world could do without because it was wasteful and unhealthy and demonstrated a weakness of will which might be manifest in even worse ways, but there was no suggestion that tobacco should be made completely illegal or subject to punitive taxation. Public opinion was, indeed, divided on whether or not tobacco-smoking in moderation did adults any harm at all. Juvenile smoking, however, was widely held to stunt the growth so that if people had to smoke they should at least wait until adulthood. Smoking was also associated with loose company, larrkinism, and hanging about on street corners, and Henry Chamberlain, MLC for Auckland, warned Parliament in 1882 that smoking led to worse things.

The moral ill effect was this: smoking by boys eventually led to drinking, and the lad who smoked generally in the end became habituated to a life of carelessness and idleness.64

The Mother Country had given a lead in this matter, Chamberlain said, and he cited a meeting at Exeter Hall (where else?) chaired by
B.W. Richardson (who else?) to form a National Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Smoking. Would the government introduce a bill to stop juvenile smoking in public? Whittaker, the Prime Minister, indicated that the government would not and a number of other members shared Whittaker’s evident amusement at the question. 65

The campaign against juvenile smoking focussed on boys and on cigarettes rather than pipes or cigars. Cigarettes were cheap and mild and spread the smoking habit amongst boys who might not have been able to stomach stronger tobacco and they were regarded by many older men as an effeminate novelty popular with decadent young men and fast women.

As with temperance there were demands for legislation in the 1890s and overseas examples to be cited. It was reported in 1896 that twenty-two American states had prohibited public cigarette-smoking by young people and the Australian states progressively followed suit. 66 The Canadian W.C.T.U. was also waging a battle in the early 1900s for cigarette smoking under the age of sixteen to be made illegal. 67

By the late 1890s Parliament was subject to regular demands for suitable local legislation. In 1898, for example, the W.C.T.U. petitioned for smoking under 16 to be outlawed and in 1899 a conference of Sunday school workers wrote to Seddon demanding legislation that session. 68

Col. Albert Pitt, MLC for Nelson, and William Field, MHR for Otaki, both introduced private members’ bills in 1901. Pitt’s Cigarette-Smoking by Youth Prevention Bill was sterner than Field’s Juvenile Smoking Suppression Bill. Pitt proposed a penalty of 5 shillings for a first offence, 10 shillings for a second, and a fine of £1 and the possibility of a whipping for a third. Those supplying cigarettes to youths under 17 could have been fined £10 and, unlike Field, Pitt did not distinguish between public and private places or allow for smoking by those who could produce a suitable medical certificate. 69
Both bills failed but Field persisted in 1902 and 1903, in spite of whimsical and clumsily facetious speeches from some fellow-members and in spite of charges of wowserism. (This bill, said Mr Moses, MHR for Ohinemuri, is the sort of thing typical of "that universal sin-exterminating brigade sent by Canterbury to this House." Field, like Chamberlain, stressed the moral as well as the physical dangers of cigarette smoking. He quoted an article in an American magazine by a member of the American Anti-Smoking League which claimed that 85 percent of reform school boys smoked and so did 95 percent of lads who failed at school.

Field, the sin-exterminating brigade in the House, and the lobbies outside Parliament had their way in 1903 when the Juvenile Smoking Suppression Act made smoking under 16 and the supply of cigarettes to juveniles illegal. The new law hardly had the desired effect. The police were not zealous in enforcing it, and magistrates tended to be lenient. Christchurch's first case under the new Act was heard in March 1904, and the magistrate convicted and discharged the 12 year old culprit without a fine, remarking that his appearance and recorded conviction would be a warning to others. By 1908 there had been only 25 prosecutions of boys in the country and 5 of shopkeepers.

Predictably, anti-smoking campaigners considered the schools as a way of spreading their message. Mr Andrew, headmaster at Howick, wrote to the Auckland Education Board in 1903 to suggest that teachers should give lectures to boys twice a year on smoking, swearing, and drinking, and the Auckland Women's Political League approached the Board to demand that boys be taught the evil effects of smoking.

Visiting lecturers were also suggested. In 1910 the Salvation Army approached the Auckland Education Board on behalf of a newly-formed league against smoking and gambling and sought permission for Salvation Army officers to address children in schools on these subjects.
Board, after some discussion, during which certain members made pointed references to playing the stock-market, shelved the matter and Fowlds, when interviewed by a reporter, repeated his reservations about visiting lecturers. "He did not think that, from the point of view of education, any outsiders should go into schools during school hours."76

The Department of Education's 1909 Outline Scheme for Teaching Temperance and Hygiene contained material against juvenile smoking. Boys, the scheme said, should not smoke until they are at least twenty and preferably not at all. It is expensive, impairs performance at sports, and will not make a boy any older or wiser.

Even though tobacco in itself may not prevent boys from growing, it often makes them disinclined to eat as much as they need, so that through using tobacco their growth may be hindered.77

British educational publishers' lists also included anti-smoking charts but there is no evidence that these were added to New Zealand classroom walls along with temperance charts and the Ten Commandments. The clearest messages against smoking, and the most universal, were those in the School Journal. In 1908, for example, the School Journal reprinted an extract from The Laws of Health, published by the Western Australia Department of Education, headed "Why Boys Should Not Smoke", and explaining that smoking stunted growth, spoilt the wind for sports and was bad for the brain; "Boys who smoke don't give themselves a chance of getting on at school or in life afterwards."78 The most dramatic, and most debatable evidence against smoking in the School Journal was in specimens of a boy's handwriting before and after he stopped smoking at the age of 13. The first specimen was a drunken scrawl and the second in a firm, clear hand.79

Material in the Journal, like parliamentary debate, focussed on boys and stressed, inter alia, tobacco's bad effects on athletic performance, but the Journal's message was offset by tobacco advertisements' routine suggestion that smoking was masculine, a mark of
adulthood, and the customary way for vigorous males to relax before plunging back in to the fray. A typical newspaper advertisement for pipe tobacco was emblazoned "Juno: a strong fragrant smoke for strong men", and it showed a sturdy farmer, a prosperous businessman, Sir Joseph Ward, and an All Black in rugby gear all smoking pipes and looking lovingly at a packet of tobacco. 80

The campaigns to use the schools to suppress drinking and smoking were very similar and both enjoyed mixed fortunes. In neither case did the campaigners get precisely what they wanted but in neither case was the subject ruled out as clearly and firmly as sex education had been. Fowlds was clearly sympathetic but prohibition was a controversial topic to be treated carefully and the Otago Education Board had felt obliged in 1897 to warn its teachers to keep out of temperance campaigns. 81 Some committees and some teachers were clearly and publicly in favour of organised temperance teaching - one rural school in Canterbury, for example, took a day off with the committee's permission to attend a "Temperance demonstration" in 1892 - but others were not. 82 In making the syllabus permissive, putting material in the School Journal and publishing wall charts Fowlds and the Department went as far as they could without aligning themselves too much with "drys" against "wets".

It is difficult to assess the impact of temperance teaching on the country as a whole. Some of the material presented was open to question and a sub-committee of the Committee of Fifty in the United States commented that scientific temperance instruction there was often neither scientific, nor temperate, nor instructive. 83 But the material which appeared in the Journal was not so obviously exaggerated or mistaken as to have provoked youthful scoffing and cannot be discounted on those grounds.

It can, however, be reasonably confidently concluded that the temperance movement made its greatest impact on children, not through
the schools but through legislation and its juvenile auxiliaries. The temperance movement never achieved the total victory it sought at the polls but it had a number of minor victories: certain districts went "dry" and stayed "dry" for many years, and the conditions under which liquor could be bought and consumed on licensed premises were modified so that New Zealand hotel bars became bleak, comfortless places. And the purchase of liquor by the young was progressively restricted. The Licensing Act 1881 made it illegal to sell liquor to anyone apparently under the age of sixteen for them to consume on the premises. It was still possible, however, for young children to buy liquor to take away and it was not until 1893 that it was made illegal to sell liquor for consumption elsewhere to children under 13 years. A Licensing Act Amendment Act 1904 raised the age for drinking in licensed premises to 18 but still permitted children thirteen and over to purchase liquor to take away. The age for drinking in licensed premises was raised to 21 in 1910 and the Licensing Amendment Act 1914 abolished the distinction between consumption on the premises and purchasing liquor to take away so that it was, finally, illegal to sell anyone under 21 any liquor.

The juvenile auxiliaries organised meetings, processions, and concerts and many older New Zealanders remember Band of Hope concerts and bunfights and being urged to sign the pledge to abstain from liquor. Many children, of course, went only for the bunfights and concerts and if they signed the pledge to oblige the organisers they did not let it weigh heavily on their consciences. Other children, however, took the pledge seriously, considered themselves under a serious obligation, and tried - with greater or lesser success - to honour it as adults. Their number cannot be known but conversations with older New Zealanders indicate that there certainly were some. They, of course, tended to come from a certain sort of family background: Protestant, generally non-conformist and morally earnest, middle class or skilled or semi-
skilled working class. They might, indeed, have been moved as much by the temperance message conveyed by an earnest teacher as the message conveyed by the Band of Hope or the young Rechabites for it reinforced the attitudes of the milieu in which they had been brought up.

But the schools did not press children to sign the pledge, and wall charts, Journal lessons, and even the fervour of teachers taking full advantage of the vague health syllabus, could not reproduce that milieu for all children.
Notes to Chapter 18


2. ODT, 28 June 1906.

3. S. Lee (ed). Dictionary of National Biography. vol XXII (supple-

lessons on alcohol and its action on the body: designed for
reading in schools and factories. London, National Temperance
Publication Dept., 1881, p.v. (First published 1878.)

5. Richardson, pp.274-5.


7. NZELM, July 1883, p.16.

8. East Christchurch School Committee Outward Letter Book, Secretary
to Headmaster, 15 October 1880.

9. AJHR, E-1b, 1892, p.20.

10. The account of the fuss in Auckland over Richardson's book is
based on I. Cumming. Glorious Enterprise: the history of the
Auckland Education Board 1857-1957. Christchurch, Whitcombe and
Tombs, 1959, pp.147-50.


Wellington, 1889.

13. LT 23 February 1900.

14. LT, 22 July 1897.

15. Grey Education Board Minutes, 14 March 1897.

16. LT, 22 July 1897.

17. NZPD, vol 71, 1891, p.50.


19. LT, 6 July 1912.


21. LT, 17 April 1900.

22. LT, 9 April 1901.
23. LT, 15 March 1904.


27. LT, 4 May 1899.


29. NZSM, October 1901, p.36.


32. LT, 6 July 1904.

33. LT, 6 July 1904: 8 July 1905.

34. NZG, 1904, p.1095.

35. LT, 26 September 1906.

36. LT, 3 September 1907.

37. AJHR, I-13A, 1908, p.2.

38. LT, 3 June 1908.


42. Christchurch School Committees' Association Minutes, 29 March 1902.


45. LT, 13 July 1905.

47. Rogers, p.2. Fowlds to J. Poster, 6 January 1907.


49. SJ, Part II, May 1909.

50. SJ, Part III, October 1909.

51. SJ, Part II, September 1911.


53. LT, 12 August 1908.


55. Addington School Committee Minutes, 13 June 1900.

56. LT, 21 April 1900. F. Thompson, in a letter to this paper, gave these as the titles of the charts published by the Victorian Education Department.

57. NZPD, vol 119, 1901, p.319.

58. NZPD, vol 121, 1902, p.365.

59. LT, 22 May 1909.

60. LT, 26 April 1910.

61. LT, 3 December 1909; 17 March 1910.

62. LT, 12 October 1910.

63. E. Ellis. The New Zealand Poster Book. Wellington, Reed, 1977, p.32. This poster is held in the Turnbull Library. It is the only one it has.

64. NZPD, vol 43, 1882, p.94.

65. NZPD, vol 43, 1882, p.43.


67. LT, 11 November 1903.

68. LT, 20 August 1898. See also LT, 5 July 1899 for a resolution by a Sunday school teachers' conference to the same effect.

69. Bills Thrown Out, 1901. No 99-1, Col. Pitt, Cigarette-Smoking By Youth Prevention Bill: No 102-1, Mr Field, Juvenile Smoking Suppression Bill.
70. NZPD, vol 124, 1903, p.133.

71. NZPD, vol 124, 1903, p.127.

72. LT, 10 March 1904.

73. AJHR, A-1, 1908, p.8.

74. CP, 8 June 1903 re Mr Andrew. LT, 16 July 1903 re Women's Political League.

75. LT, 26 May 1910.

76. LT, 4 June 1910.


78. SJ, Part II, September 1908.


80. LT, 4 February 1903.


82. Elgin School Committee Minutes, 7 March 1892.

Chapter 19

SCHOOL PATRIOTISM

The debate and final inactivity over sex education and the cautious moves to introduce some temperance material into schools stand in sharp contrast to the almost universally applauded efforts made to inspire patriotism in school children. Openshaw, in an article on school patriotism in the 1920s, rather discounts school patriotism before 1914. It was, he says, undeniably an important part of primary schooling but it was "limited in impact and romantic in tone"; its two most important manifestations were the Junior Cadets and the School Journal and such manifestations are not to be too readily accepted as evidence of "unbridled and increasing patriotic fervour".¹ The cadet system, he points out, was dismantled in 1912 and the Journal became somewhat milder in tone in 1912 and 1913. All of this is to be set against the fervent patriotism of C.J. Parr, Minister of Education in the 1920s, who saw Reds under the desks and required oaths of loyalty from teachers and flag-saluting by children.

Openshaw is correct in labelling pre-1914 patriotism "romantic" for it was the patriotism of an Empire on which the sun never set, a patriotism expressed in such children's books as Fights for the Flag and in Kipling's verses and those of his colonial imitators. The cadets were certainly one of its most important manifestations - important enough to merit a separate chapter in this work - and the School Journal did moderate its imperial message somewhat immediately before the Great War. But patriotic fervour had a considerable impact on schools before 1914. The primary school cadet system was dismantled partly because it
got in the way of a much larger scheme of compulsory military training and not even the most rabid imperialists saw any need to require oaths of loyalty from teachers. Weekly flag-saluting was recommended by the Efficiency Board in 1917 and made compulsory in 1921 but there was, as this chapter demonstrates, a great deal of flag-saluting before 1914 and, while Openshaw's article seems to suggest that "elaborate commemorative school assemblies on days of national or Imperial significance" were something new in the 1920s, such displays were common before 1914. The major difference between school patriotism before 1914 and school patriotism after the Great War is not in the amount of flag-waving, singing, and marching but in the extent to which the authorities felt it necessary to require such things by regulation as a bulwark against internal subversion by "Bolsheviks" and as a counter to the growing parliamentary Labour Party.

"Patriotism" as something to be deliberately instilled in children meant, both before and after the Great War, loyalty, not to New Zealand as such, but to King and Empire, to an idealised Britain and the "British race" and its traditions and values. Sinclair observes that a sense of national identity arose first among the "inarticulate majority". Such people spoke of a Britain they had never seen as "Home" but were at home in New Zealand. The articulate minority who wrote novels, verse, and school textbooks, however, sought to pin down something distinctive about New Zealand and found that distinctiveness, as often as not, in New Zealand's unique beauty and special likeness to Britain. Thus, as chapter 11 indicates, New Zealand was routinely labelled the "Britain of the South" and presented as a new home and a new chance for lucky members of the British race. School patriotism developed and celebrated this point, stressing New Zealand's likeness and loyalty to Britain, its place in the British Empire and the ties of love and blood binding us to Britain and the rest of the Empire.
Sinclair points out that when there was a revival of imperialism in Britain in the late nineteenth century some New Zealanders took up the imperial chorus with practised voices having hankered for decades for an empire in the Pacific while fretting over the defence of their lonely islands in the Southern Seas and dreaming of Imperial federation as a means of ensuring trade, security, and a suitable measure of colonial autonomy. Textbook writers certainly took up the chorus in clear, confident voices and the imperial ideology was given a good deal of space in histories, miscellaneous readers, and the early School Journal.

The Empire was a Good Thing: "It is no idle boast to say that the British rule has made the world a better place to live in." British history was the story of a long struggle to preserve ancient freedoms and of the clearer and clearer manifestation of British principles of justice, liberty, and benevolence. With the growth of the Empire these principles had been exported to the world's advantage. "We call the Union Jack the 'flag of the brave and the free' because we are always ready to defend the weak and all are free in the lands over which we rule."

"Weaker races" could, according to James Hight's Public School Historical Reader, count themselves lucky to be under British rule.

But perhaps the strongest reason for the maintenance of the Empire is the influence for good that it may exercise upon the whole world. Britain is at the head of the most progressive and most just of modern nations. It is therefore fitting that she should guide and control the destiny of new and infant countries; to her and to no other should be committed the fate of the lower races of mankind, who are, many of them, engaged in an unequal struggle for very life with powers whose rule is not so merciful.

The sixth Pacific Reader, in a piece lauding "Rajah" Brooke of Sarawak, suggested that lower races recognised the truth of this point themselves.
The English are justly famed for their ability to govern dark races... They have the power of managing men; their administration of justice is so impartial that the natives have full confidence in it; and they do not seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the people they govern.

The Empire had been established and was maintained by stern struggle, by military efforts and the labours of pioneer settlers, by the dogged courage of explorers and the lonely work of minor colonial administrators. But maintaining the Empire was not just the responsibility of a few for, as a Navy League lecturer explained in the School Journal, "every man and woman, every boy and girl, who does his or her duty in the peaceful walks of life is helping to build up and maintain the Empire." Children were left in no doubt of their own role in maintaining the Empire. Boys learnt that they might, in the future, be called upon to fight in the Empire's wars and in the meantime, Lord Meath told the children of New Zealand in an Empire Day message, both boys and girls should display faith, courage, a sense of duty, and self-discipline to "aid in elevating the British character, strengthening the British Empire, and consolidating the British race."

Love for one's own country was commendable but it took second place to love of the Empire.

Uphold your noble heritage – oh, never let it fall – And love the land that bore you, but the Empire best of all.

New Zealanders, according to the imperial ideology, were, first and foremost citizens of the Empire. They were, as the Citizen Reader put it, "British citizens dwelling in New Zealand". Collins' sixth New Zealand Graphic Reader explained:

We in New Zealand have reason to be doubly patriotic. As New Zealanders, we possess one of the most beautiful and favoured countries in the world. As citizens of the Empire, we are members of the most powerful nation on earth.

The imperial ideology was not notably consistent. On one account the British had gained an Empire by going out and getting it, but alongside this was the suggestion that they had an Empire because they
deserved it, that the Empire was a reward for the aggregate morality of
the British and that even childish naughtiness detracted from the total
amount in credit and endangered the Empire.

So long as justice and liberty, and honour are
prized among us, its [i.e., the Empire's] power will
remain and grow. If these great qualities are ever
lost to us, our splendid inheritance will most
surely fade away, and we shall give place to others
more deserving.¹⁴

The arbiter in the end, some writers clearly said, was God. He
had cast down great empires in the past, William Gillies pointed out in
an article in the School Journal, and "If the British in their turn,
become unworthy of empire, their power also will be taken from them and
better men will rule in their stead."¹⁵ While the Empire endured, it
seemed, God was with us and in October 1914 with the Great War little
more than a month old the School Journal smugly concluded, "Providence
certainly does seem to be on the side of the race that 'plays the game'
and plays it fairly and squarely in the interests of humanity."¹⁶

Patriotic and imperialistic pieces in school texts and the School
Journal made much of the sovereign and the royal family as symbols of
Empire and as compendiums of British virtues. Victoria could be
plausibly presented as the epitome of queenly and domestic virtue, and
while Edward VII's private life was scandalous he could be puffed as
"Edward the Peacemaker" or cheerfully misrepresented for children's
benefit: "The King promised to walk always in the footsteps of his
mother, and to give the whole of his strength to his duties."¹⁷

The Empire, Britain's place in it, and the unity of the "British
race" could conveniently be described as a family with Britain the
"Motherland", the colonies and dominions her children, and Victoria or
Britannia as alternative symbols of motherhood.

The little mother and all her big children we call
the Empire and we keep up Empire Day just as we
might keep up our mother's birthday in the family,
to show that we are still her loving children.¹⁸
When New Zealand was proclaimed a dominion in 1907 a local versifier harnessed the family metaphor to the resemblance between Britain and New Zealand. New Zealand was:

The nearest, because the dearest, with the face most like her own,  
Of all the Children of Empire that gather round her throne. 19

John A. Lee and his classmates thus learned that, "the British nation was the salt of the earth and that Victoria was the world's greatest queen by acreage of territory."

At school we believed that one white man was equal to about eighty dark-skinned men, equal to about eight Frenchmen, and so on...We once believed that the fighting British soldier and the ships of the British Navy were able to face odds of any size. Our school books were full of the exploits of Drake and Collingwood and Nelson. We were mentally nourished on the deeds that won the Empire; we read of the Thin Red Line in the Crimea, of Wellington in Spain and at the battle of Waterloo. Our history was of Kings and Captains and Conquests. 20

At about the time Lee left school the Governor, Lord Ranfurly, decided that further efforts should be made to inculcate the imperial ideology. He had visited 150 schools in seven years, checked on children's knowledge of the Empire and of British history and not been impressed. 21 Nearly half the population of the colony was under 21, he told a reporter, and had to be taught "respect for the Motherland". To that end he addressed an invited audience at Government House in mid-1904 on his plan to "graft the imperial spirit on the hearts of the children" with special lectures and lantern slides depicting great events in the Empire's history. 22 Ranfurly planned a series of 24 lectures and had been in touch with various British authors to see if they would contribute, but when he outlined his scheme he had only one specimen lecture in stock, the work of Prof. F.A. Kirkpatrick of Trinity College Cambridge who had, _inter alia_, written pamphlets for the League of Empire. 23
The Auckland Education Board promised its "hearty assistance" in any such scheme and the Wellington Board resolved to give it "every facility", but those who heard the specimen lecture proved decidedly cool. The New Zealand Schoolmaster commented on the Government House meeting:

While H.E.'s introductory remarks warmed the patriotic feelings of his audience to a white heat, it cannot be said that the lecture itself raised an equal ardour.

A large audience of Wellington teachers heard J.P. Firth of Wellington College read the specimen lecture and maintained a polite silence when Ranfurly invited comment, but some of them later expressed the view that there was no room in the timetable for what was proposed. That was fairly much the reaction of a Christchurch audience which heard the lecture read by a local doctor. When the Dunedin School Committee Conference asked Ranfurly for the lecture to be read there he replied that he was "taking the specimen lecture back as not really suitable." Ranfurly's term of office ended, in any case, in June 1904 and no more was heard of the scheme after he left.

This episode is notable in a number of ways. It indicates how firmly established the custom of vice-regal visits to schools had become by the turn of the century; it indicates the extent to which a Governor might feel at liberty to make specific educational proposals; and Ranfurly's scheme for promoting patriotism was one of the few such schemes to make no impact whatever on schools. Ranfurly's message was, however, conveyed by a number of other lobbyists for the imperial ideology, most notably, perhaps, by Lord Meath.

Lord Meath, an Irish peer, was a tireless promoter of the Empire, founder of the Duty and Discipline League and of the League of Empire, and best-known for his efforts to establish Empire Day as a solemn day of imperial, not to say quasi-religious, obligation. Empire Day did not, however, originate with Meath but in Hamilton, Ontario, where Mrs
Clementine Fessenden, a prominent clubwoman, urged the educational authorities to set up a scheme of patriotic exercises.²⁹ Mrs Fessenden's cause was taken up by George Ross, Minister of Education, who settled on May 24th, Victoria's birthday, as the right day for parades, flag-saluting and speeches and he chose "Empire Day" in preference to "Flag Day", "Patriotic Day" or "Britannia Day".

Meath, reading of what was done in Ontario where the first official Empire Day was celebrated in 1899, was much impressed, and he took it upon himself to write to colonial governments and educational authorities urging them to follow the Canadian lead.³⁰ In 1901 he founded the League of Empire to promote the imperial ideology in the Empire's schools, to urge the observance of Empire Day, and to foster correspondence between children in different parts of the Empire.³¹

In 1903, and in response to Meath's urgings, the New Zealand cabinet pronounced in favour of the observance of Empire Day, and Hogben issued a circular pointing out the government's wishes and outlining a possible programme.

I have accordingly to suggest that at every school the children shall be assembled on the morning of Empire Day, and that they should salute the flag. The ceremony may be followed by a short address to the children reminding them of the privileges and duties of a citizen of the Empire. The remainder of the day should be observed as a holiday.

It is possible that in some cases the school authorities may see their way, by means of lectures, magic lantern representations, music and song to draw the attention of the scholars attending their schools to matters of an Imperial and patriotic character.³²

Many schools arranged the flag-saluting and speeches Hogben suggested in 1903, and some of them dismissed the pupils for the rest of the day. A few schools added touches of their own: in Blenheim the school cadets fired volleys to mark the occasion.³³ The year 1904 saw Empire Day widely, almost universally, celebrated with children routinely dismissed after the ceremonies.³⁴
Meath wrote every year to educational authorities throughout the Empire and to the newspapers to remind the public at large of Empire Day and to urge more general observance thereof. In March 1907, for example, he requested all clergymen in the Empire to preach special sermons on the preceding Sunday to prepare their flocks for "a due appreciation of the inner meaning of the celebration of May 24th". By 1906 he was able to claim that Empire Day was celebrated in 25,000 schools throughout the Empire.

The standard form of celebration remained much as Hogben had suggested: flag-saluting, speeches from teachers and local worthies, parades of school cadets where that was readily arranged, and the singing of the National Anthem. For children the most important aspect of Empire Day was probably the holiday granted once the ceremony had been completed. Stamp reports a school jingle from Canada:

The 24th of May is the Queen's Birthday,  
If they don't give us a holiday we'll all run away.

It was reported that in 1906 some New Plymouth boys did more or less what the jingle threatened. Pupils at the Central School learnt that they were not to get an Empire Day holiday and a hundred boys marched in deputation to the chairman of the committee. He sent them to the Board who referred them back to the committee and at that point most of the boys took a holiday anyway.

Empire Day was also celebrated by adults with speeches in public squares, displays of flags, processions and military parades in the larger centres and in 1912 the teacher at the Sunbeam Kindergarten in Christchurch reported that her pupils had celebrated Empire Day "in baby style". "We had a little talk, and the children sang 'God Save the King' (one verse), and then all marched around the flag and saluted it. They all enjoyed it very much."

There was little specific celebration of Empire Day in 1911: most patriotic fervour was reserved for the Coronation of George V. In 1912
it was decided that Empire Day would be consolidated on 3 June, the new King's Birthday, and by 1914 the only formal celebration of the original day was reported from the Wanganui Education district. The new festival, King's Birthday/Empire Day, was, however, celebrated in the same style as the old: speeches, flag-saluting, songs, and parades of cadets and the School Journal continued to publish a special "Empire Day Number", now in June, with the customary articles on imperial matters and messages from Lord Meath to the children of the Empire.

Meath's attempts to promote correspondence between children in different parts of the Empire were not as successful as his promotion of Empire Day. The idea was by no means new. In 1897, for example, the headmaster at Christchurch West received a packet of letters from pupils at London Board schools. Mr Graham Wallas, a member of the London Board, had suggested the scheme to Pember Reeves, the New Zealand Agent-General in London, and Reeves had suggested West Christchurch as a suitable recipient of the first bundle of mail.

The League of Empire wrote to educationists around the Empire to arrange exchanges of letters. In New Zealand J.W. Tibbs of Auckland Grammar expressed public doubts about the scheme. There was a "social difficulty", he said, and a risk of "ill-assorted comradeship, and of consequent misunderstanding and estrangement", and he suggested correspondence between schools rather than individuals.

Correspondence between some larger New Zealand schools and some British schools proceeded on that basis. The number of schools cannot be ascertained but seems to have been small. There were, in addition, some ritual exchanges of general greetings from the children of one colony to those of another. In 1912, for example, the Manitoba Education Department compiled a booklet of such messages including an effusion from the pupils of Sydenham School in Christchurch. The second of the poem's three verses will serve to illustrate the tone and language of this message.
Play up! Play the great game still.
Noble souls are playing,
Each with utmost heart and will
Empire’s bulwarks staying;
Humble, righteous, strong and pure,
Only thus can we endure.
Make again the victory sure,
Life’s great laws obeying.
Canada! We join with thee
Ready hands across the sea. 43

The Navy League also campaigned to promote school patriotism
before the Great War. The League was formed in Britain in 1895,
primarily in response to the expansion of the French and Russian
fleets. 44 Its version of the imperial ideology centred on the need for
Britain to maintain naval supremacy to safeguard a scattered Empire and
on the part played by British sailors in British history. New Zealand
branches of the Navy League were formed in Auckland and Christchurch in
early 1896 and in the other main centres soon thereafter. 45 The Navy
League, like Meath, saw children as an important, receptive audience and
worked to form school branches of the League. These efforts were
stimulated by the 1904 visit of a Mr Wyatt, the parent League’s envoy to
New Zealand. During Wyatt’s visit to Wellington, for example, 70 boys
at the Mt Cook Boys’ School signed up to form a branch there. 46 Local
adult branches of the Navy League worked, after Wyatt’s visit, to keep
the League’s aims before teachers. In 1910, for example, the Canterbury
Branch sent out circulars to all Christchurch teachers suggesting ways
of enlisting children’s support. Teachers should get "influential boys
and girls" on side first and get them to help with canvassing, and the
managing committees of school branches should include both pupils and
teachers. 47 In return for their modest subscriptions children would get
membership badges, newsletters and a chance to see over visiting warships.

The opportunity to visit a warship in school time proved to be
the League’s most effective inducement and in 1906 the New Zealand
Schoolmaster reported that large numbers of children were joining the
League in anticipation of the visit of *H.M.S. Powerful*. The Navy League was particularly strong in certain secondary schools. In 1911 288 of the boys of Wellington College were paid up members, and in 1914 there were 280 members at Waitaki Boys' High, 300 at Otago Boys' High and a further 120 at Otago Girls' High. In 1914 there were 1,553 paid-up primary school members in 42 Otago Education Board schools. The largest branch was at the Arthur Street School with 137 members and the smallest at Moeraki with 3 official members.

The League did not confine its efforts to its paid-up juvenile members; it sent out material to schools generally and made particular efforts to furnish all schools with its own special map marking out the extent of the Empire, naval bases, coaling stations, and sea routes. In 1906 the Department of Education itself ordered 50 copies of this map for Wellington school branches of the League and in 1907 budgetted £30 for further maps.

Interest in the Navy League and in naval matters generally was stimulated in 1908 by the visit to New Zealand of Lt H.T.C. Knox, R.N. (retired), Organising Secretary of the British Navy League, and by the visit of the United States "White Fleet" on its Pacific Cruise. Auckland children were given a day's holiday to enable them to visit the American fleet and Knox contributed a lengthy article to the *School Journal* hymning the Empire, calling children to stern duty in its defence, and reminding them that the Empire's whole strength rested upon naval power.

In order to spread its message further, and in order to keep up interest between visits by warships the Navy League organised regular essay competitions for school children on naval and imperial topics. The 1910 topics were:

*Why do we celebrate Trafalgar Day?*

*What reason have we to believe that the sea supremacy of the British Empire is being threatened?*
Why is New Zealand dependent on the British fleet?

Suppose that the Imperial Fleet were annihilated by a hostile power. How would New Zealand be affected thereby?  

Essay competitions were very attractive to lobbies wanting to spread their messages as widely as possible at the lowest possible cost. If teachers played their part tens of thousands of children might be led to muse upon elevating topics for a few pounds. The Navy League's example was followed by a number of other like-minded lobbies. The British and Foreign Sailors Society, for example, invited the boys and girls of the Empire to submit essays on such topics as, "James Cook, his voyages and discoveries and their value to the nation, commerce and Christianity", and the winners were awarded plaques which included some copper from the sheathing of Lord Nelson's Victory. In 1909 Col. Allen Bell announced the Cecil Rhodes Patriotic Essay Competition open to children under sixteen and with a trophy to be awarded for the best essay on a patriotic subject.

In 1905 the Canadian Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire offered two medals for the best essays on Canada by New Zealand children. The Victoria League, too, regularly offered prizes for patriotic essays.

The winners were announced and commended in the newspapers and in the School Journal and some notable New Zealanders received their first public recognition for literary endeavour in essay competitions. Ngaio Marsh and Howard Rippenberger won Navy League prizes in 1910; Ngaio Marsh won another in 1911 and in 1913 she won a Victoria League prize for "An imaginary conversation between Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria in the Elysian Fields." H.C.D. Somerset won one of the British and Foreign Sailors Society plaques in 1912, and in 1911 Rewi Alley won a Navy League prize with an essay giving a short life of Lord Nelson and explaining why he was the greatest British naval hero.
Children were regularly warned that they might, in the future, have to make great sacrifices in defence of the Empire but they were also, from time to time, asked to make small immediate sacrifices by contributing to patriotic causes, e.g., by giving money for school flags, patriotic prints, and memorials to the fallen in South Africa. In 1904 the Navy League canvassed New Zealand children for funds in order to present some silver plate to the officers of H.M.S. Zealandia. While the appeal was generally successful the dusty reply of the Taita School Committee, in its annual report to householders, demands quotation for its whimsical tone and the indication it gives of the limits to patriotism.

We also had to decide the momentous question of whether the children of Taita School should be invited to subscribe their pennies towards purchasing some silver plate to decorate the mess table of the officers of H.M.S. Zealandia. As most of the children have never heard of the ship Zealandia, and didn't know the officers and didn't want to, and as the majority of them eat their dinners without any silver plate, your committee decided that the kiddies' pennies were better invested in stickjaw. 59

The Navy League's greatest impact on school children was probably through the visits to warships it arranged, but all previous efforts were eclipsed by the visit of H.M.S. New Zealand. Officially a battle-cruiser but popularly referred to as a "dreadnought", New Zealand was the dominion's outright gift to the Motherland, a gift announced out of the blue by Sir Joseph Ward in 1909. The 19,000 ton vessel was launched in 1911, commissioned in 1912, and set off on a world cruise to show the flag in 1913. New Zealand was on the New Zealand coast from mid-April until the end of June and visited Wellington, Napier, Gisborne, Auckland, Lyttelton, Akaroa, Timaru, Otago Heads, Bluff, Hokitika, Greymouth, Westport, Nelson, Picton, Wanganui, New Plymouth and Russell. During her Empire cruise she received more than half a million visitors, 376,000 of them in New Zealand where she created a fever of excitement in patriotic and fashionable circles. 60
The New Zealand presented a very tangible symbol of Imperial power and colonial loyalty. Attitudes to her, and to her cost, became the touchstone of loyalty to King and country. To grumble at her cost or, worse, to question the very need for such gigantic engines of destruction, as some Christian pacifists and some political radicals did, was to display attitudes endangering the wider alliance protecting New Zealand itself. The loyal set out to make the ship's company as welcome as possible and to arrange as many visitors as possible to the ship. The fashionable at each port of call sought to demonstrate their loyalty by having as good a time as possible in the company of as many officers as possible in a succession of dinners, balls, and excursions to tourist spots. In Canterbury just over a thousand pounds were quickly collected for entertaining the officers and men. 61

School children and adults were solicited for subscriptions in order to make presentations to the ship which received, inter alia, silver plate for the officers' mess, gunnery prizes, two deer's heads and one boar's, a tiki from the Wellington Boy Scouts, divers paintings, and a portrait of the late R.J. Seddon. 62

Officers were invited to visit schools and address pupils and Frank Milner of Waitaki Boys' High bagged the captain who became a useful friend at court and was able, as Admiral Sir Lionel Halsey, to deliver the Prince of Wales to Waitaki during his 1920 tour. Other children had to content themselves with a written message from Halsey reminding them of their duty to uphold the great traditions of their glorious Empire and that all must be ready to defend that Empire. And, Halsey warned:

Everyone of you who does not lead a straight, clean life, and who does not do his or her duty in life to the utmost possible, is helping to endanger our grand Empire and to tarnish its honour. 63

Whether or not Halsey's stirring words would lead children to see the connection between smoking, talking dirty, or cheating and the
amount of red on the map was a moot point, but it was generally agreed that a visit to the ship itself could hardly fail to impress and inspire, and the government, educational authorities, and patriotic organisations attempted to get as many children on board as possible.

The government announced that children over 11 visiting the ship by rail could travel at excursion rates and travel free if they returned the same day. After an outcry from parents, schools and patriotic organisations these restrictions were lifted and it was agreed that all children, state or private school pupils, primary or secondary, would get free rail passes. Patriotic fervour and the chance of a free excursion prompted some vast troop movements. The battleship was too large to enter Dunedin Harbour so some children were ferried out to the heads in smaller steamers and 1,200 children from Dunedin and its hinterland travelled to Christchurch where they were billeted in local schools overnight. In Wellington government steamers ferried children out to visit the ship during school hours and it was estimated that during her nine day stay 20,000 children, half of them from rural areas, went aboard. The Christchurch papers claimed that 10,000 Canterbury children had visited New Zealand on a single day when she was in Lyttelton.

Over all teachers and railway officials made an excellent job of moving thousands of children about the country without serious incident but 500 Whangarei children, taken up to Russell on a special train, had a less happy experience. It rained, the ship was late, there was no shelter, the return train was three hours late, and the children returned home cold and hungry with their imperial ardour thoroughly dampened.

The building of the New Zealand was, of course, part of an arms race between Britain and Germany and by 1913 many in Britain and New Zealand quite clearly saw Germany as the enemy. In 1912 Major-General
Alexander Godley, General Officer Commanding New Zealand Forces, wrote to the Minister of Defence describing Germany as "our probable opponent in the next great war" and outlining the part New Zealand forces might play in such a conflict. By 1913, it seems, some school children shared Godley's view. The *Lyttelton Times* reported the following dialogue between a teacher and a pupil from the Deaf Institute at Summer on board *New Zealand*.

> What are the guns for? 
> For firing shells at the enemy. 
> And who is the enemy? 
> Germany.  

The *Times* concluded coyly, "The remark about Germany being the enemy was quite original and probably the result of some brain work after a lesson in modern history."

A great deal of school patriotism focussed on the flag as a potent symbol of Empire and a convenient way of creating patriotic rituals in a country short of tradition. Flag-saluting as a daily ritual in schools spread rapidly in the United States in the 1880s, and George Ross in Canada chose "Empire Day" as a title because the United States already had "Flag Day". The Victorian Departments of Defence and Public Instruction set up a joint committee in 1900 to arrange for a supply of flags for schools and to devise a ceremony for flag-raising and saluting. This Australian move obviously owed a great deal to the war in South Africa but Mrs Fessenden's Ontario efforts and similar suggestions in New Zealand pre-dated the war in the Transvaal. In 1897 the Napier School Committee resolved by six votes to three:

> That in order to inculcate a spirit of patriotism throughout our school arrangements be made by which at stated intervals, during school hours, the British or New Zealand flag be introduced and properly saluted by the pupils.

Towards the end of that year the *Schoolmaster's* Hawke's Bay correspondent reported that the Waipawa school had followed suit, and he believed that other schools were adopting the custom. By 1899 the Hawke's Bay
inspector noted that saluting the flag had become an institution in Napier Schools. "It is an effective incident which no doubt brings up feelings of patriotism among the pupils." 76

Predictably, flag-saluting had its parliamentary advocates. In 1897 Mr Monk referred approvingly to the flagstaff erected at Kaukapakapa School in the Auckland Board district by the headmaster. Would the Government ensure that all schools had flags for children to salute and to induce a "responsible sense of self-respect for the moral and political character of their New Zealand branch of the British race?" 77 William Hall-Jones was vague in reply. It was chiefly a matter of local fund-raising, he said, but the government would look into the matter. In 1898 Mr Bolt, MLC, asked the Minister, W.C. Walker, a member of the Upper House, if he would make enquiries of the United States educational authorities to see how readily their schemes for inculcating patriotism might be introduced into New Zealand schools. 78 Walker, speaking for himself, was as vague as Hall-Jones had been on his behalf in the Lower House. The New Zealand Department was only aware that "certain ceremonies were observed": they would look into the matter.

Schools' efforts in 1897 were not universally acclaimed. The Lyttelton Times wondered if New Zealand did, in fact, have a flag and it remarked that flag-saluting was, in any case, a "Yankee notion". 79 All such doubts were, however, swept away in the great wave of patriotism inspired by the war in South Africa. A New Zealand Ensign Act was passed by the New Zealand Parliament in 1900, but disallowed by the Imperial government on a technicality. The New Zealand Ensign Act 1901 however, made the familiar blue ensign, originally prescribed by the British Board of Trade for New Zealand merchant shipping, the colony's flag on land as well as sea. Parliament voted £1,500 for flags for public schools and the Education Department arranged for the manufacture
of 1,700 of them to be supplied to schools which put up suitable flagstaffs. By 1902 the Department had supplied 1,150 flags. But by mid-1905 the New Zealand Schoolmaster was upset to find that the Department still had 500 flags in stock. Why had schools not applied for them? "The only sacrifice for the local people is the provision of a flagstaff - a very simple affair in this well-timbered country."

The Schoolmaster claimed that some schools had neither flag nor flagpole and no doubt apathy in some places left ensigns on the Department's shelves but a larger number of schools did not apply for Departmental flags because they had procured their own already. There was a great rush in 1900 for schools to hoist and salute flags and reports of these first flag-raising often make it clear that the flags were local gifts. The Ashburton Borough School flag, for example, was the gift of John McLachlan, MHR. The Papanui School flag was presented by old-pupils in honour of classmates serving in South Africa.

Schools vied with one another to make their first flag-raising as memorable as possible and to ensure the most illustrious official party. The official party at the ceremony at the Lyttelton Borough School in November 1900 was made up of the Premier, the Minister of Education, the Chairman and Secretary of the Education Board, the school committee and local members of Parliament. Seddon was in fine form as he extolled the bravery of New Zealanders and other colonials in South Africa and explained that the British flag was a symbol of freedom, justice and humanity. After further speeches, patriotic songs, and much cheering the official party retired to the Council Chambers to toast each other.

Other city schools arranged equally elaborate ceremonies with equally heated patriotic speeches. The official party at Addington included local MPs, the Mayor of Sydenham, clergymen, and Drill-Sergeant McGregor. The ceremony included the lusty singing of "The Red, White
and Blue", "God Save the Queen", and "Rule Britannia", much cheering, and the announcement that the pupils would be given a half-holiday. There were similar ceremonies throughout New Zealand. The guest of honour at the Mt Eden School in May 1900 was Lord Ranfurly who not only hoisted the school flag for the first time but unveiled a memorial tablet in honour of an ex-pupil killed in the Transvaal.

Many rural schools were also able to mount impressive ceremonies with speeches from local bigwigs, songs, cheering, and refreshments to follow. In some cases the larger rural playgrounds enabled military displays. The flag-raisings at the little West Melton and Cust schools in rural Canterbury included *feux de joie* by local Volunteers. The small township of Waikari turned out in force to watch an ex-pupil recently returned from South Africa raise the flag, to hear patriotic speeches, and to watch a display of horsemanship by the Amuri Mounted Rifles.

Private schools also arranged flag-raising ceremonies. In July 1900 the girls of Mrs Bowen's Ladies School in Christchurch were assembled for speeches and songs, and the ceremony at the Marist Brothers' School was attended by the Bishop, the Mayor of Christchurch, a brass band and a detachment of Volunteers as a guard of honour.

There was a strong clerical presence at many flag-raising ceremonies in 1900. The Sydenham ceremony, at which a Union Jack was raised to flutter triumphantly over a captured Boer flag, opened with a prayer from one clergyman and closed with a benediction from another. At Addington the Rev. Williams led prayers for British success and for soldiers' widows and fatherless children. At West Melton the Rev. J.M. Whitehead announced that his text was a Persian maxim, "Ride well, shoot straight, speak the truth."

By the end of the war in South Africa most schools had flags and flagpoles and flag-saluting was firmly established as an essential
ingredient in patriotic rituals. Children had the symbolism and the
significance of the Union Jack and the New Zealand ensign explained to
them over and over in patriotic speeches, in Navy League pamphlets, the
School Journal and textbooks. The New Zealand edition of the Citizen
Reader devoted two chapters to flags, explaining the way in which the
Union Jack was built up of different saints' crosses, and the etiquette
and ceremonial associated with national flags, and outlining some
"notable fights for the flag".

The second New Zealand Graphic Reader told children that they
might be called on to die for the flag.

We are proud of our flag because we are proud of our
country. Where that flag flies we know that we are
safe, because we are where our country will protect
us. We are ready to defend our flag with our lives
because in doing so we shall be defending our
country.93

The flag was a reminder of the moral obligations membership of the
Empire imposed.

Children of a glorious nation,
By our flag, Red, White and Blue,
We are taught to shun temptations,
And to God and self be true.94

It occurred to some patriots that exchanging flags with schools
in other countries would be a good way of impressing children with the
bonds of Empire. In 1908 Hastings children purchased a flag which was
duly saluted and sent to Hastings in England along with greetings from
the school children and the Mayor.95 That same year, at the suggestion
of E.C. Israel of the Otago Education Board, some Dunedin schools
exchanged flags and greetings with their British namesakes.96

Once schools had flags and they had been raised for the first
time with suitable pomp and circumstance the question arose of how they
were to be honoured thereafter. As far as can be ascertained no one
suggested any daily pledge of allegiance as was made in many American
schools and Monk suggested, in 1901, no more than that the flag be
paraded once a quarter "up and down the aisle of every public school in the colony, the boys and girls to stand in respectful salute." In fact, flag-saluting remained an outdoor event in commemoration of certain special days rather than an indoor secular substitute for Bowen's proposed religious opening exercises.

The celebration of jubilees and anniversaries, Hobshawn notes, was very much a later nineteenth innovation and a convenient way of creating "traditions". Investing hitherto unmarked anniversaries with special meaning was a particularly useful move in New Zealand where there were few local ceremonial traditions and the local festivals were race meetings and A & P shows rather than patriotic occasions. In May 1901, by which time nearly all Auckland schools had flags, the Auckland inspectors suggested a list of sixteen days of local or imperial significance on which the flag should be raised and saluted. The list included Waitangi Day, St Patrick's, St Andrew's and St George's days, the 24th of May (then referred to as "Victoria" rather than Empire Day), the Duke of York's Birthday, and the anniversaries of Magna Carta, the abolition of slavery in Britain, the despatch of the first New Zealand contingent to South Africa, Cook's landing and Tasman's landfall. The School Journal, once established, listed "Dates for the Month" in each issue with the note that on appropriate days the school flag should be hoisted.

Most of these dates went unremarked. It is, for example, most unlikely that many New Zealand schools hoisted their flags in May 1912 to mark the anniversaries of the Act of Union with Scotland, the launching of Nelson's Victory, or the opening of the Manchester Ship Canal, let alone the death of Truganini, the last Tasmanian native. And when schools did mark "dates for the month" it was usually only by hoisting the flag and leaving things at that. Special ceremonials were reserved instead for a limited number of days of special, recently
invested significance. Empire Day and the King's Birthday have already been mentioned. To them one must add Dominion Day and Trafalgar Day as special patriotic festivals. New Zealand was proclaimed a Dominion in September 1907. The Lyttelton Times summed up public reaction to this elevation:

We confess we have noticed no symptoms of wild public enthusiasm over the proclamation, but the statements who are in a position to know tell us that it is better for New Zealand to be a dominion than to be a colony, and we are prepared to accept their judgement. 100

New Zealand's becoming a dominion was duly celebrated by adults. The proclamation was read in Wellington by the Governor and elsewhere by Mayors or other local dignitaries and there were speeches and parades. In subsequent years Dominion Day was, for the adult population, chiefly marked by flags on public buildings and the occasional speech but the authorities regularly urged schools to celebrate it in suitable style. In 1910 Joseph Ward, the Prime Minister, requested schools to assemble children at 11 a.m. for flag-saluting and patriotic songs and speeches before dismissing the school at noon for a half-holiday, and the only formal Dominion Day ceremonies in Canterbury seem to have been at schools. 101

 Dominion Day gradually faded as a patriotic occasion, possibly because there was no particular lobby to spur schools on. In 1912, for example, when the Department of Education urged Boards to encourage its observance the North Canterbury Board decided that it was a matter for committees to decide. 102 Trafalgar Day, by contrast, was the most solemn annual festival of the Navy League and local branches organised public ceremonies and approached education boards and school committees to ensure that each Trafalgar Day was observed as widely as possible by pupils. In 1904 the Minister of Education telegraphed education boards to ensure that school flags were hoisted on Trafalgar Day and in the early 1900s many urban schools took whole or half-day holidays, either
to mark the occasion or to enable children to attend public functions arranged by the Navy League. In some smaller centres the schools' celebration of Trafalgar Day grew into the public function with local dignitaries in attendance along with parents and committee members. Trafalgar Day 1910 was, for example, marked in Ashburton by a mass meeting of school children in the local domain where there was a brass band, Professor Blunt of Canterbury College made a suitable speech, and the President of the local branch of the Navy League awarded essay prizes.

How much patriotic fervour or insight into the inner meaning of Empire these routine patriotic festivals inspired in the young cannot be determined but, clearly, it was often less than their adult organisers hoped for. Adults borne aloft on the wings of their own oratory often soared high over children's heads. A reporter remarked in 1909 that, "The small patriots who assembled at King Edward Barracks on Empire Day quite evidently found the speechifying addressed to them a very trying experience" for they had to suffer a series of lengthy orations in a stuffy building on a hot northwesterly day.

It also seems clear enough, however, that well-managed patriotic occasions pitched at a suitable level, together with parades, songs, and adult solemnity made an impression on many children and provided a welcome relief from classroom routines. At the very least the annual, largely artificial patriotic occasions like Empire Day or Trafalgar Day taught children how to be patriotic, how to sing and cheer, how to salute the flag. The rituals and symbols of public patriotism and the stock phrases in which loyalty could be expressed were thus widely shared and readily available for use on occasions of genuine, rather than calendar significance, or in political debate.

What are here termed "genuine" rather than "artificial" occasions - coronations or declarations of war, for example - made more impact on
children and are more often mentioned in autobiographies than the celebration of anniversaries. This is, of course, only to be expected when children saw and shared adults' genuine excitement, or realised that they were witnessing a bit of genuine "History". But part of the effect of these unique patriotic occasions on children was due to adults' efforts to give them significance for children's benefit, to create a sense of occasion.

The war in South Africa which began in 1899 and dragged on into 1902 inspired a great wave of patriotism and enormous interest in matters military and imperial. The formation and despatch to South Africa of the New Zealand contingents and their subsequent exploits were the subject of intense public interest; khaki became a fashionable colour to the extent of being used for interior decoration by some enthusiasts; and only the bravest or most foolish risked being condemned as "pro-Boer" by questioning the wisdom or justice of the war.

Children were infected with war fever along with adults. Boys played soldiers and Boers rather than cowboys and Indians or bushrangers, and a group of fifty or more Wellington boys armed themselves with air-rifles and wooden swords, formed a "contingent" and set up an encampment near Mt Victoria.106 Southland school pupils raised £280 for the Patriotic Fund, and North Canterbury children, as well as contributing to the Patriotic Fund, collected a further £76 for a local fund for soldiers' children.107

In Otago, the inspectors reported in 1901:

South Africa was studied as a country other than our own is rarely studied...Could we have given value for that work, and added value for the lessons in loyalty and patriotism taught inside and outside the school walls, the efficiency mark of the schools would have been a higher one.108

The Wellington examiners for education board scholarships reported in 1900 that 80 percent of candidates' English compositions were on the war, marked by fervent patriotism and often expressed the
view that the arrival of the New Zealand contingents would quickly bring matters to a satisfactory conclusion.¹⁰⁹ King Dick's son, Thomas, and his classmates at Wellington College happily wrote essay after essay on South Africa for an artful teacher of English.¹¹⁰

Some male teachers expressed their loyalty to Empire very directly by joining the contingents to South Africa. Teachers were not as well-represented in the contingents as census figures might have suggested, probably because so many male teachers were young pupil-teachers, but they were over-represented among the officers and N.C.O.s. Of the 32 teachers on the rolls of the ten New Zealand contingents 9 were officers and 9 were NCOs, i.e., 28 percent of teachers were officers compared with 5.2 percent of the New Zealand force as a whole.¹¹¹

There could be no doubt of teachers' loyalty, however. Otago teachers raised £100 in short order to buy horses and equipment for two of their colleagues who enlisted for South Africa and teachers everywhere led their charges in enthusiastically celebrating British successes.¹¹² When the Boer General, Cronje, capitulated to Lord Roberts in February 1900 Seddon urged schools to give children a holiday to mark the occasion, and teachers dismissed their pupils after songs, cheers and saluting the flag.¹¹³

When the besieged town of Ladysmith was relieved in March 1900 church bells were rung, the news spread rapidly, schools were closed and urban children swelled the excited crowds in public places.¹¹⁴ The relief of Mafeking and the British entry in Pretoria, the Boer capital, were also marked by cheers and songs in schools and school holidays in most places, and so was the long-awaited final cessation of hostilities in 1902.¹¹⁵

Ward was so anxious that British successes should be celebrated by school children that he sent telegrams to boards and committees on at
least two occasions in 1900 to given them the good news and urge them to grant a school holiday. The Schoolmaster congratulated him warmly on this.

It will be many years indeed before the memory of the surrender of Cronje and the Relief of Ladysmith will fade from the memories of the present generation of schoolchildren.\textsuperscript{116}

Royalty provided another series of special occasions. Victoria's jubilee was celebrated with school holidays, processions, speeches and bunfights and 25,445 Auckland pupils signed a congratulatory address to be forwarded to the Queen.\textsuperscript{117} When the old Queen died early in 1901 the government ordered flags to fly at half-mast with crape draperies on the pole, and public servants were enjoined to wear mourning until further notice while citizens in general were requested to "do the same in such manner as their loyalty and feelings direct."\textsuperscript{118} Children were given holidays when the sad news was announced. At Hamilton East, for example, a man ran into the playground to announce Victoria's death, the children were assembled to salute the flag before being dismissed and many of them came to school with black armbands the next day.\textsuperscript{119}

The extensive tour of New Zealand by the Duke and Duchess of York in 1901 inspired a great deal of royal fever. The Department of Education arranged for telegrams to be sent to all schools the moment the royal couple set foot in the colony so that all school children could rise to sing the National Anthem to mark the occasion.\textsuperscript{120} Amongst the succession of receptions, dinners, and parades arranged for the Duke and his duchess were a series of occasions arranged to enable as many children as possible to gaze upon a future King and Queen of England. In Auckland 2,500 children formed a living Union Jack to greet the royal visitors.\textsuperscript{121} Six thousand Canterbury children were assembled in Victoria Square in Christchurch to wave toi-toi plumes and sing the National Anthem to the royal couple.\textsuperscript{122}
By the time Victoria died few people could remember a British coronation and Edward VII's coronation was celebrated enthusiastically. The king had asked that British children might have a week's holiday to mark the occasion and the Department issued a circular suggesting that New Zealand boards and committees follow suit by adding a week to the usual mid-winter vacation. George V's coronation in 1911 did not have quite the novelty of Edward's, but it too was marked by bunfights, parades and speeches, and school children were also presented with commemorative medals.

Medals became a standard way of attempting to impress the significance of special occasions on children. Some schools procured and distributed medals to mark Victoria's jubilee and the government distributed medals generally to mark the end of the war in South Africa. Medals to mark New Zealand's elevation to dominion status were distributed in early 1908, some time after the actual proclamation. The Government medals were cheap bronze affairs struck off in sufficient numbers for the 1902 peace medal to be distributed to school pupils' pre-school brothers and sisters, and the 1911 coronation medal was distributed in public schools and private schools subject to inspection.

New Zealand schools were not, of course, unique in their special efforts to promote the imperial ideology. Canadian and Australian flag-saluting have been mentioned already and the Australian Commonwealth School Paper contained much the same patriotic, imperial material as the New Zealand School Journal, including messages from Meath. New Zealanders liked to think, however, that New Zealand was the most loyal colony and few voices were raised in protest against efforts to inculcate patriotism in the young. Tom Mann, a British labour leader, was one of the very few to condemn "the rot about Empire" outright during his 1908 visit to New Zealand. Children, he told his Christchurch audience, should not be taught such stuff: Empire Day was run in the interests of capitalists.
Voices like Mann's or the Maoriland Worker's were, however, lost in the imperialist, patriotic chorus, and loyalists were able to represent their efforts as far above sectional interests. In 1910 John Cook, the Commandant of the Legion of Frontiersmen, announced that he had been appointed by Meath himself to organise the "Empire movement" in the South Island. The movement, Cook said, was "non-party, non-sectarian, and non-aggressive"; its motto was "One King, One Flag, One Fleet, One Empire", and it transcended all social divisions. 128

In the 1920s school flag-saluting was made a matter of regulations, teachers were required to take an oath of loyalty, and Miss Jean Park had to go to the Supreme Court to stop James Parr, the Minister, from cancelling her teacher's certificate for expressing "disloyal" sentiments. 129 But before 1914 public opinion and the government's expressed wishes were enough to ensure considerable efforts on schools' parts to inculcate patriotism; no one thought it necessary to require teachers to affirm their loyalty to the Crown; and the few teachers who were judged lacking in patriotic fervour were quickly dealt with.

In 1901 the Auckland Education Board issued a circular on flag-saluting and the Kiri-Kiri School Committee ordered its headmaster, J.B. Murray, to arrange flag-saluting once a week. When Murray did not comply 24 householders petitioned the Board for his removal. A month later the Board received a further petition, this time charging Murray with failing to organise flag-saluting or to grant a holiday on the British entry into Pretoria. Murray defended himself in a spirited manner and utterly damned himself in the eyes of the loyal. Flag-saluting was idolatrous for it rendered "servile homage" to "an inanimate, senseless piece of drapery". It was an American, not a British, custom and certainly not a British Army custom. Murray made slighting references to "cheap patriotism" and doubted that "flag flappers" would make reliable soldiers in fact. 130
In December 1901 the Auckland Education Board resolved by five votes to two that Murray must salute the flag himself and teach the children to do so or leave the Board's employ. Murray insisted that it was a matter of conscience and he was replaced. The Schoolmaster's Auckland correspondent reported that there was little sympathy for Murray amongst his former colleagues, and the N.Z.E.I. did not take up the cudgels on his behalf. The case was raised at the Institute's 1902 Council meeting and the report of that meeting simply records, "Mr Stewart explained what had been done and the matter dropped."

There was a similar case in the Grey District in 1903. Miss Crowley of the Stillwater School had failed, in spite of the committee's express wish, to assemble the pupils on Empire Day and to have them sing the National Anthem. When asked for an explanation she gave none. The Schoolmaster's Grey correspondent was shocked.

It is to be hoped that the Board will deal firmly with her, and make her understand clearly that, in a case of this kind, it will tolerate no trifling with what every teacher should look upon as a sacred duty ...If any of them should harbour sentiments of hostility to the British crown he should be forced to procure his livelihood in some country outside the British dominions.

Miss Crowley, however, saw the light and displayed sufficient patriotic zeal to spare herself dismissal or exile from the Empire.

The school patriotism described in this chapter was outward-looking, originally stemming largely from public enthusiasm for the Empire's war in South Africa. Adult patriotic fervour could hardly be maintained at the fever pitch it reached in 1900 as British successes came thick and fast or in 1901 during the Royal Tour, but the authorities did what they could, with medals, songs and rituals, speeches and reading matter, to preserve and foster that fervour in children. Even infant patriotic fervour could not, of course, be instantly and automatically aroused, but those who sought to foster school patriotism took a long view. Success would be measured, not in
the fervour of the singing and saluting on a particular patriotic occasion but in the rising generation's readiness to defend the Empire. In 1917 the Department of Education evaluated schools' efforts in just these terms, and was well pleased. Six hundred and fifty New Zealand teachers were on active service, one third of all male teachers employed when war broke out.

It is little to be wondered at that the boys who have been taught and influenced in our schools by teachers with such evident devotion to their country should follow the examples of their teachers and conduct themselves both on and off the field in a way that wins for them our love and admiration.
Notes to Chapter 19


5. SJ, Part III, May 1908.


15. SJ, Part III, May 1908. Gillies's article was reprinted from the Victorian school paper.


17. SJ, Part I, November 1907.


19. LT, 26 September 1907.


21. LT, 21 May 1904.
22. NZSM, June 1904, p.162.

23. For Kirkpatrick's writings see British Museum Catalogue, 1963, vol 142, column 1220.

24. LT, 30 April and 27 May 1904.

25. NZSM, June 1904, p.162.

26. NZSM, July 1904, p.179.

27. LT, 21 May 1904.

28. LT, 22 June 1904.


32. Department of Education Circular, 4 May 1903. The same circular was sent out again on 28 April 1905.

33. CP, 26 May 1903.

34. LT, 25 May 1904.

35. NZJE, May 1907, p.54.

36. LT, 12 April 1906.

37. LT, 1 June 1906.

38. LT, 24 June 1912.


40. See LT, 4 June 1912 for an account of King's Birthday celebrations in Canterbury schools.

41. LT, 24 August 1897.

42. NZSM, June 1904, p.171.

43. SJ, Part III, June 1912.


46. NZSM, March 1904, p.114.
47. LT, 8 October 1910.

48. NZSM, March 1906, p.115.


52. SJ, Part III, May 1909.

53. LT, 13 September 1910.


55. LT, 30 March 1909.

56. LT, 31 May 1905.

57. LT, 18 October 1910; 20 November 1911; 21 October 1913.

58. SJ, Part III, March 1912 re Somerset; LT, 20 November 1911 re Alley.

59. LT, 4 May 1905.


61. LT, 10 May 1913.

62. McKenzie, pp.31-5.

63. SJ, Part III, May 1913.

64. LT, 12 April 1913.

65. LT, 3 May 1913.

66. LT, 19 May 1913.

67. LT, 18 and 24 April 1913.

68. LT, 15 May 1913.

69. LT, 20 June 1913.


71. LT, 16 May 1913.


74. **LT**, 20 July 1897.
75. **NZSM**, December 1897, p.67.
79. **LT**, 20 July 1897.
80. **LT**, 3 April 1901.
82. **NZSM**, July 1905, p.182.
84. **LT**, 10 November 1900.
85. **LT**, 14 April 1900.
86. **LT**, 19 May 1900.
87. **LT**, 24 September 1901.
88. **LT**, 27 August 1900.
89. **LT**, 15 October 1900.
90. **LT**, 29 June 1900.
91. **LT**, 14 April 1900.
92. **LT**, 24 September 1901.
94. **SJ**, Part II, June 1912.
95. **LT**, 23 May 1908.
96. **LT**, 12 November 1908.
97. **NZPD**, vol 116, 1901, p.239.
98. Hobshawm, p.281.
100. **LT**, 26 September 1907.
102. **LT**, 20 September 1912.
103. **LT**, 21 October 1904.


111. These figures are based on the nominal rolls of the contingents to be found in *AJHR*, A-6, 1900, 1901, and 1902. Total enlistment and proportion of officers and NCOs from D.O.W. Hall. *The New Zealanders in South Africa 1899-1902*. Wellington, Department of Internal Affairs, 1949, p.11.

112. **NZJE**, March 1900, p.2. The Otago teachers were R.G. Tubman and J.R. McDonald. McDonald, who had trained under Gladman in Victoria, was the author of the *Zealandia Geographies*.

113. **LT**, 28 February 1900.

114. **LT**, 3 March 1900.

115. **LT**, 8 May and 1 June 1900; 3 June 1902.

116. **NZSM**, March 1900, p.121.

117. Auckland Education Board. *Address Presented to Her Majesty the Queen by the Scholars of the Public Schools in the Auckland Education District, 1897* [Auckland, Herald Printing Office, 1898]. This, according to Bagnall, contains facsimiles of 25,455 children's signatures. (Vide A.G. Bagnall (ed). *New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960*, vol 2, p.56.) These little Aucklanders were not the first New Zealand pupils to send a loyal address to Her Majesty. In November 1893 Lord Ripon asked the Governor to thank a group of Picton schoolgirls, on H.M.'s behalf, for their expressions of loyalty and their good wishes for Christmas and the coming year. (*AJHR*, A-2, 1894, p.19.)


120. Grey Education Board Minutes, 6 May 1901.


122. **LT**, 25 June 1901. It was claimed that 6,000 children were present.

124. LT, 13 June 1911.

125. LT, 14 March 1908.


127. LT, 8 June 1908.

128. LT, 4 August 1910.


130. NZSM, January 1901, p.91; December 1901, p.66.

131. LT, 28 November 1901.


133. NZSM, July 1903, p.179.

134. AJHR, E-1, 1917, p.4.
Chapter 20

MILITARY TRAINING

Of all those who preached particular aspects of the imperial ideology to school children those who organised military training for boys could, perhaps, have taken most credit for the rush to enlist for the Great War. There were scattered cadet units in New Zealand primary schools from the 1870s onwards but the cadet movement was not widespread or well-organised until the war in South Africa. From then until 1912 cadet corps for older boys flourished in primary schools, making it quite clear what the sacrifices in the cause of Empire which the School Journal talked of might mean in practice.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there were school cadet corps in most of the settlement colonies of the Empire - in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Natal. They grew out of "drill" as a disciplinary measure and as a formal scheme of physical training, but cadet work was more than just a variant form of physical education in which rifles replaced wands, dump-bells or hoops. It taught not only discipline and physical fitness but also shooting, military usage and manœuvres, fieldcraft, signalling and mapwork and it reinforced the imperialist messages in school texts and papers.

As in so many other educational matters the Motherland provided the model, but cadet movements blossomed in New Zealand and Australia well after the peak of enthusiasm for cadets had passed in Britain. By 1876 the English school cadet movement was able to muster 10,000 boys for a parade in Regents Park. There were, however, no such grand reviews after 1877, the cadet movement was condemned by middle class
groups and by workers' movements, most notably the T.U.C. at its 1885 congress, and it was largely replaced by schemes of physical training. When Lord Meath pleaded in 1900 for the restoration of military drill to its former place the London School Board declined and argued the merits of general physical training for all children.¹ In New Zealand and Australia, by contrast, schemes of voluntary, government-supported cadet training developed rapidly in the early twentieth century and were, in due course, replaced by compulsory training when New Zealand passed a new Defence Act in 1909 and Australia legislated for comprehensive military training in 1910.²

Military drill was taught in some schools during the provincial period, and there were a few formal cadet corps. There was, for example, a uniformed cadet corps at the Ghuznee Street School in Wellington in 1874.³ Across the Tasman the first Victorian primary school corps was not formed until 1884 and the first Queensland state school corps not until 1889.⁴

The New Zealand Education Act 1877, Section 85, strictly speaking, made military drill for boys obligatory.

In all public schools provision shall be made for the instruction in military drill of all boys and in such of the schools as the Board shall from time to time direct provision shall also be made for physical training.

This section was not, however, enforced and military drill and the formation of cadet corps remained a matter for enthusiastic teachers and local educational authorities. Charles Peake, the headmaster at Tua Marina, who had served with the Royal Navy and was Captain of the Spring Creek Rifles, organised a cadet corps armed with Snider rifles. An ex-pupil later commented, "Every boy would have been a soldier if Mr Peake could have had his way."⁵ In 1879 the Wellington inspector, Robert Lee, noted approvingly that the Te Aro and Featherston cadet corps not only tackled company drill but now included bands.⁶
The Russian scare of the early 1880s stimulated interest in cadet work and the number of school corps increased from 18 to 36 but declined again as the excitement faded. Although cadet training was not needed in order for school boys to stave off Russian cruisers with the obsolete Sniders supplied by the Defence Department it commended itself to some for its moral and disciplinary benefits. The *Lyttelton Times* urged cadet corps in primary schools in 1892 because:

> It would develop their physique, give them a manly bearing, discipline them to obedience, and prepare them, at least in part, to defend their country and the empire in time of need.

Major F.Y. Goring, Officer Commanding the Auckland Military District, urged the Auckland Board to organise cadet corps and monthly parades to discipline the boys and "so abate the larrikin nuisance."

John Joyce, MHR, a member of the North Canterbury Board and an officer in the Volunteers, campaigned for the government to make the officers and NCOs of the Permanent Artillery available to schools to teach drill and it was announced in 1892 that these regulars would teach drill in the main centres and run Saturday classes for country teachers. The artillery NCOs' efforts meant more drill but did little to stimulate the formation of cadet corps. In 1896 there were just under one thousand primary school cadets in 18 corps and the Tua Marina unit was on the point of disbanding. By 1898 there were only 825 primary school cadets in 15 corps, 9 of the 15 in Otago or Southland.

This decline was, however, very soon reversed. Butchers and Ewing both suggest that the resurgence of interest in the cadet movement was very much a product of the war in South Africa but, while that war certainly gave the school cadet movement tremendous impetus, moves to expand military training in public schools were well afoot before the formal declaration of hostilities in October 1899. In January 1898 Robert Lee, a longtime advocate of cadet corps, presented the Wellington Board with a scheme for the formation of cadet corps, battalion drill,
and the formation of a 35 piece battalion band. 14 Alexander Hogg, MHR, protested against teaching militarism and argued that if the Bible was excluded from schools the rifle should be too, but the Chairman of the Board said that headmasters were in favour of cadet training and the scheme was referred to the Board's technical committee. 15 That committee came up with draft regulations and reported that the government intended to supply rifles and haversacks. 16

In April 1898 it was reported that the government was considering a more general scheme modelled on those of the states of Victoria and New South Wales, and in October it was reported that "gentlemen connected with military affairs" in Wellington had submitted a detailed scheme to Seddon. 17 Seddon was understood to favour the scheme but to be wary of the possible cost. If the Wellington experiment proved successful then 500 boys in each main centre might be enrolled and the scheme later extended to provincial centres.

As relations between Britain and the Boer republics steadily worsened in 1898 and 1899 enthusiasm for cadet corps grew apace. Early in 1899 the government voted £400 for model rifles and the newly appointed Hogben was able to display one of these to an education conference in July. 18 The Education Department circulated the Wellington Board's cadet regulations to other boards and began issuing model rifles in August. With the outbreak of war matters proceeded apace. Early in 1900 the Department advised that model rifles would be issued to properly constituted cadet companies containing at least 35 members, including a captain, two lieutenants, a colour-sergeant, three sergeants and a bugler. 19

Saturday drill classes for teachers were revived or extended. Seventy-three teachers turned up for the first Christchurch class and were taken through General Wolseley's 1896 Infantry Drill Manual by an artillery sergeant-major, and the North Canterbury Board resolved that
all male students in its training college would have military drill as well. 20

A 1900 amendment to the Defence Act empowered the Governor to make regulations regarding public school cadets and made it clear that such cadets would be under the control of the educational authorities, not the Defence Department. 21 The Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act 1901 obliged all education boards to make provision for teaching physical drill to all pupils over the age of eight. This Act did not mention cadets specifically but parliamentary debate makes it quite clear that many members saw it as further encouraging and legitimating military training in schools.

There was, however, no "General Staff" for the cadet movement until 1902, and some enthusiasts for military training had occasion to fear in 1900 and 1901 that the movement was bogging down. Attendance at teachers' drill classes in Auckland was irregular and unsatisfactory. 22 In Wellington T.W. MacDonald, the drill instructor, complained that city teachers did not take enough interest in cadets or in drill classes, although suburban and rural teachers were more diligent. 23 The New Zealand Schoolmaster suggested that it was the Department of Education's fault for making the conditions under which model rifles would be issued so restrictive that most boards had not bothered to apply. The Schoolmaster went on to deplore attempts to instill a military spirit in children and even suggested that cadet work was a passing phase like an earlier enthusiasm for gymnasia. 24

In the absence of regulations, uniforms and equipment varied considerably. Some companies were armed with broomsticks, some with model rifles, and some with Snider carbines on loan from the Defence Department. The Timaru Main School Cadets had raised funds in 1898 to buy naval uniforms and the North East Valley School cadets in Dunedin were similarly garbed. 25 The Johnsonville school cadets, whose
headmaster, Finlay Bethune, was described as "largely imbued with the military spirit", turned out in highland uniform.26

Matters were, however, put on a regular footing in 1902 when Major Lambert Loveday was appointed Officer Commanding Public School Cadets and detailed regulations were gazetted.27 The cadet regulations made Loveday responsible to the Minister of Education, required cadet corps to train for at least one hour per week, and provided for teachers to become officers and pupils to be NCOs. Where there were 48 or more cadets a company could be formed; otherwise a school could form a cadet detachment. Boys over the age of twelve or over 4 feet 7 inches could join with their parents' consent. The Government would supply model rifles and a limited number of miniature Martini-Henry rifles to each unit as well as caps, badges and haversacks, and it would make a capitation grant of two and sixpence for each cadet. Uniforms were to be of an approved pattern - blue jerseys and trousers and glengarry caps.28

The content of cadet training was detailed in a manual published in 1903 and based on the Defence Force's infantry manual.29 A large part of the manual dealt with squad, company and battalion drill but it also included sections on rifle exercise, skirmishing and the use of cover, attack and reconnaissance, and military ceremonial. This last covered saluting, posting guards, challenges, guards of honour, military funerals and how to perform a feu de joie.

Loveday was an active, popular organiser and travelled widely reviewing, and encouraging. He instituted marksmen's badges, badges for good conduct on and off parade and formal certificates of discharge. "Cadet Orders" which went direct to teacher-officers kept them in touch with Lambert's office, and the School Journal in due course included "Cadet notes" for children's benefit. From 1905 cadet companies were formally rated under ten headings and the results forwarded to education
boards and inspectors of schools.\textsuperscript{30} Loveday also took seriously the 1901 requirement for all children to be taught drill and arranged where he could for cadet NCOs to drill boys too young to join the cadets.\textsuperscript{31}

The cadet manual's sections on military ceremonial were put into practice with gusto. Cadets had, from the outset, been paraded on important occasions and in 1901 nearly three thousand cadets from all over New Zealand took part in a military review in Christchurch before the Duke of York. But as the number of cadets grew under Loveday's command, more and more schools were able to mount guards of honour for visitors or send cadets to swell the numbers at public gatherings.

In 1904 Wellington cadets paraded at a reception for Lord Ranfurly, at the opening of Parliament, and for the unveiling of a statue of Queen Victoria.\textsuperscript{32} In Christchurch 547 cadets and a bugle band paraded to welcome Frank Tate, Director of Education in Victoria, who compared the New Zealand scheme very favourably with his home state's.\textsuperscript{33} When the United States' "White Fleet" visited New Zealand in 1908 1,300 cadets were paraded before its commander and his words of praise were reprinted in the School Journal.\textsuperscript{34} Cadet guards of honour became a regular feature of Vice-regal visits to schools.

Loveday also set about organising annual camps for cadets. Some teachers and parents were initially very doubtful about cadet camps because arrangements for cadets' accommodation in Christchurch during the 1901 royal visit had been a well-publicised disaster. The Government staged an enormous military review in Hagley park, gathering troops from all over the colony so that the grand young Duke of York reviewed more than ten thousand men, including cadets from as far away as Napier and Invercargill.\textsuperscript{35} Cadets were billeted in Christchurch schools and fed at the Normal School. Many of them arrived cold and wet at their billets after uncomfortable trips in coastal steamers and waiting at railway stations in the rain. There were no fires in their billets, and their straw bedding had got wet while being delivered.
The Lyttelton Times sent a reporter over to the Normal School and he verified that the Defence Department had failed dismally as caterers. "The whole place was in a state of dirt and confusion that was simply astounding." The food was poor and unsuitable, the floor and tables were filthy, and the dining rooms were crowded and poorly supervised. There were wild rumours that cadets had died in the Christchurch hospital and three Oamaru cadets disappeared, causing considerable concern until it was learnt that they had simply caught the express home in disgust.

When Seddon was later questioned in the House about all this he was dismissive. He had heard no complaints from the lads and, in any case, "our boys were not gingerbread." The camp, however, was a thoroughly unpleasant experience for many boys and long remained an unpleasant memory.

The camps Loveday planned were, however, rather more modest affairs than the 1901 fiasco, and while the royal review had been held in the middle of winter, cadet camps were, thereafter, held early in the year. Rather than gathering cadets from all over New Zealand, the cadet authorities gathered their small soldiers at convenient places like domains or showgrounds to live under canvas for a week or so. Loveday and teacher-officers valued the camps for the more complete experience of military life they gave boys - standing guard, engaging in mock battles, following a daily routine punctuated by bugle calls, working in fatigue parties and assembling for church parades. And camps allowed the temporary formation of battalions and even brigades to perform more and more complicated parade-ground evolutions.

It was not until 1906 that a monster camp was planned again and the authorities, with the 1901 episode in mind, were cautious. Many cadet commanders asked if their 1907 camps might be held in Christchurch so that boys could visit the exhibition there. The Education Department
agreed but advised that the Government was not to be held responsible for the arrangements. That was up to cadet officers, school committees, and education boards. The education authorities and the cadet organisation proved, happily, much better at moving, housing, and feeding boys than the Defence Department, and Loveday was able to report that more than four thousand boys passed through the Christchurch camp in comfort and good health.

Loveday was at great pains in his annual reports to the Minister of Education to point out the care taken to ensure cadets' health and safety at camps, and where possible he appended medical officers' reports on health, hygiene and diet. There were, from time to time, complaints about cadet camps but these were chiefly to do with decorum, not diet or shelter. The Taranaki Education Board was upset to learn in 1906 that teachers had been drinking after lights-out at a cadet camp. Powlids received a deputation of Auckland clergymen in 1908 complaining that the camp at Thames had carried over into Sunday, and he promised to discourage camps including Sunday in the future. The Wellington cadets at the exhibition camp ran foul of the caretakers at the Botanical Gardens for bathing in the Avon, creating an "unseemly scene" in rented boats, and trespassing on the lawns and flower beds.

Shooting was an important part of cadet training. The Boer War had demonstrated the power of modern magazine rifles and folklore attributed Boer successes to their guile and incomparable marksmanship rather than British incompetence. New Zealand's first line of defence was the Royal Navy but a nation of trained marksmen would be able to deal with any invader who might make it to the colony's shores. Robert Lee was, accordingly, scornful of "model rifles which shoot not...for in these warlike times one of the first duties of the citizen is to be able to shoot." The old Snider carbines with which some cadets had been supplied in the nineteenth century were heavy weapons, unsuitable for
boys, and in poor condition and they were thoroughly condemned by Sir Hector Macdonald ("Fighting Mac") on his 1901 visit to New Zealand. By early 1902, however, the authorities were able to issue cadet corps with the miniature Martini-Henry rifles suggested as early as 1898 and in use in Australia. These light .310 inch calibre rifles had been designed for cadet use at ranges up to 200 yards and were manufactured in Britain.

Many schoolboys spent hours out of school hunting rabbits and needed no coaching from teachers to be able to turn in impressive scores. Children were perfectly at liberty to use firearms until the Firearms Act 1906 made it illegal for persons under 16 years to be in possession of a firearm. This restriction was largely due to concern over the "pea-rifle nuisance" when cheap .22 calibre rifles became widely available. Thousands of New Zealand boys acquired these little rifles or were given them as presents, and there were reports of boys shooting off telegraph line insulators, maiming stock, using rifles near dwellings and, on occasion, killing themselves or a companion. But while many welcomed the 1906 restriction others deplored it. Was it not inconsistent, "Rifle Shot" wondered, for the government to promote marksmanship through the cadets but ban pea-rifles. He had seen small boys kill rabbits at a hundred yards with their .22 rifles; and he thought that owning a pea-rifle would do more than the cadets to make boys good shots.

There were also complaints that the government allowance of ammunition was niggardly and occasional concern over the storage of rifles and ammunition in schools. In 1910 the Pahiatua District High School caught fire and residents, making what efforts they could to save it, were forced to withdraw to a respectful distance when thousands of rounds of cadet ammunition began to explode.
Such doubts and dangers were, however, offset by shooting's popularity with the boys and the publicity given to notable small marksmen. To encourage shooting the government provided two challenge shields, the _Weekly Press_ donated two further shields and the Colonial Ammunition Company provided four trophies. Loveday's annual reports included details of shooting competitions and photographs of prize-winning teams. In 1907 the team which won the government challenge shield competed in a well-publicised postal match against a team from a London school and in 1908 a New Zealand cadet, Colour-Sergeant Friar of Onehunga, travelled to Bisley to shoot for a trophy for cadets. Friar, who was fourteen, covered himself with glory. He lost by a single point, was warmly congratulated by Lord Roberts, and was presented with a silver-mounted service rifle by the aged Field-Marshal.\(^{48}\)

The Public School Cadets was a purely voluntary organisation but the authorities pressed laggard teachers to "volunteer" their services. In 1907, for example, the North Canterbury Board was asked, pointedly, why there were no cadet companies at Akaroa, Darfield, Lincoln or Southbridge.\(^{49}\) In 1904 Loveday told a reporter that there were now 11,000 cadets and noted that, while cadet work was voluntary, he knew of cases where teachers who disapproved of cadets found their rolls - and hence their salaries - declining as boys switched schools to join cadet corps.\(^{50}\) By March 1908 total cadet numbers stood at 15,183, equivalent to about three-quarters of all boys over twelve in public schools.\(^{51}\) This high proportion was clear evidence of enthusiasm on teachers' part and of Loveday's powers of persuasion and coercion where necessary, and it was not exceeded until cadet training was made compulsory as part of a general scheme of compulsory military training.

The comprehensive scheme of military training established by the _Defence Act 1909_ had long been urged on New Zealand. Most boys' military training ended when they left school, James Parr told the
Auckland Education Board, and how could New Zealand be defended without universal, extended training?

With a very small population in the colony and the great foreign dangers around these shores it was of the utmost importance that every young man of twenty-one years should be trained, otherwise the country might find itself run by Chinese.52

A National Service League, which included such notables as General Sir Garnet Wolseley, Lord Roberts and Rudyard Kipling, was established in Britain in 1902 to press for universal, compulsory military training, and a New Zealand National League was established in 1906 with the same objects. From 1906 to 1910 the New Zealand National League campaigned in speeches, letters to the papers, in its monthly journal, Defence, and by buttonholing politicians for better defence arrangements and compulsory training until age twenty-one. The League was well-pleased with the 1909 Defence Act and, its work done, went out of existence soon thereafter.

Under the new Act military training would be compulsory for all males from the age of twelve. Boys aged twelve to fourteen would be trained as primary school cadets, to be re-named Junior Cadets. Boys fourteen to eighteen would train as Senior Cadets. Older lads would train until age twenty-one in a General Training Section before being posted to a reserve. The old Volunteers would become a re-organised territorial force and the whole scheme would produce a citizen army of 30,000 men including infantry battalions, a brigade of mounted rifles, field artillery, and an expanded General Staff.53

The inauguration of the new scheme was deferred until Lord Kitchener had visited Australia and New Zealand, whose schemes for compulsory training were very similar. An amending Act was passed in 1910 to give effect to Kitchener's suggestions for improvement and the registration of Senior Cadets and territorials began in April, 1911.
There was, however, no need to defer changes in the primary school system. Loveday, then in his sixties, retired in 1909 and was replaced by Major Thomas William MacDonald, a former drill instructor for the Wellington Board, sometime member of the Board itself, Mayor of Lower Hutt and an enthusiastic Volunteer. MacDonald was gazetted Officer Commanding Junior Cadets early in 1910 and new, much more detailed cadet regulations appeared in March of that year.\textsuperscript{54}

All boys over twelve were to become Junior Cadets and all male teachers were liable to serve as officers. At least one hour a week had to be spent in training; half at physical training and half at more military instruction. When weather precluded work outdoors cadets were to be given lectures on discipline, the Empire, the symbolism of the flag, musketry, knots, map and compass work. The capitation system was abandoned: henceforth the government would supply all uniforms, arms, and accoutrements. The regulations also went into considerable detail on the setting up and conduct of courts of enquiry into grievances and made a careful distinction between those who held substantive commissions with the Defence Forces and those who were merely Junior Cadet officers.\textsuperscript{55}

MacDonald, like Loveday, was responsible to the Minister of Education rather than the Minister of Defence, but he was very conscious of his command's place in the wider scheme and he wrote that he intended to "make it a fundamental principle to refer to the General Officer Commanding the New Zealand Defence Forces all matters involving a change of system."\textsuperscript{56} And changes there were. Cadet camps were discontinued and MacDonald discouraged large parades for the sake of creating battalions to perform complicated drill. Cadets had spent a good deal of time travelling to ranges where they could shoot at the required distances of up to two hundred yards. MacDonald called in the .310 rifles and replaced them with .22 calibre rifles which were used on 25
yard ranges in schoolgrounds, and a subsidy was offered to encourage committees to build miniature rifle ranges. Where even a miniature range was impossible MacDonald approved the use of B.S.A. air rifles.

The primary school cadet movement was in its fullest flower in 1911-12. The Junior Cadets could muster more than 30,000 of all ranks; MacDonald's reforms enabled more time at shooting practice than ever before and the various trophies given by the government and a host of private benefactors were as keenly sought as ever. Camps for cadets had been discontinued but teachers attended annual camps of instruction and cadets still engaged in exciting field-days on occasion with ambushes and attacks. It was, however, all to end quite suddenly. In 1912 the Junior Cadets were deleted from the general training scheme, and Royd Garlick was appointed Director of Physical Education to oversee the introduction of a new syllabus of physical training for all pupils. George Hogben included a crisp obituary on the cadets in his annual report in 1913.

The Junior Cadet organisation, though excellent in some respects, was not suited to provide the desired physical training; moreover it affected only some 29,000 boys at a cost of about £8,000 per annum and did not provide any training for girls.

The reasons for the abolition of the Junior Cadets were rather more complex than Hogben's official explanation, but Hogben's comments were correct as far as they went. The 1901 requirement that all pupils over eight have physical training was blithely ignored in many schools so that the only physical drill was that which the older boys received as part of their cadet training. And the physical training component of cadet training had come in for some severe criticism over the years. In 1906, for example, the Christchurch Physical Culture Society surveyed schools in Christchurch, Nelson, and Wellington and went with two Christchurch doctors in deputation to Powlod to urge proper schemes of physical training. Military drill was not suitable for children, they
argued, and boys got their drill in a one-hour lump rather than little and often which was much to be preferred. The 1904 syllabus stated that the 1901 requirements would be met, as far as older boys were concerned, by enrolment in the cadets but the 1910 Education Conference wanted matters reversed. The Conference suggested that, "systematic physical exercises might be substituted for military drill."  

The cadet movement had also, over the years, caused some friction between teachers and the authorities. Wellington teachers protested in 1906 at the excessive number of occasions on which the Education Board called the cadets out for ceremonial parades, and it was agreed that future requests for cadets to parade on public occasions would be vetted by a Board sub-committee. This did not completely mend matters in Wellington, however, and in 1907 a Wellington assistant master noisily resigned from the Public School Cadets so he would not have to turn out for any more ceremonial parades. There were similar objections elsewhere. In 1906 the Christchurch School Committees' Association protested to the North Canterbury Board at the growing tendency to interfere with school work by calling cadet parades. In 1908 Otago teachers refused to turn out for cadet parades on Empire Day. The 1909 meeting of the N.Z.E.I. discussed the matter and resolved:  

That District Institutes, especially in the larger centres, should take into question the use of cadets, of school children, and of public school teachers, for the purposes of display, with a view to taking action to limit such display.  

The relationship between school cadets and the early Boy Scout movement was a further cause of concern and, on occasion, ill-feeling. Scouting was, initially, as much an activity as a formal organisation. Patrols sprang up spontaneously where boys had read and been impressed by Scouting for Boys, and it was not, initially, at all clear to whom boys might look for guidance and recognition. Some boys seeking to form patrols wrote to the Education Department, others to the Defence
Department, and others again to church leaders. David Cossgrove, a Canterbury teacher who had met Baden-Powell while serving in South Africa, gradually emerged as the recognised Scout organiser in New Zealand but not before his authority was challenged by those pointing out that other New Zealanders had also been in touch with Baden-Powell.67

The burgeoning Boy Scout movement was, undeniably, a para-military organisation. Baden-Powell, the defender of Mafeking, was a military hero and Cossgrove was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Volunteers. Baden-Powell's book included numerous references to battles, military reconnaissance, ambushes, and shooting. Early Scout patrols used military names of rank and Scout camps and field days included mock battles. Cossgrove's 1910 Scout camp at Woodend, for example, included ambushes and attacks, and a Scout exercise on the Port Hills in 1911 included "guerilla warfare" and a final tally of "killed, wounded, and prisoners."68 Where, then, did all this fit in with cadet training? Some Scout leaders saw Scout numbers drop when cadet corps were formed in their districts, and some cadet officers complained that boys declined the turn out for parades at the weekend because they were off with the Scouts.

The answer, obviously, lay in some form of concordat between the two very similar organisations but an agreement which would preserve the integrity of the Scout movement took considerable working out. Cossgrove, however, was properly respectful of military etiquette and not at all averse to a merger on suitable terms. In 1908, for example, he wrote formally to Loveday to ask if Scout badges could be worn on cadet uniforms.69 In 1910, with a rival scheme of scouting growing up in Dunedin with teachers as leaders, he wrote to MacDonald to ask if his organisation's uniform could be granted a form of copyright by having it formally gazetted as a military uniform.70
The 1909 Defence Act made general provision for a merger of Scouts and cadets without going into details. The Minister of Education could take over the Scouts to form part of the Junior Cadets "to such an extent as he thinks fit" but only at the request of the controlling authority of the Scout movement. The 1910 amending Act, after a great deal of correspondence and consultation between the organisers of the two movements, went into rather more detail. The Scouts might become part of the Junior or Senior Cadets and would be subject to the Defence Act but they would retain their Scout uniforms and they would meet the requirements for cadet training but work from a Scout text. The 1910 Junior Cadet regulations provided for a distinct "Scout Branch" of the cadets, organised into troops, patrols, and battalions, and subject to the cadet regulations and the authority of the O.C. Junior Cadets while in camp or on parade. Scout training was to be based on Baden-Powell's book but had to include drill and rifle-shooting as well. In schools with fewer than 15 boys liable to military training a Scout patrol would suffice to meet the Defence Act's requirements.

Most criticisms of cadet training could be met by improving it - reducing the number of formal parades, taking more care over camps, reconciling it with Scouting, and so on; but some critics were opposed to military training on principle. The Christchurch deputation to Powlds, for example, wanted cadet training swept away, and in 1901 Mr W.J. Smith, headmaster at Irwell in rural Canterbury, sought exemption from Saturday drill classes for teachers and refused to teach military drill in his school. Mr Smith, an Adventist, offered to teach physical drill of a non-military sort but the Education Board replied that, "the regulations could not be departed from", and it dismissed him while expressing regret that his actions had compelled them to do so.

Mr Smith's martyrdom was, as far as can be determined, unique and it brought him little sympathy in a country at war with the Boers, but
the Defence Act 1909 provoked a bitter, sometimes violent debate over what its opponents termed "conscription" and its defenders called "compulsory military training". An Anti-Militarist League was formed in Christchurch in 1910 and there were sixteen such Leagues by the end of 1911 as well as a National Peace Council. In 1912 boys at the railway workshops at Addington formed the Passive Resisters Union and their members and sympathisers provided martyrs aplenty when the authorities jailed lads who refused to register for training and refused to pay fines for this breach of the Defence Act. Weitzel describes the peace movement between 1909 and 1914 as a somewhat improbable alliance between middle class liberalism and militant labour, and he notes that it was a minority voice.72 Respectable authority supported compulsory military training and praised its many benefits. Powlds, as Acting-Minister of Defence, was applauded by a Hamilton audience when he "urged the people of the dominion to take up the scheme heartily from a physical, a mental, and a moral point of view."73 Colonel Allen Bell, a leading light in the National League, was sure that training would reduce snobbery and social class distinctions and would "create a reliable citizenship and fit the people for the reign of democracy more than the schools and churches had done in a hundred years."74

Many members of the peace movement based their opposition to the Defence Act on Christian principles. New Zealand Quakers were, of course, opposed to it as were many members of other small Protestant denominations. A joint meeting in Christchurch of the local Ministers' Association and the Baptist Lay Preachers' Association in 1911, for example, called on New Zealanders to "passively resist" the government in this matter.

But military training did not lack clerical supporters. Bishop Julius, addressing a Canterbury Yeoman Cavalry church parade in his cathedral, thought that military training would counteract the bad
effects of luxurious, modern life and teach young men manners, self-respect, discipline and obedience. Bishop Averill of Waiapu listed much the same benefits as his brother bishop and added self-sacrifice, true manliness, patriotism, and "the strengthening of the moral fibre of the nation and creating a nobler ideal of life and duty." R.M. Neligan, the former Bishop of Auckland, now back in Britain, endorsed compulsory training and could not resist the opportunity for another word on the Bible in schools question. Military training, by virtue of its disciplinary nature and through the work of chaplains in training camps, was correcting the moral abuses which had arisen from secular education.

The peace movement argued that young New Zealanders would be brutalised rather than uplifted by military training. They would, in fact, be inculcated with militarism and jingoism and become servile puppets rather than free and independent patriots. Pacifists played shrewdly on parents' anxieties by stressing the moral dangers of camp life where young lads from pure homes might be led into debauchery by a brutal and licentious soldiery. Was it not true, "Viator" asked in 1911, that there had been a lot of drinking and obscene talk at a recent camp at Palmerston North and that camp followers included a number of loose women?

This sort of argument told with those who might otherwise favour military training. The 1912 Presbyterian General Assembly was equivocal on the fundamental question and rejected a motion condemning compulsory training in favour of a resolution that "without committing itself to the principle of compulsory training" the assembly recognised "the grave responsibilities of the country for adequate defence." The assembly went on, however, to stress the "supreme importance" of safeguarding the moral welfare of trainees.
Militant labour leaders regarded the training scheme as preparation for a war in which capitalists would set the world’s workers to slaughter each other, and they warned that the territorial forces would be used to suppress strikes in New Zealand. Speaking at the Miners' Union Hall in Waihi in 1911 Robert Semple said he would go to jail rather than permit his own sons to be "torn away from their mother for purposes of military training." He promised miners' strikes in the event of war, and in 1912 he told the Passive Resisters' Union that strikes on the West Coast would paralyse the coal industry until the Defence Act was "smashed".

Labour leaders' suspicions were confirmed during the 1913 strike. William Massey called out the army to protect "free labour" at the wharves. General Godley was in Britain and his second in command refused to call out the troops, but many of the special constables which the Government then recruited were territorials from rural areas, recruited to "Massey's cossacks" by their military superiors, organised into troops and squadrons, and accommodated in military barracks. Godley approved, in his autobiography, of his subordinate's refusal to call out the army but he wrote with satisfaction of the summary way in which the Mounted Rifles, "camouflaged" as special constables, dealt with the strikers.

Meetings to discuss military training became contests of wills and lungs between pacifists and "loyalists". Speakers at a 1911 meeting in Christchurch called by the Baptist Lay Preachers' Association were, for example, drowned out by fervent singing of "Rule Britannia" and "Soldiers of the Queen". An Anti-Militarist League meeting later the same year developed into a pitched battle when university students and other loyalists pulled the speaker from the platform, windows were smashed and fire hoses were brought into action. When Reg. Williams of Christchurch spoke against militarism in June 1914 in Devonport he
faced the daunting sight of fifty uniformed Senior Cadets carrying rifles marching in to occupy the front seats.  

The government decided to tread warily until the 1911 elections were over but then the prosecution of defaulters began in earnest. There were 1,923 convictions in 1912 for breaches of the Defence Act and 120 persons chose prison rather than fines. The authorities, concerned lest there not be enough prison space, provided for defaulters to be placed under military detention and in 1913 eight members of the Passive Resisters' Union were marched off to Ripa Island in Lyttelton Harbour by a guard with fixed bayonets. Massey's Government was, if anything, even more vigorous in prosecuting defaulters. In the year to April 1914 2,779 territorials were convicted and 1,367 Senior Cadets, and 234 young men were placed under military detention.  

Witnesses appearing before the Cohen Commission in mid-1912 must have had the broader debate on military training very much in mind when the topic of cadet training came up, but they confined themselves to the matter at hand. The Commission heard some witnesses defend the Junior Cadets and others dismiss them out of hand. "The chief work done by the Junior Cadets," said Bert Milnes, principal of the Auckland Training College, "is to dress up and walk about"; and his counterpart at Dunedin, David Renfrew White, also condemned cadet training for young boys. The most influential voice against the cadets, however, proved to be that of Major-General Alexander Godley, the British officer who had been brought to New Zealand to become General Officer Commanding New Zealand Forces and to implement the new compulsory training scheme. The registration and training of Senior Cadets had been a headache for Godley and the activities of the Passive Registers' Union had only added to a long list of problems. Simply finding all the fourteen year-olds who should have registered was difficult and the Defence Department sought help from the churches and education boards.  

Parades and camps
also clashed with farm work, especially during shearing and harvesting. In 1911 Godley addressed a Farmers' Union conference in Wellington and promised rural training centres where "training could take place in a barn or a schoolhouse, and, if necessary, between milking hours." In 1912, after protests from Canterbury farmers, Lt-Col. Burnett-Steward, Commander of the Canterbury military district said that boys might be exempt from parades at harvest time if they made up the time later. In 1913 42 young Timaru men were charged with missing parades at harvest time and the Farmers' Union asked for all training to be suspended during harvesting.

Holding parades in the winter, however, would not have pleased Auckland rugby enthusiasts. As a sympathetic officer put it:

Rugby football being the national game, it was regarded as more expedient, as well as in the interest of the military movement, to arrange to hold parades in the summer, and thus the winter games would not be affected.

For all these reasons attendance at Senior Cadet parades was often poor and some cadets performed their drill in a burlesque manner. Some parades and some registration sessions became positively riotous, especially where boys objected to training in general or on principle. When 114 Senior Cadets were called up for registration at Lower Hutt 100 appeared and 90 of them refused to take the required oath. They then engaged in an hour's horseplay, scattering forms and paper and breaking some windows before marching off, singing, in procession.

Godley, of course, had the full weight of the law on his side but also sought means to popularise Senior Cadet training. His wife took it upon herself to raise money for shooting prizes, and by March 1913 she had raised more than £1,500 for trophies.

Godley, who consistently dismissed principled objectors and the Passive Resisters' Union as a noisy minority, decided that the fundamental cause of disaffection with the Senior Cadets was Junior
Cadet training. In May 1912 he wrote a long letter to the Minister of Defence discussing the Senior Cadet problem in relation to the unduly ambitious programme undertaken by Junior Cadets. Teachers' aspirations led them, he argued, to give Junior Cadets "proficiency badges in profusion" and to mount a programme for primary school boys which was "positively harmful to their future military efficiency". The solution, he concluded, would be to make him Commandant of Junior Cadets in which case he would "demilitarise" them.

The shortlived McKenzie ministry of 1912 served notice on the Junior Cadets in the speech from the throne in June. Proposals, the Governor announced, would be submitted for "demilitarising" the Junior Cadets in order to make way for a better scheme of physical training. When Godley appeared before the Cohen Commission in July 1912 he developed the arguments he had advanced in his letter to the Minister of Defence. Senior Cadets were blasé towards their training because it was already old hat to them. Senior Cadets had nothing to look forward to because the Junior Cadet programme was more ambitious than the work the Senior Cadets might reasonably be expected to cover. This had come about because the Junior Cadets were not under his control and it was, he said, illogical, indefensible and ridiculous that any military organisation should have been set up independent of him.

Senior Cadet training could not build on Junior Cadet work, Godley claimed, because, "at the age of fourteen a boy is handed over to me, and logically I cannot accept anything he has done up to that age because I know nothing about it." Teachers, he added, were not commissioned and hence not real officers and the Junior Cadet scheme was "a purely bogus military organisation."

Godley's remarks prompted a spirited rejoinder from Captain A.A.C. Stevens who had become O.C. Junior Cadets to replace MacDonald. Stevens carefully pointed out that he was responsible to the Minister of Education, not Godley, and he defended the Junior Cadets accordingly.
Teachers were furious at Godley's remarks about bogus officers in a bogus organisation. They had been promised a chance to sit examinations for substantive commissions but were either prevented from doing so or, when they had passed the requisite test, not, in fact, commissioned. Godley's remarks prompted indigination meetings of cadet officers in the four main centres.100

Godley's proposal for the "demilitarisation" of the school cadets was supported by that great authority on youth, Robert Baden-Powell, then in New Zealand. This support did not stem from any overwhelming pacifist sentiment on Baden-Powell's part for he considered the aims of the Scout and cadet movements very similar. Originally, he told Cossgrove, he had felt that, "as the government had taken in hand the training of all boys there would be little need for a continuance of the Scout movement." But he had decided, after consulting with the authorities and inspecting cadets and Scouts, that the Scouts had a part to play "helping in the defence training by giving the lads a real grounding in manliness and a sense of duty."101 No doubt the Scouts could be "very useful in case it was necessary to defend the country" and he concluded that, "there should be no military organisation and no military drill for the Junior Cadets."102

When the Cohen Commission made its final report in August, 1912, its comments on the cadets were quite predictable.

For the systematic carrying out of the scheme of physical instruction recommended in another part of this report it is desirable, owing to the inauguration of the scheme of Dominion Defence, that the Junior Cadets of the Dominion be demilitarised.103

Precisely what the Commission meant by "demilitarise" was not immediately clear for it softened the blow by going on:

We see no reason why the Junior Cadets, besides being permitted to wear a uniform dress in keeping with their altered condition, should not continue to engage in squad and company drill...and should not still practice shooting.
In 1912 Parliament repealed those sections of the Defence Act dealing with the Junior Cadets leaving the whole matter of school cadets entirely in the hands of the Department of Education and the Inspector-General. Hogben's general attitude to the cadet movement is hard to discern at this distance. He had little to say about it as it got under way early in his term of office, perhaps because any objections or reservations might have upset Seddon, then in bellicose mood, and threatened other matters dearer to Hogben's heart. When he replied to Sadler's international enquiry into moral education in 1908 he was lukewarm on the subject of military training.

I do not think that military exercises are of much value in themselves as moral agents; but if the boys of either elementary or secondary schools are organised into cadet corps the gain in increasing the sense of civic responsibility is very great. The acquiring of the habit of obedience, somewhat mechanical though it be, has value.\textsuperscript{104}

He had, however, little doubt what "demilitarisation" meant. It meant the end of the cadets and the end of any Defence Department involvement with physical training in schools.

Captain Stevens was re-assigned to Godley's staff, which was embarrassing to both of them, and new cadet regulations appeared in 1913.\textsuperscript{105} Cadet corps would now be entirely voluntary and had to be under either a teacher holding a substantive commission or someone who had been a Junior Cadet officer before 1913. There would be no further issues of ammunition and no capitation grants. Only 28 of 573 cadet units elected to carry on in 1913 under the new dispensation and some of those soon disbanded so that by 1914 there were more shooting trophies than competing teams.\textsuperscript{106} In 1914 the Wellington inspectors noted that military drill was practically unknown in their district.\textsuperscript{107}

Some teachers mourned the Junior Cadets. Local branches of the N.Z.E.I. protested at their abolition and a committee set up at the Institute's annual general meeting to consider the Cohen Commission's
report concluded that, "The Institute should express regret at the
demilitarisation of the Junior Cadets." Such protests could, of
course, be met by pointing out that, in fact, the cadets had not been
prohibited, just "demilitarised" and left up to local enthusiasts and
educational authorities.

Clearly, the disappearance of military training from all but a
handful of primary schools was not the result of any great revulsion
against military training for boys. The military and civil authorities
simply had bigger fish to fry after 1909 and the Junior Cadets were
abolished partly to make way for physical training and partly to further
militarism elsewhere. The broader scheme of 1909-10 and the abolition of
primary school cadets amounted, in fact, to a relocation of military
training amongst a slightly older age-group. Enrolling boys who had
left school in the Senior Cadets proved troublesome but there was no
great problem where cadet corps were based on secondary schools. Most
boys' secondary schools had had their own cadet corps for many years and
the new dispensation simply meant a new uniformity and more assured
finance. In due course, with increased numbers going on to secondary
school, most boys were once more receiving military training at school-
masters' hands, and until the 1960s military training was a routine,
generally unquestioned part of most New Zealand boys' secondary
schooling.

The abolition of the Junior Cadets brought no immediate increase
in enthusiasm for Senior Cadet training. Numbers of boys aged between
14 and 18 were prosecuted in 1913 and in 1914 for breaches of the
Defence Act and in 1913 James Allen, Minister of Education and of
Defence, directed educational authorities to deny free places in
secondary schools to boys who had not met the requirements of the
training scheme.
The chief benefits claimed for the school cadet movement were always moral and disciplinary rather than any great increase in technical, military knowledge. Speakers great and small extolled the cadet movement for its character-forming properties. It would, said Baron Plunket, in presenting a shooting trophy to the Onehunga cadets, be of great benefit to the colony, "both in matters of defence and in the habits of discipline, neatness, orderliness, and respect for authority which it developed."\textsuperscript{110} The formation of a cadet unit would, the chairman of the South Rakaia committee told his fellow-members, "train the boys to habits of discipline, obedience, promptness, truthfulness, and quickness."\textsuperscript{111}

The \textit{Lyttelton Times}, in thundering against "passive resisters", went so far as to declare military training wholly justified by its moral benefits.

We believe that a course of military training would be an admirable thing for the young men of New Zealand even if the peace of the world were assured for all time, because it would improve their physique, teach them orderly habits, and give them a conception of the place of obedience in a well-ordered life.\textsuperscript{112}

Teachers, of course, were eager to see the discipline and obedience obtained on parade carried over to the rest of the school day and Loveday did what he could to help them. The good conduct badges and certificates of discharge he initiated depended on good behaviour on the way to and from school and in the classroom. Boys who smoked, for example, forfeited their badges, and he suggested that both badges and certificates should be used as character references by boys applying for jobs.\textsuperscript{113} In 1904 Loveday instituted a system of "fours" with the leader of each section wearing a special badge and responsible for the conduct and appearance of his group. "In many instances," he reported with satisfaction, "headmasters have adopted the above system throughout the whole school with beneficial results."\textsuperscript{114}
Critics of the school cadet movement, like critics of the broader scheme, agreed that it taught moral attitudes, but not the attitudes suggested. Cadet training taught some boys to swagger and hector and others to meekly submit; it glorified slaughter and, the *New Zealand Schoolmaster* suggested in 1906, it gave boys "a vain taste for display." \(^{115}\)

None of this criticism was directed to the cadets themselves. They were endlessly assured by the notables who reviewed and inspected them that they were doing important work and doing it well. And cadets at church parades might have concluded that God approved too. The 500 cadets in camp at Ashburton in 1906 were drafted off by denomination and 260 of them trooped off to the Anglican church where the vicar took as his text David's injunction to Solomon, "Be strong and show thyself a man." \(^{116}\) In 1909 the Opawa cadets heard Bishop Julius link defence with God's support of the British Empire: "So long as the British Empire was strong at heart, ready at its frontiers, and of use to God, he believed God would not let it fall." \(^{117}\)

Teacher-officers claimed that cadet work was popular with boys and that they were bitterly disappointed when the scheme was wound up. Little can be deduced now from the solemn young faces of prize-winning rifle teams posing stiffly for the camera but an hour or two out of doors must have provided welcome relief from the crowded and generally uncongenial classrooms of the day; and the uniforms, the chance to fire a rifle now and again, and the excitement of scouting and skirmishing and of camps must have stirred and delighted many lads. This thought was, of course, at the core of pacifist opposition to the scheme.

Some boys, for whatever reason, detested cadet training. An ex-pupil of the Hastings Central School later recalled the agonising boredom of drill and being beaten for attempting to evade cadet work. \(^{118}\) But in 1903 the Christchurch East School committee noted that the
introduction of cadet work had brought a noticeable improvement in attendance on Fridays, the day on which the cadets paraded. 119 The Fendalton Committee, initially reluctant to form a cadet corps, noted that the boys had been fired with enthusiasm by the military review for the Duke of York and the committee agreed to establish a cadet company. 120 The Russo-Japanese war in 1904 was also reported to have created great enthusiasm amongst Wellington boys and to have put pressure on laggard teachers and committees. 121

The attitudes the cadet movement sought to instill sank deep in some cases. Major-General Sir Norman Weir recalled in later life walking to the Heathcote station to catch the train to a cadet parade. There he met another cadet and the two, after greeting each other cheerfully, suddenly recalled their uniforms so that a passer-by might have seen, in Weir's words, "two small boys in ill-fitting uniforms saluting each other on the platform of a country railway station." 122

But the cadet movement, more than any other manifestation of the imperial ideology in schools, was to be judged by young New Zealanders' readiness to enlist in the Empire's wars. As a formal organisation the Public School Cadets only had one casualty: in 1905 Private J. McPherson of the Dannevirke North Cadets was accidentally shot through the body on the rifle range and died under the horrified gaze of his teachers and classmates. 123 Those who paraded with the Public School or Junior Cadets were, however, the right age to serve in their thousands during the Great War. The boy General Weir saluted on the Heathcote platform was killed in Flanders and so were thousands of other ex-cadets, while hundreds more died in the Dardanelles.

Those who went in 1914, Pugsley suggests, generally did not go mouthing the fine phrases of speakers on Empire Day or the reviewing stand. They went with a sense of adventure and a desire to see the world, or because everyone else was going. But underlying all this was
a sense of clear, if unexamined obligation: "Most took patriotism for granted. It was a comfortable cloak they had worn unthinkingly since childhood."  

As this chapter and the one before it show it was not a cloak they had fashioned for themselves or donned by accident.
Notes to Chapter 20


3. LT, 29 January 1913. This was Robert Lee's recollection.


6. AJHR, H-2, 1879, p.81.


8. LT, 21 December 1892.


10. NZPD, vol 73, 1891, p.452. AJHR, E-1, 1892, p.vi.


12. AJHR, H-19A, 1898, p.3.


14. LT, 27 January 1898.

15. LT, 24 February 1898.

16. LT, 26 May 1898.

17. LT, 25 April and 3 September 1898.

18. AJHR, E-1C, 1899, p.6.

19. LT, 17 January 1900.

20. LT, 17 September 1900 re teachers' drill classes; LT, 6 December 1900 re training college students.
21. Defence Act Amendment Act 1900. Sections 17(1) and 17(2).
22. Cumming, pp.299-300.
23. LT, 1 June 1900.
24. NZSM, April 1900, pp.137-8.
27. NZG, 1902, p.242. Loveday was appointed as from 1 November 1902.
30. AJHR, E-1D, 1905, p.5. The ten headings were: general appearance, words of command, rifle exercise, firing exercise, marching, steadiness, bugling, skirmishing, signalling, drilling generally.
32. AJHR, E-1D, 1905, pp.4-5.
33. LT, 25 February 1904.
34. SJ, Part III, September 1908.
35. NZSM, July 1901, p.183.
36. LT, 22 June 1901.
37. LT, 24 June 1901.
40. LT, 19 October 1906.
41. LT, 4 June 1906.
42. LT, 3 June 1906.
43. LT, 11 April 1907.
44. AJHR, E-1B, 1900, p.15.
45. NZSM, November 1901, p.50.
46. **LT**, 8 November 1906.


49. **LT**, 11 October 1907.

50. **LT**, 11 August 1904.


52. **LT**, 22 February 1906.


56. **AJHR**, E-11, 1911, p.3.


60. **LT**, 22 March 1906.


64. **LT**, 5 April 1906.

65. **LT**, 11 June 1908.


67. **LT**, 29 September 1908.

68. **LT**, 7 January 1910: 24 October 1911.


73. LT, 24 April 1911.
74. LT, 3 August 1911.
75. LT, 19 April 1911.
76. LT, 7 October 1913.
77. LT, 19 June 1913.
78. LT, 16 January 1911.
79. LT, 5 October 1911.
80. LT, 16 May 1911.
81. LT, 16 August 1912. Pacifists who remembered these fiery speeches must have been particularly disgusted with Semple in 1949 when he pushed hard for compulsory military training.
82. Pugsley, pp.43-4.
84. LT, 27 May 1911.
85. LT, 22 August 1911.
86. LT, 13 June 1914.
88. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, pp.104 and 192.
89. See Weitzel, 1973 re appeals to churches. See LT, 4 July 1912; 8 August 1913 for requests that education boards forward names.
90. LT, 28 July 1911.
91. LT, 25 January 1912.
92. LT, 21 July 1913.
93. LT, 4 August 1911.
94. LT, 30 November 1911.
95. LT, 12 March 1913.
98. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.677 et seq.
99. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.701.

100. For indignation meetings by teachers see LT, 29 and 31 July, 1 August 1912.


102. LT, 13 July 1912.

103. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.16.


105. NZG, 1913, p.3267.

106. AJHR, E-2, 1914, p.8.

107. AJHR, E-2, 1914, p.15.


109. LT, 20 February 1913.

110. LT, 21 June 1906.

111. South Rakaia School Committee Minutes, 26 April 1909.

112. LT, 27 May 1911.

113. AJHR, E-1D, 1903, p.3.

114. AJHR, E-1D, 1904, p.3.

115. NZSM, April 1906, p.137.

116. LT, 6 February 1906/1907.

117. LT, 25 September 1909.


119. East Christchurch School Committee Minutes, 31 March 1904.

120. Pendar Huntington School Committee Minutes, 18 June 1901.

121. LT, 5 March 1904.


123. AJHR, E-1D, 1905, p.5.

Chapter 21

CREDENTIALS AND CLASS

This chapter and the next take up two matters which have not, so far, been dealt with in any great detail: the relationships between schooling and social class and between schooling and sex-roles. Both have, of course, been touched on already in a number of places. School texts, for example, had something to say about social class and sex-roles; considerations of social status sometimes limited mixing in the public schools, and Mr Bligh's lectures and military training were reserved for boys while only girls took sewing. An adequate treatment of social class and sex-roles, however, must be related to another matter which has not been discussed in detail so far; namely the primary schools' impact on pupils' "life-chances" as they denied or granted school credentials or access to particular types or levels of education.

The examination system in primary schools has already been outlined but discussed chiefly in relation to the internal workings of the schools and for its psychological impact on pupils rather than in relation to employment. The Factories Act's educational requirements have been mentioned but they were only one aspect of a general process of credential inflation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as more and more children stayed on into the higher standards or sought free places in an expanding secondary school system and as private sector employers followed the public sector's lead in requiring school credentials of applicants.

This expansion and inflation was justified in terms of humanitarian concern, efficiency, and equality of opportunity. The Factories
Act's educational requirements prevented the exploitation of child labour and guaranteed children a minimum level of education. Examinations for entry into the Public Service would eliminate patronage and ensure efficient administration. A fine network of public primary schools, together with free places in high schools and competitive scholarships, would erect a "ladder from the gutter to the university" which the deserving might climb no matter what their parents' status or resources. The second part of this chapter assesses this meritocratic rhetoric in the light of the available evidence, but it is first necessary to consider the schools' sorting and credentialling function in more detail.

Judging pupils was, of course, an inescapable part of teachers' day to day work as they praised and punished pupils or moved them closer to or further from the top of the class, but examination results were different in kind from other judgements for they were public, quasi-legal judgements of success or failure with a significance far beyond their immediate psychological impact on children's self-esteem. One might shrug off a teacher's reproof, wait for the pain of a beating to pass, or patiently endure ridicule, but one had to live with the school system's formal judgements.

From time to time educationists expressed concern at the effects which some of the labels schools assigned might have on children's self-esteem or prospects. Some argued, for example, that school prizes created unnecessary, invidious public distinctions between children and should, for that reason, be abolished. (The more common reaction was to give as many children as possible a prize for something.) To be known to have been at an industrial school was a much more serious matter. "Burnham Boys" were eyed askance and girls boarded out from industrial schools were sometimes harassed by men who assumed that any industrial school girl must be a whore. Such considerations told against the
creation of truant schools which would place a social stigma on their pupils. Formal examinations, however, and the way in which they labelled pupils as successes or failures, were almost universally accepted as a necessary part of public schooling. They measured teachers' competence, guaranteed value for public money, rationed scarce resources like secondary schooling, and recognised and rewarded the able and industrious.

A pass at Standard VI marked the completion of a full primary school course but regulations under the Education Act 1877 made a Standard IV pass the major leaving certificate when they set the standard of exemption at that level. Small rural schools, Habens commented in 1879, could be reckoned successful if they managed good Standard IV work.¹ The result was that while enrolments diminished with each higher standard there was a particularly sharp decline in enrolments at the end of Standard IV in the nineteen century. In the early 1880s Standard V enrolments were about half of the number preparing for Standard IV. The Standard IV syllabus was particularly demanding as befitted the prescriptions for a school leaving certificate. In discussing the arithmetic syllabus, for example, Habens explained that those leaving school after Standard IV should carry with them into their future occupations a sufficient knowledge of practical accounts, and this consideration had affected the arrangement of the curriculum.²

Standard IV was confirmed as the standard of exemption by the School Attendance Act 1894, and the Factories Act made it illegal to employ children under sixteen in factories if they had not passed that standard. The significance of this latter requirement, however, lies not so much in its complete novelty but in the fact that it applied to the private sector. Some public sector employers, most notably the school system itself, had required school credentials well before the
Factories Act and in the 1880s and early 1890s the range of public sector jobs requiring school credentials was considerably extended.

McKenzie notes that the education system itself led the way in credential inflation by raising the requirements for entry into pupil-teacherships, a move which was supported by the N.Z.E.I. and made possible by the good supply of applicants during the depression of the 1880s. Regulations under the Education Act 1877 required pupil-teachers to be fourteen years old and to have passed Standard V but in 1889 the Otago Education Board raised its formal requirements to fifteen and Standard VI, and many successful applicants in fact had Matriculation or could present other evidence of considerable post-Standard VI experience. At the same time the Otago Board raised the standard of entry to its training college.

The most significant move regarding school credentials in the 1880s was the passing of the Civil Service Reform Act 1886. This Act required those seeking permanent appointments as messengers in Public Service departments, or as policemen, soldiers or prison officers to have passed Standard IV and it made entry into the Public Service proper conditional on passing a competitive examination. This measure did not close the back door into the Public Service completely for temporary clerks could be appointed without passing the Junior Civil Service examination and so could "experts" with specific skills. This left plenty of scope for patronage; some temporary clerks were re-appointed year after year; and Seddon's free and easy way of meeting his political obligations by appointing people to the Public Service has become part of the folklore surrounding him.

The 1886 Act did, however, introduce a considerable measure of reform. Permanent jobs were offered to those highest in the list of results in the annual Civil Service examination and the principles of the Act were extended to departments outside the scope of the Act. In
1891 the Post Office required, by regulation, a Standard VI pass for appointment to a clerical position. In 1894 the Railways Department required labourers and platelayers to have passed Standard III, porters, shunters, and cleaners to have passed Standard IV, and applicants for its clerical division and for cadetships to have passed Standard VI. The Public Service's requirements strengthened the tendency for private employers to regard Standard VI as a guarantee of clerical competence.

The institution of the Junior Civil Service Examination stimulated the growth of Standard VII classes in primary schools. Robert Stout, Premier when the 1886 Act was passed, told the House that he intended to ensure that the examination would not disadvantage rural children who had little chance of a secondary education. He was as good as his word and the prescriptions gazetted in 1887 stated that the compulsory papers in English, arithmetic, and geography and the optional papers in geography and English history were to be based on the programme of public school standards, and the examination papers were to be the same as the papers for a Teachers E Certificate. Most papers in other subjects were to be the same as those for a Teachers D Certificate. The result was essentially a mixture of senior primary and secondary school work and a programme well within the reach of senior primary pupil with cramming and coaching.

Standard VII classes were initially made up of children who had passed Standard VI, who were entitled under the Education Act to free education until they were 15, and who wanted to pursue their studies beyond Standard VI but could not afford secondary school fees. Standard VII was officially recognised in the revised syllabus regulations of 1885 but no syllabus was laid down. Some classes repeated and consolidated their Standard VI work, and others embarked on secondary school work to the extent that teachers' own competence allowed. The 1887 Junior Civil Service Examination regulations, however, gave shape
and purpose to Standard VII work. In 1889, for example, the West
Christchurch Standard VII pupils were studying Latin, algebra, geometry
and modern history, all optional subjects for the Junior Civil Service
Examination. The Southland inspectors remarked in 1892 that Standard
VII had once been a "nondescript, do-nothing kind of a class" but
Standard VII pupils were now doing good work, a number had passed Junior
Civil Service and one Southland lad had recently come fourth in the New
Zealand list.\textsuperscript{10}

In 1882 782 pupils were recorded as "passed Standard VI". By
1888 there were 1,928 Standard VII pupils and by 1898 there were 5,429,
far more than the total enrolment in state secondary schools. By 1900
4.0 percent of all primary pupils were in Standard VII, half as many as
in Standard VI.\textsuperscript{11}

Not all Standard VII pupils entered for Junior Civil Service;
there were 451 entries in 1898.\textsuperscript{12} Many Standard VII pupils dropped out
during the year to take up a job; others were preparing for Teachers E
Certificate examinations or even for the University's matriculation
examination, and some did not enter for Junior Civil Service until they
had spent more than a year in Standard VII. Nor did all candidates for
the Junior Civil Service Examination want, in fact, to enter the Public
Service. Candidates were required to state whether or not they sought a
position in the Public Service and in 1893, for example, 31 percent of
successful candidates stated that they did not.\textsuperscript{13} Nor were all
candidates for the Junior Civil Service Examination primary school
pupils. McKenzie suggests that secondary schools might have initially
been reluctant to enter pupils for something that was not properly
"secondary" and his inspection of the gazette list of results for 1893
only indicates two successful secondary school candidates. The 1898
list, however, included just over sixty successful secondary school
candidates including twenty from Auckland Grammar and College, ten from
Wellington College, and twelve from Napier High School.\textsuperscript{14}
The appearance of primary and secondary school pupils' names in the same lists of examination results made it clearer than ever that Standard VII was a cheap alternative to secondary schooling. The Otago Board, in allowing Standard VII classes, was "underselling the wares of the High Schools", according to the Rector of Otago Boys' High; and another Dunedin critic condemned "the useless seventh standard which is a bastard apology for secondary education, involving serious injury to the legitimate secondary schools."  

Some education board members were also concerned at the growth of Standard VII. In 1894 R. Udy, chairman of the Auckland Education Board, noted that there were nearly 400 Standard VII pupils in the Auckland district, some of them going on eighteen, and he thought this development should be checked. 

In Dunedin John McGregor urged the Otago Education Board to consolidate Standard VII pupils in one school which would offer a practical, vocational curriculum, rather than one aping the secondary curriculum. Initially McGregor gained some support from several of the major school committees, but parents were not swayed by condemnation of the irrelevance or undue "literary bias" of the curriculum. A relevant, practical curriculum would deny their children a chance to gain the school credentials which were the whole point of enrolment in Standard VII. When the Otago Education Board tried to lay down a Standard VII syllabus in 1895 there were howls of outrage from headmasters who claimed it would interfere with their important work in preparing Standard VII pupils for Matriculation, Junior Civil Service, and Teachers' examinations, and the Board settled for a face-saving clause which allowed teachers to carry on coaching for public examinations. McGregor returned to the fray in 1898, by which time the Dunedin Normal School had 130 pupils in "Class X", as it was then called. Once more he urged a central school, modelled on the French
superior primary schools and offering practical subjects. Once more parents were unimpressed with McGregor's arguments for his notion of relevance rather than theirs. 19

The growing emphasis on school credentials had a number of predictable effects on schools. Certain teachers achieved a local reputation for their ability to spot likely prospects among their pupils and drive them through a programme carefully tailored to the minimum requirements of the examination prescriptions. Cramming and coaching out of school hours were considered a normal part of preparation for a special examination.

On occasion those who sought government employment for which they were not qualified resorted to forgery. In 1898 the Wellington Education Board learnt, to its consternation, that Standard VI certificates were being forged by ex-pupils who simply filled in the blank spaces on the card designed to provide a complete record of a pupil's school progress. 20 The Board decided to issue separate Standard VI certificates to be signed by its inspectors and the Department of Education issued regulations requiring all boards to do the same. Teachers would record passes in the lower standards in admission registers but Standard VI certificates had to be issued by boards and counter-signed by either an inspector or the board's secretary. 21 This still did not stop forgeries, or even the odd case of collusion by teachers. In 1899 a teacher appeared before the Wanganui Education Board to answer charges of falsifying his attendance registers, altering inspectors' reports to make them more favourable and issuing Standard IV certificates to pupils who had failed their examinations. 22

In 1907 the Police Offences Act made it an offence to falsely represent oneself to have a degree, diploma or certificate to which one was not entitled. Even this did not stop forgery. In 1907 a young man appeared in the Ashburton magistrate's court charged with presenting a
forged Standard VI certificate to the General Manager of New Zealand Railways. He was found guilty and sent to the Supreme Court for sentence. 23 There was a similar case in Auckland the following year when the Railways Department referred a suspicious-looking Standard V certificate to the Auckland Board which reported that the culprit had never attended the school in question. 24 Schools kept very detailed records of admissions, withdrawals, attendance and examination results, and they were able, where necessary, to investigate claims referring to years long past. In 1914, in a notable case of this sort, a man was charged in Christchurch with forging a Standard V certificate to get a job on the railway. The certificate related to the years 1890 and 1891 but the headmaster of the Normal School readily produced the relevant examination records. 25

The new importance of school credentials in the 1890s forged further links between private primary schools and the state system. Private schools were not required to be registered until 1914 and truant officers had to exercise considerable diplomacy when they first sought to bring private schools within their nets, but private schools could not afford to deny their pupils a chance to gain the Standard IV and VI certificates required for some employment. In the 1890s Catholic schools accordingly approached education boards to seek the services of their inspectors. The Otago Education Board seems to have been the first to comply with this request. Early in 1892 it authorised its inspectors to examine adult candidates for Standard VI certificates who needed them for employment. Later that same year, in response to a request from the Dunedin Chief Postmaster, it agreed that its inspectors should examine Catholic pupils seeking Standard VI certificates. McKenzie comments, "By the end of the century inspectors in all board districts were examining Catholic schools as a matter of course." 26 It was actually not as straightforward as McKenzie suggests and there was
considerable debate in some districts and a series of appeals by the Catholic authorities to reluctant education boards. The Westland Board agreed readily enough in 1895 that its inspectors should examine Catholic schools, "provided that the inspection and examination were precisely identical with that of the state schools." The South Canterbury Board resolved that same year, on the Rev. George Barclay's motion, that its inspector should examine Catholic schools. The Grey Education Board, when approached by the Catholic bishops, replied that it had already been agreed that this would be part of the new inspector's job. The North Canterbury Board, by contrast, replied stiffly that:

It was not desirable that any portion of the funds voted by parliament for the support of our national schools should be diverted to the inspection of our denominational schools.

In 1898, the Tablet, after canvassing all education boards, reported that Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, and North Canterbury still declined to inspect Catholic schools and the Hawke's Bay Board had authorised its inspector to visit Catholic schools only when he clearly had time at his disposal. Newspaper controversy and a further appeal from the Vicar-General did, however, lead the North Canterbury Board to offer a compromise. Its inspectors would publish the dates of their visits to state schools and Catholic pupils could present themselves for Standard IV and VI examinations "such as may be required by the provisions of the Factory Act or for admission to the Civil Service." The Auckland and Wellington Education Boards agreed to inspect Catholic schools in 1900 leaving North Canterbury and Taranaki as the only holdouts. In response to a return requested by the Legislative Council the Taranaki Board pleaded pressure of work on its inspector and the North Canterbury Board expressed itself in favour in principle but unable to undertake the extra work without a grant from the Department of
Education, a considerable shift from its original opposition to any form of state aid.\textsuperscript{33}

Boards which declined to inspect Catholic schools gained a certain measure of public support from those opposed to state aid on principle and those simply hostile to the Catholic church. When the Auckland Board was asked once more to inspect Catholic schools in 1900 the executive of the Grand Lodge of the Loyal Orange Institution opposed any such move.\textsuperscript{34} An intemperate letter to the Christchurch papers in 1898 provides a good sample of anti-Catholic prejudices in the matter. The North Canterbury Board was right to refuse the Catholic request said "Chairman of School Committee". Catholic priests had called state schools atheistic, godless, and infidel, and such remarks were an insult to "men and women who inherit the traditions of the Puritans of England, the Covenanters of Scotland, and the defenders of Derry." Catholics were not debarred from the Public Service: "in fact the Public Service is stuffed with them." The Board should continue to refuse to pander to "a church whose whole aims and aspirations are to subordinate the State to priestcraft."\textsuperscript{35} The defenders of Derry may or may not have turned in their graves in 1905 when the North Canterbury Board, the last to agree, finally decided to examine private schools on request.

By 1905 Standard VI certificates were very important credentials indeed. Inspectors' examinations for Standards I and II were abolished in 1894 and those for Standards III to V in 1899 so that the Standard VI certificate examination was the only formal, external measure of schools' efficiency in covering the basic primary programme. A Standard VI pass had become the routine minimum requirement for a clerical job and also enabled children to take up a free secondary school place.

The economic upturn from the mid-1890s both strengthened demands for secondary education and made it possible for the Liberal government to meet that demand. Secondary schooling was not covered by the 1877
Act, except for a reference to the secondary departments of district high schools which was necessary in order to recognise the Otago Education Board's existing district highs. The high schools proper remained separate institutions with their own founding statutes and controlling authorities. Although on occasion they sought and received subventions from the Department of Education, their land endowments and the fees they charged made them essentially independent of the Department. Neither financially dependent on the Department of Education nor subject to its power to make curriculum regulations, the secondary schools constituted a separate, parallel system of education, small and exclusive, drawing their entrants very largely from their own preparatory departments or from private schools. This is, of course, an over-simplified account of nineteenth century secondary schools for reasons of space. It fairly accurately represents the picture their critics drew of them, and it underlines their debt to the British model of parallel systems for "the masses and the classes", but it is an account which would have to be much qualified in any detailed account of secondary schooling before the free place system was instituted.

All that need be said here by way of amplification, however, is that secondary schooling was not wholly reserved to the well-to-do in the nineteenth century. Education boards received small capitation grants to be aggregated to provide scholarships awarded under regulations which the boards were free to frame themselves, subject to Departmental approval. The Department proved to be tolerant of considerable variation between boards in the terms and conditions under which scholarships were awarded. Some boards limited them to pupils in their own schools while others left them open to all comers. Some boards set examination papers in Standard V and VI subjects while others' examinations demanded secondary subjects. The Otago Education Board's scholarships were very substantial, amounting to £40 per annum.
for some rural pupils. This, McKenzie observes, was a very handsome sum in the 1880s when the average urban wage was probably around £100 per annum, and it meant that scholarship winners from very humble backgrounds were able to meet the full expenses of a secondary education. In other places, Butchers notes, boards broke up their funds into a number of small scholarships which covered little more than the cost of textbooks. Not all scholarship winners could find the extra money needed to take advantage of their success. In 1896, for example, a Christchurch man wrote to the North Canterbury Board on his daughter's behalf to resign her scholarship because he could not meet the combined expenses of board, travel, clothing, and books. But scholarships, even small ones, were keenly sought. In 1887 the Westland Board noted that a girl from Gillespie's Beach had ridden one hundred miles to sit a scholarship examination in Hokitika.

Secondary schools themselves sought to extend the benefits of secondary schooling by offering what scholarships they could or by waiving fees for scholarship holders, but their resources were by no means as large as their critics sometimes suggested and most had to curtail their efforts in this direction in the 1880s as their endowment incomes sagged and their rolls declined. By 1898 only 270 of the 2,310 pupils in endowed state secondary schools had free places.

Scholarship holders from the state primary schools did not make the transition to the other system smoothly for their new classmates had generally been studying secondary subjects for a year or more. The O'Rorke Commission was told in 1879 that those entering Auckland Grammar on scholarships usually spent from six to nine months on Latin and French, including work at lunchtime, to come abreast of the rest.

Scholarships were supposed to give even the humblest a chance of a secondary education. McKenzie, however, has made a careful analysis of the social backgrounds of those who won scholarships in Otago between
1878 and 1889, and he concludes that the distribution of winners' fathers' occupations is skewed towards the upper end of the social scale with labourers and manual workers under-represented. Without the scholarship system, of course, many children of white-collar workers and of the lower middle class generally, would not have got to secondary school and it is highly unlikely that any manual workers' children would have.

District high schools, where they existed, also made secondary schooling just possible for a handful of children whose parents could not have afforded to send them to one of the endowed high schools. Rural pupils with access to a district high school were spared the cost of travel and board and district high schools, adjuncts to education board primary schools, charged lower fees than full secondary schools. District high schools' fees were not, however, universally low. The Greymouth District High School charged £10 per annum in 1887, much the same as most endowed secondary schools; and the Hokitika District High School fees were set at £8 p.a. in 1890. Fees for a full course in Taranaki were set at £5 per annum in 1897 and the fees in Nelson were set at the same figure the following year. Even fees of £5 represented a considerable outlay for working class parents or struggling small farmers but education boards, where their resources permitted, provided free places for pupils who had qualified by passing Standard VI or making a good showing in scholarship examinations.

District high schools, however, for all their subsequently-praised maintenance of the Scottish tradition of higher education for the able poor, did not provide very many children with secondary education in the nineteenth century. By 1898 there were fourteen district high schools, all but two of them in the South Island, with 250 pupils, most of them with free places.
Neither the handful of district high schools nor the limited number of free places available in endowed secondary schools was sufficient to meet the demand for secondary education. The growth of Standard VII is clear evidence of that. The demand for free secondary education was commonly expressed in terms of social class. Why should a privileged group be able to send their children to schools which were beyond the working man's means but liberally endowed with land from the public estate? Some critics of the endowed schools used the slogan which Liberal critics of the sheep-kings' vast holdings used on the stump in 1890: both should be "burst up" and national assets applied to the common good.

In office after 1890 the Liberals lost interest in the secondary school question, and Reeves, rather than setting out to "burst up" the endowed schools, introduced a bill in 1893 to increase the number of free places. The schools, in conference in Nelson in 1888, had professed themselves in favour of more free places but Reeves's scheme caused alarm amongst the secondary schools' controlling authorities, and Reeves, after a somewhat lackadaisical approach in the House, let his bill lapse. His star was very much on the wane when he introduced a very similar bill in 1895, and the House was as indifferent to it as the secondary school authorities who must have been well aware that Reeves's position in the Liberal party had become quite isolated. 46

There were, however, people in and out of Parliament who maintained a sniping fire, as McLaren puts it, against the secondary schools and their exclusiveness. Parliamentary critics called for a series of returns showing the numbers of children in secondary schools who could not, properly speaking, be reckoned secondary pupils. In 1897, for example, 1,438 out of a total enrolment of 2,700 in all endowed schools had not passed Standard VI. 47 These statistics, together with the fact that thousands of children who had passed
Standard VI could only obtain further education in Standard VII, strengthened claims that secondary schools were simply "class schools".

Trades and Labour Councils and the Progressive Liberal Association demanded further free places in the 1890s and so did rural interests. It had long been recognised that rural pupils were handicapped by the scholarship system, the difficulties of rural life, and the standard of work in small rural schools. It was for these reasons that the Otago Board awarded such handsome scholarships and, like other boards, extended the age limit for entry for scholarships for rural pupils.

The introduction of free places between 1901 and 1903 has been well covered by other writers, notably McLaren, and there is no need to go into great detail here. 48

In 1901 district high schools were offered a scale of subsidies if they admitted children who had passed Standard VI to free places in their secondary departments. District high schools were under education boards' control and hence closer to the Department of Education than the endowed secondary schools but approaching them first also went down well with rural voters, especially voters with more sons and daughters than they needed on the farm.

In 1902 and by regulation secondary schools proper were offered subsidies on suitably qualified free place pupils provided they themselves provided a certain number of free places out of endowment income. The Secondary Schools Act 1903 required schools to either accept the Department of Education's free place scheme or to provide a specified number of free places from endowment income. When the secondary schools later failed to heed Hogben's pleas for practical, vocational courses he authorised the establishment of day technical secondary schools, at first in the main centres and then in provincial towns, and these schools, too, provided free places for the suitably qualified.
These moves resulted in an increase in secondary enrolments far beyond Hoqben's initial expectations. There were 14 district high schools in 1898; by 1916 there were more than 60, and their total enrolment had increased from under 300 to 2,115. There were 23 state secondary schools in 1898 and 31 in 1916 and enrolments increased from 2,310 to 6,585. In 1898 14 percent of pupils in state secondary schools had free places; by 1916 it was 90 percent and the proportion of high schools' income derived from fees and endowments had fallen from 99 percent to 36 percent. By 1916 there were also 2,105 pupils in day technical high schools so that state secondary school enrolment in the three sorts of schools was 10,805 compared with a little over 2,500 in 1898.49

It was still fair to say in the late 1890s that primary and secondary schools were parallel systems; but, as Murdoch makes plain, there was clear evidence of a move towards an "end-on" relationship, and this process was particularly well-advanced in Dunedin where most entrants to secondary schools came from the public primary schools.50 The free place schemes of 1901 and 1902 accelerated the move to "end-on" and the Secondary Schools Act severely limited secondary schools' freedom to run their own preparatory departments. Under the Act pupils who had not passed Standard V had to be taught in administratively distinct departments which could not be supported from endowment income. It is, therefore, not surprising that Standard VII rolls declined from 5,429 in 1898 to 2,325 in 1912 and that by 1908 only 33 pupils under 12 appeared on state secondary rolls.51

The abolition of inspectors' examinations up to Standard V was offset by a formidable array of examinations and awards in Standard VI. A Standard VI Proficiency Certificate entitled one to a free place in a high school or district high school while a Competency Certificate, a lower-grade Standard VI pass, merited a free place in a technical high
school. Education board scholarships were offered until 1912 and in 1903 Junior National Scholarships to secondary schools were introduced.

The Junior Civil Service Examination became, quite clearly, a secondary school qualification. G. Lee shows that by 1908 the post-primary syllabus was almost inseparable from the prescriptions for the Civil Service Examination and entries for that examination rose significantly. There were 473 candidates in 1901, 533 in 1903, and 1,423 in 1905. By 1912 there were 2,563 candidates, only 1,552 of whom actually wanted to join the Public Service.

Secondary schools not only expanded faster than Hogben had anticipated; they also failed to share his enthusiasm for practical, vocational courses. Hogben hoped that district high schools would become characteristically rural schools with a strong emphasis on agriculture and he expanded the options for the Junior Civil Service Examination to include home science, agriculture, dairy science, hygiene, book-keeping, and botany. But district high schools, like urban high schools, did not rise to the bait. They concentrated largely on subjects which teachers could teach and which were also subjects for Matriculation which was under the university's control, not Hogben's, and remained strongly literary and classical.

The whole point of going to a district high school, after all, was to qualify oneself for something other than rural life and some district high schools gained a wide reputation for providing an escape route for able pupils from rural areas where there was little prospect of congenial employment. John Stenhouse of Lawrence District High School was famous for driving pupils through examinations which enabled them to leave a declining former gold-mining settlement, but he was only the most notable of a number of gatekeepers. McKenzie shows that district high schools in similar settlements elsewhere contributed significantly to the lists of successful candidates in the Junior Civil
When the Cohen Commission asked the headmaster of the Hokitika District High School about vocational courses in his school he was blunt.

I may say that in our District High School the trouble is there is no demand at all for any special local training, because practically every boy and girl who goes to the High School here goes with the object of passing Junior Civil Service and Matriculation and getting off the Coast as soon as possible...Nearly all these boys who leave get into Government positions.

Passing Matriculation and being able to leave Hokitika for a Public Service billet would, of course, have made a great impact on the life of a particular boy or girl and biographies furnish many instances of people whose educational attainments were directly related to their later successes and status. But anecdotes and striking individual cases do not really tell us what impact differential access to education had on New Zealand society in general. Was level of education related to income in the population as a whole? One might expect, in a developing country, that any relationship between education and income would be swamped by other factors: enterprise and audacity in business, industry and access to capital in farming, and foresight or good fortune in both.

It is, unfortunately, not possible to answer this question directly from available data. Census results now include detailed tables showing the numbers at different levels of education in particular income groups, but tables of this sort were not produced until the 1966 census. Nineteenth and early twentieth century census forms included questions on education, but these were concerned only with literacy and school attendance. The 1916 census report was the last to include tables based on these questions. The 1921 census form included the customary questions on literacy and school attendance but the results were not published because they were considered uninteresting. There was little illiteracy by then and school attendance figures were available in the Department of Education's annual returns.
The 1966 census form was the first since 1921 to include a question on education, but the 1966 question differed considerably from the old question. It asked for level of education attained, not just current attendance, and this enables some consideration of the relationship between the adult fortunes of those who went to school before the Great War and their educational attainments. Those 65 and over at the 1966 census were born around the turn of the century or earlier and entered school around 1906 or earlier. By 1966 that age group was somewhat depleted with 95,357 men and 127,736 women. The sex-difference is accounted for in part by males' lower life-expectancy and in part by the Great War itself.

Table 18

Education and Income of Those Aged 65 or more in 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income p.a. ($)</th>
<th>University %</th>
<th>Secondary %</th>
<th>Primary %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under 1000</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>82.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000-2999</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000-5999</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 6000</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  100.0       100.0       100.0

N           5,700        68,986       147,443


Notes: Table omits those not stating income. University and secondary totals include those attending for one year or more at that level.

Level of education and of income in the group 65 and over at the 1966 census are shown in Table 18. A relatively small proportion of this age-group went to university or secondary school compared with the general population. Of males over 65, for example, only 30 percent had attended secondary school for a year or more while 62 percent of all New Zealand males over 15 had. What is clear, however, from Table 18 is
that those who had been to secondary school before the Great War had higher incomes, on average, than those who had not, and those who had been to university had higher average incomes still. The relationship between income and level of education in this group is statistically highly significant (chi-square = 48.9, df = 4, p. less than .001).

There is also a clear relationship between income and education for the sub-groups into which the age-group can be usefully divided: males working or retired, females working or retired. The strongest relationship is for males still actively engaged in the workforce, a sub-group of 22,469 men or 23.6 percent of men over 65. For example, 25 percent of men in this group who had been to university were earning over $6,000 per annum compared to 6.5 percent of those who had only been to secondary school and 3.8 percent of those with only a primary school education.

Retired males earned less, on average, than those still working but there is also a clear relationship between education and income among retired males. For example, 18 percent of retired men who had been to university had incomes of more than $3,000 per annum, compared with 5.7 percent of those with secondary schooling and only 2.2 percent of those with primary schooling only.

Women, on average, had lower incomes than men and women not actively engaged in the workforce, to use the census report's terms, had the lowest average income of all. But even in retired women's case there is a significant relationship between income and education (chi-square = 18.8, df = 2, p. less than .001).

The relationship between education and income amongst the retired reflects, no doubt, differences in life-time earnings, differences which enabled some to save more than others, to make investments, to purchase life insurance, or to contribute to superannuation schemes at higher rates. It seems reasonable to conclude that the amount of education the
over 65 group as a whole received before the Great War made a difference to their incomes over their lifetimes and was still making a difference in 1966.

All of this would be quite consistent with a purely meritocratic education system in which ability plus effort rather than social class origins, race, or sex determined the height to which people climbed the educational ladder. Differences between the education of boys and of girls will be considered in the next chapter and racial differences can be dealt with briefly here.

Education statistics have for many years shown clear and depressing differences between Maori and pakeha pupils in length of stay at school, success in public examinations, and destination on leaving school. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the situation was any different in the past; except, of course, that the differences were more marked. A handful of young Maori men gained status amongst Europeans through their educational attainments - Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck, and Maui Pomare are the best-known - but only a very small percentage of young Maoris enjoyed anything like this sort of educational success.

Social class differences in educational experience in the past are rather more difficult to demonstrate. There is now a small but growing body of well-grounded research on the relationship between social class and education in New Zealand. Current debate in Britain, Europe and America, however, makes it plain that "class" is a complex and contested concept and New Zealand scholars are by no means agreed on which Northern Hemisphere account of social class, if any, might be usefully employed in studying New Zealand society.

The class structure of nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand is an even more vexed question with competent historians clearly divided on the sorts of analyses they offer and on the usefulness of
census data. Did a significant number of New Zealanders perceive themselves as members of a working class? Is class consciousness a crucial determinant in any case? Does a sharp distinction between workers and owners help us understand a society with so many self-employed and small proprietors? And how, to take a perennial practical problem, does one make the sort of occupational classification on which any defensible account of the class structure of nineteenth century New Zealand must be based? Some historians, most notably Miles Fairburn, have pointed out that the Registrar-General himself fretted over the fluidity of occupational classification in the nineteenth century as people described themselves in ways which did not reflect their chief sources of income. Some standard occupational labels also covered a disconcertingly wide range of people. "Farmers" included men struggling on bush sections and men with vast pastoral holdings; country store-keepers put themselves down as "merchants" like the captains of commerce.

One must note these practical and conceptual problems, but one need not be defeated by them. One does not have to arrive at a finished and unassailable analysis of the structure of New Zealand society in order to discuss education in relation to broad, generally-accepted categories of occupation and certain clear differences in social status.

There is, firstly, some evidence in support of the egalitarian, meritocratic rhetoric accompanying the introduction of free secondary school places; evidence, that is, of a visible change in the social composition of the secondary school population. The schools themselves were well aware of this change. Secondary teachers' fretting over the New Zealand accent was largely in response to the free place pupils who came flooding into the schools after 1903. There was also considerable criticism of primary school pupils' lack of preparation for secondary school work. The decisive move to an end-on relationship after 1903
might have been expected to bring problems of curriculum coordination but some fussing about "preparation" was, in fact, fussing about pupils whose backgrounds and attitudes were relatively unfamiliar to secondary teachers.

The impact of education, and free secondary education in particular, on social mobility in New Zealand is something a number of historians have identified as an important topic for investigation, but it is only recently that McKenzie and his Otago students have begun the sort of detailed study needed to illuminate this matter. McKenzie's study of the scholarship system in the nineteenth century has been noted already. He has drawn attention to the importance of the Junior Civil Service Examination in the nineteenth century and H. Lee has studied the relationship between this examination and employment in the early twentieth century. The most pertinent research in the present context, however, is G. Lee's careful analysis of the social class backgrounds of entrants to Otago Boys' High School before and after 1903. Lee shows that in 1900-1901 the sons of large employers, farmers, professionals, government servants and white-collar workers were significantly over-represented amongst entrants to this school while the sons of tradesmen and manual workers generally were under-represented. The distribution of occupations of the fathers of the 1904 and 1905 intakes was still visibly out of step with census figures but there was a marked increase in the number of sons of manual workers. In 1900 7.2 percent of entrants were the sons of semi-skilled or unskilled workers; in 1905 it was 17.2 percent. Lee's data further indicate that a rather greater percentage of boys' subsequent careers indicated upward mobility, in relation to fathers' occupations, after 1903 than before (51.3 percent for the years 1903-1905; 37.6 percent for 1900-1902). And there was less downward mobility (21.5 percent) in 1903-1905 than in 1900-1902 (26.4 percent) and less "zero mobility".60
But while free places clearly had a democratising effect on secondary education the Secondary Schools Act hardly dissolved all social distinctions and advantages. One quarter of the 1905 entrants to Otago Boys' High were the sons of major employers, large landholders or professional men, a proportion markedly greater than the proportion of such men in the general population.

The expansion and diversification of secondary education did not mean parity of esteem between all types of secondary education and the differences between school types and courses quickly assumed the same importance as the old distinction between primary and secondary education. By the 1920s, when the Department of Education began to publish detailed, relevant statistics, the differences between high schools, technical high schools and district high schools in typical clientele and their length of stay at school, average attainments, and intended destination on leaving school were well-established. In 1929, for example 7 percent of boys leaving high schools and 14 percent of the girls intended to proceed to university or training college compared with 1 percent of the boys leaving technical high schools and 2 percent of the girls. Secondary pupils were much more likely to enter clerical occupations - the Public Service, banking, insurance and commerce than technical high school pupils. Twelve percent of boys leaving secondary school entered "various trades and industries" while 25 percent of boys leaving "techs" were so recorded. 61

This sort of difference was not documented in full before the Great War but there is clear evidence that this sort of distinction was operating then. The Director of the Southland Technical School told the Cohen Commission that his school had just opened with a roll of 140 pupils but this had not affected rolls at the Southland high schools, "for we have drawn our students from a source from which the high schools do not draw them." 62 John Caughley, headmaster of the West
Christchurch District High School, in his turn, told the Commission that when his school opened in 1904 he had expected 70 pupils but 165 turned up. His school's roll had not been affected at all by the opening of a day technical school in Christchurch. 63

The distinctions between technical and secondary schools were acknowledged officially in their entrance requirements. A Proficiency Certificate was needed for a free place in a high school but a Competency Certificate would gain one a free place in a technical school.

By the time of the Great War a quite well-defined hierarchy of secondary schools had been established in the public and professional mind. Certain of the old-established state secondary schools enjoyed considerable prestige: Nelson College, Christchurch Boys' High School, Otago Boys' High, Wellington College, and Auckland Grammar, with Waitaki Boys' High under the energetic Frank Milner joining them as a member of a sort of Ivy League. Of equal, if not greater, prestige were Christ's College and Wanganui Collegiate which had long catered for the sons of the commercial and pastoral establishment. Eldred-Grigg calculates, for example, that in the years 1890-91 25 percent of Christ's College boys were the sons of substantial South Island landowners with another 10 percent from equally prosperous North Island landowning families. 64 With the introduction of free places these private schools became, if anything, an even more important part of socialisation into the class of substantial land- and property-owners.

Christchurch Boys' High and Christ's College saw each other, rather than the West Christchurch District High School or the "tech", as rivals and their traditional annual rugby match, an important event in the Christchurch social calendar, was very much a "town-country match" between sections of the comfortable-to-prosperous middle class. The differences between schools like Christ's or Boys' High and the smaller
or newer state secondary schools, and the social advantages to be gained from their old-boy network, are nicely put by L.P. Leary whose father died when he was young so that an uncle stepped in to plan the Leary boys' education. The uncle was upset to find the boys still at school in Palmerston North. They had, Leary recalls, to go to Wellington College "where we should meet many of the boys who would be prominent later on." Leary's uncle proved correct: "for years afterwards when I had to deal with a department in Wellington I would find Jumbo or Monkey at the head." Whether George Powlds shared Leary's uncle's views is not clear, but he sent his sons to King's College in Auckland as soon as it opened in 1908. This might have been taken by critics as a vote of no confidence in the system Powlds headed but it seems to have occasioned no comment.

The social function of the new, smaller state secondary schools, and of the district high schools and technical schools was, in general, rather different and best understood in relation to changes in the occupational structure of New Zealand with economic and technical development.

Table 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Males 1891</th>
<th>Males 1916</th>
<th>Females 1891</th>
<th>Females 1916</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Domestic</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>42.7</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Commercial</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Transport,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Industrial</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Agriculture</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Indefinite,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not stated</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N: 207,346 355,175 45,417 100,259

Source: New Zealand Census.
Table 19 shows the percentages, for men and women, in the categories used in census reports in 1891 and 1916. The differences between men and women in both years are as might be expected. Of more significance in the present context, however, are the differences, for both sexes, between 1891 and 1916, with increases in the percentages classified professional, commercial and working in transport and communications, and with a marked decline in the percentage of women in industrial or domestic occupations and of men in agricultural occupations.

Many of the trends displayed in Table 19 are more pronounced in Table 20 which makes the same comparisons for young workers.

Table 20

Occupations of New Zealand Workers Under 20, 1891 and 1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Males 1891</th>
<th>Males 1916</th>
<th>Females 1891</th>
<th>Females 1916</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Domestic</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Commercial</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Transport, Communication</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Industrial</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Agriculture</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Indefinite, not stated</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>36,371</td>
<td>41,915</td>
<td>15,117</td>
<td>24,531</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: New Zealand Census.

Once again the differences between males and females are as might be expected and there are some interesting differences between younger workers and workers as a whole. In both 1891 and 1916, for example, younger female workers were less likely than older workers to be classified professional, and younger workers seem to have taken more
care over their forms for far fewer of them are classified indefinite or not stated. The most significant fact, however, is the relatively greater change amongst younger workers in the proportions in various categories. The marked shifts among female workers in the percentages working as domestics and in commercial occupations occasioned considerable public comment at the time, had marked educational repercussions, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

It should be noted here, however, that young males also showed more marked shifts than their older workmates into the commercial, professional, and transport and communication categories and away from industrial. These are, of course, very broad categories taken directly from census reports and they mask important differences in actual work performed, income derived and status accorded. Transport and communication, to take an obvious example, includes both the General Manager of New Zealand Railways, who presided over a considerable empire, and mailmen and telegram delivery boys. Changes in occupational structure are, however, clear enough even under these broad headings and they become clearer still with finer classifications. Miles Fairburn concludes, for example, that between 1896 and 1926 salaried white-collar workers increased from 10 to 22 percent of the workforce while the percentage of manual workers fell from 65 percent to 58 percent.67

This expansion of the white-collar group in absolute and relative terms amounts, Meuli concludes, to the growth of a new middle class, a class dependent on educational and technical qualifications rather than labour power in the sense of muscles to rent or the ownership of the means of production. The new middle class, Meuli remarks, has not been of as much interest to historians as manual workers on the one hand or small farmers on the other, and he chides Sutch for his "almost neurotic preoccupation with dairy farmers and their rapid proliferation".68 Nor have white-collar workers had such a stirring history as manual workers;
they had no militant unions and as a body, Meuli says, they threatened no one. 69

Between 1896 and 1926, however, the new middle class, made up of salaried professionals, sales and office workers, public servants and teachers, grew significantly faster than the old middle class of free professionals, businessmen and proprietors. Over that period the male workforce increased by 91.6 percent, the old middle class by 77.2 percent, blue collar workers by 82.5 percent, and the new middle class by 166.1 percent. 70

A significant proportion of the new middle class were public servants. Central government staff, Ewing concludes, after allowing for double-counting when the same person held more than one named office, amounted to 10,167 in 1892 and 23,975 in 1912-13, an increase of 136 percent. 71 This increase in staff, Ewing shows, had more to do with economic development than the government's welfare function. Seventy-two percent of the increase in central government staff can be attributed to the Railways Department and the Post Office and "economic" departments expanded relatively faster than "welfare" departments, i.e., there was more rapid expansion in departments handling tourism, state coal mining, life insurance, public works, land and customs and excise than in those dealing with justice, pensions, education, health, hospitals, and the native population. 72

The relevance of education credentials to these developments is obvious enough; in the case of the Public Service, of course, they were written-in in the 1890s; and while it was possible to enter the Public Service by the "back door" until 1912, it became harder to squeeze through that door in 1907 when the Public Service Classification Act limited "temporaries" to six months service. Ewing has analysed the entry qualifications of those who were in the Public Service in 1914 and shows that 49.1 percent of those who entered between 1900 and 1907 had
passed Junior Civil Service while of those entering between 1907 and 1914 82.6 percent had Junior Civil Service. Muli notes that while the general population increased by 90 percent between 1902 and 1926 entries for the Junior Civil Service examination increased by 900 percent.

There is, on the face of it, something a little odd in employers of clerical labour asking for secondary school qualifications for the most favoured subjects for both Junior Civil Service and Matriculation were "academic" rather than technical or clerical. Did Latin produce better officials or British History help workers in insurance, banking or commercial houses make a better fist of things? Maybe not, but secondary school qualifications indicated a number of things employers valued: a minimum level of literacy and computational ability, qualities of industry and application, good behaviour and some exposure to middle class speech and manners. A Standard VI Proficiency Certificate, which was increasingly demanded of lower-grade clerical workers, shop assistants, messengers and office boys, was a somewhat weaker guarantee of the same qualities and abilities.

Schools, particularly the technical high schools, also provided skills which were directly and obviously relevant to white-collar work: typing, shorthand, book-keeping, and commercial practice. The impact of new technology on industry and agriculture in New Zealand has been of much more interest to historians than technical changes in clerical work and commercial operations before the Great War. There were, however, a number of significant changes in office work during the period 1890 to 1914. Typewriters, duplicators, accounting machines, and telephones all became much more common and the telegraph and postal system handled a vastly increased traffic.

Tregear, writing in 1894, foresaw clerical unemployment as a result of new technology. The linotype and "automatic accountant"
would, he thought, "decimate the ranks of clerks". There was instead a steady demand for clerical labour and for people to use a steadily-growing number of new office machines. Between 1900 and 1914 New Zealand imported, for example, 16,651 typewriters and the technical high schools were unable to cope with the demand for courses in typing and shorthand. Some Christchurch primary schools added these to their offerings in Standard VII. The Addington School had a Standard VII shorthand class in 1908, and in 1904 one of the East Christchurch Committee members organised a typing class which attracted thirty pupils. Private commercial "colleges" also sprang up to offer, for a fee, the skills young people needed to take advantage of opportunities for office work. In 1911 291 males and 278 females were enrolled as day pupils in private technical schools. And many more young people were taking shorthand, typing, book-keeping and commercial practice in evening classes at state technical schools and high schools. State secondary schools, particularly those in the smaller centres and rural districts also came under pressure to include commercial courses for day pupils.

Office work was particularly attractive to girls as Table 20 indicates. Girls' schooling in relation to employment will be discussed in the next chapter: the point here is simply that in addition to providing examination certificates schools also provided courses directly relevant to certain classes of employment.

Schools certified pupils for employment in a variety of ways in addition to formal examination credentials. Pupils could cite the courses they had taken and their marks in them, school reports and a variety of proofs of character. Loveday's cadet discharge certificates have already been mentioned in this connection. To them one can add testimonials, badges and certificates for good attendance, prizes, and teachers' direct, personal recommendation when employers came looking for staff.
Headmasters, primary and secondary, dealt on occasion directly with employers and nominated suitably qualified pupils for jobs. The New Zealand Schoolmaster noted in 1901 that teachers were having difficulty supplying boys to employers who came calling. This, the Schoolmaster suggested, was because of the war in South Africa, the increase in mining and "the general wave of prosperity passing over the colony." In 1912 T.S. Foster indicated that primary school headmasters were, if anything, finding it even more difficult than in 1901 to satisfy all the employers who asked them for suitably qualified lads. The demand for labour, together with continuation classes and the increased availability of secondary schooling, had reduced the number of pupils seeking work as soon as they passed Standard VI. "Every master in the place is pestered by employers just at the end of the year," Foster said, "and the supply soon runs out."

That same year the Assistant Inspector of Post Offices wrote to schools and education boards seeking their cooperation in a scheme to ensure a good supply of boys with Proficiency to work as telegraph message boys. Schools were asked to keep a register of eligible lads between the ages of thirteen and sixteen years for inspection by Post Office recruiting officers.

When employers wanted typists they often went directly to the technical colleges. The director of technical education in Nelson noted that, "Employers in Nelson nearly always come to me when they want a girl for the office." Many of the pupils who took up free places left after a year or less at secondary school, something which concerned Hogben. W.J. Morell, rector of Otago Boys' High School, told the Cohen Commission that up to one quarter of new entrants left his school at the end of the first term. This, he explained, was because a large proportion of them came from "a class which has been accustomed for generations to let boys go to work early" and because there was a great demand for young boys in offices.
It is clear enough that different types and levels of schooling to Standard VI and beyond became increasingly tied to certain classes of occupation: social mobility is, however, a rather different question. The relatively rapid expansion of white-collar occupations suggests, of course, that some white-collar workers must have been the children of manual workers, but to assess the amount of mobility in New Zealand as a whole would require a daunting research project. Pearson has made a detailed analysis of occupational mobility in Johnsonville based on fathers' and sons' occupations as recorded on marriage registers. His figures for 1906 to 1927, like those for the years 1883 to 1905, indicate considerable stability in farming between generations and in the blue collar/white collar distinction. But he also notes a clear expansion in clerical employment after 1906. He comments:

The greatest areas of mobility are between the different skill levels within the manual sector and across the subtle divide between craftsmen and lower white collar. Almost 30 percent of white collar sons (N=20) had blue collar fathers, skilled or otherwise, no doubt reflecting the fact that as educational opportunities improved by the turn of the century, in conjunction with the expansion of the white collar sector, many sons of manual workers moved into the lower reaches of the clerical world.

This mobility, and the growth in white-collar work generally, was only possible as Johnsonville grew to include a significant number of white-collar jobs. The new middle class for whom education was so important was essentially an urban middle class with a handful of outriders in the post-offices, banks, and railways stations in small settlements or working as clerks for stock and station agencies, mines, sawmills, and factories. It was suggested earlier that the new middle class's history includes no heroic figures and no disputed barricades, but that does not mean that its growth went unremarked and undisputed. Its urban nature meant, however, that its chief critics were rural and saw themselves as "the backbone of the nation" while towns were
essentially parasitic and supported puny loafers and clerks with soft, clean hands who gave themselves airs.

It is not at all clear that the limited movement Pearson talks of would mean much difference in income between, say, a son who was a minor clerk and a father who was a skilled tradesman whose services were in demand. But white-collar work had other benefits. It was clean, respectable indoor work and less physically demanding leaving people fresher for recreation, gardening and home repairs. Clerks, like anyone else, could be dismissed or stuck on the same salary year after year, but white-collar work was not threatened by seasonal layoffs, and illness and injury did not necessarily mean loss of livelihood. Superannuation schemes in the Public Service and, in due course, in teaching were also attractive. And clerical and shopwork was much more attractive to young women than domestic work.

The arguments and conclusions of this chapter can be quickly summarised. Urbanization and economic development contributed to the growth of clerical, commercial and public service employment, creating a group fairly described as a new middle class. The burgeoning secondary school system became quite clearly internally differentiated between school types and courses - technical/vocational, commercial, and academic - and private and public employers of white-collar workers looked increasingly to the schools to produce employees labelled as to scholastic attainments and character. The Standard VI examination grew in importance as a barrier between those who might contemplate clerical work or the professions and those for whom these were out of the question. There were rags to riches stories as working or lower middle class children, through hard work and the accumulation of scholarships, attained professional status, but the education system taken as a whole was scarcely the meritocracy Seddon on occasion proclaimed it to be. Social class background and parental resources made, then as now, a
world of difference to children's prospects, the length of time they stayed at school and their general familiarity with the respectable, print-oriented world of the secondary school and the university. Private Protestant schools catered for the sons and daughters of the landed gentry, the professional class, and the commercial elite as did certain high-status state secondary schools. The numbers of private schools, indeed, grew rapidly from the time of the Great War onwards, a growth which Butchers attributes partly to a demand for boarding accommodation, a standard feature of such schools, and partly to the democratisation of the old secondary schools. Private secondary school rolls increased faster between 1910 and 1920 than rolls at any of the three types of state secondary schools.

Two aspects of the developments described in this chapter should be noted. One is their psychological impact on children. Children at school were always, to a greater or lesser extent, aware of social class differences, the differences between the rough, truant or "gutter children" and the respectable, the differences that left the little Kelveys outside that charmed circle. The growing importance of Proficiency and the expansion and diversification of secondary education, along with the internal differentiation of secondary schools into vocational and academic classes provided stronger, clearer reminders of these differences.

A further consequence of the expansion of a new middle class was an expansion of the education lobby and an augmented chorus of voices urging the importance of education rather than the dignity of manual labour, the need for worker solidarity or the rewards due to those who ventured capital.
Notes to Chapter 21

5. AJHR, D-16, 1894, p.3.
8. NZG, 1885, p.773.
10. AJHR, E-1B, 1892, p.43.
16. LT, 20 October 1894.
17. LT, 17 March 1894.
19. NZSM, August 1898, p.11.
20. LT, 7 October 1898.
21. NZG, 1898, p.1659.
22. LT, 15 May 1899.
23. LT, 8 June 1907.
24. LT, 11 June 1908.
25. LT, 11 July 1914.
27. LT, 9 October 1895.
28. LT, 5 April 1895.
29. Grey Education Board Minutes, 15 January 1895.
31. LT, 3 March 1898.
32. LT, 31 March 1898.
35. LT, 8 March 1898.
38. Butchers, p.91.
40. AJHR, E-1, Session I, 1887, p.99.
42. AJHR, H-1, Session I, 1879, p.70.
43. McKenzie, 1981.
44. NZG, 1887, p.259; 1890, p.1375; 1897, p.1065; 1898, p.1105.
45. Butchers, p.95.
47. AJHR, E-9A, 1897, p.1.
54. NZG, 1912, pp.2442 et seq.
55. See O. Duff. New Zealand Now. Wellington, Department of Internal Affairs, 1941, pp.94-5, for a pen-portrait of this stern dominie.
57. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.370.
58. I have in mind here the research now being conducted by Hugh Lauder of the University of Canterbury and his associates.
62. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.334.
63. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.388.
70. Meuli, p.32.
73. Ewing, p.171.
74. Meuli, p.132.
75. AJHR, H-6, 1894, p.4.
76. NZOYB, 1901-1915, "Imports". Typewriters were classified under "metals, manufactures of" with anchors, tacks and rivets.
77. East Christchurch School Committee Minutes, 14 October 1904.
Addington School Committee Minutes, 14 July 1908.
78. New Zealand Census, 1911. "Education of the people", Table V.
79. NZSM, April 1901, p.133.
80. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.354.
81. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.661.
82. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.558.
83. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.237.
Chapter 22

GIRLS' EDUCATION

The standard histories of education in New Zealand by Butchers, Campbell, and the Cummings have had little to say about the differences between boys' and girls' education and the attitudes supporting those differences. Tennant's work on the campaign against higher education for women, Fry's history of the curriculum for girls, and Gardner's research on early women graduates all broke new ground quite recently.¹

There was, between the turn of the century and the end of the Great War, a determined campaign to differentiate girls' education, particularly their secondary education, from boys' to prepare girls for their adult roles as wives and mothers. That campaign was largely inspired by the belief that New Zealand had given boys and girls the same education and that this was a disastrous mistake. In fact the average girls' educational experience differed from the average boys' in a number of significant respects and reflected common assumptions about girls' needs and capacities in contrast to boys'. This chapter examines some of the differences between boys' and girls' education which were taken as a matter of course before the turning to the more explicit discussion of girls' education in the early twentieth century.

Table 21 compares the ratio of boys to girls in various educational institutions with the ratio in the school-age population. There were fewer boys aged five to fifteen than girls in 1881 and slightly fewer again in 1911. Then as now, slightly fewer girls than boys were born, 95 girls per 100 boys throughout the period covered by Table 21. But more boys than girls died before age five. The decline
Table 21
Females Per One Hundred Males in Educational Institutions 1881-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population aged 5-15 (a)</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State primary schools (b)</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated at home (a)</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At private schools (c) (including R.C. schools)</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic schools (c)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday schools (a)</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High schools (c)</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District High Schools (b)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Technical Schools (b)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending lectures at university colleges (c)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holders of Education Board Scholarships (b)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: (a) New Zealand Census.  
(b) Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.  
(c) Statistics of New Zealand.

In the proportion of girls in the school age population from 99:100 in 1881 to 97:100 in 1911 is a decline towards the birth ratio and is related, no doubt, to the cumulative effects of a decreasing rate of infant mortality and a slight change in the ratio of boys to girls dying before five. In 1881, 80.8 girls died under five for every hundred boys: in 1911 it was 78.3:100.

Throughout the period fewer girls attended state primary schools than might have been expected on the basis of population figures. Girls were more likely to be "educated at home", a category which covers those with governesses or dutiful parents and those whose schooling simply ended when their parents were able to spin the authorities a convincing story. Girls were also over-represented in private schools, whether Catholic, Protestant or private adventure schools.
Most of the imbalance in state primary schools, however, is accounted for by girls starting school later and finishing earlier, something Hogben noted on a number of occasions and to which he devoted a portion of his 1912 annual report. These days all but a few children begin school when they are five, but this was not always the case. Before the Great War some children did not go until they were six and others not until they were compelled to attend at seven.

Table 22

Number of Girls in Primary Schools at Each Age Per One Hundred Boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15+</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.

Note: Figures for 1881 only available for groups of ages. Bars in columns 2, 3 and 4 indicate leaving age.

Table 22 shows that parents were a little more likely to keep young daughters home until they were six or seven.

Table 22 shows a clear drop after the legal leaving age in the number of girls in primary schools, but in 1881, 1891 and 1901 girls were over-represented among the very oldest pupils. Very few children stayed until Standard VI and VII in the nineteenth century or beyond the age of thirteen or fourteen, but amongst those who did there were
significantly more girls than boys. This may reflect greater pressure on boys than on girls to find paid employment or help at home, but it probably has more to do with the smaller number of girls' secondary schools, parents' reluctance to spend money on girls' high school fees, and the number of girls among those hoping to become pupil-teachers. By 1911 a simpler pattern was well-established: the older the age-group the fewer girls with a marked drop after the legal leaving age.

There was also, in the twentieth century, a noticeable drop in the relative numbers of girls just below the legal leaving age. Girls, Hogben noted in 1912, seemed to progress to the standard of exemption faster than boys. Hogben also considered the possibility that girls were under-represented in the senior primary schools because more of them went off early to secondary school, but he discounted it.\(^2\) Table 21 shows that girls were over-represented at day technical schools, enrolled in district high schools in much the same numbers as boys, and markedly under-represented in high schools. High schools, however, accounted for the largest group of secondary pupils and over all girls were under-represented in secondary schools. Clearly girls received, on average, less schooling than boys and in 1909 Hogben remarked, "Apparently there are a certain number of parents who think that it is sufficient for a girl to have little more than half the amount of schooling a boy receives."\(^3\)

In primary schools both boys and girls were subject to the strict discipline and routines discussed in chapter 6. Girls, especially older girls, were generally expected to maintain higher standards of speech and deportment than boys and to behave in a suitably ladylike manner, and the court cases cited in chapter 6 show that girls were not spared corporal punishment but were routinely strapped for spelling and arithmetical errors and for misbehaviour. But the court cases resulting from severe floggings all involved boys, not girls, and education
boards' regulations sought to limit the strapping of girls. Girls were not beaten as severely as boys and not on the buttocks and in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was much less corporal punishment of older girls.

During the early years of the national system there was a widespread presumption in favour of segregating the sexes where possible, even to the extent of reproducing the British division into boys' and girls' schools and schools for "mixed infants". In 1880 the Taranaki Education Board announced that its small schools were mixed but its rule was to have separate schools in larger districts. The Nelson board also favoured separate schools where possible and had "reason to believe that in following this course it is largely supported by public opinion in Nelson." 

Separate schools followed British tradition and allayed parents' fears about the sort of children their daughters might encounter in the new national schools. They were only possible where there was a substantial school population, but even in "mixed schools" there was a good deal of segregation with boys and girls in different parts of the room or, where numbers permitted, separate classes. The infant room at the High Street School in Dunedin was fitted, at the turn of the century, with a wooden partition to separate boys and girls.

In the smallest schools it was still possible to have separate playgrounds. In 1880 the North Canterbury Board was at pains to point out that its separate schools in Christchurch and Kaiapoi were in deference to local feeling and that in other schools the children were kept apart in the playground. In 1882 Mr Edge, the board's inspector, urged schools which had not formally divided their playgrounds to do so. If they were divided, he said, parents' objections to sending their children to public schools would be removed.
The games boys and girls played in their separate playgrounds differed markedly. When children were left to play their traditional games in the nineteenth century girls played singing and skipping games rather than the rough, scragging games so popular with boys. Both sexes played knucklebones but marbles, knife-flipping games and tip-cat were very much boys' games.

Sex differences were even more marked once teachers "tamed the playground". When committees bought tennis gear it was almost always for the girls, and tennis courts were usually built in the girls' playground while goalposts and cricket pitches went into the boys'. Parallel bars and ladders, when committees provided them, went into the boys' playgrounds while the girls' got the swings.

There were marked differences between what was expected of girls and what was expected of boys at the sports meetings organised by the school athletics associations formed around the turn of the century. Boys and girls competed separately and girls' races were shorter than boys' with few long-distance races or none at all. Skipping races were organised for girls who only rarely competed in high or long jump events. The early meetings of the North Canterbury Public Schools Athletic Association were, in fact, two parallel meetings with boys and girls competing in different parts of Lancaster Park.

These differences were based on the assumption that girls were more delicate and less fit. The latter may well have been true in view of girls' more decorous playground games, their constricting clothing and the more limited demands made on them when teachers took drill. There was also the question of decorum. Girls could not run and jump freely unless they adopted a suitable costume, but some adults regarded sports costumes as immodest when worn by older girls. The physical education syllabus introduced in 1912-13 to replace cadet training brought complaints over both the suggested dress for girls and exercises
unsuitable for mixed classes of older pupils. Teachers themselves fretted over the question of modesty at their Saturday training classes, and Hogben had to assure the N.Z.E.I. in 1913 that regulations shortly to be gazetted did not require women teachers to wear short skirts as had been rumoured.

Considerations of modesty also meant that far fewer girls learnt to swim. Schools in and around Christchurch had swimming pools surprisingly early. Both East and West Christchurch had pools in the 1880s and by the early 1900s many Christchurch schools and a number on the outskirts had pools, and so do some rural townships. (Many of these early Canterbury pools were primitive and were subsequently closed by the Health Department.) The only swimming places available to most schools, however, were river pools or beaches without dressing sheds. The Department of Education distributed a special grant to education boards in 1900 to encourage swimming but the grant was small, facilities were meagre, and timetables were tight. In so far as this grant and the department's urgings had any great effect it was chiefly on boys' capabilities. Sole teachers, and there were hundreds of them, faced particular difficulties of supervision and decorum. Some male teachers found time to teach boys to swim while female teachers rarely taught anyone, boys or girls. And where girls were taught to swim their instruction might be limited to what was considered suitable for females. Eileen Soper and her classmates at Southland Girls' High were taught to swim breast-stroke and side-stroke and envied their brothers who learnt the trudgeon, an over-arm stroke, at the boys' school.

Athletics for girls were approved only up to a point. No doubt a certain amount of exercise was good for everyone and would make girls good, healthy wives and mothers. A certain interest in games was also a useful check on any tendency to become an unwomanly bluestocking, but too much sport could unsex girls, either by making them tough and
männish or by damaging their delicate plumbing. In 1912 the Lyttelton Times, editorialising on a recent hockey tournament for women, warned that, "A young woman cannot slip and fall about the hockey field... without risking graver injuries than can be repaired by a few weeks' rest." The Times went on to quote a doctor who:

...sees imminent danger in competition hockey, and particularly in tournament hockey, which the doctor cannot overlook and which the player with a growing sense of responsibility to the race should not ignore.14

Section 84(1) of the 1877 Act listed the subjects of instruction in primary schools, including sewing and domestic economy for girls and military drill for boys. Domestic economy, however, was not mentioned in Haben's 1878 syllabus regulations or in any other nineteenth century regulations. Nevertheless, a substantial number of girls were listed as learning domestic economy in official reports. Table 23 shows that nearly one fifth of girls in standard classes were, according to official returns, studying domestic economy in 1881 and 1891. These figures are somewhat inflated by returns from the Auckland education district where about forty percent of girls in the standards were taught domestic economy.

Table 23
Percentage of Girls in Standards Taking Sewing and Domestic Economy 1881-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Girls enrolled in standards, December</th>
<th>No. Taking Domestic Economy as percent of standard rolls</th>
<th>No. Taking Sewing as percent of standard rolls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>30,043</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>99.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>42,644</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>109.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>46,447</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>116.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>48,820</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>118.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Reports. AJHR.
Domestic economy as taught in the 1880s and early 1890s was very different from the practical schemes of manual training introduced around the turn of the century. The Education Act 1877 spoke, in fact, of "the principles of domestic economy", and in the absence of kitchens or demonstration facilities girls learnt the principles rather than the practice of domestic economy. Gazette lists of approved texts included a number of British texts on domestic economy and in the later nineteenth century "domestic economy readers" became available from British publishers. A wide range of special readers appeared in Britain to cater for the additional subjects listed in codes of instruction there. History readers were the most readable works in this genre for they could tell a tale directly, but special readers in science, agriculture, or domestic economy had to sweeten the pill with clumsy narrative devices and very often children read an account of other children being taught.

Longmans' Domestic Economy Reader, No V, for example, begins, "Allow me, dear Reader, to introduce you to a class of girls who are like yourself just entering Standard V." The rest of the book describes a series of lessons in which the superbly well-informed Miss Neville tells her class about hygiene and food chemistry. The girls are suitable admiring or puzzled at the appropriate points between long slabs of complicated discourse from their teacher.

"Now that you have finished your reading," said Miss Neville, "are you ready to ask some questions, or do you quite comprehend what you have read?"

"I should like to ask," said May Bradley, "why nitrogen is not set down after oxygen as a mineral food. Did you not tell us, Miss Neville, that air was made of more nitrogen than oxygen?"

"Yes, I did tell you that," said the teacher: "there are four parts nitrogen to one part oxygen. But it is not this free nitrogen that does the work of nourishing the body..."
These readers were used in the Wellington district in the 1890s and the number of girls being taught domestic economy in other districts suggests that these or similar readers were used there too.  

What the boys did, meantime, is not clear. Cheyne Farnie's Manual of School Method, a New Zealand work carefully tailored to the nineteenth century syllabus, does not mention domestic economy and his specimen timetables make no place for it. Domestic economy in the nineteenth century meant, it seems, no more than a certain sort of reading or oral lesson and so counted twice in official returns of the numbers taking specific subjects.

Sewing was a more serious, more practical matter. In 1878 regulations required sewing to be taught wherever there was a female teacher and most boards were able to pay local women £5 or £10 per annum to take sewing where there were no women teachers. Teachers eager to improve their pass rates were under a strong inducement to see that sewing was taken for the syllabus provided that:

If the inspector is thoroughly satisfied that the instruction in this subject is thoroughly satisfactory and efficient, he may reduce the minimum number of marks for passing the standards by ten percent in favour of the girls as compared to the boys.

There was, initially, some coolness towards sewing in some places. In 1879 Robert Lee remarked that in the Wellington district, "Needlework had not generally been taken up." Many teachers and committees, he said, thought sewing was better taught at home and that it disrupted the organisation of large, mixed schools. John Smith, Lee's Westland counterpart, reflected the more common view, however, when he called sewing "this indispensible branch of female education" and urged committees to make arrangements for it as soon as possible.
Table 23 shows that school sewing was well-established by 1881 and taught to the older primer girls as well as those in the standards. Inspectors had to inspect sewing to decide whether or not to grant the ten percent discount but it was also common to invite local ladies, often committee-members' wives, to examine the sewing as well in order to award prizes.

Sewing put a heavy burden on women teachers who often spent considerable time after school and in the evenings sorting out sewing and putting things right to keep large classes in step. In 1902, and with the introduction of a national salary scale, education boards suddenly had much less financial discretion and were unable to find allowances for sewing teachers. The Department of Education advised boards that the Minister could not make any special, supplementary provision for sewing mistresses and teachers' wives and local women stepped into the breach, unpaid, in many places.21

Farnie's specimen timetables record common practice in the 1890s. They provide for two hours of sewing per week for girls in the standards and for up to two hours per week for primer children. Sewing was to be taken while the boys had drill, but one of Farnie's timetables suggests that the two hours for sewing can be made up by dismissing the boys at the usual time on sewing days and keeping the girls until four o'clock.22 In later years girls had sewing while the boys had cadet training or gardening, agriculture, or science.

Syllabus regulations for primary schools included a number of minor dispensations for girls in addition to the general discount when sewing was well-taught. An elaborate drawing syllabus was introduced in 1885 in the name of technical education, but as the prescriptions came into full operation and came under fire from teachers it was announced
that girls need not be examined in geometrical drawing. In the 1890s it was further announced that children were to be presented with five problems in their arithmetic examination: boys had to get three right for a pass but girls could pass with two and a half right.

The ten percent discount for teaching sewing can be seen as an acknowledgement of the extra demands that sewing imposed on girls, but the other dispensations quite clearly reflect the common assumption that girls were not as apt at mathematics as boys. Nor, it was commonly assumed, did girls have as much need or capacity for science as boys. Hogben's 1904 syllabus stated that girls in the larger schools which were required to teach science and agriculture did not have to take these subjects if they took "course A" geography and health. The 1913 syllabus revision excused girls who took needlework and manual training from "any other elementary science."

Women teachers preparing for teachers' certificate examinations were also excused science. The 1878 regulations required female candidates for E and D certificates to show proficiency in needlework but allowed them to substitute health and domestic economy for elementary science. The 1887 revision of these regulations included the same provisions regarding needlework and science but added that women candidates could pass in arithmetic "on somewhat easier terms than men." In 1903 the regulations required women to take needlework and men to take science, but a woman could omit science by taking a language or elementary mathematics. In 1912, by which time the old E certificate was no longer awarded, needlework was made compulsory for female candidates for C certificates. Female candidates could still avoid science by taking elementary home science which was an alternative to chemistry. When the training colleges were re-opened and re-organised in the early twentieth century male students were required to
have military drill and rifle shooting and woman students to take needlework.31

Distinctions between boys and girls in the nineteenth century syllabus regulations for primary schools reflected assumptions about girls' capacities and interests which were largely unexamined and uncontested, but in the early twentieth century there was a determined attempt to differentiate the syllabus, particularly in secondary schools, as a matter of policy. Manual training had its scattered, uncertain beginnings in the 1890s, but it was dear to Hogben's heart and during his term of office primary school classes under the Manual and Technical Instruction regulations were established, not only in the main centres, but in provincial cities and towns as well. These classes for senior primary pupils were differentiated by sex as a matter of course with cooking and occasional forays into "laundry work" for girls and woodwork for boys.

Most primary school work made no particular distinction between boys and girls for it was concerned with basic subjects which were generally reckoned as necessary for girls as for boys, but secondary schooling was quite another matter for it was clearly related to adult status and employment and single-sex schools and distinct "sides" or courses offered much greater scope for differentiating girls' work from boys'.

The previous chapter outlined the way in which secondary schools and courses became differentiated along broad social class lines as enrolments grew. Social class distinctions were only rarely explicitly discussed, but girls' secondary education and the ways in which it should differ from boys' came in for a good deal of discussion. There were, of course, appreciable differences between boys' and girls' public secondary schools in the nineteenth century. Only one public secondary
school for girls was established during the provincial period - Otago Girls' High - and far fewer girls went to secondary school than boys. Secondary education for boys as well as girls was classical and literary rather than scientific, but girls' schools were even less likely than boys' to offer science while girls' schools offered such womanly arts as needlework and domestic economy and put more emphasis on art and music than boys' schools. Those in charge of boys' and girls' schools, however, shared a common conception of secondary schooling, a conception more precisely defined when the secondary schools resolved in the 1880s that a pass in the university's matriculation examination marked a successful course of secondary study. 32

Many people thought, of course, that secondary education, and even a completed primary schooling to Standard VI, was simply unnecessary for girls and quite irrelevant to their adult lives as housewives and mothers. The editor of Zealandia, a shortlived literary magazine, voiced this view in 1889 when he wrote:

I appeal to the most rabid Women's Rights advocate whether such domestic occupations as I have mentioned do not form the real life of the great mass of our women, while their ordinary school teaching is of little or no use to them in their daily life...The domestic training of our girls is being elbowed even out of our homes by the pernicious system obtaining in our public schools of treating our future wives and mothers as if they were boys in petticoats, and cramming them with subjects which, though useful (to some extent) in the business life of men are certainly useless to ordinary women. 33

There were, furthermore, an increasing number of people who considered an advanced education for girls not merely irrelevant but personally damaging and socially disruptive, threatening to family life and all too prone to produce the "new woman" or the "shrinking sisterhood" whose blood-curdling doings kept so many cartoonists in useful
employment. The most anxious considered the security and stability of the colony itself threatened by changes in women's role.

Most women married and most had children, but more and more women were entering employment and the birthrate had fallen steadily since the 1870s so that it was easy for the anxious to convince themselves that women were abandoning the traditional role on which everything depended. Figure 5 shows that the actual number of births each year declined between 1883 and 1893 and then rose, slowly at first and more rapidly after 1900. These trends are clearly related to the economic situation and the number of women of child-bearing age in the population. The birth-rate, expressed as the number of children born per 1,000 women aged 15 to 45, however, showed a steady downward trend. In 1877 this index stood at 221.3; by 1901 it was a little over half that at 111.7.34

This decline in the birthrate led to demands that contraceptives be outlawed and to dire predictions of the deterioration or even the extinction of the "British race". Some argued that lower fertility showed how far this deterioration had proceeded already. These forebodings were strengthened by the Boer War which was a serious blow to British self-esteem and provided unpalatable evidence of poor physical condition in recruits. Racial and military anxieties centred on the birthrate, plus conservative fretting over changes in women's role, prompted stern demands for a restoration and refurbishing of women's traditional role as wives, mothers and housekeepers.

There were similar campaigns to promote motherhood and sanctify domesticity in Britain, the United States and Australia.35 All of them were, at bottom, reactions to the growth of wage-labour under developed capitalism and the decline of the family as an economic unit so that women's unpaid domestic work was more and more clearly hived off from
men's work outside the home, particularly in urban areas. When women joined the paid workforce they threatened men's status by providing employers with a cheap alternative source of labour, and they threatened men's authority when they sought entry to hitherto wholly male occupations.

The particular shape this debate took in different countries in the early twentieth century took different forms depending on specific local anxieties. New Zealanders and Australians more often saw things in terms of racial integrity and the need to populate their new lands with whites to forestall the Asian hordes eyeing attractive empty spaces. In Britain, but not in New Zealand, the question of women's role and capacities raised the question of whether or not they should be given the right to vote. But whatever their differences in detail British, American, New Zealand and Australian campaigns to promote domesticity had, as they proceeded, a number of common elements: an emphasis on women's natural moral and religious sensibilities, concern over the birth-rate and infant health, and a belief that education was one of the best ways to mend matters. And in all of these countries it was argued that modern medical and scientific knowledge clearly demanded different forms of education for boys and girls once they had been given a grounding in the basic subjects.

To the modern reader the "medical knowledge" on which the case for differentiating boys' and girls' education rested looks like a series of unconfirmed hunches or ancient prejudices solemnly invested with the trappings of science. The best-known New Zealand exponent of the medical case against higher education for girls was Dr Frederick Truby King who gained a considerable reputation as a bold and original thinker on health and social matters. But when King inveighed against a traditional secondary education for girls he was simply voicing what had become an orthodoxy in socially conservative medical circles.
The central tenet of the medical case against higher education for women was that it damaged their sex organs and impaired menstruation, fertility and lactation as well as causing general physical debility or mental breakdown. Dyhouse traces this view back to Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Biology* written in 1867, but Spencer foreshadowed his 1867 conclusions in his *Essays on Education* in the 1850s. His essay on physical education included a reasonable plea for physical exercise for girls and adequate playgrounds at their schools. A solid diet of demanding studies without periods of exercise would, he argued, undermine their health and impair their development. Spencer then slid towards the view that any prolonged, advanced study was bad for women. He cited three women he knew who had broken down as a result of mental over-exertion; too much study produced angular, flat-chested women, and in any case men were attracted to well-developed bodies and feminine ways, not proficiency at languages and mathematics. In *Principles of Biology* Spencer warmed to this theme and warned that undue intellectual activity in women caused sterility. Highly educated women had few children or none and they had trouble in breast-feeding when they did marry and conceive.

These views gained a wide currency among doctors. Truby King read Spencer while studying medicine at Edinburgh in the early 1880s and by that time Spencer's views were standard fare in medical texts and popularised in the "home doctor" books by which so many households set such great store. One such "home doctor", for example, was the very popular *Practical Home Physician and Encyclopedia Of Medicine* which was written by Henry Lyman and his collaborators in the early 1880s and went through more than a dozen editions by 1900, including one "specially revised and adapted for the Australasian colonies."
Lyman et al's basic premise in arguing against education for girls was that on which so much medical writing on sexual matters rested: namely, that there was a fixed fund of energy available and drawing on that fund for the wrong purposes must limit what was available elsewhere. Dire warnings about self-abuse in males usually cited a mysterious "vital energy" but Lyman saw the connection between intellectual activities and the female sex organs as a simple matter of blood supply. It was well-known, he said, that when an animal had to expend muscular energy in fight or flight its digestion slowed.

The animal does not contain blood enough to support great activity of both stomach and muscles at the same time. So, too, the development of the girl's reproductive organs requires the circulation of large quantities of blood in these organs. The mental activity necessary to prepare and recite her lessons demands the circulation of large quantities of blood through the brain. The girl has not got blood enough to perform both lines of work at the same time. Menstruation slows her brain; study slows her menstruation.\textsuperscript{40}

Hence, Lyman et al. concluded, girls should be kept home one or two days each period, not just during puberty but for three or four years thereafter. In many cases it would be necessary to withdraw the child altogether from school "during the early months or years of puberty" to ensure normal female development.\textsuperscript{41} "For if the brain be worked continuously, the ovaries must be slighted; and if slighted, the insult and injury can never be repaired."

This theory found its way into textbooks on education and manuals of school method where it was outlined in rather more discreet fashion with less reference to periods and sex organs. Bray's School Organisation, for example, warned that puberty brought dangers for, "If at this time the vital energies are mainly directed to the brain the other organs of the body may become impoverished and consequently improperly or imperfectly developed."\textsuperscript{42}
New Zealand medical men warned against intellectual activity in women long before Truby King burst upon the scene. In 1879 Dr Kemp, quoting Spencer, warned the New Zealand Institute that "nature was a strict accountant" and that women would suffer when they were obliged to earn their livelihood "at the expense of excessive brain-work". Kemp's comments attracted little attention but in 1896, when there was growing concern over the birthrate and the National Council of Women had just held its well-publicised inaugural meeting, Dr William Stenhouse warned an intercolonial medical conference in Dunedin of the risk incurred in "any form of continuous study or labour during the establishment of the menstrual function," and he urged the strongest opposition to the "present trend of female higher education." It was Truby King, however, who gave such arguments the most publicity and worked hardest to have them reflected in the school system. His address to the Froebel Club in Dunedin in 1906 was reported throughout the colony and printed, along with other material, as a substantial pamphlet, The Evils of Cram. His views were highly newsworthy at a time when secondary education was expanding rapidly under the free place system, and other medics as well as inspectors and headmasters were interviewed by newspapers or volunteered their views on the dangers of an unduly scholarly education for girls.

King, quoting Spencer and more recent medical authorities, warned of racial degeneracy if girls were overtaxed by study as they entered womanhood. Some Girton College girls had become insane and he had had unduly studious Dunedin girls under his care at the Seacliff mental hospital where he was superintendent. His audience might have wondered if studious girls always suffered. Supposing a girl coped with her studies easily? King would have none of that. A relative of one of the
unfortunates at Seacliff had remarked, "She seemed fond of her studies, and they did not seem any trouble to her." This, King claimed, was "one of the most seductive pitfalls in education." When a girl took to study kindly that was "the very instance where the greatest restraint should be exercised by any far-seeing teacher." 46

Girls' education should be reformed and revised to fit them for their future role as wives and mothers; irrelevant and damaging studies should be abandoned in favour of domestic training, mothercraft, and a judicious physical training. To give boys and girls the same education was, he told the Plunket Society in 1909, "one of the most preposterous farces ever perpetrated." 47

King spoke with considerable authority. He was an effective, humane superintendent at Seacliff and his efforts to decrease infant mortality through hygiene and diet were undeniably successful. And many educationists, Hogben among them, were ready to agree that the traditional secondary curriculum was donnish and demanding, that Latin was over-valued and of doubtful relevance to colonial pupils, and that boys and girls would benefit from practical and scientific studies.

King was also right when he argued that many older girls were over-taxed when preparing for examinations. Girls were less likely than boys to have physical education, female clothing was heavy and restrictive, especially if it included tight-lacing, and girls were often expected to do a considerable amount of housework as well as getting through the heavy load of homework demanded of secondary pupils.

But King, his colleague Dr Batchelor, and others of like mind were not content with reasonable evidence that girls were over-taxed nor with exploring all the conclusions which might follow. King was concerned only with evidence to support his campaign for true womanhood as he saw it, and it is highly unlikely that anything would have shaken his belief that, "The normal woman is never safer, healthier, happier or more uplifted than during pregnancy." 48
King's supporters among the public at large were even less concerned with weighing evidence or with the rules of logical implication. When King linked child-rearing with national defence and the fall of the Roman empire, when he claimed that a conventional secondary education turned girls into imperfect women, and when he hymned the benefits of domestic training for all girls he touched, as Olsson puts it, "the fears and phobias of the urban and rural well-to-do." 49

If girls had to be at school after puberty, and it was not clear that they should be, how much better for them and the nation if they studied womanly things, not subjects which would bring them into competition with males or make them take an interest in unsuitable topics. With domestic training homes would be better and brighter and more comfortable and there would be fewer deserted wives and drunken husbands. If schools could foster true womanhood the birthrate would be improved or, at the very least, those babies who were born would survive and grow up strong and good under strict routines and pure, womanly moral and religious influences.

The suggestion that girls should be socialised into the traditional women's role at the state's expense was particularly appealing to the middle class, women as well as men. If working and lower-middle class women could be made dutiful wives and thrifty housekeepers social harmony would be enhanced and less would need to be spent on asylums, Charitable Aid, and female refuges and the growing shortage of domestic servants would be overcome.

The "servant problem", Tennant suggests, was an important element in middle class support for domestic education, compulsory if need be. There were those who regarded any paid work by married women, especially those with children, as an obvious evil and they could, once more, take comfort from Spencer who argued in his Principles of Sociology that in
the "higher forms of society" women generally did not work outside the home. Then there were those who did not mind girls working until they were married but were uneasy over the sorts of work young women were taking up. Rural conservatives were particularly quick to criticise the schools for making boys into clerks and civil servants and girls into typists and shop assistants and thus promoting the growth of essentially unproductive towns and cities. Agricultural education for boys would promote a taste and capacity for productive, rural labour and domestic training for girls would reverse the flow of girls into shops, offices and factories, a flow which had generated an unhealthy shortage of domestic servants.

When those arguing for domestic training cited the servant problem they had, for once, clear statistical evidence on their side, at least when they had cheap, youthful labour in mind.

Table 24
Workers and Unpaid Domesticics Under 15, 1891 and 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Workers</th>
<th>Unpaid Domestic</th>
<th>Workers and Domestic as Percent of Population aged 13-14 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>7,046</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>46.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>6,492</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>4,551</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>2,322</td>
<td>4,297</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1,957</td>
<td>4,309</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1,777</td>
<td>2,741</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: New Zealand Census.

Note: Unpaid domesticics are those classified "Dependent on natural guardians, performing domestic duties for which remuneration is not paid."
Table 24 shows the numbers of workers under fifteen on the labour market between 1891 and 1911. The majority of boys were recorded as being in paid employment; the majority of girls were classified as unpaid domestics who helped parents and other relatives. When the two categories, paid employment and unpaid domestic, are added together the numbers of boys and girls under fifteen working are very similar and show a similar decline from more than forty percent of thirteen or fourteen year olds to little more than a quarter of them.

Table 25
Workers Aged 15-20, 1891-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Males</th>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. in Workforce</td>
<td>Percent of 15-20 year olds</td>
<td>No. in Workforce</td>
<td>Percent of 15-20 year olds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>29,578</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>12,784</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>38,446</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>17,502</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>39,334</td>
<td>87.8</td>
<td>20,247</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: New Zealand Census.

Note: Number in workforce is total minus those "dependent on natural guardians" or "dependent on public or private charity."

Table 25, which deals with the age group fifteen to twenty, shows two contrary trends. The percentage of males in the workforce declined slightly, largely as a result of the expansion of secondary schooling, but the percentage of young women in the workforce grew steadily and offset any shortage of youthful labour which might have been caused by boys staying longer at school.

But these general trends are less significant than the changing composition of the youthful female workforce. As Table 20 so clearly shows the percentage of young women working as domestic servants declined dramatically while the percentage working in shops and offices grew. The upturn in the economy in the later 1890s and the consequent
expansion of commercial activity, together with new business equipment, provided young women with new alternatives to working as household servants, paid or unpaid. Telephone exchanges, for example, provided employment opportunities simply not available in the 1880s. In 1893 it was reported that the first "telephone operating cadettes" had finished their first year's work and proved so satisfactory that twenty more were to be hired. There were soon long waiting lists of girls eager to take up this relatively well-paid, clean indoor work.

These trends in female employment all contributed to the "servant problem" so earnestly discussed in middle class and official circles. Some saw a quick and easy answer in further immigration. In 1907 C.H. Mills, member for Wairau, asked the Minister of Immigration to get the High Commissioner in London to send out some respectable servant girls to relieve the "miserable and unpleasant tension which now exists throughout the country in so many homes."

Government assistance to immigrants, which had been discontinued in 1891, was resumed in 1904 and in 1906 the practice of nominating immigrants to be brought out partly at government expense was revived in modified form, chiefly in order to unite families in New Zealand. A number of young women did immigrate from Britain as domestic servants, some of them with government assistance and some with the help of British agencies or prospective New Zealand employers. In 1907, for example, twenty-eight young domestic servants arrived on the Ionic in the care of Miss Golding of the Girls' Friendly Society and the British Women's Emigration Society.

The supply of servants from immigration did not satisfy those wanting maids and cooks and in 1909 Parliament received fifty-three petitions for the free immigration of servants as a matter of immediate necessity. Some thought the problem could be solved by looking beyond Britain. In 1901 there was some discussion of importing Chinese and
Japanese servants and in 1903 H.E. Field, member for Otaki, urged the government to consider the introduction of "natives of North India" as domestic servants.\textsuperscript{55} These Indians would not stay in New Zealand but would, in due course, return home where their savings would make them "practically independent for life." Seddon's reply was predictably unfavourable: "The government was unable to take into consideration the importation of any coloured labour." British or nothing, it seemed; and when a Fendalton lady suggested importing Danish girls there was little enthusiasm for that either.\textsuperscript{56}

Not everyone favoured importing maids and cooks, even when they were British. In 1910 James McCombs, later Labour M.P. for Lyttelton, protested vigorously at a scheme for bringing out fifteen or sixteen year old servants as wards of the state. It would, he said, be nothing less than a revolting scheme of indentured labour and it was, in any case, merely a scheme to subsidise the rich.\textsuperscript{57}

Edward Tregear suggested in 1897 that part of the solution to the servant problem lay closer to home than employers realised. It was not surprising, he said, that girls preferred factory work in view of, "the eccentricity of the orders given in many homes, the constant reminders of a supposed inferiority, and the long hours."\textsuperscript{58}

"A Mother", writing to the Wellington Post in 1909, had a charmingly direct solution to the servant problem.

\begin{quote}
If a law was passed to keep girls out of offices we could have plenty of healthy cooks, general servants, mothers' helps, waitresses, etc., without the immigration of foreign domestics.\textsuperscript{59}
\end{quote}

"A Mother" must have felt a surge of hope when Massey's government, which had promised its rural supporters to limit the growth of the civil service, limited male candidates for Junior Civil Service to those who seriously sought a job in the Public Service and precluded girls altogether on the grounds that there were no Public Service jobs suitable for them. Neither this blatant act of discrimination nor the
quiet readmission of girls to the Public Service when clerks were scarce during the Great War greatly affected the servant situation, however.

Some people obviously felt the servant problem keenly enough to suggest desperate remedies but it was generally agreed that reforming girls' education would be a better, surer solution than importing Indians or outlawing "cadettes". With the addition of the argument from the servant problem the case for domestic education became very comprehensive. Most women became wives and mothers; domestic training would help bring the "wilfully sterile" into line; those who did not work before marriage would become more use to their mothers; those who did work would gravitate towards suitable, womanly employment.

The case for domestic training did not go uncontested. When King's colleague Dr Frederick Batchelor told the Plunket Society that most female medical students broke down during their studies and women never made more than mediocre practitioners Dr Emily Siedeberg publicly challenged him to produce the evidence for this. Dr Agnes Bennett deplored the readiness with which leaders of church and state accepted the dubious case for limiting girls' education and at the 1914 Australasian Medical Congree she opposed King's motion in favour of an education which would give girls "the best all-round equipment in body, mind, morals and inclination for home life and motherhood." 60

The Rector of Otago Boys' High dared publicly question some of the claims King made in his speech to the Dunedin Froebel Club and King devoted thirty pages of The Evils of Cram to an often intemperate reply. 61

"G.H.S." spoke, in a letter to the Christchurch papers in 1910, for girls who valued and enjoyed an orthodox secondary education. She deplored attempts to impose a limited secondary education on girls because it would not develop the intellect and would take away equality between the sexes. She thought her secondary education had done her
inestimable good and that what was proposed was cramped and limiting.  

The 1907 Te Aute conference resolved in favour of domestic training for Maori girls so they could work as servants, but when John Thornton, headmaster at Te Aute, raised the matter again young Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter Buck) objected. Modifying the curriculum at Hukarere and Queen Victoria School was merely a plan to make Maori girls occupy "lowly positions in European households."  

But such objections were far outweighed by the groups and individuals in favour of domestic training. In 1910 the Secondary Schools Conference passed a resolution affirming "the desirability of domestic science forming a part of every girl's education." The new Professor of Home Science at Otago, Miss Boys-Smith, joined the president of the Dunedin Eugenics Society and others in petitioning Parliament for compulsory domestic science in secondary schools and continuation classes to solve the servant problem. Truby King himself, backed by the growing prestige of the Plunket Society, raised the matter again and again in speeches and at conferences in New Zealand and abroad.

Predictably, the Cohen Commission heard a succession of witnesses enthusiastically endorse the case for domestic training for girls. Male witnesses were particularly enthusiastic. Murdoch McLeod, headmaster of the Temuka District High School, after a hymn to motherhood, suggested that girls should be excused parts of arithmetic, geography and drawing in order to do cookery, laundry-work, household management, home-nursing and child-care. Angus Marshall, Director of Technical Education in Dunedin, suggested a form of female conscription to match boys' obligation to undergo military training. All girls between fifteen and eighteen, he said, should be required to report to technical schools one night a week for domestic training.
Very much the same views were expressed by a number of senior woman teachers. Emily Chaplin of Christchurch East thought that the last two years of girls' primary schooling should be on domestic topics. Drawing, arithmetic, and geography should be cut back to make time for hygiene, housekeeping, childcare, etc. 68 Elizabeth Helyer of the Wellington Women Teachers' Association also urged cutting back some subjects so that girls could have homecraft, laundry-work, and dress-making and she urged the segregation of the sexes in the higher standards to reduce competition between them. "How humiliating it must be," she thought, "for a boy to be beaten in a subject by a girl." 69

Truby King himself could hardly miss such an opportunity and made a ringing plea for better school hygiene and ventilation, and for less cram and more exercise for both boys and girls, before he mounted his customary hobby-horse. He quoted British and American medical men, G. Stanley Hall's research in America, and his colleague Dr Batchelor to show that the wrong education for girls was physically damaging.

The testimony of New Zealand doctors is emphatic and conclusive as to the irreparable harm that is being done. Our present system of over-strenuous so-called higher education for girls, focussed especially on the classics and higher mathematics, and the cramming of English, history, or even music for examinations, competitions and scholarships, has a grave dwarfing tendency in two directions - the frame and bodily organs are liable to be more or less starved, and the development of the higher and more specially womanly qualities are found to suffer still more - qualities which are the glory of womanhood - qualities which stand highest in the whole range of human faculty and sentiment - the "eternal womanly" of Goethe - the higher affections, tenderness, helpfulness, devotion to family, home and friends: in a word, unselfishness and altruism in their most natural and most beneficent practical expression. 70

Secondary education could leave a girl a physical and moral cripple but primary schooling was also dangerous, for it led pubescent girls to study hard for free places in secondary school and, King told the Commission, Dr Lindo Ferguson of the Otago Medical School had warned that that led to eyestrain, shortsightedness, and nervous breakdown.
The Commission's final report repeated King's chief assertion—in less extravagant language—and suggested remedies.

There is evidence to show that the present primary and secondary education system presses with undue severity on girls between the ages of twelve and seventeen years. It is suggested that this evil might be reduced by a judicious extension of the system of accrediting, by differentiating the school-work required of girls and boys, by greater prominence being given to the domestic science course, and by limiting the amount of homework set in secondary schools.71

The differentiation of boys' and girls' education was already quite marked in some schools well before the Commission made its report. Manual training in primary schools has already been noted and the Junior Free Place subjects included, by 1908, agriculture, dairy work, hygiene (including health and first aid), domestic science, cookery, dress-making, and woodwork. High schools and district high schools, to Hogben's regret, were reluctant to take up practical subjects when the traditional subjects were all-important in gaining examination passes, but in 1906 agriculture was added to the options for Junior Civil Service and in April, 1912, some months before the Cohen Commission reported, domestic science became a further option.

Technical day schools, with their explicitly vocational aims, offered the greatest opportunity for differentiation and by 1911 there were marked differences between boys and girls as Table 26 indicates.

Table 26
Enrolments in Day Technical School Courses, 1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>598</td>
<td>693</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Education. Annual Report. AJHR.
The number of girls taking commercial courses would not have pleased the most fervent apostles of true womanhood. What, after all, was the use of steering girls away from academic subjects if they then became typists and clerks rather than maids and cooks? The remarks of the directors of technical schools who appeared before the Cohen Commission make it clear, however, that this was something they tolerated rather than welcomed, and they were certainly not out to subvert family life by enrolling girls in commercial courses.

A.A. Hintz, Director of Technical Education in Nelson, told the Commission that all pupils in day commercial courses were girls, but he indicated that this was for the boys' benefit, not the girls'.

In the commercial course they are all girls. I do not believe in making cheap clerks out of the boys. If I can keep a boy out of a day commercial course, I do so.72

George George, director in Auckland, had no objection either to making cheap clerks or typists of girls because he was sure it would only be temporary.

A girl seems admirably adapted for that kind of work, and it is a class of work that does not require a tremendous amount of brains. It requires a good general education and a girl, generally speaking, fills her vocation in life and becomes a wife and mother.73

W.S. La Trobe, director of the Wellington Technical School, was much less prepared to leave domesticity to chance.

We make the girls who are taking the day course in commerce take a course in domestic economy as well. By that means we hope to correct any tendency for them to come just for a couple of years to fit them for shorthand and typing in offices. They must take cookery, hygiene and dressmaking if they have free places.74

It is hardly surprising that a significant number of girls resorted to private commercial colleges to get the training, and only the training, they wanted. At those colleges, of course, they had to pay while a boy planning, say, to become a lawyer proceeded along the main stream of secondary schooling on a free place.
High schools concentrated on examination results and the standard secondary subjects and were, as a result, rather less differentiated than technical schools where the pupils were classified into distinct vocational courses. Girls in secondary schools were steered away from science and higher mathematics and into domestic science courses by the ways in which schools structured their timetables and the advice principals gave girls and their parents, but merely offering girls domestic science and urging them to take it did not have the desired effect and in due course compulsion was necessary. In 1917 the free place regulations were amended to make home science virtually compulsory for all girls and girl candidates for Matriculation were required to present a certificate of home science. This did not preclude girls taking gynecologically damaging subjects, but it did add to their workload.

High school enrolments in specific subjects were not reported in detail until the time of the Great War. By 1917 39 percent of girls in schools were taking home science, and in 1919 it was 64 percent, a very considerable increase. Table 27 shows the percentages of boys and girls enrolled in specific subjects in 1919, by which time girls' education differed markedly from boys'. Both sexes took the staple secondary subjects: English, mathematics, languages, history and geography. But there was a marked difference in their other subjects with very few girls taking pure sciences and far fewer boys than girls taking applied subjects. The push for practical, relevant subjects clearly had a much greater effect on girls than on boys and resulted in them being channelled into subjects which were less likely to allow them to pursue their studies at a higher level.
Table 27
Enrolments in Secondary School Subjects as
Percentage of all Enrolments, 1919

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Boys Percent</th>
<th>Girls Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin and Greek</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Sciences</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botany</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hygiene</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book-keeping and Commercial</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shorthand/typing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodwork</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cookery</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History and Geography</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home science/domestic science</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needlework</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Nursing, first aid</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry Work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total enrolments                      | 4,685        | 4,221         |

Source: Department of Education. Annual Report. AJHR.

Steering girls away from science and, later, away from higher mathematics created a vicious circle which was to exercise the authorities in the 1950s and 1960s as they sought women teachers of mathematics and science for girls' schools. Female primary teachers were, as has already been noted, able to steer their way to a teachers' certificate without taking science and relatively few of the girls who proceeded to university and became secondary teachers were then qualified to teach science and mathematics.

A woman born about 1900 later recalled that as a girl she had liked science but her headmistress considered French and English more suitable for girls and arranged her course accordingly. As a result she was ill-prepared for science at university because she had only taken domestic science which she remembered as a "very shallow hotch-potch of
a very little chemistry, a very little physics, and a little bit of food chemistry." She persisted, however, and won a chemistry prize in her second year at university but was made so unwelcome by the professor of Chemistry that she transferred to Botany and Zoology only to be squeezed out of Zoology by a professor who found mixed honours classes embarrassing.76

This young woman, it should be noted, was not only ill-served by ungracious professors but by a woman teacher who, like Miss Helyer and Miss Chaplin, subscribed to the orthodox view of what was suitable for girls. There is no particular mystery in women promoting an education designed to limit girls' choices for weighty medical authority favoured it and some women clearly had a direct interest in promoting domestic training. Professor Boys-Smith could have been expected to promote her subject and middle class women's hopes for an end to the servant problem have been noted already. Some women teachers may also have been moved by a certain amount of self-interest when they urged a differentiated schooling for that would have ensured a certain number of senior positions for female teachers.

What proportion of women teachers subscribed to King's views cannot now be determined but it is clear that many did, and few actively opposed them. There was, moreover, a sense in which all women teachers, whatever their private views, reinforced the orthodox view of women's capacities and appropriate social position. Feminist writers on education these days have emphasised the importance of role models in shaping girls' educational choices and vocational aspirations and their general perception of women's place in society. Before the Great War women teachers provided girls with the most common examples of well-educated women in paid employment, and in rural areas they were often the only examples. But girls would have learnt that in teaching as elsewhere paid employment was only for the unmarried, that women enjoyed
only limited status and independence, and that even well-qualified women were, as a matter of course, subordinate to men. There were very few married women teachers and ultimate authority in education, and most day to day decisions of any great consequence, rested with men - headmasters, inspectors, members of education boards and school committees.

Very few women sat on education boards in the nineteenth century. Miss Harriet Herbert was the first woman to do so when she was elected to the Hawke's Bay Education Board in 1878, but she only served one term. Miss Emma Richmond and Miss Jessie Heyward were elected to the Taranaki Education Board in 1886. Mrs Richmond retired in 1890 but Miss Heyward stayed on until forced by illness to retire in 1902. Mrs Jane Dougherty was elected to the same board in 1903 but defeated in the election in 1906. No other board could claim as many woman as Taranaki before the Great War and most had none. In 1893 the Women's Franchise League ran two women candidates for the Auckland Board and Mrs Drusilla Watson sought a seat on the North Canterbury Education Board: all three were defeated.

Women had rather more success in gaining seats on school committees, but were never more than a small minority of members over all. It is not absolutely certain who the first woman elected to a New Zealand school committee was, but The Sumner School History claims that honour for a Mrs Preston, widow of a Sumner doctor, sometime in early 1890s. It is significant that this honour is claimed for a widow. Until 1903 women were largely excluded from sitting on a committee or voting in committee elections. The School Committees Election Act 1891 followed the common understanding when it defined householders as owners or tenants of real property, which ruled out most women, and it tied parents' right to vote to guardianship so that women only had an incontestable right to vote when they were widows with property or children at school.
When Mrs Tasker was elected to the Mt Cook School committee in 1895 other members opposed her taking office on the grounds that she was a married woman and so unqualified. There was a great deal of newspaper correspondence on the subject until Mrs Tasker produced a lease and receipts for rent signed by her obliging husband and the Wellington Education Board pronounced her duly elected. 81

Mrs Tasker lost her seat the following year but there were female successes elsewhere. Mrs Sherwood came second in the poll for the Westport committee, and Mrs Finch was not only elected to the Waimangaroa committee but further elected chairwoman. 82 Several women were elected to Auckland committees in 1897 and Mrs Maude Turner became chairwoman at Huia. 83 Notwithstanding these notable elections there were relatively few women candidates; those few were by no means always successful, and women candidates sometimes proved as controversial as Mrs Tasker. In 1898, for example, there were only four women candidates in Auckland: one was declared ineligible and the other three were defeated, while at the householders' meeting to elect the Auckland City Schools Committee there was a general fracas over a woman candidate. According to newspaper reports one man was "laid out" and blood flowed freely before the police quietened things by arresting two men. 84

The School Committees Election Act 1903 put men and women on an equal footing when it stipulated that, "in the case of husband and wife, any qualification possessed by either of them shall be deemed to be possessed by each of them." The 1904 elections were the first conducted under the new dispensation and the Yaldhurst householders made history by elected New Zealand's first all-women committee. 85

The new Yaldhurst committee attracted national attention and was publicly congratulated by M.P.s and the W.C.T.U. and may have stimulated the election of women elsewhere. A few years later William Butler of Christchurch expressed what was then a rare view but became quite common
later; namely, that all committees should have at least some women members. He promised to resign himself, if need be, to ensure that there were at least two women on the East Christchurch committee and when only one was elected he gallantly stood down in favour of the woman who had come tenth in the poll to fill nine places.86

Relatively few women, however, served on school committees before the Great War and fewer still chaired one. The committee members who addressed children on patriotic occasions or, as "visiting committees", looked over their work each month and to whom teachers deferred were still overwhelmingly male. It is probably no coincidence that women only appeared on school committees in significant numbers once committees had been shorn of their former powers of appointment and oversight of schoolwork.

Girls' schooling, then, provided them with constant reminders of females' limitations and natural subordination. Curriculum, textbooks, games, playground equipment, examination prescriptions, and their female teachers' subordination to men all reflected and reinforced the view that women were more fragile and less intellectual creatures than men. Little wonder that strong-minded girls chafed at the restrictions they felt and impressionable girls became convinced of their own inferiority.

Those who preached domesticity and motherhood and a differentiated schooling were quick to deny that they considered women inferior. It was not a matter of inferiority or superiority, they insisted, but of different functions and obligations. True womanhood and true manhood were complementary, not competitive. Such disclaimers usually included an emphasis on women's unique moral sensibilities, the purity of mother love and women's unique capacity to shape the character of the rising generation. Of this sort of sop to women Lorna Duffin comments:
Most men did not in fact believe that women were their moral superiors...It was, I suggest, a negative view of women linked to the more important belief that women lacked sexuality. Woman might be morally superior in the negative sense that she lacked corrupting sexual desires, but she was always morally inferior by virtue of her weaker nature.87

Duffin was not writing of New Zealand but the campaign here for domestic training supports the same general conclusion. The whole point of that campaign, after all, was to recall girls to the social and biological duties they were selfishly and recklessly ignoring, to check their foolish enthusiasms for hockey and algebra and to compel them to take their appointed part in the defence of the Empire.

It is relevant at this point to recall that some women went to South Africa shortly after "our brave boys" and to compare their send-off with the encomiums heaped upon the departing troopers. In 1902 the British government asked New Zealand for twenty women teachers for the Boer children rounded up with their parents and placed in concentration camps (the term was coined then) as part of an attempt to deny guerillas support in the countryside. The New Zealand authorities duly advertised these jobs at £100 per annum plus rations and quarters, by no means a generous salary, and more than two hundred women applied. After medical examinations fourteen of the best-qualified were sent off to Natal and Transvaal in May, 1902.88 When the North Canterbury Education Board was asked to hold women teachers' positions for them, as had been done for teacher-troopers, the board voted against it and Mr J.L. Scott explained that women teachers going to South Africa were not actuated wholly by patriotic motives: "they desired to secure good positions, and at the same time benefit themselves."89 The board did not relent until the Minister of Education specifically requested boards to grant women the same rights in the matter as their male colleagues.90 Questioning "our boys'" motives in joining the rush to South Africa would, of course, have been tantamount to sacrilege.
The essential difference between Mr Scott and Truby King was one of style, not fundamental attitude. The ideology of true womanhood was not original to Truby King or even Spencer and contemporary fundamentalists can find ancient authority for female subservience. What was new was the presentation of ancient prejudices as something quite new, as matters of sober realism and scientific fact. Mr Scott would have been much more in tune with the times had he claimed that there were inescapable differences between men and women in patriotic sentiment as a result of differences in pelvic structure.

A further clear indication that women were considered inferior, morally and otherwise, is the concern expressed over the growing numbers of women teachers in the early twentieth century. Those who supported coeducation thought it would gentile the boys and strengthen the girls but it was widely agreed that too many women teachers would mean so much female influence over boys that they would be effeminised. If that had been taken to mean that they would display all the virtues King listed as he took wing in his evidence to the Cohen Commission there might have been less fuss. But the possibility that boys might become more like women was greeted with horror because that meant becoming weak and foolish.
Notes to Chapter 22


2. AJHR, E-1, 1912, p.8.
4. AJHR, H-1A, 1880, p.54.
5. AJHR, H-1A, 1880, p.65.
7. AJHR, H-1A, 1880, p.69.
8. AJHR, E-1B, 1882, p.17.
9. NZSM, December 1900, p.77.
10. NZPD, vol 166, 1913, p.393.
11. LT, 18 October 1913.
12. See LT, 19 and 26 March 1887 for the East Christchurch and West Christchurch schools' swimming sports in their respective school baths.
14. LT, 17 September 1912.
16. AJHR, E-1B, 1898, p.21.
18. NZG, 1878, p.1311.
20. AJHR, H-1, 1878, p.74.
21. LT, 14 August 1902.
23. NZG, 1893, p.1525.
24. NZG, 1894, p.951.
26. NZG, 1913, p.3689.
27. NZG, 1878, p.1307.
28. NZG, 1887, p.889.
29. NZG, 1903, p.2283.
30. NZG, 1912, pp.765 and 767.
31. NZG, 1908, p.3196.
34. NZOVB, 1928, p.112.
41. Lyman et al., p.888.


46. King, 1906. Lyman makes just the same point. A girl, he says, should not be allowed to go to school during her period, "particularly if she be ambitious or studious." (Lyman et al., p.888)

47. Tennant, 1977.


49. For King's comments on the fall of empires see: Snowden (comp), pp.39-40. Ollsen, 1981.


51. LT, 6 June 1893.

52. NZPD, vol 139, 1907, pp.250-1.

53. LT, 5 December 1907.

54. AJHR, I-1, 1909, p.8.

55. NZPD, vol 126, 1903, p.648. Re Chinese or Japanese servants see LT, 23 February 1901.

56. LT, 4 January 1907.

57. LT, 15 July 1910.

58. AJHR, H-6, 1897, p.ix.

59. LT, 7 April 1909.

60. Tennant, 1977.


62. LT, 29 March 1910.

63. LT, 29 February 1908.

64. LT, 21 May 1910.

65. LT, 7 September 1912.

66. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.430.

67. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.208.

68. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.377.
69. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.539.
70. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.655-6.
71. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.20.
72. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.557.
73. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.166.
74. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.530.
75. AJHR, E-1, 1917, p.48; E-1, 1919, p.31.
77. AJHR, H-2, 1879, p.2; H-1A, 1880, p.61.
79. LT, 3 February 1893. CP, 7 September 1893.
81. LT, 30 May 1895.
82. CP, 29 April 1896.
83. CP, 6 May 1897.
84. LT, 26 April 1898.
85. LT, 9 July 1904.
86. LT, 30 April 1908.
88. For the recruitment of these teachers see AJHR, A-1, 1902, p.38; A-2, 1902, p.79; E-1, 1902, p.xxxv. LT, 8 and 27 March 1902.
89. LT, 20 March 1902.
90. LT, 1 May 1902.
Chapter 23

CONCLUSION

By the time of the Great War the New Zealand education system was firmly established in the general form in which we encounter it today. There was an extensive network of state primary schools, free secondary schooling was well-established and growing steadily, and training colleges' courses were supplementing training as a pupil-teacher and would, in due course, supplant the old form of apprenticeship. The Department of Education retained its firm hold over the primary school curriculum; it had, with the introduction of free places, assumed considerable control over the secondary school curriculum; and it had greatly increased its administrative authority at the expense of education boards and governors of secondary schools. Schooling to the age of fourteen and beyond was firmly established in the public mind as a customary part of childhood, and for all but a recalcitrant minority of parents the school attendance laws were simply a reminder of an accepted parental duty.

The creation of a national system of education was not a clumsy or brutal imposition on urban workers or rural settlers. Attendance rates were low in the 1870s and 1880s and rural parents made extensive use of child labour, but the majority of parents did not have to be coerced into enrolling their children at school and the majority were readily enough persuaded or shamed into sending their children more and more regularly.

As chapter 2 shows, many small settlements actively sought schools and made sacrifices of time and money to get them. New Zealand
primary schools, especially in country districts and small towns, were very much "our schools" and were often established after local representations or through the special efforts of local boosters or Members of Parliament. Fund-raising for prizes, books or equipment and working bees to clear playgrounds, make playing fields or to plant shelterbelts also helped make the schools "our schools" rather than a branch office of a government agency like a post office or railway station.

School committees, too, provided a continuing link between schools and their communities. C.C. Bowen's Education Bill included a provision for a local rate, partly as an inducement to parents to send their children to school and partly to give committees some funds of their own. This clause, however, was deleted and committees were left with little financial discretion under the 1877 Act, especially when a modest additional grant to them was abolished as an economy measure in the 1880s. But, although school committees had very limited resources and did not constitute a counter-weight to education boards as Bowen had hoped, they did, nevertheless, enjoy considerable control over many of the matters described in this thesis. Committees decided whether or not to permit the Nelson system of religious instruction, whether or not to allow Mr Bligh to speak to boys, whether or not to post the Ten Commandments on classroom walls. Where temperance or moral instruction received specific attention it was, in a number of cases, at the committees' urging, and the earliest school cadet units were generally found in schools where teachers and committees were of like mind in their enthusiasm for military matters.

Recently Miles Fairburn has sharply questioned what he terms "the Gardner/Oliver legend", namely that nineteenth century New Zealand was a series of cohesive local communities. Fairburn points to the high proportion of unmarried males in the nineteenth century and to the high
rate of geographical mobility and he suggests that in many ways, "New Zealand localities were more like transit camps than island communities." Isolated households and long hours of work, Fairburn argues, also tell against the Gardner/Oliver view, and further evidence of the flimsy nature of the social fabric is to be found in the short life of institutions like libraries, Mechanics Institutes, self-improvement and sports clubs. And where these institutions survived, he notes, attendance was often low, and he cites school attendance rates as one instance of this.

But it is a mistake to lump schools with faltering cricket clubs or poorly attended debating societies. Schools were, firstly, enduring institutions. When they were closed it was because communications had improved or because the population shifted when a mill closed, the railhead advanced or the gold ran out, not because local interest flagged. Furthermore, to attend school only half the time was very different from only attending half the meetings of a club or association. Even a dismal rate of attendance meant much more time at school than at any other local meeting place. Schools were important, enduring meeting places, and if Fairburn is right about the atomized nature of local communities in the nineteenth century then schools were very important meeting places indeed in rural districts and small towns.

Schools provided children whose parents may have met only infrequently with a regular meeting place where they formed friendships (and antagonisms), developed common attitudes and a common manner of speech, and swapped news which they took home. Schools, in fact, were a very useful part of the bush telegraph in rural areas and a way for adults to pass on messages, magazines, and newspapers.

Schools provided adults with meeting places too, at concerts and dances and around the committee table or at work on the grounds or the woodpile. In 1881, for example, 17 percent of New Zealand's places of
worship were public schools. The percentage varied from census to
census and was as low as 13 percent in 1906, but in 1916 it was back up
to 23 percent and 870 schools were used for religious services. Schools
were particularly important in this respect in rural areas, in some
counties more services were held in schools than in churches or
chapels.\(^2\)

With urbanisation and better communications, with the establish-
ment of viable clubs, libraries and sport teams, and with a better stock
of halls and churches, schools, taking New Zealand as a whole, became
less important as meeting places for adults, but they still retained
this function in rural district. By the time of the Great War, however,
schools had increased in importance in other ways more directly related
to their primary purpose. The school system had become more extensive,
more expensive and more diversified; it was more often assumed to be the
most appropriate agency for effecting specific moral and social reforms;
and schooling was much more clearly related to adult status and
occupation.

Chapter 21, which outlines the growth of the examination system,
deals essentially with a process of credential inflation. By 1914 a
Standard VI pass, rather than one at Standard IV, was the general
leaving certificate, the mark of a satisfactory basic education. The
Junior Civil Service Entrance Examination, once attempted by children in
Standard VII, had become a secondary school qualification and with the
passage of the Public Service Act 1912 and the closing of the "back
door" it was the only way in to permanent employment in the Public
Service, as well as a useful credential for those seeking white-collar
work in the private sector.

The growth of the school system, and the secondary school system
in particular, and the development of an elaborate scheme of
examinations did not mean a series of point-by-point connections between
types and levels of schooling and particular types and levels of occupation. A Standard VI pass, for example, neither guaranteed nor precluded a certain status or occupational and social security. Prosperity and status could be achieved, particularly in the nineteenth century, in ways which had little to do with school credentials or with vocational skills acquired in the school system.

But while the connections between education on the one hand and income, status and occupation on the other were often loose, some specific, closer connections can clearly be seen. The most highly-regarded secondary schools for boys, for example, Christ's College, Christchurch Boys' High, or Nelson College, were an important part of socialisation into the commercial and agricultural establishment; and they created networks of friendship and association which were fostered by visits during vacations and frequently strengthened when one old boy married another's sister.

The examination at the end of Standard VI did not provide a pipeline to any particular adult occupation, but it was an effective filter to some, and for many children passing Standard VI and taking up a free place at secondary school meant a clear parting of their ways from those of their former classmates. Harold Kidson went off to Nelson College on a scholarship in 1901 and he later recalled, "All my primary school companions from the valley now went to work, and I lost touch with them." Many of those who left primary school to go to work accepted it as a matter of course or of incontestable necessity, but others were more resentful, especially when the parting of the ways at the end of primary school reinforced evident social and economic distinctions. Jean Boswell describes the resentment struggling settlers in her home district felt at storekeepers' profits.
As the years passed and we saw the children of these storekeepers able to go to high schools and colleges and advancing in honour and success in their professions there grew in us a bitterness that time has never completed eradicated.

The lines drawn by passing or failing Standard VI or by going to high school rather than straight to work were not fixed for all time in all cases. Jean Smith herself, for example, married C.W. Boswell who later became a member of the first Labour Government and an envoy to the Soviet Union. She herself became an effective public speaker, a J.P. and an author who enjoyed a certain New Zealand reputation for her newspaper and magazine articles and books on rural life.

Those who did not pass Standard VI or who, having passed it, did not go to secondary school did not necessarily have to abandon any hopes they may have had for security and status—although the odds were lengthened—but they did have to abandon any plans they may have had for certain sorts of careers and Standard VI was an effective filter to white-collar occupations.

Chapter 21 points out the clear connections between the expansion of secondary education in the early twentieth century and the expansion of a new middle class. Clare Toynbee points out that Anthony Giddens's three-class model (old middle class, new middle class, working class) rests uneasily on nineteenth century New Zealand because so few depended on education and technical skills and so many owned land. That is true, but from the late 1890s onward the model fits better and better with urbanisation and the expansion of white collar employment in commerce and the Public Service.

Urbanisation was viewed with horror by many people and roundly condemned by those who subscribed to what Fairburn terms "the rural myth" which located all virtue in rural life. The schools were urged in the twentieth century to foster the rural myth. Hogben's hopes for district high schools in this regard and his plans for agriculture and nature-study generally have been well-documented. And the Cohen
Commission's report spoke of the "disquieting evidence" of the growth of cities in the 1911 census results and it recommended that the syllabus should be clearly slanted towards "the primal industries".6

But while pressing the schools to teach agriculture did mean some increase in the numbers taking rural subjects it did not halt the "drift to the cities", nor did it have much impact on rural life as a whole. Rural parents proved obdurate, Philistine or cheerfully pragmatic, depending on one's point of view, in demanding academic subjects which led to portable school qualifications which enabled children to forsake the country for the town.

The failure to direct satisfactory numbers of young people away from academic or commercial subjects and into agriculture as a school subject and then as an occupation underscores an important general point implicit in much of this thesis, namely that the schools were not automatically at the service of any particular group of would-be reformers or directors. Official policy was not always effectively implemented and when implemented did not necessarily have the desired effect. Schooling has unintended consequences; new policies had to contend with the inertia of a diverse system, with administrative procedures and traditions, and with misinterpretation.

McKenzie sums up on this point by warning historians of education that:

No matter what the official rhetoric says that people should want education for (and what kind of education people should have), consumers (in sufficient numbers) will act to get the kind of education they want and thus influence educational policy.7

The implementation of specific policies was sometimes problematic or half-hearted, and interest groups had the further problem of getting their cherished reforms adopted in the first place. Again, as this thesis shows, the schools were contested ground; they were not automatically at general respectability's service either, as witness the
repeated failure to overturn the secular clause at a time when more New Zealanders, proportionally, were active church members and most of the rest paid lip-service at least to Christianity. Nor were matters which did make an impact on the schools the work of a single, dominant group of conspirators or directors: this thesis is concerned with what McKenzie calls "the hubble and bubble of interest groups" rather than chronicling the successive enthusiasms of a single, clearly defined group.

Having described the schools as contested ground, however, one should hasten to make clear the nature and limits of campaigns to determine schooling's social and moral content. It was not, by and large, a contest in conventional political terms with allegiances centring on organised political parties, not a battle between Liberal and Reform or between the two of them and the infant Labour Party. The Liberal Party under Seddon had some of the features of a modern, disciplined political party, for example Seddon's requirement that candidates pledge him their support in return for official endorsement, the "hallmark" as it was known. But party discipline was not strong in Parliament and the Liberal parliamentary party embraced a wide range of views on social and moral issues so that debate on education in Parliament did not follow clearcut party lines. Nor did debate in or out of the House follow recognisable class lines as might have been expected had the labour movement developed a detailed educational programme.

Looking back over educational debate of the period one finds Tories saying Tory things far more often than one finds working class spokesmen saying anything particularly radical, let alone anything based on insights into education's role in reproducing the relations of production in a capitalist economy. Cook, Davey and Dick note much the same lack of radical working class commentary on education in South
Australia in the nineteenth century and they account for this by appealing to the fractional, sectional structure of the working class. Spokesmen for organised labour, they conclude, expressed the aspirations of "the more privileged fractions of the working class", and the apparent paradox of labour leaders echoing bourgeois educationists was sustained by the specific division of labour in a capitalist society.  

Where, then, does one find any working class recognition of the oppressive nature of the school system? Cook et al. find it, in South Australia, in the "covert and overt resistance" of working class children to schooling, in their refusal to speak correct English, in the way in which they vandalised schools and occasionally burned one down, and in their "passive resistance" in the classroom, a passive resistance which inspectors described as dullness and apathy. This is striking stuff, but it is guessing. It is much more parsimonious and more plausible to attribute apathy and lack of progress at school to fatigue as the result of work before classes, to poor health and diet and fear of punishment, and to the excruciating boredom of long, formal lessons in uncomfortable classrooms. And in New Zealand much "resistance" of this sort was by "milking children" whose parents are more properly classified petty proprietors than working class.

One would have to turn tired, bored, uncomfortable or unruly New Zealand children into proletarian protesters against a bourgeois system to find any sustained working class resistance to state education here. The "Red" Federation of Labour certainly had something to say in condemnation of school cadets, particularly with the introduction of the comprehensive, compulsory system in 1909-10, and it was suspicious of "the rot about Empire", but it did not develop a detailed critique of education, nor did education loom large amongst its concerns.

Education was more prominent in the platforms of moderate labour organisations, but their policies were scarcely distinguishable from
those of liberal reformers or teachers' organisations. The two chief planks in the New Zealand Labour Party's platform in 1910 were, for example, free, uniform texts and the extension of free, secular and compulsory education. The moderate United Labour Party, formed in 1911, had a more detailed policy which included free, secular and compulsory education to 15, free textbooks, the replacement of military drill by physical education, and part-time study for all, including those in employment, until 17. This was the sort of policy most schoolmasters would have warmly approved and, according to Heath, it was actually a schoolmaster's work and had been drawn up by J.H. Howell, director of the Christchurch Technical School, for the Christchurch Fabian Society a few years earlier.

The Cohen Commission heard people with a wide variety of axes to grind, but it heard only two labour spokesmen, both moderates. William Lee Martin, secretary of the Wanganui Painters' Union and later a cabinet minister in the first Labour Government, put in a modest word for technical education and half-time continuation classes to age 21. As to other educational issues, he said:

...we are content to leave this in the hands of those men who have devoted years to its study, and who are well-qualified to deal with the question in the best interests of all concerned.

The other spokesman for organised labour was "Professor" W.T. Mills of America who had been instrumental in creating the United Labour Party. Mills began by saying that the state looked to schools for productive power, good citizenship, defence and motherhood and he ran through a long list of liberal reforms which would, he suggested, help the school to help the state: school meals, open-air schools, more handwork, better technical education, economics and politics as school subjects, better playgrounds, spelling reform as an aid to teaching reading, co-education and the consolidation of small schools.
Serious attempts to influence the content of schooling were, thus, essentially middle class efforts. This does not mean, of course, that working class people did not support Bible reading in schools, temperance teaching, sex education, systematic moral instruction or military training: many of them did. But the originators of the educational campaigns which generated most heat, and their organisers and spokesmen, were predominantly middle class. There was considerable debate over education in New Zealand, there were some riotous committee meetings, some unseemly scuffles between parents and truant officers, and Dunedin parents paraded in protest against Whitcombe and Tombs's readers in the late 1880s; but New Zealand had no "great school wars" such as disturbed the peace of New York on occasion. Clashes over education in New Zealand were very largely clashes between fractions of the middle class, rural versus urban interests, pacifists versus loyalists, Anglicans and Presbyterians versus minor Protestant denominations and their own mavericks, teachers versus lay administrators, "dry" versus "wet".

These middle class campaigns for the use of schools had a variable success rate. Some, like the Bible in schools movement and efforts to introduce sex education, ended in stalemate or very cautious compromise. Some were acknowledged in the curriculum or in official circulars but depended very much for their impact on particular schools on teachers' own attitudes and enthusiasm: the campaigns for temperance and against smoking are examples. Other efforts to use the schools were pretty well universally approved but made little or no difference to children's behaviour, for example, speech-training to suppress a colonial accent and injunctions to be kind to animals. But considered in broad terms of social class the content of schooling represented a bloodless victory by default for the middle classes: while there was sometimes sharp debate over specific matters the school system as a
whole upheld middle class views and preached the virtues of the existing social and economic order (as, of course, schools do in socialist countries). The evidence in support of this general point is set out in earlier chapters and need not be rehearsed here, but it should be noted that when school material preached against working class interests it did so by indirection. Organised labour, for example, was scarcely mentioned in school texts and journals. H.B. Jacob's *School History of New Zealand* provides a rare example of outright condemnation of organised labour's actions and views. The 1913 waterfront strike, Jacob wrote, was because there had been labour leaders with "continental ideas" who preached to their followers "the odious doctrines of Karl Marx." The leaders stirred up the workers to demand "still better conditions, shorter hours and more pay." Strikes became more and more frequent and culminated in the great 1913 strike.

The Government wisely took the step of enrolling Special Constables, both mounted and foot, for the purposes of maintaining peace and order. Free labour was used to load the ships, and the end of the strike was in sight. When the men's grievances were later enquired into, it was found that there was not a great deal in them, and that the trouble had been fomented by the leaders for their own purposes. But Jacob was writing nearly twenty years after the event and in attacking the 1913 strike leaders he, too, was preaching by indirection, preaching against the parliamentary Labour Party and the claims of the unemployed. In 1913 itself the *School Journal* had nothing to say about the waterfront strike, and it had nothing to say about the Waihi strike in 1912.

The *School Journal* included a good deal on current affairs and in 1912 it dealt with the opening of Parliament, with the vote of no confidence which enabled Massey to form a government, with the death of the Mikado and of General Booth, the loss of the *Titanic*, the presidential election in the United States and an attempt on Theodore Roosevelt's life; but although the Waihi strike loomed large in newspapers throughout the country the *Journal* made no mention of it.
School books and the School Journal stressed the rule of law, the benefits of parliamentary democracy, the "rights and duties of citizenship", the conventional virtues of industry and prudence, and the benefits New Zealand could expect from orderly economic development along customary lines. There was no need to complete the syllogism by spelling out the dangers of "continental ideas" or the flimsy nature of workers' grievances; to have done so would have been to sully education with "politics".

The middle class groups which sought to harness the schools to their particular causes shared a basic assumption that the existing economic and political order was essentially sound and good. They simply sought purified versions of the status quo - more godly, more temperate, more loyal to monarch and Empire, more skilled, more productive, more fertile - and they differed on where to begin and on what blemishes were to be effaced by what means.

Teachers were loyal supporters of the status quo and they were, in their own right and in their own interests, one of the most organised, enduring and successful interest groups. The N.Z.E.I., indeed, was the one pressure group which existed throughout the period; it steadily increased its membership and it came to be recognised by the authorities as the voice of the teaching profession and to be routinely consulted on educational matters.

This position was not, however, immediately obtained. In the nineteenth century it was difficult to enrol rural teachers as subscribing let alone active members, branch meetings were generally poorly attended, and the Institute depended on the efforts of a core group of dedicated members. The Public School Teachers Incorporation and Court of Appeal Act 1895, however, recognised the Institute, gave it a specific role to play in cases involving teachers, and stimulated membership. By 1911 the Institute had 2,633 members, 68 percent of New Zealand's adult primary school teachers.
The Institute's claim to speak for all New Zealand teachers did not go uncontested and various sub-groups of teachers suggested that the higher councils of the Institute were not genuinely representative. J.J. Pilkington, headmaster at Porirua, for example, told the 1901 salaries commission that the N.Z.E.I. spoke only for "the big teachers of New Zealand" and not for those in small schools. Pilkington supported this claim with an analysis of the delegates to the 1898 Council meeting to show that they were mostly from large urban schools. Pilkington's claim was stoutly denied by William Davidson, one of the commissioners and an Institute stalwart, who produced his own analyses to show that small schools were amply represented in 1898 and at the most recent council meeting.17

No one, however, could have denied that women were under-represented at the higher levels in the Institute's organisation. In 1911, for example, when 61 percent of adult teachers were women, only 9 of the 54 delegates at the annual Council meeting were women, and the first woman was not elected to the Executive Committee until 1915, more than thirty years after the formation of the Institute.18

When the commission on teachers' salaries was set up in 1901, women teachers, doubting the Institute's willingness or ability to press their claims vigorously enough, set up their own associations in the four main centres. These associations did not disappear once they had made their submissions to the commission; they continued to press women teachers' claims for better pay and conditions and in 1914 they united in a New Zealand Women Teachers' Association which was not wound up until the introduction of equal pay in the early 1960s.19 Women teachers had the most reason to doubt the Institute's ability to represent them properly, but there were also short-lived associations of male teachers, assistant teachers, and rural teachers before the Great War.
There was also dissension within the ranks of the Institute on social and moral issues so that N.Z.E.I. policy statements had to be carefully framed to reach an acceptable, working consensus. Teachers were, for example, divided on the merits of cadet training, systematic moral education, and Bible reading in schools. Notwithstanding rebellious mutterings from some members the Institute was held together by the skill and tact of its early leaders and by its unifying general aims: to advance the cause of education generally and to "advance the just claims of its members."

In most members' minds these two aims amounted to one, enhancing the status and autonomy of teachers, and Institute policy statements on contentious issues generally built a consensus around this aim. Bible reading in schools was not opposed because teachers were sceptics but because it would be bad for schools and teachers, and while the Institute officially mourned the cadet movement it criticised it when it encroached on class time and when the cadet or educational authorities peremptorily ordered teachers to parade their small troops on public occasions.

In keeping with its quest for what is later labelled "professionalism" the N.Z.E.I. actively fostered the notion that education was a specialised, complicated business, far above "politics" and properly the preserve of expert practitioners and experienced officials, and the Institute shied away from suggestions that it should adopt a more aggressive stance or actually become a trade union. There was talk of a teachers' union in 1890 and in 1892 some impatient Auckland teachers formed a union modelled on the British National Union of Teachers, but the Auckland union soon disappeared and in 1914 the Institute Executive decisively rejected a proposal that teachers should form a union and register it under the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act.
Most teachers would not have thought of themselves as "unionists" in any case. Teachers as a group had a vested interest in complete respectability. They were, as chapter 8 demonstrates, expected to be moral exemplars who never went off duty, and a good reputation was, as Judge Richmond said in Murray versus Bragge, part of a teacher's essential stock in trade.

The social mobility which teaching could bring was also a factor in teachers' motivation. Teacher-training and part-time study have given hundreds of New Zealand teachers qualifications and status they would otherwise have found it difficult or impossible to achieve. There were some spectacular successes: for example James Hight's progress from pupil-teacher to university chair and O.T.J. Alpers's rise from pupil-teacher to the Supreme Court bench. Most teachers made much more modest advances in status but were anxious to consolidate those advances. Offices and honours outside teaching confirmed upwardly mobile teachers' local standing: a seat on a local body, appointment as a J.P., high office in clubs, lodges and churches, and commissions in the Volunteers all set the seal on male teachers' dignity and status. It is little wonder that teachers were outraged at Godley's tactless remark about bogus officers in a bogus organisation and at their inability to win substantive commissions; a commision meant much more to the average teacher than, say, to a sprig of one of the landed families who might simply have taken it as his rightful due.

It was, then, in teachers' personal and professional interest to adopt an air of solid respectability, to meet and exceed community expectations of upright conduct. A few teachers, of course, fell from grace and fell heavily. In 1886, for example, a Westland teacher was first accused of running a public house and consorting with unsuitable persons and then of fathering a child on one of his pupils, and the scandalised Westland Board invoked the clause of the Education Act under
which teachers could be summarily dismissed for gross misconduct.21 There was also a steady trickle of notices in the New Zealand Gazette, one or two per year at most, cancelling teachers' certificates for misconduct. Most cancellations, however, were for falsifying registers or examination records rather than for grosser moral lapses, and over all New Zealand teachers were embodiments of the responsibility, industry, and upright conduct that the schools were expected to instill in the population are large.

Teachers' aspirations, like the structure and content of schooling, clearly had much more to do with social class than an older generation of historians of education was ready to consider or admit. Campbell's account of education in New Zealand, for example, certainly deals with class differences in the nineteenth century, particularly as these were reflected in the differences between primary and secondary education, but his book is generally a whiggish account of the dissolution of ancient prejudices and distinctions so that the difference between technical schools and highs was, for Campbell, simply an administrative muddle.22

The necessity of a social class analysis if one is to make sense of the history of education, and its usefulness in drawing together many of the themes of this thesis should not, however, blind one to other broad perspectives on education before the Great War, specifically to education as a general extension of childhood and as a major factor in establishing a national identity. It is easy to see the discipline and didacticism of schools as middle class control over workers and to forget that much of it was simply adult control over children and supported by widely shared attitudes towards the young.

W.H. Oliver remarks that a lot of social policy during the Liberal period was not, in fact, particularly liberal, and he suggests that further research might show that social policy evolved in ways
which were as concerned with discipline, efficiency and control as with humanitarianism and justice.

From whatever vantage point the Liberals are regarded - land settlement, agricultural improvement, land purchase policy, employment policy, industrial relations, co-operative contracts, charitable aid, immigration policy, attitudes to crime and deviance, to women and the family, to ethnic minorities - the approach always seems to be strongly disciplinary and paternalist. 23

One's immediate reaction is that education under the aspects considered in this thesis provides a striking confirmation of Oliver's view, but does it? Education was certainly disciplinary and paternalist, but it would be startling to find that it was not. One does not have to be particularly authoritarian to be paternalistic about children. Schools are characteristically disciplinary, inescapably concerned with order and control, and even contemporary "free" or "alternative" schools embody one group of adults' notions of what is best for children and they offer a well-defined cognitive and social style and a circumscribed set of options.

Again, schools purvey a characteristically filtered account of society, society's best opinion of itself, partly because schools are "above politics" and partly in view of children's immaturity and impressionable nature. The blandness of school material has a rather different moral aspect from, say, a censored press.

The disciplinary nature of education during the Liberal period does not, of itself, provide any particular support for Oliver's views: Bowen, after all, was as concerned for order and social control as Hogben was. What is much more significant is the extension of education with the raising of the leaving age and the introduction of free secondary schooling, particularly when these are set alongside a great deal of legislation regarding children.

On the popular view, Victorian children had little autonomy and no rights and were totally at the mercy of parents or employers.
McDonald, in a useful sketch of the history of childhood in New Zealand, does not hesitate to label the period 1840 to 1899 "the child as chattel". But Arnold takes issue with McDonald and with his claim that "children had no separate identity beyond that conferred by their parents and masters." Nineteenth century children, Arnold points out, enjoyed considerable freedom and independence and visitors commented on the hardihood and independence of little colonials.

One can see twentieth century legislation regarding children as rescuing and protecting them: one can also see it as a considerable extension of control over them, as a series of new lines drawn between children or "young persons" and adults. Most of the legal restrictions on children's and young persons' activities which people now take for granted were, in fact, first imposed during the Liberal period of government. Children and young persons were excluded from licensed premises and from buying liquor to take away, the age of consent was raised to sixteen and those under sixteen were forbidden to smoke or to use firearms; children's courts were set up to provide new, separate ways of dealing with young offenders; and there was a good deal of legislation to control children's employment, to regulate their hours and conditions of work, and set a minimum rate of pay for them.

As well as legislation about what children could do there was a good deal of legislation on what could be done with them: a new Adoption Act in 1895, an Infants' Protection Act in 1896 and another in 1907, and a Children's Protection Act. The Industrial Schools Act was also considerably amended to reform the reform schools, to allow magistrates to commit children for longer periods, and to allow the detention of "moral defectives" beyond the age of 21.

This extension of childhood by legislation is certainly evidence of a disciplinary, paternalist trend in Liberal policy, the "grandmotherly" tendency its critics derided, but the sheer volume and
variety of legislation regarding children seems to demand some further explanation. It cannot be simply written off as the "invention of adolescence", the discovery by the well-read that there was a new, developmental stage to be wedged in between infancy and adulthood; that would be far too pat. "Young persons" took on a new legal and social significance, but the extension of schooling and of legally defined immaturity did not depend on G. Stanley Hall's research or on simply coining a new word to describe those who had been lads and lasses, youths or maidens.

Some of the attitudes and events which prompted specific moves to extend and more precisely define childhood can be readily identified. Adult male workers, for example, were opposed to child labour because it, like female or coloured labour, would undersell them, and it is easy enough to see the expansion of secondary education as a general inflation of credentials which preserved existing social distinctions. Legislation on the purchase of liquor and the age of consent also owed a great deal to the efforts of women's organisations, in particular the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Legislation to forbid the use of firearms was increasingly urged with closer settlement and urbanisation, and it was finally passed when .22 rimfire rifles appeared on the New Zealand market at modest prices and there were more and more reports of boys maiming stock, breaking telegraph line insulators and occasionally killing each other with their American-made birthday presents.

As to the attitudes underlying the extension of education and supporting legislation on children, there is no need to be too subtle. Simple human compassion and anger at obvious abuses are not very fashionable as historical explanations these days, but they undoubtedly prompted and supported legislation to stamp out baby-farming and the exploitation of young workers and to take dangerous things like alcohol and rifles out of young hands.
Nor should one doubt that many parents quite simply wanted their children to have a better, happier life than they had had. Rural parents who made extensive use of children labour seem to count against this point, but Arnold suggests that such work can, nevertheless, be seen as a quest for a better life for a family, children included, so that child labour was not simple exploitation but "the family's willingness to pay the price for a hopeful future." Education was one way of providing for one's children; achieving security on the land was another.

But having given due weight to simple human concern and to parents' aspirations for their children one is still left with a sense of something else underlying a lot of legislation on children and underlying much of the effort to extend education and modify it for particular purposes. That something else was a general concern for order and control, the paternalism Oliver sees in so much other Liberal social policy, but focussed on children and best described as anxiety about the sort of people New Zealanders would turn out to be and the sort of place New Zealand would turn out to be.

Many New Zealanders, probably most of them, were highly conscious of the recency and rawness of their colony. How could they not be when so much new pasture was dotted with stumps and blackened trunks, when roads and railways ran through raw clay scars, when the oldest residents in so many settlements could recount their development in full, when people in history books about New Zealand might appear on the street or on a platform at a school prize-giving? The new, raw, hobbledehoy quality of New Zealand life drove sensitive souls like Katherine Mansfield abroad for ever and it led others to pester visitors for reassurance. In 1910, for example, a British visitor, safely back home, commented that two out of three New Zealanders immediately asked, "What do you think of this country?", and most of them were most upset if what followed was anything less than unstinted praise.
The same anxiety was manifested in two further, apparently contradictory ways: an enormous readiness to hail the achievements of adult New Zealanders abroad - footballers, soldiers, Rhodes scholars and writers - and an equal readiness to condemn New Zealand children as unruly, undisciplined colonials, lacking in industry, manners and self-control. Taking all this at face value one would have had to conclude that New Zealanders underwent some marvellous moral transformation about 20. In fact both impulses stemmed from the same concern: to praise adults was to tell oneself that this was a wonderful country; to condemn children was to worry that it might not be.

Many matters dealt with in this thesis can be traced to the same general anxiety. In was, in many respects, the sort of anxiety any pernickety older person might have felt about the rising generation anywhere, but it was heightened by an awareness that this was a new, small, isolated country and the feeling that it could have a bright future if it could be directed aright and preserved from Old World ills.

This is not to contradict the earlier claim that schooling supported and educational interest groups accepted the status quo. Reformers sought a purified version of the status quo - capitalist but with harmonious class relations, dotted with family farms but without overworked children, still British but more clearly than ever "best British", with everyone as temperate, devout, industrious and law-abiding as the most estimable then were.

It should be noted, in this connection, how often educational reformers referred specifically to New Zealand and to its future. New Zealand children, Neligan said, were growing up pagan without Bible reading in schools; New Zealand, Truby King thundered, could only assure its future if it modified girls' education; New Zealand, the Navy League said, was uniquely dependent on British sea-power and children must be taught to see that: New Zealand, others claimed, could be cheaply and
effectively defended by a citizen army of trained marksmen and the
schools could produce them; New Zealand's prosperity, the Cohen
Commission thought, was threatened by the drift to the unproductive
cities and had to be preserved by stressing agriculture in schools.

To say that educational and social reformers were concerned about
New Zealand and with producing better New Zealanders is not, however, to
claim that they were nationalists or particularly eager to foster any
distinctive New Zealand identity. It has been argued at various points
in this thesis that certain aspects of New Zealand national identity and
certain New Zealand myths owe a good deal to schooling before the Great
War. A distinctive form of speech is probably the clearest example, but
one could also cite a passion for organised games, a suspicion of
education which did not result in portable credentials, a calm belief in
New Zealand's great racial harmony and in Maori inferiority, and the
firm belief that New Zealand is the most English place outside England.

Some of these things were actively fostered in schools, but
others were unintended consequences. In so far as educational and
social reformers thought there was anything distinctive about young New
Zealanders they were as ready to blame as to praise and to urge the
schools to take action. Young New Zealanders were wanting in reverence
and needed Bible lessons and moral instruction; the boys were too ready
to smoke on street corners and too prone to flock to the cities instead
of doing a man's work on the land; and the girls were forward and fool-
ish, lacking in natural modesty and heedless of their duty to the race.

Sinclair suggests that the first identifiable New Zealanders were
the soldiers who went to the Great War, and a great deal of this thesis
supports that view. When they were dead in their thousands in France
and the Dardanelles those who had been unruly ill-spoken irreverent
colonials were seen to have been the flower of the race, stalwart,
upright, independent sons of the new Dominion. Those who had become New
Zealanders by inadvertence were now New Zealanders by acclamation.
Notes to Chapter 23


13. AJHR, E-12, Session II, 1912, p.506.


17. AJHR, E-14, 1901, pp.554 and 558-9.


20. *LT*, 19 August 1890; 29 September 1892; 6 January 1914.

21. Westland Education Board Minutes, 10 August and 15 November, 1886.


27. For a jolly good round of condemnations of New Zealand children see *LT*, 11 January 1913. A visiting Australian teacher who condemned New Zealand children was echoed by Christchurch teachers, social workers, and a detective.

General Bibliography

Introductory note

This bibliography includes all books, pamphlets and periodical literature cited in the text and listed in references at the end of chapters. Although no attempt has been made to list all works consulted but not cited a limited number of the most relevant such works are also included.

As usual textbooks present the most bibliographical difficulties, especially when they are included in a series which was reprinted and revised. When I have had access to a complete, or nearly complete, series I have listed that series as a whole in this bibliography with its date of first publication. References in the text to particular volumes in a series are, however, to the particular edition or reprint of that volume consulted. When only one volume in a series has been available references in the text and in this bibliography are to that volume, whatever its edition.

Whitcombe and Tombs's imprints have been simplified, both in this bibliography and in the references at the ends of chapters. This firm customarily listed as places of publication all cities in which it had retail shops, but rather than listing all of these I have given only the first location. This usage is very similar to that of the New Zealand National Bibliography.


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### Expenditure on Services Under the Control or Supervision of the Minister of Education

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Notes

(a) Sources: AJHR, E-1, 1879, 1882, 1887, 1892, 1897, 1902, 1907, 1912, 1917. The 1878-79 year is June to June. All other years are from 1 April to 31 March.

(b) Includes: primary departments of district high schools; capitation grants to boards for manual training (once these can be identified); school buildings, costs of cadet system and physical instruction; School Journal, transport allowances to pupils.

(c) Includes, once these are identifiable, costs of secondary departments of district high schools. Includes grants to boards for scholarships. Includes free places in high schools and district high schools, but not in technical high schools.

(d) Includes trade classes, evening classes, free places in day technical high schools.

(e) Includes teachers' colleges, net costs of teachers' certificate examinations, classes for teachers.

(f) Includes scholarships, bursaries, subventions and statutory grants to University of New Zealand and to individual university colleges, special schools within university, and to Lincoln College.

(g) Taken over from Native Affairs Department in 1879-80. Item includes costs of schools on Chatham Islands.

(h) Includes Deaf-Mutes Institution, Oteake and Richmond special schools and support for children at Jubilee Institute for the Blind.

(i) Includes cost of commission on university (1878-79), teachers' superannuation, grants to N.Z.E.I. for travel.