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Young New
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HON. ALFRED DOMETT

YOUNG NEW ZEALAND

A HISTORY OF THE EARLY CONTACT OF THE MAORI RACE
WITH THE EUROPEAN, AND OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A
NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION FOR BOTH RACES.

BY

A. G. BUTCHERS

M.A., M.ED. (MELB.), LL.B. (N.Z.)

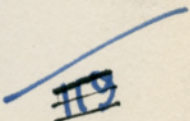
AUTHOR OF

"AFTER STANDARD IV, WHAT?"

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TO
R. A. ANDERSON, ESQ.
VICTORIA PARK, INVERCARGILL, N.Z.

"We are all travellers in what John Bunyan calls the wilderness of this world; and the best that we find in our travels is an honest friend. He is a fortunate traveller who finds many. We travel, indeed, to find them. They are the end and the reward of life. They keep us worthy of ourselves.

"Every book is, in an intimate sense, a circular letter to the friends of him who writes it. Yet, though the letter is directed to all, we have an old and kindly custom of addressing it on the outside to one. Of what shall a man be proud, if he is not proud of his friends?"

—R. L. Stevenson.

FOREWORD

BY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR ROBERT STOUT

P.C., K.C.M.G., LL.D. (MANC.), D.C.L. (OXON), LL.D. (EDIN.), M.L.C.

MAY I be permitted to introduce a History of Education in New Zealand to the people of our Empire? I have been connected with Education in the Dominion in some way or other for over sixty-four years, having been a teacher in our primary and secondary schools, a lecturer in one of our University Colleges, a member of School Committees, Education Boards, University College Councils and the Senate of the New Zealand University, and, for three years, Minister of Education.

Education has always been a matter of major importance in our community, and from the earliest days of our colonisation it has called forth the energies of our people. In the first statistical report published (in 1849), that of New Munster, which was the Southern Province, the subject was dealt with under the heading of "Moral Condition" in a paragraph containing 1,000 words. The compiler was Alfred Domett, one of our foremost pioneers and our earliest poet. Even in those days 38.66 per cent. of the children between the ages of two and fourteen years were receiving the benefits of a daily education. This proportion was larger than that of Scotland, England, or Wales for the corresponding period. Mr. Domett, who was the Colonial Secretary of New Munster, stated the opinion of those in the Ministry when he said: "It will be a disgrace, indeed, if there ever be found a

single adult of British origin, born in New Zealand since its regular colonisation, unable to read and write; and a peculiar degradation will attach to persons of European extraction deficient in these simple accomplishments, in a country the aboriginal and uncivilised inhabitants of which almost universally possess them."

It is now eighty years since this Report was prepared, and the continued progress of our educational efforts may be estimated when it is seen that in 1927 the cost of Education in New Zealand had reached nearly four million pounds and that the number of scholars and students was 297,751, our total population being 1,429,345.

In this book Mr. Butchers tells us of the early history of New Zealand's efforts to train our youth, and who knows but what even from our small country some assistance may be obtained by other countries in their efforts to maintain and preserve the onward march of civilisation?

ROBERT STOUT.

Wellington, April 30th, 1929.

Author's Preface and Acknowledgments.

THE writer is an Australian by birth, a New Zealander for eleven years by country of adoption. Consequently no ingrained, sub-conscious, provincial complex has operated to handicap him in his researches into the distinctly provincial origins of the New Zealand national system of education. The results of these researches, pursued therefore in an absolutely impartial spirit of pure historical enquiry, are here offered to the public in the hope and belief that they constitute a worthwhile contribution to the early history of the Dominion in a field of which Mr. John Caughley, late Director of Education, wrote in 1924 at the outset of the investigation:—"The historical development of education in New Zealand has not, so far as I am aware, been comprehensively dealt with as yet."

The year 1928 marked the Jubilee of the institution of our national education system, of which all New Zealanders are justly proud, and which has on more than one occasion been the subject of personal investigation by distinguished educationists from overseas; and to this fact, combined with a newly awakened public interest in comparative educational systems and methods which New Zealand in common with all other progressive countries has experienced of recent years, the present endeavour to fill the gap referred to by Mr. Caughley owes its inspiration.

Very early in the investigation it became clear that our early educational history was so inseparably interwoven with the romantic general history of the country as to be incapable of treatment apart from it. This study is consequently one of broader interest than is usual in most countries, embracing as it does not only the unique transformation of an isolated and remarkable aboriginal race within almost a generation from a state of barbarism into a condition of social and political equality with its conquerors, but also a comparative study of widely differing provincial educational systems developing side by side in what may be described as geographical and racial pockets of European colonisation, under conditions as varied as they could possibly be, and all converging at last to the inevitable realisation of the need for a genuinely national system for the whole country.

As the investigation proceeded the two main streams of educational ideals and organisation began to reveal themselves unmistakably as taking their rise respectively in Auckland and in Nelson; in the former because there the various Church missionary schools, under the instructions given by the British Government, were officially recognised and subsidised by the first Governors, and notably by Governor Grey, who became the impersonation of the denominational and provincial system; and in the latter, because this largely nonconformist settlement included amongst its numbers devoted members of the British and Foreign School Society, an organisation recently established in the Homeland to promote a system of public schools upon a definitely undenominational basis. Of this latter type Alfred Domett became an enthusiastic supporter and advocate, and no result of this study has given the writer more personal satisfaction than the tracing back, step by step, through one channel of investigation after another, of the present New Zealand system of national, free, secular, and compulsory, education to this distinguished and far-sighted educationist's brilliant enunciation of these basic principles in the Legislative Council of New Munster in 1849, and to the system of public schools instituted by the Nelson School Society, from which he drew his inspiration.

Upon one other matter a brief apologia may seem to some to be necessary, and that is the preparation and inclusion, at considerable expenditure of time and labour of research, and of money in printing, of the lists of the pioneer teachers. Here, perhaps, the personal complex of a fellow teacher has been allowed to operate in a desire at all costs to do honour, not only to the Greys and Dometts of our educational history, but also to the great company of humble men and women who, in the adventurous beginnings of our country's settlement, laid the actual foundations of our educational edifice under conditions in respect of accommodation, equipment, emolument, and uncertainty of employment, such as no practising teacher of to-day can possibly conceive.

"The policy of educating for virtue is profounder than that of punishing for crime," wrote the wise Domett, and prophesied that "the schoolmaster will one day be confessed a more powerful protector than the judge." That that day has not yet come is evidenced by a comparison of the salaries paid to the respective heads of our Education Department and our Supreme Court Bench. But that it will eventually come is equally clear from the trend of events in all modern countries within the last quarter of a century; and in this respect New Zealand can claim to be in the forefront of the civilised world in that no

nation to-day devotes a larger sum annually per head of population to the education of its young people, or maintains a more uniformly generous scale of salaries, and better conditions of employment, for its teaching staffs.

The names of the pioneer teachers, therefore, are here placed on permanent record as a well-merited memorial to every humblest teacher who in the most adverse circumstances of those early days sought to place the key of knowledge and the torch of character in the hands of the settlers' children; of whom it may be said that the subsequent progress of the Colony affords the best possible evidence that they did their work faithfully and well. Of the historical interest which the publication of such a list cannot fail to arouse in the several districts there can be no doubt. For New Zealand is, historically, still a young country. The great majority of the present generation of its citizens are the children and grand children of the pioneers themselves, and there is still strong in the hearts of all a fine tradition of loyalty to and interest in the history of the old individual settlements and Provinces out of which the present unified nation has grown. It is, of course, recognised that these lists are neither final nor complete. They have been compiled, however, as accurately as possible from the sources of information at present available; and the author will be glad to receive from readers in a position to correct or supplement them any additional authentic information that may serve to make them more accurate should a later edition of this work make such a revision possible.

There remains but the pleasing duty of acknowledging the public-spirited and ready co-operation of a very large number of friends and helpers in the arduous task to which the writer set himself. Indeed, it must be obvious to all that without such co-operation it would have been utterly impossible to carry out the undertaking with anything approaching exhaustiveness and thoroughness of treatment. No apology is therefore offered for the length of this list. Rather is such due to the greater number of those whose names have been omitted, and who in countless minor ways have contributed to the work, as by the elucidation of some doubtful point, or by an introduction to one or other of the all too few remaining aged educationists in the several districts who in their youth were contemporaries and participants in the events described.

First as regards the preparation of the work, thanks are due to the New Zealand Education Department for its constant encouragement and assistance throughout the progress of the

work, and especially to the present Director, Mr. T. B. Strong, M.A., B.Sc., and his predecessor, Mr. John Caughley, M.A. In the same way the local Education Boards have laid the writer under varying debts of obligation, thanks for which are especially due to their secretaries or late secretaries, viz., Messrs. F. G. Stevenson (Southland), G. W. Carrington (Otago), Chas. Kirk (Canterbury), H. J. Thornton (Nelson), G. L. Stewart (Wellington), H. W. Insull (Taranaki), W. H. Swanger (Wanganui), W. L. Dunn (Hawke's Bay), and E. C. Purdie (Auckland), all of whom have assisted so far as they could by affording access to and help in searching the records of their offices, or by themselves looking up and advising upon matters in regard to which it was found necessary to consult them.

To the Chief Librarians of the principal libraries of the Dominion gratitude is equally due, and particularly to Mr. H. B. Farnall (Invercargill), under whose superintendence and that of his predecessors the Invercargill Public Library has acquired a most creditable collection of early historical sources and New Zealand bibliography, and who considerably facilitated the writer's labours by his own excellent knowledge of the material available. Similarly Mrs. R. W. Macdonald (Hocken Library, Dunedin), Mr. W. B. McEwan (Dunedin Public Library), Mr. E. J. Bell (Christchurch), Mr. Johannes Andersen (Turnbull Library, Wellington), and Dr. G. H. Scholefield (General Assembly Library and New Zealand Archives Department, Wellington), afforded every assistance in their power. Unfortunately it was not found possible to visit Auckland, but in the Hocken, Turnbull, and Parliamentary Libraries opportunity was taken to examine the whole of the official records, early bibliography, and files of the early newspapers of that Province, and consequently it was not necessary to consult Mr. John Barr (Chief Librarian, Auckland Public Library, and author of the official History of Auckland) except upon one or two minor matters.

Thanks are also due to the following for assistance respecting their own Provinces, or upon matters connected with either the national or the denominational school systems:—

AUCKLAND.—Most Rev. Dr. Averill, Archbishop of New Zealand; Ven. Archdeacon W. J. Simkin, Diocesan Registrar, and author of a valuable unpublished work on the History of the Diocese of Waiapu; Right Rev. Dr. Cleary, Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland; Rev. K. M. McGrath; Sir George Fowlds; Hon. J. G. Garland, M.L.C.; Mr. G. Lippiatt, M.A.

HAWKE'S BAY.—Mr. Henry Hill, B.A.; Mr. W. A. Armour, M.A.

TARANAKI.—Mr. P. J. H. White; Miss Lydia Shaw.

WANGANUI.—Mr. V. B. Willis, Hon Secretary, Wanganui Collegiate School Old Boys' Association.

WELLINGTON.—Right Hon. Sir Robert Stout, K.C.M.G.; Sir E. Osborne-Gibbes, Bart.; Dr. W. J. Anderson; Most Rev. Dr. O'Shea, Roman Catholic Coadjutor Archbishop of Wellington; Mr. Malcolm Fraser, Government Statistician; Mr. H. A. Parkinson, Secretary, New Zealand Educational Institute; Mr. A. de B. Brandon; Mr. Francis Harrison.

NELSON.—Dr. F. A. Bett, through whose courtesy opportunity was afforded to consult the original first Minute Books of the Nelson School Society, and very many other original sources relating to early education in Nelson Province; Right Rev. Dr. Sadlier, Bishop of Nelson; Mr. Wm. Lock; Mr. F. W. O. Smith; Mr. F. G. Gibbs, M.A.

CANTERBURY.—Rev. Canon J. de B. Galwey, Diocesan Registrar; Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt, General Secretary of the Methodist Church of New Zealand, the offices and official records of which are located in Christchurch; Rev. N. L. D. Webster, Minister of St. Andrew's Church; Rev. S. Lawry; Mr. P. R. Climie, Secretary of the Canterbury Progress League; Miss A. F. Candy, M.A., through whose courtesy opportunity was afforded of consulting in proof Dr. Hight's *History of Canterbury College*, then passing through the press.

WESTLAND.—Mr. F. H. Kilgour; Mr. P. J. Duggan.

OTAGO.—The late Mr. Peter Goyen; the late Rev. C. S. Ross; the late Hon. Mark Cohen, M.L.C., who was present in Parliament as a representative of the press during the debates on the Education Act in 1877, and who took the keenest interest in this work from beginning to end, and made many valuable suggestions in regard to it; Mr. J. J. Wilson, Sub-Editor of the *New Zealand Tablet*, whose unselfish and painstaking assistance very greatly facilitated the elucidation of the early history of the Roman Catholic Mission and Schools; Mr. W. Paterson, Secretary of the Otago Early Settlers' Association; Hon. J. A. Hanan, M.L.C.; Mr. J. C. H. Somerville; Mr. H. Harris; Mr. W. T. Monkman

SOUTHLAND.—Mr. D. McNeil, B.A.

Thanks are due also to Mr. J. Cameron, B.A., of The King's School, Parramatta, New South Wales, for kindness in looking up certain matters relative to Marsden's Seminary for New Zealand Natives; and to Professor A. J. Grant, of Leeds University, for permission to reprint portion of his article on the Maoris from the *Yorkshire Evening News*.

The following have read the work in typescript, in whole or in part, and the kindly and constructive criticisms which have resulted from their perusal have been greatly appreciated and have proved of the greatest value to the writer in the final revision of the work for publication:—Sir Robert Stout; Sir E. O. Gibbes; Mr. T. B. Strong; Professor R. Lawson, M.A., Litt.D.; Professor W. H. Gould, M.A.; Mr. F. Milner, C.M.G., M.A.; Mr. D. McNeil, B.A.; Mr. Johannes Andersen; Mr. A. de B. Brandon; Mr. H. Hill, B.A., F.G.S.; Mr. H. A. Parkinson; Hon. J. A. Hanan; Hon. G. M. Thomson; the late Mr. P. Goyen; and the late Hon. Mark Cohen.

As regards the publication, this has only been made possible by the generous subsidy granted by the late Government, for which I have to thank the late Minister of Education, Hon. R. A. Wright. This subsidy, however, would never have been obtained had it not been for the earnest representations made by the present Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Ward, Sir Robert Stout, Sir E. O. Gibbes, Hon. D. Buddo, and the late Hon. Mark Cohen, who waited as a deputation upon the Minister in the matter. To all these gentlemen my sincere thanks are offered, and also to Mr. R. A. Anderson, of Invercargill, and Mrs. J. G. Parker, of Surrey Hills, Melbourne, who have helped in a practical and generous way to facilitate the preparation and publication of the work. Especial gratitude is due to Sir Robert Stout, who was amongst the first to be approached when the project was originally mooted, and whose generous encouragement and assistance at all stages of the work, and ready willingness to lend the lustre of his name by contributing the Foreword, are very sincerely appreciated.

Finally, to the publishers, Messrs. Coulls Somerville Wilkie, Ltd., and particularly to Mr. E. E. Wilkinson, who has personally supervised the production of the book, I tender my sincerest thanks. No author could possibly be accorded greater courtesy and assistance in the passage of his book through the press than I have received, and this it gives me the greatest pleasure to acknowledge.

The work is now finished. It has been a long and arduous task, but I feel that I have made many friends, though, in the majority of cases, by correspondence only, throughout New Zealand in the course of its preparation. Will those whose names have not been included, as well as those recorded above, please accept this public acknowledgment of their co-operation in a work which is in reality as much theirs as it is the author's?

*Invercargill, N.Z.,
26th April, 1929.*

A. G. B.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 27, line 11, for McQuarrie, read Macquarie.

Page 142, line 3, for even, read ever.

Page 176, footnote, for v.p. 172, read v.p. 145.

Page 230, line 2, for organisations, read organisation; line 8, for Common School Bill, read Common Schools Bill.

Page 277, 9th line from bottom, for institutions, read Institution.

Page 278, end of 16th line, for of read it.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

- 1642—Tasman's Discovery of New Zealand
 1769-77—Cook's Voyages
 1792—First Sealers at Dusky Sound
 1794-5—First Trading Vessel at Thames River
 Bay of Islands visited
 1806—Te Pahi's Visit to Sydney
 1809—"Boyd" Massacre at Whangaroa
 1814—Marsden's Mission established
 1820—Hongi's Visit to England
 1822—Wesleyan Mission at Whangaroa
 1825—Settlement at Hokianga
 1827—Whangaroa sacked; Mission transferred to Hokianga
 1833—Busby British Resident
 1835—Independence of "United Tribes" declared
 Ten Church of England Mission Stations
 1838—Roman Catholic Bishop Pompallier at Hokianga
 1840—New Zealand Company's Settlers at Port Nicholson
 Captain Hobson at Bay of Islands (Governor 1840-3)
 Treaty of Waitangi
 British Sovereignty Proclaimed
 Wanganui Settled from Wellington
 French Settlement at Akaroa
 1841—Auckland Founded
 New Plymouth Settlement
 1842—Nelson Settlement
 Arrival of Bishop Selwyn
 1843—Wairau Massacre
 1843-5—Captain Fitz Roy Governor
 1844-6—First Maori War
 (For Table of Intertribal Wars see p. 98)
 1845-53—Captain Grey Governor
 1847—Education Ordinance



- 1848-53—N.Z. divided into New Ulster and New Munster
 1848—Otago Settlement
 1849—Domett's National Education Proposals, New Munster Council
 1850—Canterbury Settlement
 Surrender of Charter by New Zealand Company
 1851—Six Provincial Governments established
 1854—First General Assembly at Auckland
 1855-61—Colonel Gore-Browne Governor
 1855-8—First Provincial Education Laws
 (For subsequent enactments see Appendix B.11)
 1858—New Zealand Company finally dissolved
 New Provinces Act
 1861-8—Sir George Grey Governor
 1861-7—Gold Discoveries
 1864—Control of Native Affairs transferred to General Assembly
 1865—Capital removed to Wellington
 1867—Native Schools Act
 1870—Last Imperial Troops leave New Zealand
 Vogel's Immigration and Public Works Policy inaugurated
 1875—Abolition of the Provinces Act
 1877—Sir George Grey Premier
 Education Act

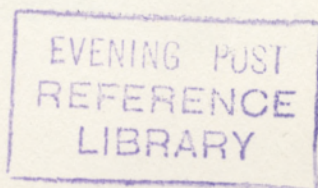
HISTORICAL MAP OF NEW ZEALAND 1642-1877

ARGUMENT.

New Zealand and the Maori race became known to Europeans chiefly as a result of Cook's voyages, in consequence of which the natives came rapidly into contact with many different phases of European civilisation as represented by explorers, whalers and sealers, traders, pakeha-Maoris, missionaries, and immigrants. Not only did Europeans come to New Zealand, but very many Maoris, embarking on European vessels, visited neighbouring centres of European civilisation, particularly New South Wales, while quite a number went as far as England. The reactions of the natives to the diverse influences that resulted from all these contacts are examined at length in this section, including particularly the effects of intermarriage between the two races, of the introduction of firearms, and of the institution of Mission settlements and schools and the Christianisation and education of the Maori people down to the establishment of British sovereignty in New Zealand under the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

PART I.

BEFORE WAITANGI.



CHAPTER I.

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION.

The river of education in New Zealand runs through many channels as it hurries the nation's childhood on to the ocean of life. In the beginning its waters ran in independent little streams. Its sources lie back in the isolated European settlements which, in the first half of the nineteenth century, sprang into independent existence in far distant parts of *Ao-tea-roa**—until then for some five centuries at least the unchallenged home of the Maori race. Historical and geographical considerations combined for many years to keep these provincial streams apart. Gathering volume with the passing years, some of them cut for themselves channels of considerable depth; but, after many engineering difficulties had been either solved or avoided, they were all brought together by the epoch-making Education Act of 1877 to form the great river of national education—truly a notable event! For though the engineers had been unable at the time to encompass all the tributary streams within the narrow banks of a single and at first somewhat diminutive departmental river, they had succeeded in bringing them all into one wide valley, through which they ran together to the sea. And gradually, during the half century just passed, by an embankment here and a cutting there, more and more water has been forced into the departmental system, which, ending in a mighty delta, at length discharges a flood of waters by many mouths into the sea.

Our task it is to examine into, and in some measure to describe and discuss, these origins, these engineering problems, these parallel streams, this departmental delta, and these many mouths; and, later on,† if courage and prescience be not wanting, to venture some prediction as to how natural erosion and engineering skill between them may affect the course of the river in the years that lie ahead.

New Zealand has an area of 103,826 square miles, exclusive of the mandated territory of Western Samoa and Ross Dependency of Antarctica, over which the Dominion exercises jurisdiction. Its population numbers 1,407,000, including 63,000

* The native name of New Zealand.

† In a companion volume dealing with Education in New Zealand from 1878 to the present time.

Maoris. Ninety-eight per cent. of the European population is British or of British extraction, and restrictions placed upon alien immigration preclude any appreciable admixture of foreign blood other than that of the native race, which is admitted politically and otherwise to a position of complete equality with our own. The area in occupation is 43,632,372 acres, or about two-thirds of the total area of the main islands. The total overseas trade for 1925 amounted to £107,718,679, of which exports were £55,262,272 and imports £52,456,407. Every ninth person of the entire population (men, women, and children, European and Maori) possesses a motor-vehicle, and every fifth is in attendance at a primary, secondary, or technical school, or University College.

The amount expended in State Education for the year ended 31st March, 1926, was almost four million pounds sterling—to be exact £3,895,034, or £2 15s. 4d. per head of the population—a larger sum, proportionately, according to the boast of a recent Minister of Education, than that voted by any other State or Nation. The State primary schools absorb about five-eighths of this amount (roughly £2,500,000), but only some 88 per cent. of the children of primary school age are thereby provided for, the remaining 12 per cent. being educated in denominational—chiefly Roman Catholic—schools, not subsidised by the State in any way. If all these children were attending Government schools an additional £300,000, or thereabouts, would be required, bringing the total annual State expenditure on education to approximately £4,200,000, or £2 19s. 8d. per head of the population. Further, if the expenditure on denominational secondary schools is added (and it must be remembered that State secondary education is free to all pupils who pass satisfactorily through the primary school grades), the annual cost of education in New Zealand, it may safely be said, will be found to exceed the sum of £3 per head of the population.*

* COST OF EDUCATION.

That the cost of education in New Zealand per head of the population is still increasing is shown by the following figures taken from the Report of the Minister of Education, for the year ending 31st December, 1926 (presented to Parliament, 16th June, 1927).

The total expenditure on education for the financial year ended 31st March, 1927, including endowment revenue, amounted to £3,987,416, as against £3,895,034 for the previous year, an increase of £92,382.

The total population of New Zealand for 1926 was 1,344,384. This gives a State expenditure of £2 19s. 4d. per annum per head of population, as against £2 15s. 4d. for the previous year.

The number of children attending registered private primary schools for 1926 was 26,778. At £13 per scholar, which is given as the annual cost of each pupil in the State primary schools, the cost of these pupils would be £348,114 for the year.

It is not surprising that a Dominion which gives such practical evidence of its deep sense of the value of education is, on the whole, contented, prosperous, and cultured above the majority of the peoples of to-day, and that her social and industrial legislation has for a generation past in very many instances excited amongst older nations the sincerest form of flattery.

The genius of the English-speaking peoples for colonisation and for the organisation of aboriginal races has been for generations at once the envy and the despair of their less successful rivals. And, after due consideration of all the forces that have operated for good or for evil upon the Maori race as a result of their contact with our own, it may justly be claimed that the New Zealand colonist has set a noble example to the whole world in the civilisation of the natives and their admission to a position of absolute and unquestioned equality* in the political and social life of the Dominion—an example well worthy of the earnest attention and emulation of other peoples occupied with racial problems of a similar kind.

"It is the nature of its social heredity," says Benjamin Kidd in his remarkable book, *The Science of Power*, "which creates a ruling people. It is what it lacks in its social heredity that relegates a people to the position of an inferior race." And again, in another place, "Those who understand the Science of

The number of pupils attending the registered private secondary schools for 1926 was 2,794. Those receiving secondary education in the Government institutions were:—

(a) Secondary Schools proper, average attendance	13,596
(b) District High Schools, secondary departments' average attendance	3,203
(c) Technical High Schools enrolment, 31st December, 1926	5,700
(d) Junior High Schools, third year pupils, enrolment 31st December, 1926	137
Total	22,636

The total cost of secondary education for the year was £466,739. This works out at £27.56 per average scholar per annum, taking only items (a), (b), and (d) above; or £20.62 if the Technical High School is included. Taking the latter figure as a basis, the approximate cost of educating the 2,794 private secondary school pupils would amount to £57,656.

This gives a total expenditure on education—public and private—in New Zealand for 1926 of £4,393,186 or £3 5s. 4d. per head of the total population.

It is important to note further in respect of the cost of elementary education in New Zealand, that the annual expenditure per pupil in the Dominion is £13 as against £8 16s. per pupil in the neighbouring State of Victoria.

* See G. H. Scholefield, *New Zealand in Evolution*, p. 334.

Power in society see that all power in the future will be in the hands of those who obtain possession of, and who direct to pre-conceived ends, not the mechanism of individual heredity but the mechanism of social heredity. And the instrument of social heredity is the organised culture of Society." This instrument, in the case of the Maori race, was first held and used by the missionaries, until the prolonged and disastrous wars between Maori and Pakeha destroyed to a large extent their power over the natives. For the past half-century* it has been exercised directly and with striking success by the State Department of Education.

It will be our immediate task, therefore, to describe the reaction of the Maoris to their early intercourse with our own race, and to discuss the various civilising agencies—and particularly the Mission Schools—in their effect upon the natives up to the time of the inclusion of these islands within the British Empire. The story of the subsequent development of educational facilities for the children of both races will naturally follow.

* Since 1880.

CHAPTER II.

THE MAORI MEETS THE PAKEHA.

For more than five centuries the Maoris had lived in New Zealand, cut off from all intercourse with the rest of mankind, when, on the 8th day of October, 1769, Captain Cook arrived at Poverty Bay on the East Coast of the North Island, and thereby commenced the modernisation of this remarkable race. Elsdon Best, in a recently published monograph entitled *The Maori As He Was: A Brief Account of Maori Life as it Was in Pre-European Days*, has given us a very human, sympathetic and at the same time scholarly picture of the Maori in his natural state. The classical description of this interesting people is to be found in Judge Maning's delightfully written book, *Old New Zealand*. To these the reader who desires to make a study of the pre-European state of the Maori people is referred.

As a result of his age-long isolation from the rest of the world the Maori was still living, as it were, in the stone age. He had no implements or weapons of iron, nor even bows and arrows. He was without beasts of burden, and without cereals or fruit trees of any kind. Fire he made by friction; but, having no vessels other than of wood, he was unable to boil* his food except in those localities where hot springs provided a ready and efficient substitute for the European pot of later days. Physically well built and mentally alert, the Maoris impressed themselves upon Captain Cook, an unusually shrewd observer, as "a brave, open, warlike people, and void of treachery." And such, when treated fairly, they were. Proud to a degree, however, it was their ruling passion in life never to let an insult or an injury go unavenged. Consequently they lived in a perpetual state of war. "Whatever people we spoke with upon the coast," wrote Cook, "they generally told us that those that were at a little distance from them were their enemies." The defeated in battle were for the most part cooked and eaten, and their women and children enslaved. Dr. A. S. Thomson in his *Story of New Zealand: Past and Present—Savage and Civilised*, published in 1859, writes:—"There are few New Zealanders above forty years of age who have not partaken of human flesh." Yet human flesh never became an ordinary food,

* Mr. Johannes Andersen informs me that the Maoris did contrive a vessel made of the bark of the totara, in which they boiled water by means of hot stones placed therein.

and cannibalism and its concomitant barbarities were solely associated with the overthrow of an enemy. Dr. Thomson is further responsible for the statement that "prior to 1830 one-tenth of the New Zealanders were living in a state of slavery." This, too, was a corollary of their unending warfare. The strongly fortified pas in which they lived made a deep impression on all who visited their country. Polygamy was the custom of the race, and, although fidelity was expected of the women after formal marriage, promiscuity was not considered reprehensible amongst the unmarried. Infanticide, especially in the case of female children, was common and offended no code either of morals or of law. Their whole manner of life, including their ownership of land, was communal. There was no religion, as we understand the term, except, perhaps, of a partially developed kind amongst the noblest chiefs. Nevertheless *tohungas* (priests) were plentiful and powerful, and superstition was rife.

Yet any reader of Elsdon Best or of Judge Maning will realise that notwithstanding all these things, so much at variance with our own standards of life and conduct, there was much that was lovable* and much that was admirable in the life and character of the Maoris of old. Indeed, contact with our race for a time wrought them almost as much harm as good. In the inevitable march of European civilisation the time had come when these islands could no longer be kept in isolation, and the record of this impact of race upon race is one of the most interesting and instructive in the annals of civilisation. As might be expected there is much in the story that both races would wish to forget, but much more of which both races may well be more than proud. The important fact is that the Maoris are now in every sense the potential equals of their European fellow citizens. And this unique position which they occupy amongst the coloured races of the world to-day is as much due to their own inherent nobility of character as it is to that of Governor King, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, the Rev. Henry Williams, Sir George Grey and countless other pakeha friends of their race.

* Judge Maning: *Old New Zealand*, by Pakeha-Maori.—"The Maori rangatira whom I am describing had passed his whole life with but little intermission in a scene of battle, murder, and bloodthirsty atrocities of the most terrific description, mixed with actions of the most heroic courage, self-sacrifice, and chivalric daring, such as leave one perfectly astounded to find them the deeds of one and the same people; one day doing acts which, had they been performed in ancient Greece, would have immortalised the actors, and next committing barbarities too horrible for relation, and almost incredible."—(Earl Pembroke's Edition, 1887; p. 195.)

Tasman had visited and named New Zealand 127 years before Cook arrived; yet he was not its Man of Destiny. He did not even land upon its shores. For on the very first day of his arrival three of his sailors were killed by the natives in the bay, which he called, in consequence, Massacre or Murderers' Bay. Upon this hostile reception the Dutchman, after firing an ineffectual broadside upon the enemy's canoes, hauled in his anchors and departed, somewhat ingloriously, without making any further attempt to establish contact with the natives. Generations passed and Captain Cook came. As it happened, on the very day of his arrival a Maori was shot through the heart and on the day following five more were killed, three wounded, and three taken captive by the English seamen. The balance of the victims was now on the European side and the education of the Maori was begun! From that date until Cook finally left these shores on the 25th of February, 1777, he paid several visits to New Zealand, some of longer duration than others, in the course of which, notwithstanding the inauspicious nature of his first experience, he displayed such firmness, justice and humanity in his dealings with the natives, that he both commanded their respect and gained their confidence. He introduced to their knowledge various seeds, vegetables and domestic animals, and, most important of all, he made their country known to the rest of the world, surveying its coasts with remarkable accuracy and naming many of its principal headlands, bays, rivers and mountain ranges.

Meanwhile the unarmed natives were being further instructed in the ways of Europeans by seamen of another race—the French. For in December, 1769, de Surville entered Doubtless Bay, out of which Cook had sailed but a few hours before, all ignorant of the other's presence in New Zealand waters. The Frenchman, whose crew was scurvy stricken and whose ship had been sorely buffeted by storms, received kindness from a native chief. In evil recompense this benefactor was subsequently enticed upon the Frenchman's vessel, there placed in irons and carried off to sea. Before many days passed the captive chief died, and a few days later with a kind of Homeric justice, his treacherous captor perished in the surf upon the South American coast. Less than three years later, in May, 1772, two other Frenchmen, Marion du Fresne and Crozet, his second in command, anchored in the Bay of Islands, not far south of the scene of their countryman's base deed. They too had many sick. Their ships were storm tossed too, and badly in need of new spars. They immediately set up two camps ashore—one for the sick, one for the timber getters—and for

about a month all went well. Then suddenly, whether, as some suppose, because of some careless violation by Marion of the Maoris' sacred customs, or whether, as is more likely, out of a deep-laid plan for *utu** on account of their former injury, the Frenchman and his party were without warning set upon, killed, cooked and eaten. Upon word of this, with rare courage and skill, Crozet succeeded in withdrawing his party safely to the boats. On the shore the solid phalanx of natives stood in anger, thus baulked of another feast. Then, suddenly, in their turn, the French poured volley after volley of musketry into that helpless throng, now rooted to the spot in terror at the uncanny death which mowed them down. This lesson in the deadly supremacy of European weapons Crozet followed up with others of a like nature, after which, we are told, he "was able to complete the repair of his ships without interruption, and to proceed on his voyage after a stay of sixty-four days in the Bay of Islands."

After this New Zealand began to be visited more frequently by European vessels, and the first impressions of the natives began to crystallise into a more definite conception of the character and purposes of their visitors. The Bay of Islands became a regular place of call for both trading ships and whalers. The first whaling ship, the "William and Ann," visited Doubtless Bay early in 1792. In the same year, away in the far south-west of the South Island, the "Britannia"† left a sealing gang ashore at Dusky Sound; and in the following year the first trader, the "Fancy," took away a cargo of spars and flax from the Waihou in the north, giving to the natives in return small quantities of iron. As the years sped by vessels came in ever-increasing numbers with the result that intercourse between the natives and their European visitors became more constant and common.

In 1791, at the suggestion of Governor King of Norfolk Island, the Lords of the Admiralty received instructions to use the store ship "Daedalus" to obtain "a flax dresser or two" from New Zealand for the purpose of teaching the Norfolk Islanders the art of dressing flax. When the "Daedalus" arrived in New Zealand waters great numbers of natives came off in their canoes to meet her. Whereupon Captain Hanson, without even coming to anchor, enticed two young Maoris aboard, and, not stopping to enquire as to either their proficiency as flax dressers or their willingness to accompany him, set all sail for Sydney, whither the captives were borne. Sent thence

* Vengeance.

† McNab, *Murihiku and the Southern Islands*, pp. 38 et seqq.

to Norfolk Island* they resided for some nine months in the house of Governor King, who soon succeeded in winning their confidence. Both were men of rank, one, Tuki, being a priest, and the other, Huru, a chief, and when the "good Governor King" personally accompanied them back to New Zealand the story of their experiences overseas must have stirred their fellow tribesmen to the depths. They brought back with them, moreover, as a parting gift from the Governor a small quantity of axes, carpenter's tools, spades, hoes, knives, scissors and razors; a few bushels of maize, wheat and peas and a quantity of garden seeds; and ten young sows and two boars. The result was that a Bay of Islands chief named Te Pahi and his four sons became so deeply interested, that in 1803 one of the sons embarked on a whaler for Sydney, where he too enjoyed the hospitality of Governor King, now transferred to New South Wales. So pleased was the Governor with the reports which he received regarding the profitable use that had been made of the seeds and other articles given by him to Tuki and Huru, that he sent instructions to his successor at Norfolk Island to forward further quantities of pigs and other stock to New Zealand as opportunity offered. Altogether twenty-six more sows, four boars and two goats were sent by various vessels to Te Pahi, who himself at once embarked with his sons for Norfolk Island and Sydney to pay his thanks to the donors and to learn what he could of the Pakeha's country. For some three months the party remained in New South Wales as the guests of the Governor and his friend, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, the Chaplain of the Colony.

† "Following out a policy of educating the New Zealanders to the benefits of civilisation, the Governor sent Te Pahi, about a week after he landed, to visit McArthur, the wool king of that period. Three days were spent at Parramatta, and the process of working wool and making cloth was fully explained to the visitors. A further development of his education brought the Chief to the

* Letter of Rev. S. E. Marsden to Commissioner Biggs.—"In the year 1795 I was ordered to Norfolk Island to do duty there for a short time, when I first formed my ideas of the character of the New Zealanders, two of them having visited that island.

"In about five or six years after my return to New South Wales I had an opportunity of becoming more intimately acquainted with the New Zealanders from some of them visiting the Colony, whom I took to live with me in order that I might gain a perfect knowledge of their characters and natural dispositions."—*Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. I (McNab), p. 449.

† *From Tasman to Marsden* (McNab), p. 105.

Criminal Court, where he saw men sentenced to death for stealing pork. "This"—so runs the story—"put him into a very excited state, and he even went so far as to try and get the condemned men shipped away to New Zealand 'where the taking of provisions was not accounted a crime.'"

On the Sabbath, we are further informed, the Chief regularly attended divine service, where he "behaved with great decorum."* We may well imagine that Te Pahi and his sons had much to relate when, early in 1806, they returned to their own people. They brought with them a European house, sent over in frame, and numerous tools and iron implements of various kinds given them from the Government stores, as well as great quantities of gifts from private individuals. To commemorate this important occasion a silver medal was specially struck by the Governor on which were the words:—

"Presented by Governor King to Tip-a-he, a Chief of New Zealand, during his visit to Port Jackson, in January, 1806"; and on the reverse—"In the reign of George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Some two years later the same chief and his sons and a number of attendants paid another similar visit to Sydney. Dr. Thomson,† writing of these and other visits of the New Zealanders to New South Wales, says:—

"The operation of shaving transfixed them with wonder; the reflection of their faces in a mirror filled them with delight; but the ease with which ropes were made at the Sydney rope-walk gave them the most durable satisfaction. These travellers soon ascertained that Sydney was nothing to London, and a desire to visit England seized upon several."

The first Maori to make the trip to London was one Mohanga, who was taken home by Dr. John Savage, an English surgeon, returning thither in 1805 from New South Wales as a passenger in a whaler. Mohanga, on being introduced to King George III, was surprised to find him an old man, and not

* "Tip-a-he told us of several wives he has, one of whom he killed for having a troublesome tongue; nor could he help testifying his surprise that many of the women here did not suffer the same fate. He has 52 children living, but he now attaches himself to only one young woman by whom he has a son now eight years old, who accompanies him on his visit, and of whom he is very fond."—*Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. I (McNab), p. 263.

† *The Story of New Zealand*, Vol. I, p. 246.

a vigorous warrior as he had supposed. He was entertained at the home of an English noble and returned to New Zealand laden with tools* and other gifts. In 1807, Matara, Te Pahi's son, visited England with the Rev. Samuel Marsden and was also introduced to His Majesty, but whilst in London he caught a cold which developed into consumption and caused his death soon after his return. About this time, too, numbers of Maoris in search of adventure began to ship as harpooners on whaling vessels or as deck hands upon trading vessels. The story of one such must be told in more detail, typical as it is of so much that is characteristic of his race and of the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde nature of the class of Europeans through whom it received its early lessons in civilisation.

In 1805, Ruatara, then a mere lad, a relative of Te Pahi and nephew of the great Hongi, and two other Maoris, embarked as sailors on the "Argo" at the Bay of Islands. They sailed to Sydney, thence back to the Bay, and then again to Sydney. Then followed a six months' cruise on the coast of New Holland and a return to Sydney, where Captain Bader unscrupulously cheated them of their wages and discharged them penniless after their year's service. It was during these visits to Sydney that Ruatara and his companions made the acquaintance of the Rev. Samuel Marsden, with whom they had considerable intercourse, the result of which was that that gentleman became still more deeply interested in the Maori race and began to move the Home Missionary Societies for the establishment of a Mission to New Zealand. Ruatara's next ship was the "Albion," in which he served for six months. On his return to the Bay of Islands he was this time liberally paid by Captain Richardson—a Dr. Jekyll touch! After a short time ashore he shipped with a sealing gang of fourteen men bound for the Bounty Islands, where the party was left to carry on the work while the ship returned to Norfolk Island for provisions. About five months later another vessel found them there, still without provisions, and greatly emaciated as a result of the inadequate sustenance they had been able to obtain on the island. Indeed three of the gang had died. After an absence of nine months their own

* Years afterwards Mohanga, speaking of this visit, said:—"Savage was a very good man. He took me to England and brought me to King George's house. I was a fool at that time; I did not know what was good. When King George asked me what I wanted, I told him some iron tools and nails. Had I asked for muskets he would have given me a hundred. We did not know the use of them in New Zealand at that time, and set no value on them; but were I to go to England now, and King George the Middy (King George's son) were to ask me what I liked in England, I would say 'boo, boo' (i.e., musket, musket)."—Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 131.

vessel returned and took on board the survivors with their catch of 8000 skins. The ship being then bound for London Ruatara shipped as a sailor, being promised by Captain Moody that he would see the King of England when he got to London. When they arrived there in July, 1809, this Captain also cheated him of all that he had earned, kept him almost the whole time aboard ship, and after fifteen days in port, thrust him, ill, penniless and in rags, on board the "Ann," a convict ship outward bound for Sydney. An overdose of Mr. Hyde, which would have been the death of our poor Maori friend had not Dr. Jekyll providentially reappeared in the person of the good Chaplain of New South Wales, none other than the Rev. Samuel Marsden himself! This farsighted and purposeful minister of Christ's Gospel had gone to England in 1807 in company with Governor King and Te Pahi's son. There he had laboured unceasingly to induce the recently established Church Missionary and London Missionary Societies to establish a Mission in New Zealand. At length his efforts had been crowned with success, and now, after being fourteen months at home, he was embarking on his return journey with two mechanics—William Hall, ship builder, and John King, flax dresser and rope maker—volunteers for service in the new field.

It was not for some time after they had set sail that Marsden, in his ministrations on the ship discovered the Maori in the forecabin, wrapped in an old greatcoat, very sick and weak from a hacking cough accompanied by frequent hæmorrhages, and to all appearances with but a few days to live. Here, in the mysterious providence of God, Marsden was enabled with the assistance of the ship's doctor and of the Captain to nurse back to health and strength the very New Zealander who, more than all others, had inspired him to the great enterprise upon which he was now embarked. On the 27th February, 1810, the "Ann" reached Sydney and Ruatara was again for a considerable time the guest of his benefactor at Parramatta. At length once more, together with a son of Te Pahi and two other Maoris, he embarked—this time on a whaling vessel. After a six months' cruise the vessel with a full cargo put in at the Bay of Islands, but Captain Bunker, for some reason, absolutely refused to land the Maoris, taking them away instead to Norfolk Island, where he left them all except Te Pahi's son. This son of Te Pahi was never heard of again. His countryman, defrauded once more of his earnings, naked, penniless and ill from the cruelty of another English Hyde, found succour a second time upon a ship named the "Ann," whose Captain, Gwynn, gave him clothing and returned him to Sydney and to Marsden.

Upon a third "Ann," strange to say the Maori chief again set sail, and at last, after a five months' voyage, was safely landed at his home, from which he had been absent altogether just on four years.

With him he brought to New Zealand a considerable quantity of seed wheat and a number of implements of agriculture—gifts of the wise Marsden. Ruatara lost no time in distributing the wheat among his brother chiefs, at the same time explaining to them that from this grain the Pakeha's biscuits were made, and instructing them how to sow the seed. When the corn grew up the chiefs examined the roots for the fruit as they were accustomed to do with the potatoes, and when they found none, they all, except Hongi and Ruatara himself, burnt their crops. But when the remaining crops came into ear and were harvested, seeing was believing and they realised their mistake. Their patience, however, was still further tried. For Ruatara was unable to grind the corn for want of a mill and a long delay ensued before one could be obtained from Marsden suitable for the purpose.

Meanwhile, as with Ruatara, so with his race. Increasing intercourse with trading and whaling vessels and the reports of those Maoris who ventured overseas were producing a visible effect upon the race as a whole. For one thing they were living more peaceably together than they had done before the advent of the European. Their minds had been widened in many ways—in knowledge of implements of iron, of animal and vegetable foods, and of a wider world. But their experience of individual sea captains was on the whole such that it was high time there was some counteracting influence in New Zealand itself to provide an antidote for the unscrupulous treatment to which they were for the most part subjected by their European visitors.

CHAPTER III.

THE ADVANCE OF CIVILISATION.

"Nothing in my opinion can pave the way for the introduction of the Gospel but civilisation; and that can only be accomplished among the heathen by the arts. I would recommend that three mechanics be appointed to make the first attempt—a carpenter, a blacksmith and a twine spinner. Till their attention is gained, and moral and industrious habits are induced, little or no progress can be made in teaching them the Gospel."

So had Marsden written in putting his views before the Church Missionary Society in London, and it was upon these lines that he prepared to establish his mission. In 1809, just when everything seemed ready, there occurred the terrible massacre of the crew of the ship "Boyd" by the Maoris of Whangaroa. The news of this crime and of the cannibal feasts that followed made it impossible for Marsden to proceed at once with his scheme. Our friend Te Pahi, who had in fact rendered assistance to some of the "Boyd's" crew, although without avail, after suffering severely from the mistaken vengeance of some European whalers who believed him to be a party to the massacre, fell victim to that of the murderers themselves for the attempt he had made to save the lives of some of their prey. This brought on a bitter war between Te Pahi's tribe and the Maoris of Whangaroa. At this time our other friend Ruatara was in Sydney where the news of the outrage aroused such intense feeling against all Maoris that Marsden had difficulty in protecting him and his countrymen who were there from molestation. Hall and King, the Mission volunteers, went with their leader into the country, where they practised their trades with success until the time came some five years later to prosecute the purpose for which they had left England. In 1813 their number was increased by the arrival of a schoolmaster, Thomas Kendall, whose instructions were that he should place his services at the disposal of the Government of New South Wales until the New Zealand Mission could be established.

Marsden, thus hindered for a time from the prosecution of his main enterprise, devoted himself to an endeavour to protect the natives from ill-treatment at the hands of the ship masters,

by laying definite charges against the latter before Governor Macquarie and petitioning for remedial steps to be taken. His case was so strongly supported by the evidence he had collected that, in consequence, a Proclamation was issued, under date 1st December, 1813,* prohibiting in express terms all ill-treatment of the natives, and exacting a bond in the penal sum of £1000 from all ship masters leaving Sydney for New Zealand as a guarantee of their good conduct towards the Islanders. The following summary† of the actual provisions of this Proclamation is eloquent of the state of affairs it was intended to remedy:—

“They (the masters of all vessels leaving Sydney for New Zealand or the South Seas) were required ‘to peaceably and properly demean themselves, and be of good behaviour towards the Natives of New Zealand,’ etc.; not to ‘commit any act of trespass upon plantations, gardens, lands, habitations, burial grounds, tombs, or properties of the natives’; not to ‘make war or cause war to be made upon them, or in any way interfere’ in their disputes and strifes, but to leave them free in the enjoyment of their religious ceremonies; not to ship away Natives without their consent, nor, in the case of females, without the Governor’s consent; and all Natives employed were, when being discharged, to be paid their due wages. . . . The Proclamation also stated that acts of ‘rapine, plunder, robbery, piracy, murder, or other offences against the law of nature and nations,’ against the person and property of the Natives, would be punished with the utmost rigour of the law.”

In addition to this an influential public meeting was organised in Sydney at which a scheme was adopted to provide for the protection of those natives who came to New South Wales, and for their instruction in any simple branches of trades which they were capable of acquiring, and in the Christian religion. In this scheme and in the hospitality hitherto extended by Marsden himself to visiting Maoris, we have the germ of that Parramatta “Seminary for New Zealand Natives” to which the actual Mission later owed so much.

By straining his personal resources Marsden next purchased for £1,400 a brig, the “Active,” for the service of the Mission. With the Governor’s approval he then despatched an expedition of enquiry under the charge of Kendall and Hall;

* See *Sydney Gazette* of that date.

† *From Tasman to Marsden* (McNab), p. 162.

for Governor Macquarie would not as yet permit the Chaplain himself to go. The missionaries reached the Bay of Islands on the 10th June, 1814, bearing with them a letter from Marsden to Ruatara invoking his aid, and bringing, amongst other gifts, the much-needed handmill for grinding the corn. When by this means bread had been made, the *mana** of Ruatara and the missionaries was great among the natives, and Kendall and Hall were able to make satisfactory arrangements for the establishment of the permanent mission later in the year. On the 21st August, the "Active" was back again at Sydney, having on board Hongi and Ruatara and other leading chiefs and their attendants. At this time Marsden had no fewer than eleven Maoris as guests in his home.

"During their stay," says McNab, "no effort was spared to educate them in the benefits of civilisation. The various works going on in the smith's and carpenter's shops, spinning, weaving, brick making, building houses, agriculture and gardening, were all brought under their notice; and Marsden spent all the time he could with them conversing on 'subjects of religion, government, and agriculture.'"

The hour of destiny was now at hand and on the 19th November, 1814, the "Active" again set sail for New Zealand, having on board Marsden, Nicholas his friend, Hall with his wife and son, Kendall (now appointed by Governor Macquarie a Justice of the Peace for New Zealand) with his wife and three sons, King with his wife and son, Captain Hansen with his wife and son, three convicts on ticket of leave, a crew of eight, three Native chiefs and five other Maoris returning home; and of live stock one entire horse and two mares, one bull and two cows, a few sheep, and some turkeys, geese and other poultry!

On his arrival, finding the Whangaroa Maoris and Te Pahi's tribe still at war, Marsden made it his first task to try to effect a reconciliation. On the night of the 20th December,† then,

* Prestige.

† "Much conversation (then) passed, chiefly respecting New Zealand and Sydney, New South Wales, which George had visited. I endeavoured to press upon his mind the great degree of comfort we enjoyed as compared with his countrymen's enjoyments—our mode of living, houses, etc., which he had seen—and that all those blessings might be obtained by them by cultivating their land and improving themselves in useful knowledge, which they would now have an opportunity to acquire from the European settlers. He seemed sensible of all these advantages, and expressed a wish to follow my advice. The other Chiefs and their people stood around us.

"As the evening advanced the people began to retire to rest in

behold him ashore at Whangaroa, alone with the slayers and devourers of his countrymen. All this evening he reasoned with them, pointing out the advantages of civilisation over their own unending state of war. Then under the starry sky, with no covering but his great coat, he lay down to sleep in their midst! On the morrow his efforts were rewarded with success. The rival chiefs touched noses and the Apostle of New Zealand sailed on to the Bay of Islands.

Here on the 23rd the live stock was disembarked, an event described by Nicholas in these words:—

“On the arrival of the boats with the cattle, they (the Maoris) appeared perfectly bewildered with amazement, not knowing what to conclude respecting such extraordinary looking animals. Cows or horses they had never seen before, and diverted now from everything else, they regarded them as stupendous prodigies.”

We may well imagine that when Marsden mounted a horse and rode up and down the beach his *mana* exceeded all human bounds.

On Saturday, the 24th, the whole party made a formal landing and Ruatara and his countrymen cleared half an acre of land and enclosed it with a fence in preparation for divine service on the following day. A worthy memorial is now erected on this spot on which, on Christmas Day, 1814, Marsden preached for the first time in New Zealand the gospel of peace on earth and goodwill among men. In addition to the newcomers and the friendly chiefs there were present some three

different groups. About 11 p.m. Mr. Nicholas and I wrapped ourselves up in our great coats and prepared for rest also. George directed me to lie by his side; his wife and child lay on one hand, myself on the other, and Mr. Nicholas close by the family. The night was clear, the stars shone brightly, and the sea in our front was smooth. Around us were numerous spears stuck upright in the ground and groups of natives lying in all directions like a flock of sheep upon the grass, as there were neither tents nor huts to cover them. I viewed our situation with new sensations and feelings that I cannot express—surrounded by cannibals who had massacred and devoured our countrymen, I wondered much at the mysteries of Providence, and how these things could be. Never did I behold the blessed advantages of civilisation in a more grateful light than at that moment. I did not sleep much during the night; my mind was too anxiously occupied by the present scene, and the new and strange ideas it naturally excited. About 3 o'clock in the morning I arose and walked about the camp surveying the different groups of natives, some of whom put out their heads from under the tops of their ‘kakka-haws,’ which are like a beehive, and spoke to me. When the morning light appeared, we beheld men, women, and children asleep in all directions, like the beasts of the field.”—*Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. I (McNab), p. 358.

or four hundred natives to whom Ruatara interpreted, as well as he could, the preacher's message. The text—it could surely have been no other—was, "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy!"

No time was lost in the erection of a 60 foot by 16 foot hut for the accommodation of the missionaries and their families. While this was being done, Marsden, accompanied by Ruatara, paid a visit to many of the neighbouring tribes, in the course of which he met Mohanga, whom Dr. Savage had taken to England in 1805.

On the 24th February, 1815, he bought for twelve axes from "Anodee O Gunna, King of Rangeehoo," 200 acres of land for the Mission. The conveyance had been previously prepared in Sydney in full legal form, and in the place of the vendor's signature his *amoco*, or the tattoo pattern on his face, was carefully drawn by Hongi in the deed and attested by the vendor's mark. On the same day Marsden baptised the first white child born in New Zealand,* the son of Mr. and Mrs. King, then three days old.

The time for Marsden's return to Sydney was now at hand, but before he left he made it absolutely clear to all that on no account could any weapons of war be supplied to the Natives by the Mission "settlers," as they were called; neither might the smith repair them. Axes, hoes and agricultural tools he was to make and mend, but not the tools of war.

Meanwhile the enlightened Ruatara, indefatigable in his efforts to help his benefactor, had fallen seriously ill; and the infant Mission Settlement, within a week of its founder's departure, lost its Native protector as well. His uncle Hongi, however, at once waited on the missionaries and promised to continue the protection accorded by Ruatara, a promise which, through all his strange subsequent career, he never forgot or broke. Far out at sea the "Active" was returning to Sydney with twelve native pupils on board for Marsden's Parramatta Seminary, and the little colony† of European settlers was left to its own resources—peers of the heroes of old, whose memorial is this Christian land, its peaceful homes their glory.

* "The first European wedding in New Zealand was celebrated at Waimate between W. Puckey and Matilda Davis on the 11th October, 1831."—Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 382.

† "The following persons were left at Rangihoua:—Mr. and Mrs. Kendall, a servant and three boys; Mr. and Mrs. Hall and one boy; Mr. and Mrs. King and two boys (these were those belonging to the Society); one pair of sawyers and a blacksmith, 'bound for a five.' Mrs. Hanson (wife of the Captain of the 'Active') and her son remained on their own account."—Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 247.

Ruatara was laid to rest upon the top of a bare hill on which he had planned to build a town that should embody the ideas he had gained abroad. Reviewing his life and work in his *History of the English Church in New Zealand*,* Canon Purchas writes:—

“In spite of this noble Maori’s enlightened efforts for the civilisation of his countrymen, his mind seems to have been not wholly without misgiving as to the possible consequences of his policy. He could not altogether throw off the suggestions of the reactionary party, that the coming of the white man would eventually lead to the slavery and dispossession of the Maori. Could he look down from his lofty eminence now that a century has passed, what would be his thoughts? He would see his countrymen still residing on their lands, their children carefully taught, their houses fitted with mechanical appliances which would have surprised even Marsden himself. But on the other hand, the crowded *pas* and the vigorous life have passed away. Instead of the long canoe with its stalwart tattooed rowers, he would see perhaps a small motor boat with one half-caste engineer. As for his town of ‘Rangihoo,’† he would see no trace of its existence. Maori dwellings, mission station—all are gone. Nothing now remains to show that man has ever occupied the spot, save the rose-covered graves of one or two of the original settlers, and the lofty stone cross which marks the place where Christ was first preached on New Zealand soil.”

* p. 24, H. T. Purchas, *History of the English Church in N.Z.*

† During the last ten years of Duaterra’s life he had suffered every danger, privation, and hardship that human nature could well bear; and on my arrival at New Zealand, with him and the settlers before named, he appeared to have accomplished the grand object of all his toils—an object which was the constant topic of his conversation, namely, the means of civilising his countrymen. He said with joy and triumph in his eyes: ‘I have now introduced the cultivation of wheat into New Zealand. It will become a great country; for, in two years more, I shall be able to export wheat to Port Jackson in exchange for hoes, axes, spades, and tea and sugar.’ Under this impression he made arrangements with his people for a very extensive cultivation of the land, and formed a plan for building a new town, with regular streets, after the European mode, to be erected on a beautiful situation, which commanded a view of the harbour’s mouth and the adjacent country round. We, together, inspected the ground fixed on for the township and the situation of the intended church. The streets were to have been all marked out before the brig sailed for Port Jackson; but at the very time of these arrangements being made Duaterra was laid on his dying bed. I could not but look on him with wonder and astonishment,

Having thus seen the Mission at length permanently established as a power for good amongst the Maoris in the North, we may now consider various other civilising influences which were also operating in various parts of the country.

The Bay of Islands, upon the shore of which the Mission Station had been established, is situated about 150 miles North-West of Auckland, Whangaroa and Doubtless Bay being farther North still. It was the most frequented and the most notorious of the many harbours scattered up and down the New Zealand coasts, where whalers and traders cast anchor, seeking respite and refreshment from toil, and engaging in cautious intercourse and trade with the Maoris. In the North Island the Bay of Plenty, Poverty Bay, Hawke's Bay, the Island of Kapiti; in the South Island Queen Charlotte Sound, Banks Peninsula,* Waikouaiti, the Aparima Estuary, Dusky Sound—these and other coastal shelters were the scenes of more or less regular and friendly intercourse between the two races. On the whole it may be said that whereas the populous tribes of the North regarded their visitors with suspicion, the scantier native population of the South Island received them with open arms. In many of these places permanent sealing and whaling stations were established. These stations were of a very different type from the settlement of Kororareka at the Bay of Islands, at this time notorious as the Alsatia of the South Seas. In them sealers and whalers were living settled lives years before any missionary ever visited them. As the killing season lasted only six months in the year, they found time to build houses and to cultivate the soil. They took to themselves as wives Maori girls† from the best families and these alliances promoted between the races friendship and intercourse of a most valuable kind. Further, many young Maoris became associated with the

as he lay languishing under his affliction, and could scarcely bring myself to believe that the Divine Goodness would remove from the earth a man whose life was of such infinite importance to his country, which was just emerging from barbarism, gross darkness, and superstition. No doubt he had done his work, and finished his appointed course, though I fondly imagined that he had only begun his race."—Marsden on the Death of Ruatara—(McNab), *Historical Records of New Zealand*, p. 346.

* "In 1834 there were eight whale ships at Kaikoura, four near Lyttelton, nine on the south of Banks Peninsula, and eleven on the Otago coast. These employed about 650 men, and their catch in 1833 valued at least £50,000."—*Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Vol. III, p. 4.

† "The Maori woman founded a home for the man who had chosen her and endowed him with a part of the influence of the tribe to which she belonged. He, in a manner, married into the tribe. Her influence procured him safety and good. He belonged to a higher civilisation

whites in the hunting cruises which appealed to their love of excitement and adventure. The whalers thus familiarised the natives with European houses and utensils, domestic animals, and crops; they taught their wives to sew, cook, and keep themselves clean. They were in fact mission stations of civilisation, if not of Christianity, scattered up and down the coast, preparing the Maoris for the greater developments which the future had in store. Dr. Thomson goes so far as to say of them:—*

“Impartial witnesses, in 1840, admitted the civilisation introduced by these men to be more practically useful than that around the missionary stations. The whaler natives could not read and write, but they knew more English, were better clad, and were more industrious than Christian natives.”

Another class who played a great part in the early years of contact between the two races were the “Pakeha Maoris.” Escaped convicts, runaway or shipwrecked sailors—some of

than she did, though too often of the lowest class. She was very often better than her companion. He was very frequently a banished man, but yet helping in his banishment to build up England's greatness. . . .

“It is difficult to read without emotion the scattered notices in our literature referring to those early pioneers. . . .

“Many of them drank and used profane language and were careless about marriage rites; but in New Zealand they evangelised the women they dwelt with, and taught the men of the tribe the superiority of the boat to the canoe. They put down cannibalism and looked askance at infanticide. They built houses with chimneys, made their women and children wear European clothing, if that were an advantage, and eat the pork and damper on which they lived after the European fashion. Their women bore them in almost all cases numerous half-castes who, well fed and healthy, were so fair of visage as to be a source of paternal pride. The youngsters were taught to wash their skin and comb their hair. Cleanliness in this case ran a dead heat with godliness. The mothers in such families, Wohlers writes, had better food, better clothing, better dwellings than the other women of their race who had Maori husbands, and this raised their minds to a higher level of humanity.

“Many of the men were outlaws and crime-hardened without doubt, but they kept the remembrance of one day in seven as a day of rest. They taught their boys the English idea of fair play, and their daughters, while unmarried, the theory, if not the habit, of chastity. There were no women of his own race for the Sealer to mate with. White women and white civilisation were behind him and beyond his reach, but the woman who cooked his food and suckled his children became his life companion, and the main element in the new home he was founding in a new world. She was not his leman, to be discarded when tired of, but the centre of the small world beyond which he had no future. The Sealer's wife needed no one to give her lessons in chastity.” —Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 209; see also *Memories of the Life of Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers* (Autobiography), p. 161.

* *The Story of New Zealand*, Vol. I, p. 296.

them men of quite good birth and liberal education—relinquishing their social heritage, joined themselves to the Maori tribes, with whom they lived for the most part according to Maori ways. Most of them married Maori wives; some even submitted to be tattooed; and quite a number of them became chiefs in their tribes. As far back as the year 1804 a European was known to be living with the Maoris in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, and in 1812 an American sailor and four other “Maori Whites” became the subject of endless interest amongst the natives far up and down the country. The lot of these earlier specimens of their class was often far from enviable, and several of them endeavoured to escape from a condition which they found to be scarcely preferable to the chains of the convict gang. But with the development of trade between the Europeans and the natives the Pakeha Maoris became invaluable to the tribes amongst whom they lived. As their usefulness increased, so their lot became lighter, and some attained power and influence inferior only to that of the highest chiefs. Such conditions lasted until the beginning of regular colonisation from 1840 onwards, in which year there appear to have been as many as 150 of them amongst the tribes. In fact, no tribe of importance was then without its Pakeha Maori, and there is no doubt that the presence of these “pioneers of civilisation”^{*} amongst the natives must be included among those educative agencies which were gradually bringing the Maori into closer touch with the modern world.

“† The good the Pakeha Maoris did far outbalanced their misdeeds; they taught the natives to trust white men, and encouraged industry, the promoter of peace and civilisation, by opening up a steady market for flax and potatoes; their half-caste children were hostages for good behaviour, and stepping stones to health and progress.”

On the other hand the wrongs the natives suffered from unscrupulous traders were neither trifling nor few. From the outset their initial ignorance of European values gave the traders an advantage in exchange which they did not scruple to make the most of. According to the statistical returns printed by the Legislative Council of New South Wales in 1844, the total value of exports from New Zealand to New South Wales for the years 1826-29, inclusive, amounted to no less than £354,348; whereas the total value of the imports from New South Wales to New

^{*} Thomson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 259.

† *Ibid.*, p. 303.

Zealand for the same period was only £25,198, a sum considerably less than one-sixteenth of the value of the exports. The same advantage was taken of the Maoris by the settlers, including many of the missionaries, in a much more serious matter—the purchase of large areas of land. The former disadvantage the natives were able to rectify as they began to know the true commercial value of their own goods. The latter wrong was of a deeper kind and one more difficult of adjustment. Eventually it became one of the main causes, if not indeed *the* main cause, of the devastating inter-racial wars which for so many years retarded the development of the North Island in particular, and set back the clock of civilisation for the native race.

But these were not the only wrongs which the Maoris suffered at the hands of the traders. It was inevitable that from such a plague spot as came to be developed at Kororareka* the natives became infected with some of the worst evils of our civilisation. As early as 1832 there were 100 Europeans settled there, and by the time Captain Hobson arrived the number was probably over a thousand. During the year 1838 as many as 56 American, 23 English, 21 French, 24 New South Wales, and 7 other vessels entered the Bay. The first grog shop was opened in 1830; in 1838 there were five regular hotels; while, according to Dr. Thomson, the grog shops were “numberless”!† The drunkenness of the place was equalled only by its debauchery. Chiefs in the neighbourhood became rich pandering to the whalers and traders, whose ships were often nothing but floating brothels. One chief is recorded as having kept an establishment of no fewer than 96 slave girls for this pandemonium. Thus the worst of European vices and diseases were spread among a race peculiarly susceptible to them, with the result that both their character and their health were too often sapped and ruined.

* “The Schools and Churches are well attended. On the opposite side of the harbour a number of Europeans are settled among the natives. Several Europeans keep public houses and encourage every kind of crime. Here drunkenness, adultery, murder, etc., are committed. There are no laws, judges or magistrates, so that Satan maintains his dominion without molestation. *Some civilized Government must take New Zealand under its protection*, or the most dreadful evils will be committed from runaway convicts and sailors and publicans. There are no laws here to punish crimes. When I return to New South Wales I purpose to lay the state of New Zealand before the Colonial Government, to see if anything can be done to remedy these public evils. From weakness and want of light I cannot write correctly.”—Rev. S. Marsden to Daudeson Coates, 27th March, 1837; *Historical Records of New Zealand* (McNab), Vol. I, p. 721.

† Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

It only remains for us to tell the story of the introduction of firearms, the "dragon's teeth of civilisation," to the native race. To do this it is necessary to go back to Marsden's prohibition of the traffic in firearms at the very outset of his mission. Marsden might regulate the mission, but he could not prevent the Maoris from realising their own utter defencelessness without European weapons. During the three years ending 1817 one hundred natives had been killed by the traders in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, and when shipmasters at Kororaraka* without compunction supplied muskets to the natives, the mission settlers were placed at an obvious disadvantage in their own efforts to carry on the peaceful and legitimate trade which was so material to the continuance of their settlement. The inevitable happened. A Ngapuhi chief named Te Morenga obtained from other sources a supply of 35 muskets and ammunition. His victory over his foes was swift and complete. The lesson was not lost upon Hongi, the protector of the mission, who sought to counter Marsden's prohibition with an answering veto, that "no work was to be done, no food supplied, no timber sawn to load the brig, no exchange of any kind to be permitted, *except for muskets and gunpowder.*" Marsden had met his match; yet he would not give way. "I think," he wrote to the Church Missionary Society, "it much more to the honour of religion and the good of New Zealand even to give up the mission, for the present, than to trade with the natives on these terms."

Hongi, no less farsighted and purposeful than Marsden, without further parley, went off to England. "How do you do, Mr. King George?" he said to that easy-going monarch, the fourth of his name; and thereupon proceeded to ask His Majesty whether he had prohibited the New Zealanders from having guns and ships of war. He received the reply he desired and a coat of mail from the Royal Armoury besides. As protector of the New Zealand Mission he was entertained by pre-

* "One thing I beg to draw your attention to is the improper traffic carried on by the South Sea whalers with the natives of the Bay of Islands in firearms and ammunition. These ships are supplied with a proportion of muskets, powder, and ball to barter for pigs and potatoes. The quantity thus disposed of is estimated at 5cwt. of powder per annum. While this continues to be the case a fair trade with the natives cannot be carried on owing to the lawless spirit of those at the Bay of Islands, who, while they are in possession of the means alluded to, will never turn their minds to industry, but ravage and desolate the possessions of others who, having no other than native weapons, are unable to stand before them."—Extract from letter from J. Downie, Master Coromandel Naval Storeship, from Thames, New Zealand, dated 12th August, 1820, forwarded to the Colonial Office by the Lords of the Admiralty; *Historical Records of New Zealand* (McNab), Vol. I, p. 567.

lates and nobles, who loaded him with presents of many kinds for use in his native land. "Marsden's friends gave him watches, tools, boots, and shoes, furniture and clothes in abundance. The Quakers gave him ploughs and harrows."* In company with Waikato, a brother chief, and Kendall, the mission schoolmaster, who had also made the trip, he spent a considerable time at Cambridge assisting the Professor of Oriental Languages in the preparation of a Maori Grammar,† for which service he received a monetary reward. His business ended, he set sail with all his treasures for Sydney, where, under the very nose of Governor McQuarrie, he at once converted into gold everything he had, except the coat of mail, bought 300 muskets, and a plentiful supply of ammunition, and set off for his native land. The details of his subsequent career are well known. This Napoleon of New Zealand spread destruction and death on every hand. At the mouth of the Thames he slew a thousand; on the Waikato a thousand more; at Rotorua a thousand more; and every victory was the occasion of cannibal feasts such as had previously been unheard of even in New Zealand. Whereby all Maoriland learned from Hongi the lesson he had himself learned from Te Morenga, and the double-barrelled musket (*tupara*) became a vital necessity to every tribe and to every tribesman. Indeed, Hongi's ultimatum, "no trade except for guns and powder," became the universal condition of all commerce with the natives other than at the mission settlement, where Marsden's veto still held sway. As each tribe secured its supply in advance of its rivals, the inevitable slaughter and feasting took place, until from east to west, from north to south, and even across the Strait far down into the South Island death and destruction swept through the land. After Hongi, the protagonists of this great tragedy were Te Waharoa, Te Whero Whero, Te Rauparaha,‡ Te Rangihaeata, and others whose names, like his, were at one time the terror of the whole land. For 16 years after Hongi's first campaign in 1822 the decimation of the natives went on, until all were equipped with muskets, and sheer exhaustion for a time brought peace. Dr. Thomson estimates the number of lives lost during this period at 20,000.

* Saunders, A., *History of New Zealand*, p. 65.

† The work, when printed, occupied some 230 pages, of which 130 were devoted to the grammar and the exercises and the remaining 100 to the vocabulary.

‡ "In 1829 there were 2,000 stand of arms at Kapiti," the island fortress of Te Rauparaha, of whom Judge Maning said that "he either conquered by force, or made tools of by cunning, or destroyed by treachery, almost everyone he came in contact with."—See Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 194.

For this terrible tragedy the blame indubitably lies upon Governor Macquarie and the British authorities for their failure to give inflexible support to Marsden in the attitude which he took up. For now that the Maoris were all armed with European weapons, surely it was but a matter of time when they would turn them upon the Europeans who came in such increasing numbers to settle upon their ancient lands. And that is just what happened.

In the light of the successful prohibition of both alcohol and firearms from native territories recently mandated by the League of Nations to various Powers, it is difficult to agree with Saunders* when he says:—"Nothing that philanthropy could devise or accomplish would have kept back the firearms, the fire water, the diseases, or the convicts from New Zealand;" and comforts himself with the pious hope that the blessings of civilisation have "minimised the poison" and "outweighed the calamities" inseparable from the introduction of these destructive forces of European society. Although Governor Macquarie's Proclamations of 1813-4 to restrain shipmasters from ill-treating the natives, and the British Act of 1817 to provide for the punishment of "murders and manslaughters" in certain places outside the Empire were for the most part harmless thunderbolts, the Proclamation of 1831 by Governor Darling against the revolting trade in preserved tattooed heads was quite the reverse, and put an effective stop to that abominable traffic.† And it is abundantly clear that equally vigorous action ought to have been taken by the authorities to deal with a situation that was developing so obviously to the detriment of both natives and settlers alike. The fact remains that European firearms and European diseases well-nigh destroyed a noble race. The native population of New Zealand at the end of the eighteenth century has been variously estimated at from 100,000 to 200,000. The Rev. Henry Williams, a thoroughly competent judge, estimated it at 134,000 in 1834.‡ Whatever it was, even after the cessation of the wars, it continued to decline year by year until in the year 1896 it was less than 40,000 according to the official census returns. Happily, from that time, the pendulum has swung in the other direction, and a steady and unbroken increase has been maintained for the past 30 years, with the result that the native population now numbers some 63,000.§ For this splendid

* Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

† See also p. 90 of this work.

‡ Rev. Wm. Morley, *History of Methodism in New Zealand*, p. 21.

§ Re the decrease of the Maori population in New Zealand, the following statement has been kindly supplied by the Government Statistician, Mr. Malcolm Fraser, under date 25th October, 1927:—

recovery the credit is principally due to the excellent work done by the State Departments of Education and Native Affairs during the last 50 years.

"No figures are available prior to 1842 as the conditions under which earlier estimates were made were such as to rob them of even the most superficial statistical value.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Authority.</i>	<i>Number.</i>
1842—Dr. Dieffenbach, an estimate based on very extensive personal visits	----	114,890
1844—Official estimate in "New Zealand Reports"	----	100,000
1845—Return by Chief Protector of Aborigines	----	109,550
1849—Estimate in despatch of Sir George Grey	----	120,000

The first general census of the Maoris was taken between September, 1857, and September, 1858. The second was taken in 1874, and thenceforward censuses were taken in regular sequence. The following are the official census figures:—

1857-58—56,049	1874—45,470	1878—43,595	1881—44,097
1886—41,969	1891—41,993	1896—39,854	1901—43,143
1906—47,731	1911—49,844	1916—49,776	1921—52,751
1926—62,781			

The extent of the heavy decline in the numbers of the Maoris is a matter of controversy, but it may be taken that the four estimates first quoted were probably somewhat over the mark."

CHAPTER IV.

THE MISSION SCHOOLS.

When Marsden introduced the missionaries to the Maori chiefs who came aboard the "Active" that first morning in Whangaroa Harbour, there was no doubt in his mind as to the course to be pursued. Kendall was to establish schools for the children; Hall to erect the buildings necessary for their accommodation. Into this work they threw themselves, as Hall relates, with "zeal, warmth, and sanguinity." Pending the actual opening of the first school, Kendall set to work to reduce the Maori language to writing—no light task in itself. He thus unfolds his plans in the following extracts from the *Missionary Register* of 1817:—

"I have before stated my opinion that I can have plenty of scholars, as soon as convenient apartments are prepared for their accommodation. This will be accomplished, as I hope, in a short time. . . .

"It is my intention to take about 40 children under my care. These must be clothed and fed. . . .

"I have prepared a First Book for the instruction of the natives, which I transmit to you. You can get a few copies printed, if you think proper. There are undoubtedly many defects in it, but it is good to make a beginning. . . ."

Nor does he propose to confine his attention to the children; for he writes further:—

"We trust that the plan of Adult Schools . . . will be adopted in New Zealand. The employment given to the natives by the settlers is gradually improving them; but Adult Schools will be a most powerful instrument of advancing their obligations."

Early in the following year Marsden was able to send over Mr. William Carlisle from New South Wales to assist Kendall in his work. "The School," we learn from the *Missionary Register*, "was opened in August, 1816, with 33 children"—

the first school in New Zealand!* In September the number had increased to 47, and in October to 51. Success attended the efforts of the teachers. A son of Te Pahi showed such aptitude and made such progress that it became possible to employ him as a pupil teacher.† By April of 1817 the attendance had increased to 70. The ages of the pupils varied from 7 to 17, and the numbers of boys and girls, at first in the proportion of one to two, were by this time about equal.

* The following is a copy of the names, etc., upon the first school roll of Thomas Kendall's school—the first school register in New Zealand.

Monthly account of the attendance of the native children of the Church Missionary Society's School, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, commencing August 12th, 1816.

Thos. Kendall and Wm. Carlisle, Teachers.

No.	Names.	Sex.	Age.	No.	Names.	Sex.	Age.
1	A. Towha	M	17	18	Pakkekooda ..	F	12
2	A. Tooma	M	14	19	A. Tou	F	10
3	Kiddepeedo ..	M	14	20	A. Tee	F	7
4	A. Tarra	M	9	21	Ahoodoo Tarra ..	F	16
5	A. Wha	M	9	22	Shou ta Kiddee ..	F	14
6	A. Tunghurro ..	F	12	23	Heena Hoodoo ..	F	14
7	A. Too	F	13	24	A. Pakkoo	F	20
8	A. Wha	F	14	25	A. Weddee	F	9
9	A. Houhee	F	17	26	Kiddethou	F	12
10	A. Kouhee	F	14	27	Taattee	M	16
11	A. Koorā	F	12	28	A. Doodoo	F	12
12	A. Peeke	F	13	29	A. Warree Tou ..	M	12
13	A. Dingha	F	14	30	A. Hoohee	F	10
14	A. Moodēe	F	15	31	A. Takka	M	16
15	Kadooā	F	15	32	Tahooohoro	M	17
16	A. Keena	F	17	33	A. Manoo	F	7
17	A. Tarree	F	16				

The roll shows that school was conducted continuously for the seven days of the week.

The following interruptions to the work are recorded:—

- (1) Several absent procuring cockles.
- (2) Interruption from the chief Wevea and his party.
- (3) Visited by the chief Toutaddee and family.
- (4) Visit of Kurrokurro, Shunghee (i.e., Korokoro and the great Chief Hongi) and their party, 29th August.

The majority of the scholars are recorded as working at their alphabet, a few at monosyllables.

And the following significant note is added:—

"The children sleep in the school house in their own filthy raiment. I could not refuse taking them at their request. We must do as well as we can until I receive further instruction."

The roll is signed by Thos. Kendall.

—From Folio of Correspondence, etc., of Rev. Samuel Marsden. (original) in the Hocken Library, Dunedin.

† Purchas, H. T., *History of the English Church in New Zealand*, p. 27.

- * "The natives," reports Carlisle, "are improving in every way, the school being daily attended by nearly 60 young persons, many of whom begin to read and spell, and all are very attentive to the Gospel passages which have been printed in their own language."

In the following year the staff was again augmented by the addition of Mr. Gordon, Carlisle's brother-in-law, who had been sent over "for the purpose of teaching agriculture."†

* McNab, *From Tasman to Marsden*, p. 203.

† "I have directed Mr. Gordon to apply himself wholly to agriculture till the settlement is independent of this colony for bread; and till they have it in their power to give a little bread to a hungry native and to feed the children in the School. When the Chiefs come to understand the value of wheat, which they will soon do, the inhabitants will then turn from the habits of war to the pursuits of agriculture, which will supply all their wants and will check that warlike spirit which they now possess. Those who have been with me at Parliament and have seen the advantages of bread, often tell me what they will do when they return to their home. I shall greatly rejoice to hear that they have turned their attention to agriculture. They (Carlisle and Gordon and families) have taken over with them fruit trees of various kinds; and have already got peaches in perfection. I think vines would do well from the nature of the soil and climate. I shall, from time to time, send over different plants, as they may be useful at some future day."—Extract from report of Rev. S. C. Marsden to the Church Missionary Society, 2nd May, 1817.

"A whaler has just arrived from the Bay of Islands; the master informs me there were 17 whalers on the Coast. As they all barter with muskets and powder they will buy up all the animal food from the natives, and greatly distress the settlement for provisions for a time. It may seem strange that I have never been able from the first to convince the missionary settlers of the value of cattle. A moment's reflection ought to be sufficient to convince the most ignorant of the vast importance of cattle in a new country for labour, milk, butter, animal food, etc. Had the missionaries only attended to the cattle that have been imported they would not now be in want of animal food. . . . At one time I sent over six heifers—very good ones. They informed me they wanted a bull. I then sent over two very fine English bulls. They neglected to put them to the heifers so that they never bred. When I returned in the "Dromedary" I took more cattle over with me. On my arrival I found the Rev. Mr. Butler had shot three of my heifers and two bulls and also one cow in calf. When I asked him his reason for doing so he said he wanted to get them into the settlement, and finding he could not he shot five of them and Shunghee shot one. I was much hurt at this circumstance, as it was defeating my intention towards New Zealand. Mr. Butler had no right to kill my cattle: it was a wanton, thoughtless act. The cattle could not have been worth much less than £100 in New South Wales. They had cost me considerable trouble and expense to get them into the country. Their beef was very fat. Had they acted properly from the first they would have had plenty of milk and butter and a considerable quantity of beef by this time, and would not have been so dependent upon the natives. If the Society could meet with a pious farmer, or

"These schools," says the *Register*, "will be cherished by the Society, and extended to the utmost. . . . Sons of chiefs are among the boys, and some of them from a distance. . . . Supplies of food are necessary to keep the children together. . . . The means of instruction are now afforded, and through the blessing of God upon them the effect will show itself in time."

The first five years of the settlement saw its families, of which there were now five, increase until there were altogether 15 white children in the mission, and it became necessary to provide for their education, too. The time-table, therefore, was so arranged that the Maori children rose at daylight and finished their morning lessons at an early hour. Then followed the instruction of the European children. In the afternoon the Maori classes were resumed.

* "Twice a day the scholars received a handful of potatoes each, which they cooked themselves, and sometimes fish was given them. On the technical side the girls made their own apparel, and the boys made fences or learnt to dress and spin flax. In winter spinning tops was 'in,' in summer, kite-flying; but dancing and singing were always indulged in."

How inevitably the mind overleaps the intervening century of time to envisage the hostels, technical colleges, agricultural and domestic science classes, school sports, yes, even the eurhythmics and music, of our modern education system!

Meanwhile at Parramatta, some 25 miles west of Sydney, Marsden persevered with his "Seminary for the Instruction of Young Natives of New Zealand," as it is called in the *Missionary Register*. In January, 1817, there were 11 New Zealanders under instruction, all either chiefs or the sons of chiefs, whose conduct was stated to be "highly exemplary." In May, 1818, the number was 12. In February, 1820, there were as many as 25, some of whom were about to return with Marsden on his

if a few families were settled upon the Society's land, this would be an excellent thing. I think there is little doubt but they might soon maintain themselves if they were industrious. Some measure must be adopted to render the missionaries independent of the natives, and there is none but agriculturists that can furnish them with supplies. The whalers are likely to ruin the whole country by importing such quantities of firearms and gunpowder. How this evil can be remedied I know not. It is a very great one. . . ."—Letter Rev. S. C. Marsden to Rev. J. Pratt, Church Missionary Society, Parramatta, March 21st, 1821: *Historical Records of New Zealand* (McNab), Vol. I, pp. 414 and 520.

* McNab; *From Tasman to Marsden*, p. 206.

third visit to New Zealand. In the following year, on account of serious illness and mortality amongst the Maoris, the Seminary was closed for a time. But in 1825 we find Marsden making plans to enlarge its scope for the same reason as had arisen in the schools of the mission settlement itself. * The children of the settlers were growing up, and Marsden "purchased an area of land in the vicinity of his own home at Parramatta for the purpose of erecting thereon a new Seminary in which not only the sons of Maori chiefs but also the children of the white missionaries should live and be educated." The *Register* for 1826 speaks of the progress of this scheme; that for 1827 records its completion.† Of the value of this work of Marsden's it is impossible to speak too highly. All the Maoris who came under his influence learned to respect and love the man to whom the interests of their race had obviously become so dear. On their return to their native land they became effective emissaries of civilisation and friends of the missionaries in their own districts.

Marsden left nothing undone that he could do to further the education of the native race. He had printed the First Book which Kendall had prepared and since enlarged. In 1818 he had sent to England two Parramatta students—Tui and Titori, who had been resident with him, the former for three years, the latter for 18 months—partly "to enlarge their minds and prepare them for great usefulness to their countrymen," and partly to assist the Rev. Samuel Lee, Professor of Oriental Languages at Cambridge, in the work of elucidating the orthography, pronunciation, and construction of the Maori language. On their return they were accompanied from England by reinforcements for the mission, the Rev. John Butler, who had been appointed the first clerical missionary; Francis Hall, another schoolmaster; and James Kent, a blacksmith. Mrs. Butler and two children and Mrs. Kent also came with their husbands, Marsden himself bringing them over in August, 1819. Four days after his arrival Kendall left for England to prepare for Holy Orders, and to confer with Professor Lee respecting the above-mentioned philological work, upon which he had himself spent so much time. With him went Hongi and Waikato, whose assistance to the Professor in his work has already been referred to.

* The number of settlers as on April 25th, 1826, was—men, 13; women, 10; children, 36. Total, 59.

† The abandonment of this enterprise was the inevitable result of the decision of the missionaries to establish instead a school of their own in New Zealand.

Marsden soon discovered that some of the settlers—Kendall in particular—had not loyally observed the embargo which he had placed upon the trade in muskets. Kendall saw the problem from his friend Hongi's point of view. But apart from that, "I would as soon trade with a musket as with a dollar," said he. Marsden suffered no illusions in the matter. He told the natives plainly that unless the trade in firearms ceased and they dealt with the settlers for peaceful articles of commerce only he would withdraw the mission altogether. The Maoris gave way, and trade was resumed with the settlement on unobjectionable lines. During the ensuing nine months the indefatigable chaplain journeyed over the greater part of what is now the Auckland Province, using the Mokoia *pa*, near the present site of Auckland City, as a kind of centre for his journeys. By this means he prepared the way for a considerable extension of the work, and when he left the settlement the prospects of the mission seemed brighter than ever.

Then Kendall and Hongi returned. The latter at once embarked upon his all-conquering career and the land became a shambles. The mission settlers were helpless, for their own safety depended solely upon the protection of this blood-maddened chief. They were even compelled to make cartridge boxes for the Maori troops, who also requisitioned the mission forges for the manufacture of ammunition. Still, the mission itself was safe, and the school work went on uninterrupted. As for the Rev. Mr. Kendall,* notwithstanding that he was now in full clerical garb, there was nothing for it but that the Missionary Society should dispense with his services forthwith. The subsequent career of this remarkable man is outside the scope of this work. But in these days of psycho-analysis few lives could be of greater interest to the student of unusual personalities than that of the first New Zealand schoolmaster and grammarian of the Maori tongue.

In 1823 the faithful Marsden returned again, bringing his Elisha with him in the person of the Rev. Henry Williams, an ex-naval officer and ex-medical student, of magnificent physique, great strength of purpose, absolute devotion to the missionary enterprise, and unswerving loyalty to his superiors. Thirty-one years of age, and accompanied by a young and talented wife, he brought to the mission enthusiasm, energy, and spiritual power at a time when these qualities were badly needed. It was not long before "Te Wiremu" (Williams) won for himself a secure place in the respect and affection of the noble race

* In August, 1832, Kendall's schooner, the "Brisbane," was wrecked near Jervis Bay, on the coast of New South Wales, and Kendall was drowned. One of his sons was Henry Kendall, the Australian poet.

which was then in the throes of its transition from primitive to modern ways. Three years later he was joined by his younger brother, the Rev. William Williams, a man of the most winsome character and of great intellectual attainments, who afterwards became the first Bishop of the Diocese of Waiapu, author of *Christianity Among the New Zealanders*, and compiler of *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language*, which successively revised by his son and grandson, is still the standard dictionary of the Maori tongue. Other changes and additions to the personnel of the mission followed which cannot be recorded here.

The brightest spot in the record of these years of devastation was the development of the schools, into which Henry Williams threw all his energy.* The year 1827 was the most difficult of all. In that year the Wesleyan Mission Station, which had been established by the Rev. Samuel Leigh at Whangaroa five years before, was raided and plundered by some of Hongi's troops, and the missionaries fled in terror to their Anglican friends at Kerikeri. On the advice of the Anglicans—and it is delightful to read of the genuine Christian fellowship that existed between these two branches of the Church in New Zealand in those earliest days—the mission was transferred to Hokianga on the opposite coast. To both missions there came encouraging signs of better times in store. More than anything else the schools were permeating the native race with the “preparation of the gospel of peace.” In the *Missionary Register* of 1827 we read:—

“The schools make considerable progress, and the children are anxious to be taught. We have many men and women under instruction; indeed, all who are in our employ. We could enlarge the schools considerably, but we want the means to instruct and feed the scholars. . . .

“Our schools . . . hold out very considerable encouragement to us. The general conduct and improvement of the children continue very pleasing. We have had since last March 30 to 36 native boys and girls, with a few adults who are living with us as domestics, under regular instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic; 20 of that number are reading and writing; three in multiplication, and five working sums in addition. The school now begins to put on the appearance of a country day-school in England.”†

* Purchas, H. G., *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 49.

† Rev. W. Williams, writing 5th December, 1831, reported as follows:—

At the close of the year 1828 a public examination was held of the pupils of the Rangihoua, Kerikeri, and Paihia schools. About 170 were examined, the subjects being catechism, reading, writing, and arithmetic.* There was also an exhibition of manual work done by the pupils during the year. There were about 60 spectators, and of course much feasting and talking. In 1829 and 1830 there were similar exhibitions of progress, the number examined in 1830 being 270, of whom 178 were men and boys and 92 girls. On this occasion there were no fewer than 1,000 Maori spectators present.

Meanwhile Henry Williams had been actively exploring the possibilities of an extension of the mission activities. †Already, previous to 1828, he had "paid four visits to Tauranga and other parts of the (Bay of Plenty) district, visiting tribes in the neighbourhood, and taking back with him several sons of chiefs for instruction in the mission schools." In 1828 he went as far as Whakatane in a little schooner built under his own supervision at the mission station. Other visits followed in

"The schools at Paihia are five in number:

"1. The native boys are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, catechism, etc. The average attendance is 60. The number now on the books is 71. Total taught from the beginning, 263.

"2. The native girls are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, catechism and sewing. The principal attendance is in the afternoon when the average attendance is 40. The number now on the books is 50. Total taught from the beginning, 209.

"3. The infant school was commenced in January last and contains 22 pupils—English and Native.

"4. The English Boys' School.—This contains the sons of the missionaries, 14 of whom are now under instruction. The system which has been adopted embraces religious instruction, geography, history, arithmetic, the classics, etc.

"5. The English Girls' School contained at the commencement of the past twelve months, ten pupils, including the younger children who have since been transferred to the infant school. There are now but four pupils."—Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 380.

* Mrs. Henry Williams, writing to her relatives in England in reference to this examination, said:—

"After dinner the English matrons adjourned to Mr. Clark's to examine the girls' work. . . . To judge was really an arduous task, for their were gowns, shirts, frocks, trousers, flannels, nay, even a boy's jacket; indeed, we were all astonished at the quantity of good work when we saw it all together. The following morning was wet and showery; we again adjourned to the chapel where we saw a window-sash, a panelled door, a table, etc., for which prizes were given as specimens of carpenter's work."—Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 325.

† *The Founding of the Church in the Diocese of Waiapu*, by the Ven. W. J. Simkin; p. 6.

subsequent years. In 1831 he went as far as Rotorua, being accompanied on this occasion by Taiwhanga, one of Hongi's warriors, who had been converted the year before, and was now active in his desire to help on the work of the mission. In 1833 he pushed up the valley of the Thames into new country, and came upon a settlement of some importance.

* "Now at last they had reached the heathen country, and could begin their mission to the south. Some 200 natives crowded round to see the visitors, those in the rear holding torches to increase the illumination. The missionaries began their Evensong with one of the Maori hymns which they were accustomed to sing at Paihia. Hardly had they sung a line when, to their intense surprise, the whole audience joined heartily in the tune. Trembling with excitement, the reader began the Evening Prayer, and when he uttered the words, 'O Lord, open Thou our lips,' there came from a hundred manly voices the significant response, 'And our mouth shall show forth Thy praise.' And so it continued throughout. Canticle and creed, prayer and hymn, were all known to these presumably heathen people. At the conclusion of the service the secret was discovered. Three of their boys had been taught at Paihia. Here was the first fruit of the mission schools."

Much more fruit of the same kind lay ready to harvest. Everywhere they found the interest of the natives awakened by ex-scholars of the mission schools, and requests for the establishment of new mission stations began to come in faster than the missionaries could fulfil them. They decided to divide their forces, and new stations followed one another in rapid succession at Tauranga, Rotorua, Thames, and up the Waikato. Wherever they went experiences similar to that described above met them.

† "In 1835 a printer and a printing-press were added to the Church Mission," says Dr. Thomson, "and at Paihia, where the press was erected, the natives were struck with awe on beholding a white sheet of paper impressed as if by magic with black letters."

* Purchas, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

† As to the generally accepted belief that this (Colenso's) was the "first printing press" set up in New Zealand, see Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 376, as follows:—

"During a visit to New South Wales Mr. Yate carried through the press an edition of 55 copies of a small volume containing translations of portions of the New Testament and other portions of Scripture."

† Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

* The natives from the first had been quick to realise the value of the arts of reading and writing, and everywhere the schools were thronged with eager pupils of all ages. As the only reading matter provided consisted of the Prayer Book, the

On his return Mr. Yate "took with him to New Zealand (to Keri-keri) a youth, James Smith, to assist him in printing. A printing press, sent by the Society for Mission Service, was at the same time taken by Mr. Yate to New Zealand."

As this was the first printing press in the Colony, we may note Mr. Yate's remark on the subject, 1st September, 1830—"Employed with J. Smith in printing off a few hymns in the native language. We succeeded beyond our most sanguine expectations." Again in the same month writing to the Secretary he says:—"We thank you for the press. You will perceive by the copy of a hymn, forwarded by this conveyance, that we shall be able in a short time to manage it. . . ." Mr. J. Kemp also says:—"The schools will receive great benefit from the press, for we shall be able to get portions of the Scriptures printed as they are wanted."

* Extract from Letter of Wm. Colenso to Dandeson Coates, Esq., C.M.S., London, from Paihia, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, January 16th, 1835.

Dear Sir,

The Lord God of Israel who never slumbers nor sleeps hath in his manifold mercy brought us safe to our "desired haven." Truly we are bound to offer a song—yea, a triumphant strain of ascription to our God, "Who only doeth wondrous things!"

At Sydney, day after day rolled by, and we could not hear of any vessel about to sail for New Zealand. At last we engaged the "Blackbird," a small schooner, of only 67 tons register—and, on Tuesday the 9th December, went on board in order to commence our voyage. She did not weigh anchor, however, until the next morning, and was not under weigh more than three hours when she ran ashore on a small isle, within Port Jackson, called "Shark's Island." There she stuck fast for a few hours, but was got off without damage. We again proceeded, and in the evening, *once more* anchored *within* Port Jackson. The next morning we bade adieu to the shores of New Holland.

For three weeks were we beat about by contrary winds in the South Pacific in our little bark, which was not only very dirty and crammed with cargo, but very leaky. Her leaks gained on her considerably. She drew, at last, seven inches an hour, and kept a hand almost constantly pumping, but He, who holdeth the winds in His fist, and ruleth the raging of the Seas, kept us by His mighty power from any harm! And, on Tuesday, the 30th December, allowed us to tread the shores of New Zealand.

We found our dear brethren, who rejoiced to see us, in health. The next morning the natives surrounded us, crying, "Ra pai Mihanere" ("very good Missionary")—uttering exclamations of joy, and tendering us their hands on every side; and when the Rev. W. Williams gave them to understand that I was a printer, and come out to print books for them, they were quite elated. No hero of "olden time" was ever received by his army with great *éclat*; they appeared as if they would deify me! During the week I was busily employed with the natives in

Psalms, the New Testament, and other parts of the Scriptures, it is not strange that with the art of writing a knowledge of Christianity spread rapidly through the tribes—a divine antidote to the satanic guns* which, during those same years, were so effectively and rapidly destroying them. The demand for books was so great that no fewer than 80,000 Maori publications, mostly New Testaments, sent out by the British and Foreign Bible Society, were distributed by the Anglican and Wesleyan missionaries during these years. At Paihia, also, William Colenso,† the printer, was unable to keep pace with the demand

landing the goods; and, on Saturday, epoch in the annals of New Zealand, I succeeded in getting the printing press landed. I was obliged to unpack it on board, but, I am happy to say, it is all safe on shore. Could you, my dear Sir, but have witnessed the natives, when it was landed; they danced, shouted, and capered about in the water, giving vent to the wildest effusions of joy; enquiring the use of *this*, and the place of *that* with all that eagerness for which uncivilised nature is celebrated. Certes, they had never seen such a thing before! I trust soon to be able to get it to work. May the Father of Mercies to whose cause I desire to rededicate myself, body, soul, and spirit, grant me strength and ability to work it for His glory!—From Manuscript Letters and Journals of William Colenso, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

* "I cannot express the gratitude I feel to God and the blessed British and Foreign Bible Society for the New Testaments bestowed upon the New Zealanders, and for the ability possessed by so many of them to read the same. They have generally bags or little baskets of a size sufficient to contain the New Testament and hymn book slung round the neck, and occupying the situation erstwhile occupied by the powder flask and the cartridge box."—From the Journal of the Rev. J. Watkin, under date May 22nd, 1843.

† Return of books printed at the Mission Press, Paihia, by Mr. W. Colenso, from January, 1835, to January, 1840:—

		Number Printed
Epistles to the Ephesians and Philippians, post 8vo,		
16 pp. in each	- - - - -	2,000
in each	- - - - -	2,000
Tables, post size, 1 p. each		500
Gospel of St. Luke, demy 12mo, 68 pp. in each		1,000
New Testament, demy 8vo, 356 pp. in each		5,000
Confirmation Service, post 8vo, 4 pp. in each		200
Service for Consecration of Burial Grounds, post 8vo, 4 pp.		100
Grammars, demy 12mo, 12 pp. in each		500
Bishop's Address, demy 12mo, 4 pp. in each		4,000
Prayer Books (small), demy 12mo, 36 pp. in each		27,000
Prayer Books (large), demy 12mo, 24 pp. in each		6,000
Primers, demy 12mo, 24 pp. in each		10,000
"Kupuru," demy 12mo, 8 pp. in each		3,000
Lessons Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, demy 4to, 4 pp. in each		2,000
Catechisms, demy 12mo and post 8vo, 12 pp. in each		10,000
Reports of Temperance Society, foolscap 8vo, 8 pp.		300
Pukapuka Aroha, demy 12mo, 24 pp. in each		3,000
Total (all issues)		<u>74,600</u>

for Maori books. Two thousand copies of the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Philippians were followed immediately by the Gospel of St. Luke. From far afield the chiefs came, bringing sacks of potatoes with which to purchase the precious books, now becoming as pressing a necessity as the *tuparas* themselves. Everywhere the natives were learning to write and to read. The schools had been so long at work that there was now hardly a district in which there was not someone who had been taught at them. Even far distant places were served in this way by educated slaves, who had been received into the schools along with the children of their conquerors and trained with them, and had since by manumission or escape found their way home to their own tribes.

* "Masters of whalers reported that the aborigines far away from the mission stations prayed night and morning in nasal psalmody, and chanted Christian hymns to heathen tunes. It passed from hamlet to hamlet that the missionaries were a different class from the whalers and the Pakeha Maoris, that they kept schools, and instructed persons to write on paper words which others seeing comprehended, gave books for nothing, performed a ceremony called baptism, opposed war, promoted peace, cultivated new sorts of food, preached against cannibalism, and of a God who did good and not evil. Rauparaha's son and Rangihaeata's nephew, hearing in Cook Strait of the reformation now at work, passed through hostile tribes to the Bay of Islands in 1839, and prevailed on the Rev. O. Hadfield to return with them to Otaki to teach God's Word to their kindred and clan."

At Waikato Heads, in 1839, at a station established but a few years, one might have seen some 1,500 Maoris assembled on the occasion of the annual examination.

† "Four hundred and fifty were examined in catechism in the open air, while 300 more advanced scholars inside the school-house displayed their efficiency in varied subjects, some of them repeating correctly whole chapters out of the Epistles. At the close came a baptismal service, when 100 Maoris were received into the fold of Christ's Church; and afterwards a celebration of the Holy Communion, when more than that number participated."

* Thomson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 314.

† Purchas, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

So the schools triumphed, and the wisdom of Marsden, Kendall, and Henry Williams in concentrating on the education of the young was more than justified. In one generation the whole outlook of the race was changed. War began to give place everywhere to peaceful pursuits, and hymns and prayers were raised from end to end of the land.

In 1837 the veteran Marsden, now 73 years of age, paid his last visit to New Zealand.* With characteristic freedom from sectarian exclusiveness he landed at the Wesleyan Mission on the Hokianga River where he stayed for several days. Thence a procession of 70 men escorted him to the Anglican Mission at Waimate, where a school for the children of the missionaries had recently been established. Here he was shown with pride the church, the school, the mill, the flourishing farm, the road to Kerikeri with its solid bridges—all the result of native industry.‡

* The full list of Marsden's voyages to New Zealand is as follows:—

	<i>Arrived.</i>	<i>Departed.</i>	<i>Length of Stay.</i>
1st	16 December, 1814	16 February, 1815	2 months
2nd	10 August, 1819	9 November, 1819	3 months
3rd	27 February, 1820	25 November, 1820	9 months
4th	3 August, 1823	†14 November, 1823	3 months
5th	5 April, 1827	10 April, 1827	5 days
6th	8 March, 1830	27 May, 1830	nearly 3 months
7th & last	23 February, 1837	27 July, 1837	5 months

(Died 8th May, 1838.)

Total time spent in New Zealand—Two years, one month.—*Historical Records of New Zealand* (McNab), Vol. I, p. 138.

† (First left 7th September, but vessel wrecked: no lives lost).

‡ "The Mission houses were fenced in with palings and contained upwards of 30 acres. . . . The whole of the ground within these fences is broken up, some laid down with clover and grass; other parts appropriated to orchards, well stocked with fruit trees; others to good vegetable gardens, and portions also devoted to the service of married natives as gardens around their neat little domiciles. Outside the fences, in what may be properly termed the farm, there are more than 48 acres sown with wheat, barley, oats, maize, lucerne, etc., of which about 30 acres were reaped last season. A prospect more pleasing cannot meet the eye of the philanthropist than the sight of the British plough breaking up the deserts of New Zealand, and the youth of New Zealand themselves the drivers of the plough and the conductors of the whole business after they have received their instructions from their teachers and friends. The introduction of the ploughs and harrows, all of which were made at Waimate, constitutes an era in the history of the country. . . . Further, all the blacksmith work necessary in a farming establishment for carts, waggons, drays, ploughs, harrows, etc., was done here. Three wells upwards of 50 feet deep have been dug, a dam has been erected, and a race cut for the mill; all the bricks, boards, and timber used in the station have been carted from the places where they were respectively made and sawn; all the stores, household furniture,

* "At Kataia," says Purchas, "Marsden held a constant levee, sitting in an armchair, in an open field before the mission house. More than 1,000 Maoris came to see him there, some of them having travelled for many miles."

Every station was visited, and everywhere the aged apostle was received with pious veneration. To few is it given in this life to see the consummation of their ideals. Marsden was one of these. Of prophetic vision, heroic faith, unswerving purpose, limitless self-sacrifice and liberality, boundless benevolence, and infinite tact, he was indeed a Man of God to the Maori race. He had realised, as few then did, the inevitable value of education, and both at Parramatta and in New Zealand persevered with a system of schools adapted, as far as he could make them, to the needs of the situation.† The overwhelming evidence of the success of his plans must have brought him intense satisfaction on this his final tour. It is not, in fact, too much to say that Marsden's faith in Marsden's schools is, in the first instance, very largely responsible for the unique position which the Maori race occupies in the civilised world to-day.

Of the original "settlers" more than one had fallen by the way in the lonely and disheartening years that followed their first coming. It is not for us to condemn their frailties, or to withhold or modify our admiration for their original heroism. "He who shall pass judgment on the records of our life is the same that made us in frailty." They builded better than they knew, and their works lived after them. One, and one only, was still engaged in active work on this last visit of the Founder of the Mission—John King, strangely enough one of the two who had sailed with Marsden and Ruatara in the convict ship from London to Sydney now nearly 40 years ago! For more than 30 years had he laboured faithfully in his corner of the vineyard—a humble but no less heroic servant of his Master than the great apostle himself!

coals, etc., brought in from Kerikeri, a distance of ten miles, and numerous other works have been completed or are now in hand. The whole of this has been accomplished by about 40 adults and 40 youths, who never before were accustomed to labour, and amidst all the difficulties attendant on efforts made in an uncivilised land."—Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 389.

* *History of the Church in New Zealand*, p. 63.

† *Note*.—At the time of Marsden's death in 1838 the number of Anglican schools in New Zealand was 54, with an attendance of 1,431 scholars.

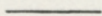
ARGUMENT.

With the coming of Bishops Pompallier and Selwyn, and the establishment of the New Zealand Company's settlements, a new era dawned for the Maori people. The schisms of old-world Christianity and the land-sharking of the settlers destroyed for the time being the natives' trust in the good intentions of the pakehas, and led eventually to bitter inter-racial wars and the almost total destruction of the Mission school system. This was followed towards the close of the war period by the enactment of a splendid national system of education for the native race (1867). A conspectus of this legislation will be found in Appendix B-1.

Meanwhile, from 1840 onwards, large numbers of English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants kept pouring into the principal centres, and the problem of the education of their children, which became urgent, found solutions differing as widely as the origins and circumstances of the settlements themselves. In this section these different origins and circumstances are examined in some detail, with a view to accounting for the remarkable divergences that characterised the subsequent history of educational developments in the separate Provinces into which New Zealand was divided from 1853 to 1877.

The original educational system organised by Sir George Grey in New Ulster (northern New Zealand) in 1847 for both Maoris and Europeans was a denominational one, based upon the system then followed in England. This the New Munster (southern New Zealand) settlers, under the leadership of the Provincial Secretary, Alfred Domett, a prominent Nelson settler, refused to accept. The Nonconformist Nelson settlers had already organised an efficient system of unsectarian public schools, the success of which encouraged Domett in 1849 to recommend the New Munster Council to establish a straight-out system of national, free, secular, and compulsory education for the Colony very similar to that eventually adopted in 1877. The full text of these important proceedings will be found in Appendix A. Owing, however, to the establishment of the Provincial Governments by Grey in 1853 the field of education was left to the local authorities, with the result that the ideal of a national system set up by Domett was thrust into the background for well-nigh twenty years.

PART II.



CONFLICTING ISSUES.

CHAPTER V.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH.

Marsden died shortly after his return to New South Wales, and with his passing a period is put to our history. We have traced the early contact of the Maori people with our own, and observed its reactions to the various influences which that contact brought to bear on it at various points. And now the condition of affairs was such that Judge Wilson could say of it:—

- * "The native bent of the Maori mind caused the people, as they embraced Christianity, gradually to place themselves as a matter of course under the guidance of a sort of Christian theocracy. It was under the auspices of this mild missionary regime—which, if a government, was a very singular one, seeing that there were no laws, and an almost total absence of crime—that the first British Governor set foot on the shores of New Zealand."

The uncrowned king of this lawless but crimeless community of converted cannibals was the Rev. Henry Williams, head of the Anglican Church Mission, to whom the Maoris had learned to look for guidance in things temporal as well as spiritual. Under him the Marsden spirit of Christian fellowship between the Anglican and Wesleyan Missionaries continued unimpaired. The latter had by this time some fourteen or fifteen stations, situated for the most part from Whangaroa across to Hokianga and thence down the west coast of the North Island, which was recognised as a Wesleyan "sphere of influence." They, too, instituted schools wherever they could; and, according to Morley,[†] had established by 1851 no fewer than 188 Sabbath and 88 day schools with an attendance of 5,846 scholars. The number of Anglican stations was now 24. Of these 21 were distributed over what are now the Provincial districts of Auckland and Hawke's Bay; the remaining three were at Wanganui, Otaki and Waikanae, in the south. Each mission station was the centre of a school system, and with the help of the native teachers a very large field was covered.

The Maori population of the South Island at this time has been estimated at less than seven thousand, congregated for the most part in comparatively few districts—on the southern shores of Cook Strait, around Banks' Peninsula, about Waikouaiti, and on both sides of Foveaux Strait. The first missionary, in

* Purchas—*History of the English Church in N.Z.*, p. 83.

† Morley, Rev. Wm., *History of Methodism in N.Z.*, p. 120.

fact, the first Christian clergyman, to settle in the South Island was the Rev. James Watkin,[†] who was established at Waikouaiti on the 17th May, 1840. He was the first to teach the Otago Maoris the mysteries of writing and figuring.[‡] As the Northern dialect was at that time unfamiliar to the Southern Maori,[§] he also compiled a spelling and lesson book for use in his schools, which was the first book published in the South Island dialect. About two months after Mr. Watkin came to Waikouaiti the French colony at Akaroa was planted, and amongst the settlers were two priests of the Roman Catholic Church.

Upon the native mind, hitherto happy in the knowledge of Christian love and fellowship alone, the painful and disturbing truth was now to dawn, that though there was but one Christ, there were a number of Christian Churches, and that in addition to Christian love there was such a thing as Christian hatred. With the advent of French and Irish immigrants it was inevitable that Roman Catholicism would, sooner or later, find its way to New Zealand. The Church Militant, if I may so call it, was no less bound to plant its banner in this new land than the Church Protestant. Discord was inevitable, and it began in 1838 with the arrival of the Roman Catholic Bishop, J. F. Pompallier at the Wesleyan Mission Station at Hokianga where a number of Catholic settlers, including F. E. (later Judge) Maning, had already established themselves. Having "dug in" here, the good Bishop moved on to the Bay of Islands, the headquarters of the

† "I have been much employed during the week, and in a similar manner with preceding weeks. I have had a school for men and boys at early morning and one for women and girls in the evening, both well attended for the scant population of the place. All ages and all grades, old, young, chiefs, people, faces furrowed with time as well as the tattooing instrument. . . . I am assisted in my schools by Mrs. Watkin and our two elder children, James and William, and hope soon to have native help."—From the Journal of the Rev. James Watkin, under date November 27th, 1840.

‡ In 1844 the Rev. Mr. Watkin was replaced by the Rev. Charles Creed, through whose advice the Lutheran Missionary, Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers, settled on Ruapuke Island, in Foveaux Strait.

"On this little island," wrote Mr. Wohlers, "dwelt the largest number of natives of this Southern District. It was the residence of the distinguished people of the race and of the most exalted chieftains, and the centre and gathering place of the Maoris, who were scattered all over the country."—*Memories of the Life of J. F. H. Wohlers*, p. 101.

§ "When the Rev. Mr. Creed took charge, he was better furnished than his predecessor, as he brought with him a supply of service books, hymns, and Testaments. These were printed in the Waikato dialect, which is soft and euphonious, and had been chosen by the two Protestant Missions as the standard for literary purposes. The natives who could already read were charmed with it, and as Mr. Creed was a fluent speaker therein all listened with great attention to his addresses."—Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

Anglican Mission and the principal centre of European influence. Here he took up his abode and before long had set up the standard of his Church in almost all the principal mission stations. *In this enterprise as many as twenty priests assisted him, and, later on, a considerable number of teaching sisters and brothers as well. They also established numbers of schools, in which they did good work, as the following extract from the Native Commissioner's report for Opotiki will serve to show:—

† "The Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. J. Alletage, seems to advise them in their worldly affairs with great zeal and judgment. In this direction they made good use of that quiet but potent agency of 'Sisters of Mercy' who taught boarding schools of Maori and half-caste girls."

The celibacy and devotion of their missionaries, the spectacular nature of their rites and ceremonies, and the fact that they made no land purchases other than were required for their churches and schools all helped to attract a considerable number of adherents to their cause, many of them proselytes from the older Protestant missions. Indeed, the Roman Catholics claim that by 1850, there were "over 5000 adherents"‡ of their Church amongst the Maoris.

If the Christian Church now appeared as a "house divided against itself," the unedifying spectacle was not improved by the new Anglican Bishop, George Augustus Selwyn, whose arrival in May, 1842, made, for the natives, "confusion worse confounded." For this otherwise wholly admirable prelate, to whose enthusiasm for education both Maori and Pakeha owe so much, had at that time none of the catholicity of mind which had been so delightful a feature of the work of the Anglican Mission heretofore. He declined to recognise his Wesleyan fellow labourers or their "sphere of influence."** Where, for instance, James Watkin had planted the Wesleyan flag and held

* See also pp. 124 *et seqq.*

† Rev. J. Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand*, p. 294.

‡ J. J. Wilson—*The Church in New Zealand*, p. 44.

** The Rev. H. Turton, in a series of lengthy and outspoken letters published in *The Southern Cross*, Auckland, from 30th April, 1844, onwards, bitterly exposed the Bishop's repudiation of the agreement made between, the Wesleyan and the Church Missionary Societies as to the "several spheres of operation" of their respective agents in New Zealand—"the one (C.M.S.) stretching themselves along the eastern coast as far as the Thames and Poverty Bay, and the other (Wesleyan) along the western coast and Middle Island as far as Kawheia, Taranaki, Nelson, Cloudy Bay, and Otago."—Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 623. (For full text of these letters, and also a leading article thereon, see the issues of *The Southern Cross*, Auckland, April 30th, 1844, *et seqq.*)

the fort for Christ alone, Selwyn, like Pompallier, set up alongside him the standard of the "Established Church." The effect of this introduction of old world quarrels is thus described by representative writers of the three denominations concerned:—

- * (1) Church of England—"Up and down the country the converts were violently perturbed. A savage burst of sectarian fury broke out. Each small community was divided against itself, and its Christianity evaporated in bitter party feeling. In one *pa* a high fence was built through the midst to divide the adherents of 'Weteri' (Wesley) from those of 'Hahi' (the Church)."

Presumably in this particular village there were no "Pikopos" (Roman Catholics), or they would have been similarly barricaded off!

- † (2) Roman Catholic—"The marked distrust with which the 'converted' Maoris met Bishop Pompallier and his little band can easily be accounted for. He tells us himself that the heathen Maoris who had not come under the influence of the Protestant missionaries received him quite favourably, and paid little attention to the calumnies that were circulated against him. It was only from the Christians that he apprehended any danger, and the singular thing about this was that their hostility was always more manifest on the Monday mornings and subsided gradually as the week advanced, generally dying out on the Saturdays. The reason was obvious; their passions were inflamed by the Sunday lectures."

- ‡ (3) Wesleyan—"The methods pursued caused dissension and bitter feeling among the natives, and provoked retaliation by the agents of the older missions. . . . They freely discussed with the natives in their villages the questions of image worship, Mariolatry, the intercession of saints, and the like. Excellent use was made of the press in this controversy. Tracts on the points in dispute were printed, circulated and eagerly read. The Maoris soon proved themselves good controversialists."

So well indeed did they learn the lesson taught by the schism of old-world Christianity that they developed numerous new "isms" of their own. Armed with their New Testaments and their Old Testaments they evolved the cults called "Pai Marire" (Goodness and Grace!) and "Hau-Hau," in the name of which the most dreadful atrocities, including the revolting murder of the Rev. Carl Volckner at Opotiki, were committed.

* Purchas, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 117.

‡ Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

† J. J. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

CHAPTER VI.

COLONISATION *EN MASSE*.

Meanwhile a flood of European colonisation had begun. Many colonists came from Australia and settled in various parts, mostly in the North. But the main stream of immigration was that directed from Britain by the New Zealand Company, the moving spirit of which was the famous Edward Gibbon Wakefield. The details of his efforts in England to obtain the support of the British Government for his colonising schemes, the successful opposition of the Missionary organisations, the statement of the Great Duke that "Britain had enough colonies," and the simple expedient by which Wakefield forced the hands of the Government and outwitted his opponents, viz., by despatching his emigrant ships without permission, are matters of general history, which, though of entrancing interest, the limits of our work preclude us from discussing at length. The simple facts for our present purpose are that from 3rd May, 1839,* to the 16th November, 1841, no fewer than 655 first and second class and 5,697 steerage passengers—6,352 souls in all—sailed from England for New Zealand under the aegis of the Company. And from 1839 to July, 1850, when the Company surrendered its Charter, there were despatched as a result of its activities altogether 95 ships conveying to New Zealand just on 12,000 settlers. Within a space of four weeks—from January 18th to February 21st, 1840, the astonished Maoris of the Port Nicholson district witnessed the arrival of the first five of these vessels and the disembarkation of a body of 666 new settlers upon the present site of Wellington,—the first of the new settlements.

† "Some civilised Government must take New Zealand under its protection," Marsden had written on his last visit to the country in 1837; "there is a British Resident there, but he has no authority to act. Why he is stationed here without powers I cannot tell." The threatened occupation by the French, the combined representations of missionaries and natives, followed by Wakefield's practical solution of his own difficulties, at last

* Marais, J. S., *Early Colonisation of New Zealand*, p. 73.

† Rev. S. Marsden to Dandeson Coates, 27th March, 1837. (See footnote to p. 25.).

aroused the Government to action. Captain William Hobson, R.N., was hurried off to be Her Majesty's Consul at New Zealand, with instructions to negotiate with the natives for the cession to Her Majesty of the sovereignty of "the whole or any part of those Islands which they may be willing to place under Her Majesty's dominion." In the conduct of these negotiations he was led to expect that the missionaries who had "won and deserved" the confidence of the natives, would prove to be his "powerful auxiliaries." Over the territory thus ceded he was to be Governor. The new colony was for a short time a dependency of the colony of New South Wales and the Government of that colony was instructed to appoint a Commission to consider and adjudicate upon all claims to the purchase of land from the Maoris. Including the claims of Wakefield's agents, the lands now alleged to have been purchased from the natives amounted to no less than 45,976,000 acres, or nearly half the country!

The instructions given to the Governor further continued:—

- * "There are yet other duties owing to the aborigines of New Zealand, which may be all comprised in the comprehensive expression of promoting their civilisation, understanding by that term whatever relates to the religious, intellectual, and social advancement of mankind. For their religious instruction, liberal provision has already been made by the zeal of the missionaries. . . . and it will be at once the most important and the most grateful of your duties to this ignorant race of men to afford the utmost encouragement, protection and support to their Christian teachers. I acknowledge also the obligation of rendering to the missions such pecuniary aid as the local Government may be able to afford, and as their increased labours may reasonably entitle them to expect. The establishment of schools for the education of the aborigines in the elements of literature will be another object of your solicitude. . . ."

It will be seen later how faithfully Governor Grey in particular carried out the above instructions.

On the 29th January, 1840,—exactly one week after the disembarkation of the first ship load of Wakefield's settlers at Port Nicholson—Hobson arrived at the Bay of Islands. Next morning on the beach at Kororareka he read two commissions—one, extending the limits of New South Wales to include New

* McNab, *Historical Records of New Zealand*, Vol. I, p. 735.

Zealand; the other, his own appointment as Governor of the new colony: and two proclamations giving effect to his instructions, on the question of land titles. He was received by the "land sharks" with dismay, by the missionaries with delight, by the Maoris with doubt. Five days later, where the River Waitangi falls into the Bay, he held a conference with the native chiefs and submitted to them the famous Treaty, which had been prepared by the late Resident, Mr. James Busby. Henry Williams, the beloved "Te Wiremu," translated and explained the Treaty to the chiefs and recommended its acceptance. After prolonged discussion an adjournment was made to the following day, when 46 head chiefs signed the Treaty. It was then taken from settlement to settlement right down to Stewart Island and before the end of June had been signed by as many as 512 chiefs. *As a result the Queen's sovereignty was proclaimed over both Islands on the 21st May, 1840, and the Maoris, now full citizens of the British Empire, were confirmed, by a "scrap of paper"† unique in history, in the full and undisputed possession of their ancient lands.

In January, 1841, Governor Hobson, to the chagrin of the Wakefield colonists now established in such numbers at Wellington, removed the seat of Government to Auckland, a site recommended to him by Henry Williams. The Kororareka township

* Over the North Island by right of cession and over the South Island by right of discovery and occupation and later by virtue of Treaty.

†TREATY OF WAITANGI.

The operative clauses of this remarkable treaty are as follows:—

Article the First.—The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty which the said Confederation or individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or possess, over their territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.

Article the Second.—Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full exclusive and undisputed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third.—In consideration whereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand her royal protection, and imparts to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.

received its death blow, and, when a few years later it was burned by Hone Heke's victorious warriors, it was never rebuilt. New settlements were formed by Wakefield colonists at Wanganui (1840), Taranaki (New Plymouth) (1841), and Nelson (1842); while in 1840 a small French colony was planted at Akaroa, on Banks Peninsula, some 50 miles from the present site of Christchurch. Besides these there were the smaller settlements previously established at Queen Charlotte Sound, where there were as many as 30 houses in 1839, at Waikouaiti, and on both sides of Foveaux Strait, at Stewart Island and the mouth of the Aparima, then known as Jacob's River. At these Foveaux Strait settlements there were altogether 130 Europeans and a large number of Maori wives and half-caste children, many of the latter being themselves married with families of their own; for these settlements were amongst the earliest in the country.

In September, 1842, Governor Hobson died. He had loyally and disinterestedly adhered to the instructions attached to his appointment. By so doing he had incurred the bitter hostility of both the "land sharks" and the New Zealand Company's settlers, who took the fullest, and, one is almost tempted to say, the meanest, advantage of his known sensitiveness to make his life thoroughly miserable. Unfortunately his subordinates, to whom his ill-health compelled him to delegate too much of his responsibility were not all equally honourable.* Those who take the Company's side in the unending controversies to which the early colonisation of New Zealand has given rise, are accustomed to sum him up as a weak and incompetent governor. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Although not infallible in his judgments he was faithful to his Commission and courageous in the exercise of what he conceived to be his duty. Moreover the Maoris knew him to be their friend, and in petitioning Her Majesty for a new Governor they said:—"Let not a troubler come amongst us. Let him be a good man as this Governor who has died." Under him a Legislative Council has been created which had already passed 26 Ordinances† for

* "The establishment of a Government in New Zealand happened at a very opportune time for Sir George Gipps (the Governor of New South Wales) as it afforded him the means of decently getting rid of a number of useless, if not obnoxious, persons connected with his own Government, . . . and handing them over to Captain Hobson as powerful auxiliaries in the work in which he was about to be engaged."—A. J. Harrop, *England and New Zealand*, p. 143.

† There is an impression widely current that all Provincial Laws are properly denominated "Ordinances," and Colonial Statutes "Acts." If this were so, it would greatly simplify the reference to the numerous educational enactments of the period under review, and, indeed, the

the peace, order and good government of the country. A Supreme Court had been set up, and the essential departments of government inaugurated. But he had been unable to keep his expenses within the revenue of £100,000 with which he was provided. And he was far too much occupied with other cares to do anything in the matter of "the establishment of schools" for the education either of the "aborigines" or of the Europeans. The former, the missionaries were looking after very well; the latter must for the present look after themselves.

The extraordinary influx of white settlers filled the minds of the Maoris with something akin to dismay. It became known, too, among them that in England powerful friends of Wakefield were urging the Government to repudiate the Treaty of Waitangi, or, at least, to restrict the native rights under it to their "cultivated lands" alone. Naturally they became distrustful of the British and began to resist the settlers' claims to the lands allotted to them by the Company. Upon Hobson's death his Colonial Secretary and former Police Magistrate, Lieutenant Shortland, administered the affairs of the colony for some fifteen months. During this time the land disputes between the Nelson settlers and Te Rauparaha led to the terrible "Wairau Massacre." The failure of Shortland and his successor, Governor Fitz Roy, who arrived in December, 1845, to punish the perpetrators of this tragedy dealt a severe blow to British prestige in the eyes of the Maoris. Under Fitz Roy's administration the affairs of the Colony went from bad to worse. He was a "troubler" indeed, who needlessly interfered with the regulations governing the alienation of native lands, still further involved the finances of the already unfinancial Government, truckled to the natives, thereby encouraging their growing sense of superiority to the whites, and became at last involved in an unsuccessful war with the chief, Hone Heke—the first inter-racial war. Nevertheless he was the first to make grants of land to the churches for the establishment of schools for the natives. Indeed, the first of the very valuable endowments now held by the Methodist Church in Auckland,* were given by him for this purpose.

arbitrary use of the terms in such senses might well be justified on the ground of such a simplification. In the present work, however, the actual nomenclature of the statutes has been preserved, viz.: the term "Ordinances" is used of the laws of the Legislative Council of New Zealand (1841 to 1853) and the Province of New Munster (1849), and the Provincial Councils of Taranaki, Canterbury, Westland, Otago, and Southland; the term "Acts" is used of the laws of the General Assembly of New Zealand, and the Provincial Councils of Auckland, Wellington, Hawke's Bay, and Marlborough; the laws of the Provincial Council of Nelson were at first called "Ordinances," but later the term "Acts" was permanently adopted in preference.

* At Grafton Road and Three Kings.

During his governorship a Native Trust Ordinance was enacted (24th June, 1844) to provide for the appointment of trustees to control and administer the lands and funds set apart for native education, and to appoint teachers for schools established under the ordinance. The trustees nominated were the Governor, the Bishop, and the Attorney-General of New Zealand, and the Chief Protector of Aborigines—for the time being in each case—and “William Spain, so long as he shall be a Commissioner of Land Claims.” The preamble of the ordinance is of interest as a succinct statement of the Government’s native policy:—

“Whereas the native people of New Zealand are by natural endowment apt for the acquirement of the arts and habits of civilised life, and are capable of great moral and social advancement; And whereas large numbers of the said people are already desirous of being instructed in the English language and in English arts and usages: And whereas great disasters have fallen upon uncivilised nations on being brought into contact with colonists from the nations of Europe, and in undertaking the colonisation of New Zealand Her Majesty’s Government have recognised the duty of endeavouring by all practical means to avert the like disasters from the native people of these Islands, which object may best be attained by assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the native to those of the European population”: etc.

Furthermore, in connection with this very first ordinance of New Zealand relating to education, the question of religious instruction, that ever-present apple of educational discord,* obtruded itself. Objection was made by the non-official members of the Legislative Council that “the religion to be taught in the schools established under the Trust is to be left altogether to the trustees, who must be expected—perhaps conscience will make it their duty—to carry out, so far as they can, their own religious views, giving at once a sectarian character to the Trust, destroying thereby its usefulness, and creating a spirit of intolerance and religious discord among the natives and various missionary bodies here (symptoms of which are already manifesting themselves).”

The Ordinance was not to come into operation until it received the Royal confirmation, and until such confirmation was notified in the New Zealand Government *Gazette* by order of

* A. J. Harrop, *England and New Zealand*, p. 168.

the Governor of the colony for the time being. The above objection being disallowed, confirmation was signed in London on August 13th, 1845; but by the time it reached New Zealand Fitz Roy had been recalled, and Captain George Grey, under whose capable financial and general administration the colony of South Australia had made such conspicuous progress, had assumed control. The confirmation, not being gazetted by Grey, lapsed and the ordinance was consequently inoperative.

Grey was a man of another calibre. Within two months he had abolished Fitz Roy's new land sale regulations, restored the currency, effectively prohibited the sale of arms to the natives, proclaimed the Government's adherence to the Treaty, and brought the war to a successful termination. Having established Her Majesty's authority in the north, he hastened with all his available forces to Wellington. The hostile Maoris withdrew to their strongholds in the interior, from which a series of outrages were committed. Becoming convinced of the complicity of Te Rauparaha in these outrages, by a dissimulation scarcely excelled by that of the crafty old Maori himself, Grey took him captive and hurried him off to Auckland in a man o' war. The most celebrated warrior in the country, the gruesome murderer of Te Maranui and unpunished perpetrator of the Wairau Massacre was now a prisoner! His *mana* waned, Grey's waxed. The Maoris withdrew and the settlers gained confidence. Wanganui was the next scene of conflict, but there too Grey was victorious, and peace was finally proclaimed throughout the whole country in February, 1848. The Governor was knighted and at his investiture graciously acknowledged the invaluable assistance rendered by those natives who had stood loyal to Her Majesty, by having as his esquires Walker Nene and Te Puni, their two most prominent leaders.

Throughout all these disturbances it is hardly to be supposed that either the Governor or the settlers could do much to provide for the education of the children. From end to end of the country there was a feeling of insecurity and unrest. The colonists were much too concerned for the safety of their lives and property to worry very much about the education of their children. For instance, the European settlement at Wanganui, which numbered 200 before the outbreak of hostilities, was reduced to 40 by the time the war was ended. Upon peace being restored, the majority of those who had left returned to their homes. At Nelson after the Wairau Massacre the settlers were for a time all crowded at night into a fortified stockade. New Plymouth, Wellington, Auckland, were all at one time or another in more or less imminent danger of destruction,

and it is unquestionable that but for the loyalty of a large section of the natives to the obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the constant efforts of the missionaries in the interests of peace, the fate of the European population would have been too dreadful to contemplate. The efforts which the settlers did make to provide schooling for their children are therefore all the more praiseworthy.

As for the missionaries, the flood-tide of their ascendancy over the lives and conduct of the natives was past. Sectarian strife had revealed the disunion of the Christian Church. This was bad enough. Worse still was the failure of too many of the countrymen of the missionaries to square their conduct with the principles of the New Testament, especially in matters of trade and the purchase of land. The inter-racial wars which followed dealt the final blow to missionary work and influence, from which they never completely recovered. All the mission staffs were reduced and a number of stations closed. Those remaining carried on a noble work under great difficulties, and in particular kept the native schools open so far as they could throughout the country, until, with the renewal of the wars in Taranaki and the Waikato from 1860 onwards, the Maoris withdrew both themselves and their children almost wholly from contact with their enemies, and returned to their former manner of life in the interior.*

* v. J. J. Wilson, *Memoirs of the Early Days*, p. 40.

CHAPTER VII.

ENTER AN EDUCATIONIST.

In 1847, upon Grey's successful termination of the first outbreak of inter-racial war, a change took place in the Government's hitherto over-indulgent attitude towards the native race.

* "When peace was ratified," says Dr. Thomson, "the policy of the Government was modified. Before the war the natives had been ruled by the moral influence of the missionaries, and the sword was kept carefully sheathed. Sir George Grey now proposed to govern them by physical force, kindness and good faith; education in one hand and the sword in the other."

The following summary gives an excellent idea of the attitude of the Government during this period:—

† ‡ "In pursuance of this policy an Education Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council sitting at Auckland in 1847, under which powers were given to the Government 'to establish and maintain schools, and to inspect schools, and to contribute towards the support of schools otherwise established.' In the school curriculum religious education, industrial training and instruction in the English language were compulsory. The schools that could be aided were to be under the control of the Anglican Bishop of New Zealand, the Roman Catholic Bishop or other head of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission or the head minister of any other religious body.

* Thomson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 152.

† Sir Robert Stout and J. Logan Stout, *New Zealand*, p. 113.

‡ See Appendix A for full text of Ordinance.

The Government had not much means in those days and little was done for education and no education office was started. Land endowments were given to various churches, and some secondary schools in connection with the churches still exist that are indebted to such endowments for their main support. In 1854 the new constitution came into force and education became one of the duties of the new Provincial Councils."

That is to say, Grey wisely refrained from endeavouring to establish any new educational organisation for the Maoris. He saw that the missionaries were doing good work. Following the instructions given to Governor Hobson at the outset he decided to co-operate with and help the Churches by making grants of both land and money upon conditions which he laid down. These were those briefly set out in the above extract, viz.—

- (1) Government Inspection and examination;
- (2) Religious education;
- (3) Industrial training;
- (4) Instruction in the English language.

The various boarding schools which were established under this policy were therefore in the nature of farm schools, for which, in some cases, even the necessary implements, horses, and cattle, as well as the buildings, were obtained with funds provided by the Government. Many received both boys and girls, others were for boys or girls only. The "inspection and examination" clause was more or less a dead letter for the simple reason that there were no regular inspectors of schools to begin with. *The money was obtained by the appropriation of one-twentieth of the colonial revenue, one-fifteenth of the proceeds of the land sales and a fixed amount from the British Imperial grant towards the cost of the administration.

†Governor Grey's scheme, embodied in a Memorandum which was submitted to a "Special District Meeting" of the Wesleyan Church in Auckland in 1853, was in substance as follows:—

The country to be divided into "convenient districts for educational purposes connected with the Wesleyan Church."

* G. C. Henderson, *Life of Sir George Grey*, p. 111.

† *Vide* Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 118; see also Appendix A-2.

"The schools to be aided from the Government grant may be of three kinds—(1) College, (2) Central Schools, (3) Primary Schools. Each educational district shall have at least one central school, which is to be made as far as possible the means of multiplying primary schools in that district, which shall be regarded as being connected with the central school to which they belong."

The "most promising" primary school pupils to be afforded the opportunity of attending the central school; and the "most promising" central school pupils to be eligible for election to the district college for training as native teachers and ministers.

Land grants to be upon the usual trusts, viz.—"for the education of children of Her Majesty's subjects of all races, and of children of other poor and destitute persons, being inhabitants of islands in the Pacific Ocean, so long as religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language shall be given to the youth educated therein or maintained thereat." Money grants only on the same conditions.

Annual grants to be administered by the Auckland District Meeting of the Wesleyan Church, and to be applied (a) to support existing schools and to establish new ones; (b) to provide for the education of at least 20 scholars in college or central schools for service as teachers in the primary schools; (c) to provide up to £10 per annum per teacher towards the salaries of at least 20 such teachers.

The Church authorities to furnish annually to the Governor a Report upon the Schools and upon the allocation of moneys received.

In forwarding this Memorandum the Governor offered £1,600 per annum for the northern provinces and £700 per annum for the southern provinces, and desired to be informed whether the Church authorities were willing to carry on the work of education on these terms. Needless to say the offer was accepted. Similar arrangements were entered into with the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches, and, by a further Act passed in 1858, the maximum sum of £7,000 per annum was fixed for a period of seven years as the amount payable for these purposes.

The annual sums granted for maintenance, etc., under this scheme, which operated from 1846, the year following the commencement of Grey's first Governorship, to 1868, the year of the termination of his second occupancy of that office, are shown in the following table:—*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Anglican</i>	<i>Roman</i>	<i>Wesleyan</i>	<i>Ang., R.C., Wes.</i>
1846—£ 200 0 0		£ 60 0 0	£ 40 0 0	
1847— 200 0 0		60 0 0	40 0 0	
1848—1,150 0 0		1,075 0 0	1,056 0 0	
1849—1,417 0 0		495 0 0	947 0 0	
1850—2,025 10 0		840 0 0	1,499 10 0	
1851—1,034 0 0		560 0 0	706 0 0	
1852—1,399 19 5		610 0 0	1,306 0 0	
1853—†4,026 7 0		747 10 0	872 12 6	
1854—1,360 5 3		231 5 0	283 12 6	££975 0 0
§1855— — —		—	—	3,150 0 0
§1856— — —		—	—	5,545 0 0
§1857— — —		—	—	4,573 0 0
§1858— — —		—	—	4,569 5 0
1859—2,025 0 0		750 0 0	1,200 0 0	1,134 12 9
1860—2,275 0 0		752 14 10	1,200 0 0	
||1861— 638 4 7		232 8 11	398 16 1	
1862—3,198 4 8		791 11 8	1,427 16 8	
1863—2,928 9 8		1,099 4 4	1,622 10 0	
1864—1,825 19 5		391 0 3	1,476 2 1	
¶1865—1,043 9 8		415 17 1	1,804 4 8	
1866— 511 7 8		90 16 9	129 0 9	
1867— 931 15 10		274 7 9	1,451 1 5	
1868—1,158 17 11		531 6 9	828 18 6	
Totals—£29,349 11 1		£10,008 3 4	£18,289 5 2	£19,946 17 9
Grand Total—£77,593 17s. 4d.				

During these 23 years, for 15 of which Sir George Grey occupied the position of Governor, the grants of land made to these three religious bodies for educational purposes were both large and numerous. Of these the Anglicans received the lion's share, the Roman Catholics the least.† The majority of them were made by Grey himself, those given in the interval between

* From Report of Royal Commission on Religious, Charitable, and Educational Trusts, 1869. See Appendix to Journals of House of Representatives, 1898, H-21.

Remarks.—† Including £618 16s. 1d. for buildings.

‡ Roman Catholic and Wesleyan.

§ Separate figures not available for these years.

|| December quarter only: record of other part lost.

¶ Includes allowance to June, 1866.

† As to the relative numerical strength of the denominations, see p. 112.

The Presbyterian Churches, not being similarly organised for educational work, did not share in the scheme; see p. 105.

his two terms being in many cases supplementary to his earlier gifts. Many successful schools were established and maintained in this way for a time. But the renewal and prolongation of the Maori wars caused an almost total withdrawal of native pupils, with the result that the schools were closed, and the trusts lay dormant for a number of years. The most important of these early grants were those made to—

St. Stephen's College (Anglican), 67 acres, Auckland Suburbs.

Wesley College (Wesleyan), 6½ acres, Grafton Road, Auckland, and 824 acres, Auckland Suburbs.

St. Mary's Orphanage (Roman Catholic), 376 acres, Takapuna, Auckland.

Te Aute College (Anglican), 7,779 acres, Hawke's Bay.

Wanganui Collegiate School (Anglican), 250 acres, Town of Wanganui.

These endowments have become exceedingly valuable with the passing of the years. The story of their development cannot be told here. Indeed, the whole question of educational endowments in New Zealand is a study in itself deserving treatment in a separate volume. Suffice it to say that they have been the subject of frequent enquiries and reports by Royal Commissions and Special Committees of Parliament and of frequent legislation in consequence. And the contrast between the terms of the original trusts established in connection with many of them, and their present disposition, is, to say the least of it, very marked.

But Grey's interest in education did not end with the mere granting of public moneys and public lands to the various religious bodies. On more than one occasion he supplemented the public grants from his own private means, and although it is not possible to ascertain the full extent of these benefactions it is quite certain that they were very considerable. Better even than this, Grey took a deep personal interest in the work. Quite frequently he could be seen taking his morning ride from Government House in the direction of the Wesleyan Native Institution at Three Kings, to see for himself the work that was going on both in the classroom and on the farm, and to encourage the pupils and their teachers in their tasks. At St. Stephen's College he could sometimes be seen even taking classes himself, a work in which both his friends the Chief Justice (Sir William Martin) and Bishop Selwyn also assisted when occasion required. Upon the day of the Auckland Cup Meeting, in order to counteract the temptation to gambling, to which the Maoris had become

so prone, the Governor and Lady Grey, conspicuous by their absence from the course, used to entertain the native students and their teachers at a garden party at Government House!

* The following extract will illustrate the genuine anxiety which this earnest educator felt continually for the native race entrusted to his care:—

“In the year 1847 the late Archdeacon Williams (then the Rev. Samuel Williams) was asked by Bishop Selwyn to take up work on the West Coast, where he had charge of eight Maori village schools and a central school at Otaki. Five years later, namely, in 1852, Sir George Grey, then Governor of New Zealand, visited that district and made Mr. Williams’ house his headquarters. During the first evening of his visit he asked Mr. Williams how he would like to go to Hawke’s Bay. Mr. Williams replied that he was exceedingly happy in his work at Otaki, and he sincerely hoped that nothing would interfere with it. On the third evening Sir George Grey again spoke about it, and told Mr. Williams that he was feeling very anxious about Hawke’s Bay; how he saw that a large English population would be flocking into the district before the natives were ready to come into contact with them, and that he feared, unless there was someone who could stand between the two races, they would come into collision. ‘Now,’ he said, ‘if you will go, I will give you 4,000 acres of land to assist you in your educational pursuits, and I will endeavour to induce the Maoris to give an equal amount.’ Sir George Grey also promised to give him money for the purchase of sheep, for the erection of buildings, and for almost anything necessary for the purposes of a school.”

Such was the genesis of that splendid institution, the Te Aute Native College!

The general working of Grey’s scheme and the causes which led to its eventual breakdown will be seen clearly from the following records of thoroughly typical schools:—

I. The Otaki School; total endowment, 1,100 acres.—Extracts from the evidence given by the Ven. Archdeacon O. Hadfield (afterwards Bishop of Wellington) and Major Edwards, Resident Magistrate of the Otaki District, 1862-70, before the

* Simkin, *op. cit.*, p. 157; from the evidence of Rev. S. Williams before the Royal Commission of 1869.

Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Condition and Nature of Trust Estates for Religious, Charitable, and Educational Purposes, 3rd November, 1869:*

Archdeacon Hadfield—"I know the land" (396 acres of the above total endowment). "It has been all fenced in and improved to a very great extent, and it has been farmed, and the proceeds devoted to the support of a boarding school from about January, 1854, up to the end of July, 1868. Since then it has not been a boarding-school. The number of children varied; from 1854 to July, 1868, the average number (boys and girls) I should say, roughly, was 40. There were two-thirds boys. The ages of the boys were from 8 years to 15, after which they generally left us; the girls about the same ages. Some of the parents resided in the neighbourhood, but more than half came from a distance—Manawatu, etc. For many years it worked very satisfactorily indeed. They were taught English, which many of them knew very fairly; arithmetic, in which many made good progress. They wrote fairly. They were also taught singing.

"The industrial training of the boys was for agricultural pursuits. The boys were taught ploughing and the management of cattle and sheep. There was always a good farming man, an Englishman, on the establishment. Many boys would not have come without this. The girls were taught sewing and household matters. .

"From 1st January, 1858, to 1st July, 1868, I think there was no assistance from the Government at all. It was certainly about ten years. For the four years previous to 1858 there was considerable Government assistance—without it I should not have been able to fence the land, or start the institution. The boys worked better at that time also. Returns were regularly furnished to the Government of the expenditure of the funds. For one year from the same date in 1867 I received a capitation, fixed, of £5 per head for the boys and girls, and a bonus of £100. I found, with the greatest economy, that the expense of each pupil was £18 or £19 a year. This was exclusive of the master's salary. For ten years the institution supported itself with extraneous aid from England and elsewhere. The schoolmaster was generally paid from these sources.

* Report of the Commissioners, reprinted; Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1898, H-21, p. 9.

"The financial means of the institution were mainly due to an exceptional course of management of the farm—viz., by raising choice stock, which was sold at high prices up to a recent period.

"We are now and for the last year we have been carrying on a day school only. . . .

"There has, no doubt, been a considerable change during the last two years in the state of the natives. There is less inclination to send children to school than there was amongst them two years ago. At present I am obliged to give up the industrial and boarding part of the educational trusts and do what I can in the matter. These might, however, be revived again."

Major Edwards.—"I know the Church School at Otaki. As far as my knowledge goes, the attendance has varied from about 60 to (at one period) about 4 or 5. . . . I think the Hauhau disturbance was one of the causes of the decline in attendance. I believe all confidence, in Europeans, missionaries, or anybody else, was lost from 1864 to 1866. I believe the attendance at the school for the last year or two has considerably improved. During the last two or three years a certain portion of English has been taught; but prior to that the education of the children was almost entirely in the charge of a Maori and his wife (one of whom has since gone over to Hauhauism)."

II. The Taupiri School; total endowment, 1,385 acres.—
Extracts from *Recollections of a Waikato Missionary*, by Rev. B. Y. Ashwell:

"The Taupiri boarding-school and the Maraetai school at Waikato Heads were commenced in 1846, and the one at Otawhao in 1847. Dr. Maunsell commenced with 12 children, and before the end of the year he numbered 20. The branches of instruction were geography, reading, English, history, arithmetic, Scripture, and Church Catechism. In 1852 Dr. Maunsell's institution had so increased that it numbered 100 boarders. . . .

"As regards the Taupiri School, which I commenced May 10th, 1846, with the valuable assistance of my native teacher, Heta Tarawhiti (now an ordained priest of the Church of England), at the end of the year our scholars had increased to 19, and in 1857 our boarders were 49 girls, 47 boys, and 16 adults—112 in all. A steady increase had taken place; and, although the

missionaries were necessarily out in their districts a great part of the year, the quiet yet earnest perseverance of our wives and assistants ensured the progress and efficiency of our institutions. . . .

"Before the Taranaki War broke out, the boarding schools on the Waikato were as follows:—Dr. Maunsell's institution at Kohanga; Rev. B. Y. Ashwell's at Taupiri; native minister's sister's at Paeti; Rariri Motutarata's at Rauwhitu; Philip Matewha's at Tamahere. These schools were progressing more or less till the much-lamented war at Taranaki broke out, when the natives lost all confidence in the British Government and Englishmen. Of course it was natural that missionaries—the subjects of Queen Victoria—should suffer with their countrymen in their estimation.

"I will now mention some of the rules we laid down for the discipline and guidance of the schools of Taupiri and its district. . . .

"An hour before breakfast—6 a.m. in summer, 7 a.m. in winter—the bell rang; prayers and Bible class for an hour—this I always took; 8 a.m. in summer and 9 a.m. in winter, the bell rang for breakfast; 9 a.m. in summer and 10 a.m. in winter the bell rang for school; 1 p.m., dinner; 2 p.m., the sewing school for girls, and farm work for boys, till 5 p.m.; 6 p.m., tea. After tea the elder girls were engaged knitting, the others in a reading class. Our usual course of instruction was reading, Native and English grammar, geography, history, writing, arithmetic, and singing. . . .

"Those were indeed happy days—gone for ever! The native schools at Waikato followed as far as possible the Taupiri rules, and everything prospered. Then came the (Waikato) war, and, although all the results of our work were not lost, the future was blighted as to the schools in which good had been done. . . ."

"In consequence of the closing of the schools in the Waikato . . . the trustees have applied all their available funds for the maintenance of boys from the Waikato at St. Stephen's."

III. *Waerenga-a-hika Native School*.—From W. J. Simkin, *History of the Diocese of Waiapu* (unpublished), p. 169, *et seq.* :

"The great need of the mission on the East Coast was the provision of facilities for education. A boarding school for girls had been opened as early as 1848, the

superintendence, teaching, and management of which had been carried on chiefly by the members of the family of Archdeacon Williams. It became more and more evident, however, that if real progress was to be made, the boys of the district must also be educated. The decision was made, therefore, to establish central schools at Tauranga, in the hope that some, at any rate, of the boys who came there might be moved to offer themselves for the ministry, and after being trained would return to evangelise their own people. The training, however, which it was proposed should be given, was in the first instance to be to a large extent industrial training.

"The mission station at Tauranga consisted only of a small area, some eight acres, held on an insecure title, and quite unsuitable for the purposes of a school of the nature contemplated. It was necessary, therefore, that another site should be secured. After some delay the Whanau-a-Taupara section of the Aitanga-a-Mahaki tribe gave a block of land situate at Whaerenga-a-Hika and comprising some 593 acres for the purposes of a school for native boys. This gift was made in the year 1856, but the actual signing of the necessary documents did not take place until April, 1857.

"The removal of the school to Waerenga-a-Hika was no small undertaking. The land at the new station was in its natural state. The journey necessitated the crossing of two rivers, and the transporting thereover of the timber from the old buildings and the furniture and possessions of the missionaries, their families, and the scholars. For the erection of many of the new buildings the timber had to be sawn in the forest. In spite of the difficulties, the removal was safely carried out during the year 1856, and a commencement made with the erection of the new building. Towards the cost of this work the Church Missionary Society made a grant of £500 from its jubilee fund. The school was opened some time in the autumn (February or March) of the year 1857.

"In the school there were then four departments, as besides the boys and girls there were a number of adult students to be taught, some of whom were married, and the wives needed training as well as the husbands. The school was carried on on industrial lines, and nearly all the food was raised on the spot. This work was

brought to an end in the year 1865 by the incursion of the Hauhaus, when the Bishop (the Right Rev. William Williams) and all the staff of workers were obliged to leave. The buildings, with one exception, were afterwards burned by the Hauhaus, and in the then disturbed state of the district some time elapsed before it was possible for anyone to occupy the place. As soon as it was possible, the lands were let and the proceeds accumulated, until, in 1889, the trustees were in a position to erect the necessary buildings and to start a boarding school for boys. This school was opened in the year 1890 under the headmastership of the Rev. Edward Jennings."

It must be remembered that when self-government was granted to the Colony in 1852 the Department of Native Affairs was specifically reserved to be administered directly by the Governor. Although the difficulties of such a scheme of divided control at once became apparent, it continued in force until 1863, two years after the commencement of Grey's second term as Governor. The success of the scheme, at least as far as the native affairs were concerned, depended wholly on the person of the Governor. Grey's hold over the Maori people in 1853 was at its height, and it is probably not too much to say that, if his occupancy of the Governorship had not been interrupted by his transference to South Africa at the end of 1853, the confidence of the Maoris in British justice would never have been lost, the Taranaki and Waikato Wars would never have occurred, and the native education system which he inaugurated would have justified itself even more fully. Under the circumstances Grey's removal at so critical a time was nothing less than a tragedy for Pakeha and Maori alike, and his return in 1861 was too late to avert the disastrous effects of the mistakes made during his absence. Odd mission schools remained here and there, where some devoted workers struggled bravely on through the most difficult years the missionaries ever experienced, but Grey's more or less elaborate system of village, central, and district schools simply faded away.

* The fears of the missionaries had come true. The rapid influx of white settlers had brought conflict, destroyed the power of the missions, and resulted in the lamentable relapse of a splendidly developing race into a state of comparative heathenism again.

* For lists of names of the first missionaries and mission school teachers, see Appendix D-1.

The result was that in 1867* a *Native Schools Act*† was passed under which the denominational system was abolished and provision made for the organisation and maintenance of schools for the Maoris by the central Government. This was the first colonial Education Act passed by the New Zealand Parliament since the institution of representative government, and it preceded by ten years the establishment of a system of national education for the European population. In the absence of a separate department of education, the administration of the Act was entrusted to the Department of Native Affairs. Under it the existing mission schools continued to receive assistance, but the conditions made prerequisite to the establishment of new schools proved a barrier to the success of the scheme, and in 1871 an Amending Act was passed to liberalise these. But the Maoris had come to distrust the English as the Trojans did the Greeks—*Danaos et dona ferentes!* Consequently, notwithstanding the new legislation, but little progress was made until, in 1880, the recently established Department of Education took over the responsibility for the native schools. From that time, as the bitterness and hatred caused by the wars decreased and the confidence of the Maoris began by degrees to be regained, the tide of civilisation and progress commenced to flow for their race once more.

‡ Professor A. J. Grant, of Leeds University, who acted at Canterbury College in 1927 as exchange Professor for Dr. James Hight, writing for English readers upon the relations existing between the native and the white populations in New Zealand, gives the following summary of the position as it impresses him to-day:—

“It may be confidently said that the history of the contacts between Europeans and ‘primitive’ people contains no chapter that may be read with more satisfaction than the story of the Maori race in New Zealand.

“Four Maoris now sit in the New Zealand Parliament, and Maori opinion has a certain weight with New Zealand Governments. The decline in the race was in part due to insanitary conditions intensified by the partial adoption of European ways. A continuous campaign against their insanitary habits has been conducted, partly by

* It was in this year also—1867—that the four Maori members were first admitted to represent their race in the New Zealand Parliament.

† For a summary of this Act see Appendix B-1.

‡ From the Yorkshire *Evening News*, reprinted in the *N.Z. Tablet*, September 7th, 1927; also in the *Wellington Dominion* and other New Zealand newspapers about the same date.

Sir Apirana Ngata, who has been for many years one of their representatives in Parliament, and certainly with excellent results.

"I believe the memory of the amazing fight they put up against the English has been of service to them. It has saved them from the paralysing sense of inferiority and self-contempt which seems to be near the centre of the causes of the failure of some native races. They have no humiliating defeat to look back on, but a series of struggles, the heroism of which is probably now a good deal touched by legend.

"Their prowess at football has been a really important influence in the same direction. It has raised them much in their own esteem to find that there is one activity which the Englishman values very highly where they can equal and often excel him.

"Whatever the reasons, the Maori now enjoys a position of remarkable equality by the side of the white man. The contrast with the position of things and the trend of public opinion in North America, in South Africa, and even to a certain extent in Australia, is most striking. The New Zealanders take a pleasure in telling you how no distinction is made between the two races.

"Maoris sit along with English on the benches of schools and in university class-rooms. They are received into the same hostels; I have seen them dancing without any sense of strangeness in the dances given by the college hostels.

"I do not want to paint the situation in too bright colours. There are some disappointing features; there are difficulties ahead, especially in connection with the Maori ownership of land; there are many instances of distressing reversion to type even among well-educated Maoris. But, on the whole, the outlook of the Maoris is full of hope, and creditable to Maoris and Englishmen alike."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS.

Before we can discuss further the developments which took place in respect of both native and European schools, regard must be had to the several European settlements and to the extraordinarily diverse characteristics, conditions and circumstances of their separate establishment and progress. The influx of population at the principal centres; the hindrances to progress caused by the difficulties over land selection and titles; the effect of the operation of the "cheap land" and "sufficient price" theories in pauperising or enriching (as the case might be) the Provincial Governments to the detriment or advantage of their educational development; the remarkable individuality of the several settlements from the very outset, emphasised as it was by the provincialism inevitably springing from their geographical isolation, and confirmed by the establishment of strong Provincial Governments; the number and distribution of the native inhabitants; and, lastly, the effect of a quarter of a century of inter-racial warfare in retarding the educational and general development of the North Island while the South Island was developing its institutions with amazing rapidity in peace and ample prosperity;—these all require as brief a treatment as is consistent with a grasp of the essential importance of each as a vital factor in the history of our education system. For convenience the European and native population may be taken first and the effect of the Maori Wars last.

1. THE INFLUX OF EUROPEAN POPULATION.

The number of Europeans in New Zealand in December, 1839, just prior to the arrival of the first emigrant ships, has been estimated at 2,350. At the date of Governor Hobson's death in September, 1842, it had increased to 10,852. When representative government was instituted in 1853, the whites numbered 31,272; while in 1864, at the end of the second Taranaki and Waikato Wars, the number had swollen to 172,158. On the other hand the number of Maoris in New Zealand in 1845 has been estimated at 109,000. In 1857-1858 they had diminished to below 56,049, being in that year for the first time outnumbered by the European population.

The following particulars will serve to show further the distribution and movement of the European population:—

(a) European population in New Zealand, December, 1839.

North Island.					
Whangaroa and the extreme North	....	....	....	....	100
Bay of Islands	....	....	....	....	600
Hokianga	....	....	....	....	200
Kaipara	....	....	....	....	60
Manukau and Kawhia	....	....	....	....	100
Thames	....	....	....	....	200
Kapiti and Mana	....	....	....	....	200
					1,490
South Island.					
Queen Charlotte Sound	....	....	....	....	60
Cloudy Bay	....	....	....	....	150
Banks Peninsula	....	....	....	....	100
Otago	....	....	....	....	250
South of Otago	....	....	....	....	300
					860
Grand total	....	....	....	....	<u>2,350</u>

(b) The Growth of the European settlements, prior to the discovery of gold, 1842-1858.

Date of Foundation.	Settlement.	1842 (Death of Hobson, Sept. 2).	1853 (Establishment of Provincial Government).	1858 (Date of the final dissolution of the N.Z. Company).
1840	Wellington and Wanganui	3,901	7,400	13,267
1841	Auckland	* 2,895	10,853	18,177
1841	New Plymouth	895	1,985	2,650
1842	Nelson (February)	† 2,500	5,148	9,272
1848	Otago	‡	2,391	6,944
1850	Canterbury (December)	§	3,895	8,967
Total		<u>||10,191</u>	<u>31,772</u>	<u>59,277</u>

Notes:—

* Seat of Government from 1841 to 1865. Note rapidity of growth.

† Note large initial settlement—2000 settlers landed in the first seven months.

‡ Note slow growth (2,391 in 5 years).

§ Population in 1851—first year of settlement—3,273.

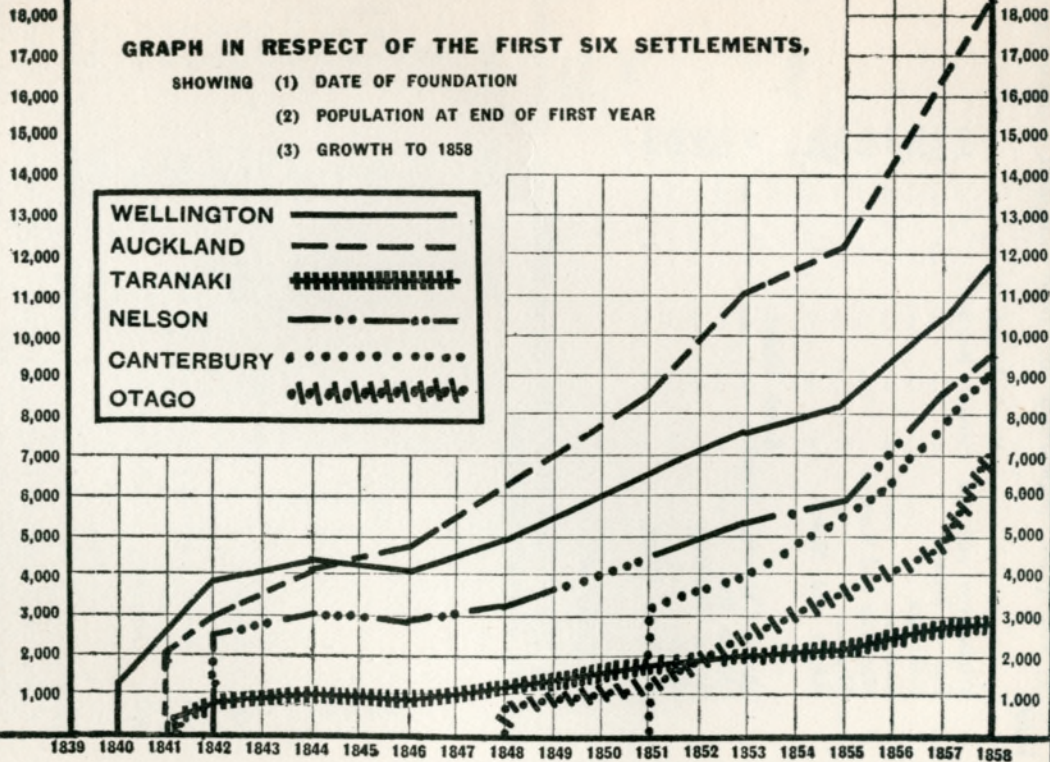
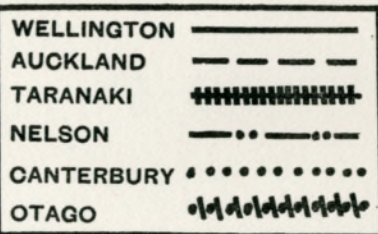
|| 1842—estimated European population not included above.—1,661.

GRAPH IN RESPECT OF THE FIRST SIX SETTLEMENTS,

SHOWING (1) DATE OF FOUNDATION

(2) POPULATION AT END OF FIRST YEAR

(3) GROWTH TO 1858



2. NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF MAORI POPULATION, 1848.

Grouped according to the (subsequent) Provincial districts the Maori population in 1848 was as follows:—*

Auckland and Hawke's Bay	....	....	89,700	
Wellington and Taranaki	....	....	12,795	
Total for the North Island	....	....		102,495
Nelson and Marlborough	....	....	2,650	
Canterbury†	....	....	309	
Remainder of South Is.; Stewart Is.‡	....	....	1,465	
Total for the South Island	....	....		4,424
Grand total	....	....		<u>106,919</u>

3. THE ALIENATION OF NATIVE LANDS IN THE SEVERAL SETTLEMENTS.

(a) *The Seat of Government*.—Writing from Russell, Bay of Islands, on November 10th, 1840, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Governor Hobson says:—

§ "I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have lately returned from a visit to Waitemata, where I found the officers of the Government and the mechanics and labourers under their orders proceeding with the necessary works for establishing the town, which I contemplate being the future seat of government, and which I purpose distinguishing by the name of 'Auckland.' . . .

" . . . Although from a deficiency of surveyors I am not in a condition to sell land at this moment, yet having already purchased from the natives a tract of land, computed at 30,000 acres, and having engaged nearly as much more, I shall be enabled to do so within six months to an extent sufficient to meet any demand that is likely to arise from immigration. . . ."

Notes:—

* Based on report to the New Zealand Company, dated 11th November, 1848, by Mr. Halswell, who had been appointed by the Company to be "Protector of the Aborigines and Commissioner for the Management of Native reserves at Wellington." Brett's *Early New Zealand*, p. 589.

"A government return of the native population of New Zealand, laid before the Legislative Council at Auckland in 1845, gave an aggregate of 109,550, being the estimate of the Chief Protector of Aborigines."—*The New Zealand Wars*, Cowan, Vol. I, p. 4. The distribution corresponds very nearly to that given by Halswell.

† In 1827 had occurred the famous sack of the Kaiapoi Pa by Te Rauparaha. In the course of this and other victories the great Ngatitōa chief is said to have slain over 6,000 South Island Maoris.

‡ Principally in the neighbourhood of Port Otago (principal chief, Taiaaroa) and Foveaux Strait (principal chief, Tuhawaiki).

§ Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 533 *et seqq.*

Altogether the total area acquired by the Government in three years was 227,000 acres, the price being £4,000, paid half in money and half in kind. The first land sale of town lots in Auckland was held in April, 1841, when 119 allotments comprising some 44 acres, brought at auction the sum of £24,275, "owing to the competition of Sydney speculators." In September the first sale of suburban and country lands took place, when 68 lots comprising some 275 acres brought a further sum of £4,500, making a total of £28,775 for the 319 acres sold. It is of interest to record that the actual price paid to the native owners for 3,000 acres at Waitemata, the actual site of the capital, about a tenth of which was thus disposed of, was:—"£50 (in money), 50 blankets, 20 trousers, 20 shirts, 10 waistcoats, 10 caps, 4 casks of tobacco, 1 box of pipes, 100 yards of gown pieces, 10 iron pots, 1 bag of flour, 1 bag of sugar, 20 hatchets."* The relevant points for our history are that the Government got revenue, the "settlers" immediate possession and a clear title, and the Maoris a lesson in land dealing which must have made the "four casks of tobacco" taste just a little nasty in the smoking!

(b) *The Wakefield Settlements.*—The New Zealand (Land) Company in June, 1839, began by offering for sale in London "nine-tenths of 110,000 acres" of land in New Zealand at £1 per acre, *before a title to a single acre had been obtained.* Indeed, it was not until the end of September that Col. Wakefield, the Company's agent, arrived at Port Nicholson, the site of Wellington, to commence his negotiations with native chiefs. In four months he visited Kapiti, Waikanae, Queen Charlotte Sound, Wanganui, Hokianga, and the Bay of Islands, and returned to Port Nicholson to greet the first 700 colonists in January-February, 1840, with a bundle of "legal" conveyances, comprising his hastily acquired titles to no less than 20,000,000 acres in what are now the Wellington, Wanganui, Taranaki, Nelson and Marlborough districts. Unfortunately for Wakefield and the Company's settlers his "purchases" were as incomplete as they were hasty, and his claims were met with an immediate and vigorous denunciation by entitled but unconsulted Maori chiefs, rival European claimants, and, most serious bar of all, the Governments of New Zealand, New South Wales, and the United Kingdom. Owing mainly to changes of government both at Home and in the Colony, no finality was reached for some years. Nevertheless the Company continued to sell New Zealand acres in England with the utmost assurance, and to send out its emigrants, not merely by hundreds, but literally

* *The City of Auckland* (J. Barr), p. 40.

by thousands, to clamour in vain for the possession of lands which they, at any rate, had fairly bought and paid for in London before they embarked.

In May, 1842, Land Commissioner Spain began his four years' enquiry into the validity of the "purchases," as a result of which the Company's claim was reduced to a more modest 283,000 acres. "Worse than all, the protracted delay led to a condition of stagnation which exasperated all settlers, ruined many, and contributed largely to the ruin of the Company."

* "It is three years yesterday," writes a Wellington settler in March, 1843, "since I landed, and it is one week since I was enabled to choose the whole of my land. Of that land the natives, at this moment, refuse to yield possession of two-thirds; we have no crown grants to any of it, and our court will be shut up this session, for want of a single freeholder to be empanelled as a jurymen."

"As you are aware," writes another, "the Maoris profess either not to have sold their land, or not to have received the purchase money; and, standing on this ground, they refuse to permit the occupation of a single acre by the settlers. . . ." †

The Taranaki land "purchases" were the cause of the most protracted disputes of all, continuing for over twenty years, and culminating in two disastrous wars. In the course of these the New Plymouth settlers were forced to concentrate in the town, abandoning their farms, which were ravaged and burned by the natives, and sending 1,200 of their women and children across the strait to Nelson until the immediate danger was past.

Governor Fitz Roy arrived in New Zealand in December, 1843. At Sydney, on his way out, he received a memorial from

* Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 644.

† Major Richmond, Superintendent Southern Division of New Zealand, in a series of letters to Governor Fitz Roy written towards the end of December, 1844, stated that he was "unable to carry out the arrangements entered into for the evacuation of the Hutt district by the natives, and that additional military assistance was absolutely necessary in order to put the settlers in possession of the lands now rightfully purchased from the owners. . . . The feeling of hostility between both races rendered the danger of a collision imminent," and reinforcements were asked for as speedily as possible.—A. J. Harrop, *England and New Zealand*, p. 183.

the distressed Nelson settlers,* which stated (inter alia):—

“Our numbers now amount to about 3,000. We have been settled here a couple of years; but, during the whole of that time, we have had no protection, either military or naval, with the exception of a visit from the “North Star” frigate upon one occasion for two days.

“Our population, horror struck by the dreadful events† of the Wairau plains, have been constantly agitated by reports of threatened attacks by the aborigines, and in the absence of any regular force we have been obliged to expend considerable sums of money in preparing defences, lest such reports should have turned out to have any real foundation, of which at one time there appeared to be much probability.

“We beg leave also respectfully to call Your Excellency’s attention to the total absence of titles to land in this settlement. Many of us purchased and paid for our land in England, three years ago, but no possession of any land so purchased has been given, nor is any prospect held out to us that this will shortly be done. We need not point out to Your Excellency how ruinous such a state of affairs is to this settlement, how subversive of confidence, and calculated to be the source of confusion and disputes, both as regards our own countrymen and the aborigines.”

(c) *The Southern Settlements*.—Governor Grey, who was *persona grata* with the Maoris, had succeeded in wholly extinguishing the native land titles in the Otago and Canterbury districts before those colonies were founded. From 1847, in which year he satisfied the remaining native claims in the Wairau, onwards, his purchases amounted to nearly 30,000,000 acres in the South Island, a task which was the more easy of

* “The Nelson settlement affords a typical case. The Company sold (in England) 442 properties to 315 purchasers, of whom only 80, proprietors of 109 allotments, went to Nelson at different times. Three-fourths, therefore, of the original Nelson proprietors were absentees. As late as September, 1851, of the entire 440,000 acres held from the Company, no less than 320,000 acres were owned by absentees.” . . .
 “On the other hand, they sent out 3,100 souls of the labouring class, of whom 920 were male adults.” By April 1st, 1845, only 1,296 acres had been cultivated; i.e., in three years from the foundation of the settlement.
 —J. S. Marais, *The Colonisation of New Zealand*, p. 137.

† On 17th June, 1843, 22 Nelson settlers, including Captain Arthur Wakefield, the Company’s agent, and Mr. Thomson, the Magistrate, were massacred by Te Rauparaha and his son-in-law, Te Rangihaeata, in connection with the attempted survey by the settlers of lands which the natives had repeatedly asserted their determination to defend.

accomplishment on account of the comparative fewness of the Maoris. For this, as we have seen, the ravages of Te Rau-paraha were responsible. The result was that the Otago and Canterbury settlers got a better start, early and undisturbed possession of their sections, and the opportunity to develop them without the harassing uncertainties and fears to which their northern brethren were subjected.

"Unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance," saith the Scriptures, and to these already favoured Provinces the gold rushes of the early 'sixties brought a tremendous influx of virile population and the bustling prosperity that accompanies the rapid production of gold. The Province of Nelson also benefited very considerably from the gold rush, while it lasted. This unexpected access of strength and wealth was naturally a great boon to the whole European population, then in the worst throes of its struggles with the native race.

4. HOW HIGH LAND PRICES PROVIDED FUNDS FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

Two essentially different theories in regard to land prices were held by the promoters of the Wakefield settlements and Governor Grey. These were known respectively as the "sufficient price" and the "cheap land" theories. The following summary will serve to show how they operated to the advantage (or disadvantage) of educational development.

The original Wellington settlers were required to pay in London £1 per acre for their land (or, rather, for their "land orders"); Nelson settlers paid £300 each for 201 acre allotments, comprising one town acre, 50 acres adjacent to the town area, and 150 "rural" acres—an average of £1 10s. per acre; Otago settlers paid an even £2 per acre for a 60½ acre allotment, comprising one quarter-acre town section, one ten acre suburban block, and 50 acres of rural land; while Canterbury settlers paid £25 each for quarter-acre blocks of "city" land, of which there were 1000, £150 each for ten-acre "suburban" blocks, of which there were 100, and £3 per acre for "rural" land, afterwards reduced by the Provincial Government of Canterbury* to £2, below which it did not go.

The Crown regulations at first in force provided for an upset price of £1 per acre for first class land, and lower prices for second and third class land. Governor Fitz Roy permitted the free purchase of land direct from the natives on payment

* The extra £1 was that for religious and educational endowment, which the Provincial Council, on taking over the affairs of the Canterbury Association, did not feel justified in imposing.

to the Government of a fee of 10s. per acre, later reduced to a nominal charge of 1d. Much cheap land was acquired at this time.* In 1852, Governor Grey revived the Crown's right of pre-emption, under the Treaty of Waitangi, and fixed the price to settlers outside the town areas at 10s., and on certain conditions, 5s. per acre.

† "The Governor's intention was to enable every man to acquire a freehold, but he judged with less than his customary foresight, for the ultimate result was that anticipated by Earl Grey. Runholders and speculators picked the eyes out of the land, and so monopolised large blocks at small cost. Large estates became locked in the hands of a few land kings." The "waste lands" were thus alienated and yet not settled—neither a source of revenue nor an aid to development. In fact it is only in quite recent years that much of this very land has been repurchased by the State at enormous cost for the purposes of closer settlement!

It must, of course, be remembered that owing to the failure of the New Zealand Company's extravagant land claims and the troubles incidental thereto the first Wakefield settlements were unable to adhere to the "sufficient price" basis of settlement; and it is to the South Island colonies that we must look for the rich educational endowments and ample Provincial revenues that resulted from their adherence thereto. The following return shows very clearly the effect of the rival policies over a number of years:—

‡ Total Acreage of "Waste Lands" disposed of from 1856-1862 (Inclusive).

Districts.	Average Price per acre.	(£'s only). Revenue.	(Acres only). Area sold.
Auckland and Hawke's Bay	7/2	£264,692	736,846
Taranaki, Wellington			
Nelson and Marlborough	7/5	£380,085	1,021,635
Canterbury	£2/0/3	£478,034	237,651
Otago and Southland	19/7	£435,920	445,089

* "One of Grey's first actions in New Zealand was to repeal the 'penny an acre' proclamation. But irreparable damage had already been done, since almost 100,000 acres had been purchased under it, and the Government was constrained by his instructions to recognise the purchases provided they were validly made.

"These evils hung like a millstone round the neck of Government throughout the Provincial period. Whereas Otago and Canterbury realised large sums from the sale of lands, the Province of Auckland was unable to raise a Land Fund at all adequate for its needs. In 1866 a colonisation scheme adopted by its Provincial Council actually broke down for lack of funds."—J. S. Marais, *The Colonisation of New Zealand*, pp. 282 and 283.

† *Maori and Pakeha* (Shrimpton and Mulgan), p. 111.

‡ Based on Table 40, Year 1862, *Statistics for N-Z.*, 1862-66.

That is to say, land in Canterbury was bringing in to the Provincial Treasury nearly six times as much, and in Otago nearly three times as much per acre as in the Northern Provinces! Another aspect of the effect of the rival policies will be seen by comparison with the following Table showing the Ordinary and Territorial (Land) Revenues of the five principal Settlements.

* *Comparative Table of Revenues, 1853-62.*

Province.	Revenue.	1853	1856	1859	1862
Auckland	Ordinary	£36,396	£48,180	£68,429	£103,518
	Land	38,568	23,520	12,082	7,416
	Total	74,964	71,700	80,511	110,934
Wellington (including Hawke's Bay 1853-1859).	Ordinary	23,674	25,349	43,543	48,570
	Land	12,098	5,478	13,958	20,264
	Total	35,772	32,827	57,501	68,834
Nelson (including Marlborough 1853-1859).	Ordinary	6,678	10,164	21,167	31,257
	Land	8,502	20,190	55,181	65,877
	Total	15,180	30,354	76,348	97,134
Canterbury	Ordinary	6,881	11,361	36,941	71,058
	Land	2,296	16,159	55,885	223,514
	Total	9,177	27,520	92,826	294,572
Otago	Ordinary	2,524	5,826	25,503	211,205
	Land	2,681	10,830	74,496	188,699
	Total	5,205	16,656	99,999	399,904

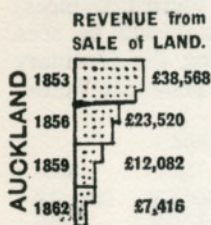
The early sale of enormous areas at low prices in the North Island quickly exhausted the supply of available land and contributed to the subsequent financial difficulties of the Northern Provinces. In strong contrast will be noted the earlier conservation of the lands of the South Island, contributing to the increasing wealth of the Southern Provinces from the continued sale of their lands in later years, still on the same high price basis. Is it any wonder that Canterbury and Otago were able to provide so magnificently for the educational needs of their respective Provinces?

5. THE ESSENTIAL INDIVIDUALITY OF THE FIVE SETTLEMENTS.

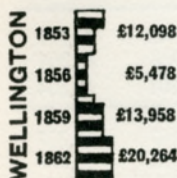
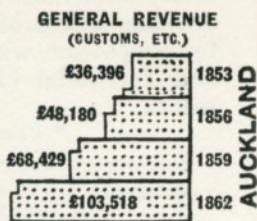
† Auckland just grew. From the day that Governor Hobson made it his capital and conducted the first land sales, it attracted enterprising colonists from the northern settlements of New Zealand, from Australia, from America, and from the

* Table 31, Year 1862, *Statistics for N.Z.*, 1862-1866.

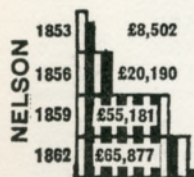
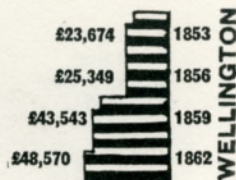
† See also p. 103.



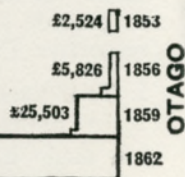
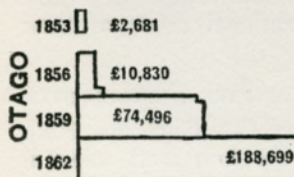
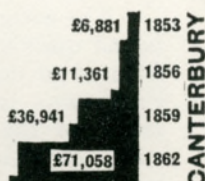
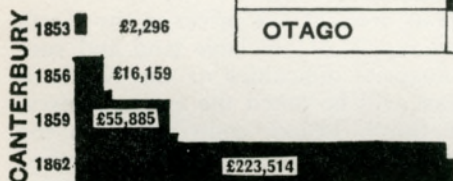
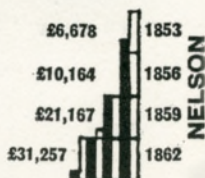
GRAPH showing relative LAND and GENERAL REVENUES in the North and South Islands during the first ten years of Provincial Government.



This Graph illustrates effectively the advantage of the Wakefield principle of selling land at a "sufficient price," and affords an explanation (along with the Wars in the North Island) of the retarded development of educational facilities in the North as compared with the South.



AUCKLAND	
WELLINGTON	
NELSON	
CANTERBURY	
OTAGO	



United Kingdom. There was little organised colonisation of the kind which pioneered the other main centres. But there was from the first the congregation of Government officials and their households, and, later, the establishment of a considerable military "pensioner" settlement. These elements gave it a distinctive character of its own. Government revenue was spent at first almost wholly in the Auckland district. Land was cheap; titles were secure; and speculative business was brisk. Further the enormous northern Maori population gave Auckland an early advantage as a distributing centre for the native trade.* Sydney merchants took full advantage of these opportunities of trade and land speculation, and there was a considerable influx of Australian settlers. The free spirit of commercial enterprise is still the essential characteristic of the northern city, which is now the largest and most prosperous city in the Dominion.

Wellington was the pioneer colony. Its settlers were genuine emigrants. Their enterprise was to be the realisation of an ideal, the justification of a principle, the proof of a theory. New Zealand, to which the eyes of the enterprising both on the Continent and in Great Britain, were being turned as a result of both missionary and trading successes, might easily have become the scene of a haphazard colonisation fraught with disaster to both Europeans and aborigines alike. It was saved from this fate by one of those great men whose vision, enthusiasm and persistence never fail to overcome the inevitable opposition of their narrower-minded, shorter-sighted contemporaries. "Without vision the people perish." Edward Gibbon Wakefield was a prince of colonisers, a protagonist of the Empire. In Australia and in Canada he had made his influence felt for good, and to him above all men New Zealand owes those shiploads of magnificent men and women who, in obedience to the best traditions of the British race, left the land of their ancestors to fulfil his dreams for the establishment of this new Britain of the South.

The fundamental features of Wakefield's scheme were:—

(1) "Judiciously selected free young settlers in equal proportion of the sexes"—representing every gradation of the English social scale; in fact, each colony was to be a little England!

* "When the 'constitution' of 1852 was put into active operation some two years later, the total import trade of the whole country was some £59,700 and the export trade £30,300. Nearly half of this trade was done in the *Auckland Province*."—*Maori and Pakeha*, Shrimpton and Mulgan, p. 171.

(2) Land to be sold at a "sufficient price," whereby free labourers might receive assisted passages for the development of the holdings. In the later settlements provision was also made for substantial endowments for religious and educational purposes.

(3) The colonies so established to be granted liberal powers of self-government as soon as possible.

(4) The interests of the aborigines to be conserved by a scheme of land reservation, whereby the initial payments made to the natives were to be supplemented in each settlement by the reservation for their benefit of one-tenth, later one-eleventh, of the land acquired. Such reservations would naturally increase in value with the development of the European colony, and this value would constitute the principal return which the natives would receive for the alienation of their lands.

No wonder such a scheme attracted the support of a large number of influential men in England, who, though without pecuniary interest in it and not themselves intending to be colonists, steadily supported Wakefield in face of a campaign of unexpectedly heated opposition from the missionary societies and the Government of the day. The fact is that Wakefield, himself working indefatigably behind the scenes, had met his match in another man of very similar character in many respects, although animated by very dissimilar ideals. This was James Stephen, the permanent Under-Secretary of State, whose "vision, enthusiasm and persistence" in the pursuit of an equally noble aim developed the Gordian knot so abruptly, so adventurously, and in some respects so disastrously, cut by Wakefield when he despatched the "Tory" without permission to New Zealand in 1839. Stephen, like Wakefield, worked underground and behind the scenes, and the ideal for which he strove will be found in the official "Maoriphile" instructions issued to the first three Governors of New Zealand, which were drafted by Stephen, and in the deliberately altruistic intention and interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi, which was so diametrically opposed to the ideas of Wakefield and his colleagues. It was upon this question of the relations of the proposed Wakefield settlements and the aborigines that the negotiations between the Company and the Government—in effect, between Wakefield and Stephen—eventually broke down. The former believed that the interests of the emigrants should be the first consideration of the Government, the latter insisted that the interests of the aborigines were paramount in their own country, and consistently and effectively based the policy of his Department upon that opinion. The consequent despatch of Wakefield's emigrants

before things were ready for their reception in New Zealand, the hasty "purchase" of lands from the natives, the immediate despatch of Captain Hobson, as it were, in pursuit, and the Government's continued opposition to Wakefield's *de facto* colony—all these but marked the transference of the struggle to the new country itself, whereby was brewed the cup of the long years of distress and difficulty with which the original settlers had to contend, of the sad Maori wars which went so near to ruin the whole colony and destroy the developing civilisation of the noblest of native races, and of the long enduring and bitter rivalry between the Northern and the Southern Provinces, the dregs of which even to-day are not wholly drained.

The opposition killed the Company, but not before it had transplanted to New Zealand some twelve thousand pioneers and pilgrims of the best blood and brains that Britain had to offer. The character of the "selected" settlers left nothing wanting. University and professional men—lawyers, doctors, teachers and clergymen—accompanied the first ships, as well as free labourers and all the intermediate stages of our social system. Though there was no shibboleth of creed or doctrine in connection with the earlier settlements, there was an inbred nobility of character which enabled the settlers to make good in spite of all their difficulties. The Wellington settlement, being the first, and therefore, in a sense, an experimental one, never had any "religious and educational endowments." Its settlers suffered the fate of all true pioneers in being "hard up against it" from the first, and this fact is clearly seen in the early educational history of the Province. The powerful position which the Capital City occupies in the Dominion to-day is due solely to the "Wakefield" characteristics of its first settlers, to their grit and persistence in fighting for and eventually winning back the pride of place to which the boldness and vision of their colonising enterprise entitled them.

Nelson, the second colony of the New Zealand Company (for Wanganui and Taranaki were essentially associated with the first) managed, notwithstanding the Company's difficulties and those of the settlers, to preserve more of its founder's ideals. Once past the Wairau disaster, the colonists were no further harassed by bloodshed and war with the Maoris. The area of settlement, although at first inadequate, was more definite and better recognised than those of their fellow colonists on the other side of Cook Strait. The price proved "sufficient" to provide for very considerable religious and educational endowments, although, owing to the failure of the New Zealand Company, not to the extent originally anticipated. Grey's "cheap

land" policy also operated to the disadvantage of the settlement in later years. But in spite of all their early distresses and sufferings* and fears, the settlers, to their eternal glory, made religion and education as much the objects of their organised effort as the acquisition of their land titles and the protection of their lives and property from the threatened attacks of the Maoris. This rare sense of the value of spiritual things in times of material misadventure distinguishes the development of the Nelson Province, which was the first settlement to organise a regular school system, and, in many respects, the most successful in its method of handling harmoniously the educational problems of the time.

Otago, founded in 1848, was in origin a Scots settlement; its capital, Dunedin, the Edinburgh of the South. The beauti-

* "This crisis arrived at about the very worst period when it could, in the month of August, 1844, when the scanty supplies of the previous year's harvest were nearly if not quite exhausted, and when it wanted four months to the next. Serious apprehension of rioting and violence, on the part of the labouring class, were entertained by some; and the Magistrates, not very discreetly, gave their sanction to the alarm by proceeding to swear in Special Constables, though no act had occurred to render such a step necessary; and the want of confidence which it showed in the temper and intention of the working class might have been attended with the worst possible effect. I felt this so strongly that, when summoned to be sworn as a Special Constable, I publicly objected to be so, stating my opinion to the Magistrates of the impolicy of the step. The generality of the settlers saw the matter in the same light, and instead of calling on the Magistrates to protect them against an imaginary danger they proceeded with one accord to put their individual shoulders to the wheel to avert the possibility of it. A committee was formed, one half of employers and one half of labourers, to consult and devise methods of employment, and, though no practical method was devised, it had the best possible effect in showing the two classes the temper of each other, and bringing them to an appreciation of the importance of their jointly exerting every nerve to meet the emergency which had arisen. In fact, all classes of the settlers at this time behaved admirably, the employers stretching their ability to the utmost to find work for the labourers, and the latter resolutely, and almost without a murmur, setting themselves to make the best of their unavoidable position. For 16 months, however, the struggle was most severe, many families living almost solely on potatoes, and not a great abundance of them; and it is a most remarkable fact that, during all this long and severe pressure, only one offence against property was committed, and that was the killing of a bullock by two men of notoriously bad character, one not an immigrant under the Company, and both having at the time offers of employment at their own door and not being impelled by want. With this solitary exception, not a crime occurred. Indeed, in all particulars, it would be very difficult to find a community meeting so great an emergency as occurred in Nelson in 1844, in a manner so characteristic of the better parts of the British character and so creditable to themselves."—W. Fox, *Report on the Settlement of Nelson*, 1849, p. 16.

ful spire of its First Church, prominent upon a hill, is the outstanding feature of the city's architecture, whether viewed from the harbour or from the hills behind. Its street names are those of the thoroughfares of Scotland's ancient capital. Within its borders the Presbytery was, if I may invert a famous saying, but Priest writ large, and reigned supreme over the religion, morality and education of its citizens.

Canterbury, by way of contrast, was to be wholly English, —its name that of the great first See of England. In the very heart of Christchurch, the capital city, its noble cathedral stands, a monument to the lofty ideals that animated the souls of its builders, who named their very streets after the great cathedrals of their Church. Its parks are planted with English trees, and over the religion, morality and education of its people, the Bishop (when he came), like the Presbytery of Otago, ruled supreme.

As it turned out, the intended racial and denominational exclusiveness of these settlements could not be maintained. But the predominant characteristics of these Provinces to this day are those given them by their founders.*

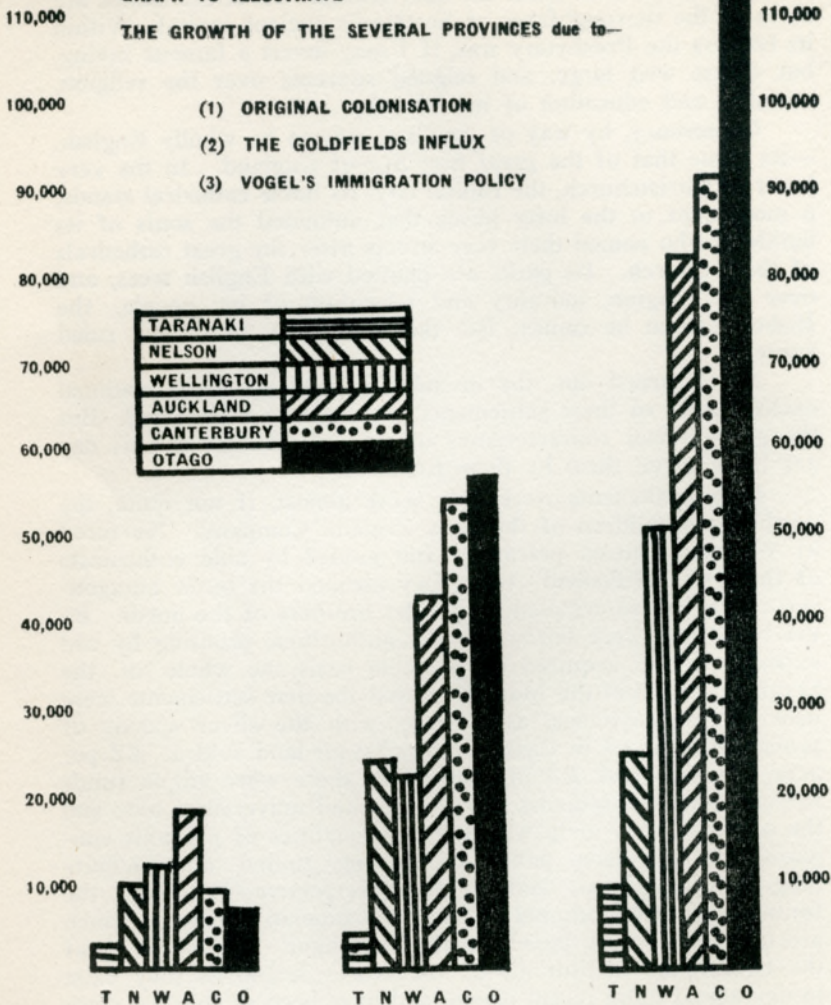
Both settlements were in a sense almost, if not quite, the posthumous children of the New Zealand Company. Nurtured by vigorous Church patronage and guided by able enthusiasts of the true "Wakefield" type, they escaped the bitter antagonism which had so crippled their elder brothers of the north. By the time they were born, too, the authorities, profiting by sad experience, had acquired on a stable basis the whole of the South Island from the Maoris, so that the new settlements were ushered into existence, as it were, with the silver spoons of peace and concord in their mouths. With land sold at £2 per acre in Otago and £3 in Canterbury there were ample funds for churches and schools, and colleges and universities too; and the colonists, combining with the high qualities of previous emigrants the impulsive power of strong, united and definite religious convictions, laid in their respective Provinces the foundations of educational systems, the superstructures of which are to this day unsurpassed in the Dominion. The majority of the educational institutions of the North Island as they exist to-day are of more recent origin, and have been established since the abolition of the Provinces out of the consolidated funds of the whole Colony. Those of the South Island on the other hand date back, as we shall see, to the very foundation of the respective settlements, when Nelson in adversity, Canterbury and

* v. Hocken, *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand*, (Otago), p. 300.

GRAPH TO ILLUSTRATE

THE GROWTH OF THE SEVERAL PROVINCES due to—

- (1) ORIGINAL COLONISATION
- (2) THE GOLDFIELDS INFLUX
- (3) VOGEL'S IMMIGRATION POLICY



1858 CENSUS.

Population resulting from the original colonisation schemes.

1867 CENSUS.

The result of the gold discoveries in Otago, Canterbury and Auckland, and of the Maori Wars in Taranaki.

1878 CENSUS.

The result of Vogel's Immigration and Public Works Policy.

Otago in prosperity, showed what could be done for education, where its fundamental importance was realised by the whole community, and opportunity afforded for its development. And when the crippling Maori wars were over, and a unified form of government was established for the whole of New Zealand, the Provinces of the North had good reason to be grateful for the educational advantages which they then obtained in consequence of the forethought and self-denial of their younger brothers of the South.

6. GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL PROVINCIALISM.

It only remains to add that the settlements were from the first almost as isolated as they were independent. Separated by forests, rivers, mountains and seas, each maintained its own direct commerce with Britain and Australia, but there was very little inter-settlement trade or communication. Bishop Selwyn, writing from Auckland in 1842 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, said:—

* "Communication between different parts of this country is very uncertain. I have now been waiting three weeks at Auckland for a passage to Wellington. The Bishop of Australia at Sydney is in a better position for communicating with Wellington and Nelson than I am at Auckland. New Plymouth is a perfect *terra incognita*."

The remarkable missionary journeys of Bishops Selwyn and Harper by sea and land throughout their vast dioceses only throw into marked prominence the isolation of the several Provinces. When the Constitution Act of 1852 came into force and the first General Assembly was held in Auckland in 1854, it took some of the Otago members no less than eight weeks to reach the capital. It was only natural, therefore, that the public interest in each Province centred in its own Provincial Council's activities. Moreover, Governor Grey, without doubt intentionally, had summoned the Provincial Councils first and in the Southern Provinces they were in active and energetic operation for nearly a year before the first General Assembly met in Auckland to discharge its business.

Provincialism, for the first 36 years of our history (1840 to 1876), was thus the keynote of New Zealand's political and educational development. And notwithstanding the abolition of the Provincial Governments and the institution of a national system of education in 1876-7, the provincial spirit continued

* Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 617.

to affect very strongly the course of educational progress. Even to-day, after a lapse of half-a-century, it raises its head again and again, Phoenix like, from the ashes of the past, to urge the interests of a district in preference to those of the nation, and so keep alive the rivalries and contentions of years gone by.

7. THE CONFLICT OF THE RACES.

The following is a bare chronological summary of the inter-racial struggle which may be said to have commenced with the "Wairau Massacre" in 1843, and to have retarded the general and educational progress of both races in the North Island for a period of nearly 30 years:—

- * 1843. The Wairau Massacre.
- 1845-6. Hone Heke's War in the North.
- 1846. The Campaign in the Wellington District.
- 1847. The War at Wanganui.
- 1860-1. First Taranaki War.
- 1863. Second Taranaki War.
- 1863-4. The Waikato War.
- 1864. Tauranga Campaign.
- 1864-6. The First Hauhau War (Taranaki).
- 1865. The Operations at Opotiki and Matata.
- 1867. Fighting in the Tauranga and Rotorua Districts.
- 1868-9. The West Coast War.
- 1868-72. The Campaign against Te Kooti (East Coast, Taupo and Urewera).

† "Looking back over the whole thing," writes the Editor of the Cyclopedia of New Zealand in the first (or Wellington) volume of that monumental work, "it is readily seen how the Colony might have been made to flourish without any sign of war or massacre. Everything was too haphazard, and the Home Government began with a parsimony that proved in the end most expensive."

That it is easy to be wise after the event is a platitude. The British Government had both warning and opportunity to restrict, if not wholly to prohibit, the supply of arms and ammunition to the natives. Even after the country became a British possession the New Zealand Company and others continued to purchase lands mainly with muskets and powder. When the races were already at grips, Grey came and placed the first effective restriction upon the supply of further arms

* *The New Zealand Wars*, Cowan, Preface, p. ix.

† Page 15.

to the natives.* This restriction his successor, with a culpable lack of common sense, removed, with the result that the Maoris accumulated some additional £50,000 worth of arms and ammunition. They had now "sufficient to supply every adult native with a serviceable firearm, and the means of using it for several years of active warfare."†

Stripped of all alleged contributory causes, the Maori wars were really "land" wars.

" . . . God made this country for us. It cannot be sliced; if it were a whale it might be sliced. Do you return to your own country, which was made by God for you. God made this land for us; it is not for any stranger or foreign nation to meddle with this sacred country. . . ."

So wrote Hone Heke to the Governor in 1845. The bewildering influx of thousands of European settlers—an influx which looked as though it would never end; the unconscionable claims of the newcomers to all the best land of the country.‡—claims to which there seemed likely to be no limit; the at one time well-grounded fear that the land provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi would be "interpreted" against the native interests—in effect dishonoured by the Home Government; actual blunders such as those at Wairau and Waitara, made worse by the succeeding vacillation of the New Zealand Government;—these all supplied the motive, as the muskets supplied the means, for the wars, which, if successful, would have resulted in the expulsion of the Pakehas and the recovery of New Zealand for the New Zealanders alone.

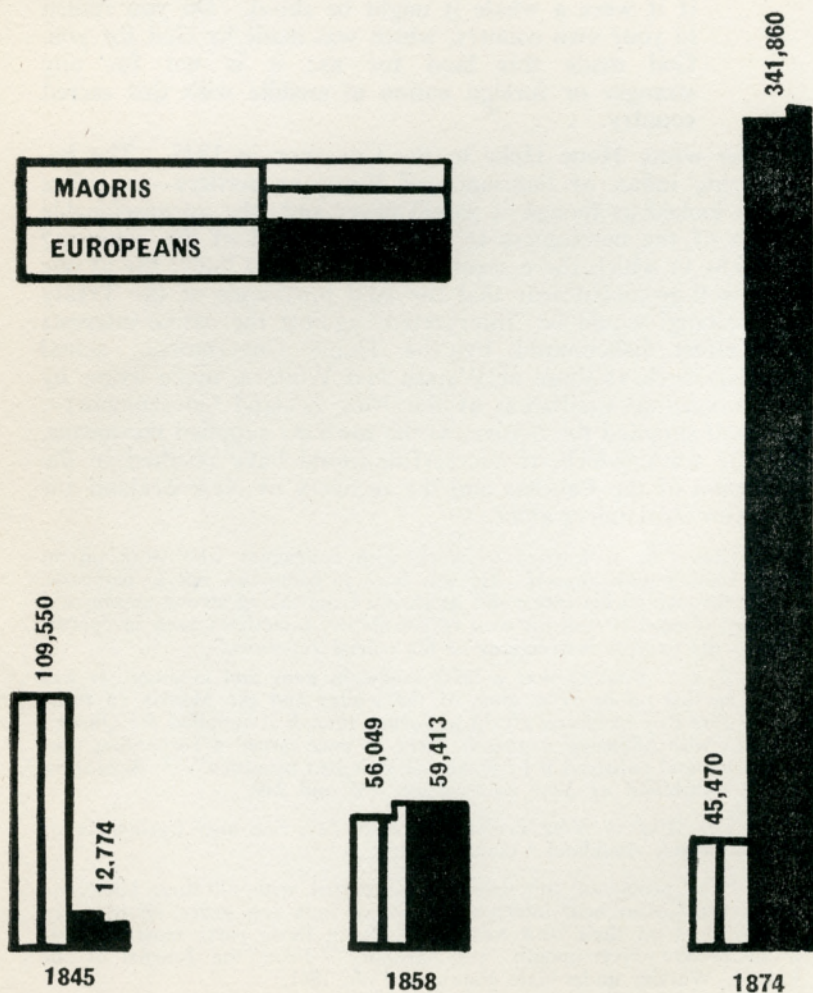
* Grey "never learned to work with colleagues who were on an equal footing with himself. He was born to command, not to persuade. Never throughout his career did he shrink from taking strong measures—entirely, if need be—on his own responsibility, sometimes even in opposition to the express instructions of his official superiors."

" . . . Finding that a brisk traffic in guns and ammunition was being carried on between some of the whites and the Maoris (a trade which Fitz Roy had been afraid to forbid, though it supplied the Queen's enemies with offensive weapons), Grey at once issued a forbidding proclamation and enforced it by means of stringent penalties."—J. S. Marais, *The Colonisation of New Zealand*, pp. 248 and 249.

† *The War in New Zealand*, Fox, p. 22. See also *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Auckland Volume, p. 151.

‡ "The people of this Island have parted with all their land, and unless the Government interpose they may, in a few years, be regarded as intruders on their own soil, especially in those parts most valuable to themselves—river mouths and harbours."—From the Journal of the Rev. J. Watkin, under date February 15th, 1841.

**GRAPH SHOWING THE RELATIVE
NUMERICAL STRENGTH of the
MAORIS and EUROPEANS in
1845, 1858, 1874.**



Happily for us it was otherwise ordained. But——!

* “. . . . It is apparent that a combined effort by the natives in the 'forties or early 'fifties could have driven the pakeha population into the sea. Had the 'Land League' or the Pai Marire fanaticism been born ten years earlier, or had a military genius like Te Kooti led the Maori tribes against the white in 1845 and 1846, the story of New Zealand would read very differently.”

Unfortunately for the Maoris they lacked “any political organisation beyond the tribal.” Notwithstanding their numbers, “according to Grey’s estimate, we never had 2,000 in arms against us at any one time; and it is shown by an examination of the General’s despatches, that the troops were never actually engaged with more than 600, and not often with more than 200 to 400.”

At first the British forces in the Colony were absurdly few. Later, however, General Cameron had under his command no fewer than:—

† 10,000 regulars; 5,000 military settlers, enlisted for three years, under regular training; 500 cavalry; a naval brigade of 300 men; besides the field artillery, one 110 pounder, two 40 pounders, and a great number of smaller guns, mortars, etc.; 5 warships operating against coastal pahs, with some 9 or 10 other small steamers assisting in conveying troops, provisions, etc.

There were also fighting for us a number of small but most valuable volunteer corps, and several powerful native tribes, without whose aid, notwithstanding General Cameron’s expensive army of nearly 16,000 men, it is very doubtful whether we should ever have pulled through. Indeed, Cowan frankly admits, following on the quotation made above, “that had it not been for the true benevolence, the hospitality, and the continued friendship of (the loyal natives) the British flag might not be flying in New Zealand to-day.”‡

The point for us is that for nearly thirty years the wonderful Maori warriors kept the North Island colonists in a perpetual state of anxiety, which, together with the actual strain of the war, seriously retarded the normal development of its educational institutions. Meanwhile the South Island in peace and prosperity was developing apace, and educational institutions

* Cowan, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

† Fox, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

were being multiplied in every direction. This is an important factor in the history of the educational development of the two Islands, and it was a fortunate offset to the handicaps of the war in the North that the Southern Settlements were reinforced as they were in numbers and wealth by the great gold rushes of the period. For when the wars were over and both Islands were united under one form of government, the South was in a position to render the greatest help, both financially and otherwise, in the organisation and rapid development of the national system of education which was then inaugurated for the whole Colony.

CHAPTER IX.

ALFRED DOMETT.

ONE BORN OUT OF DUE SEASON.

When the pioneer vessel of the "Plymouth Company" reached Taranaki on the 31st March, 1841, she had on board 69 adults and 70 children. When the ship "Lloyds" drew in to Nelson haven on the 15th February, 1842, with the wives and children of the New Zealand Company's settlement staff aboard a pitiful tale she had to tell. For on the voyage out no fewer than 65 little ones had died and been buried at sea. In October of the same year two ships arrived at Auckland with 535 immigrants of whom 192 were children under 14 years of age. On the 18th January, 1842, when the Wellington settlement celebrated its second birthday, its population numbered 4000 and no fewer than six private schools had opened. On December 25th, 1850, when Santa Claus paid his second visit to the Otago settlers' children, he had over 400 to cater for, and no doubt was severely taxed to supply all their requirements in the strange new land to which their parents had brought them. All of which goes to prove, if proof were needed, that there was no lack of children aboard the historic "first ships"; and there was seemingly no lack of teachers either. Indeed on quite a number of ships regular school was held all the way out. Thus aboard the "Gertrude," which reached Wellington in November, 1841, classes were held by Mr. Henry Atkinson; while on the "John Wycliffe," which was the first ship to reach Otago (March 22nd, 1848), Mr. Henry Monson, aged 54, a carpenter, was teacher—salary £10, and Miss Westland, aged 24, a mechanic's daughter, "matron"—salary £5! And so on!

For the British emigrants who pioneered the New Zealand settlements were not like those mad-rushing men, both old and young, who, "unencumbered" with women folk or little ones, were before many years flocking in thousands from all parts of the world to the gold diggings of Otago and Westland. On the contrary, they were in very truth "judiciously selected young free settlers in equal proportion of the sexes"—most of them with quivers more or less well filled! As Wigram says of the Canterbury pilgrims:—*

* Sir H. F. Wigram, *The Story of Christchurch*, p. 95.

"These were not only the young days of the settlement, but were also the young days of most of the settlers, who had come out with their life's work before them,"

and demonstrates his statement with the striking fact that in March, 1857, when the settlement was already *over six years established*, out of 6,230 persons in the province, 5,577 were *under 40 years of age*! No wonder the promoters provided endowments for education!

Yet the advantages of universal education, though long recognised by the Scots, were far from being freely admitted in England. If all the children were educated, it was argued there would be no servants, no labouring classes to make life easy for the "gentle folk!" Then indeed would Jack be as good as his master, or, at least, Jack junior as good as, or possibly better than, his master's son, which was even worse to contemplate. About the year 1816 the House of Commons set up a Committee on the Education of the "Lower Orders" of the Metropolis, before which it was shown in evidence that at least 100,000 poor children in London were wholly without the means of education. Sixteen years passed and then a meagre £20,000 was voted for the education, not of London only, but of the whole country. From 1839 onwards, the date of the formation of the New Zealand Company, things began to improve and a Committee of the Privy Council, the genesis of an Education Department, was appointed to control the distribution of the gradually increasing annual grants made to the three religious bodies—Church of England, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic—whose schools were the only "common schools" in England. For those great institutions miscalled "public" schools, over rich with ancient endowments given in the first instance, like some of our own in New Zealand, for the benefit of "poor and destitute children," had become the close preserve of the social aristocracy of the country.

Consequently, when Governor Grey, under the Education Ordinance of 1847, proceeded to make annual grants to the Anglican, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic Churches for educational purposes in New Zealand, he was simply following the precedent now firmly established in the Old Country. Most of the money appropriated went, as we have seen, to provide free education, and, often, free food and clothing to the children of the natives in the Auckland Province. The remainder went, almost wholly, to subsidise the denominational schools of Auckland. But there was as yet no such thing as free education for European children. Even the aided schools charged fees—6d. or 9d. a week. If you were prosperous, schools with a higher

scale of fees provided a degree of exclusiveness proportionate to your purse, as in the Old Country; if you were very poor, your children just had to do without education, except what they could get at the Sunday schools or at home. For the State's obligation to provide free and compulsory education for the masses was at that time as little contemplated as that they should be forcibly fed with free food!

Yet to some the vision came. Indeed, the majority of the pioneers had left the old land for the new inspired with a genuine longing for a wider opportunity and a larger outlook both for themselves and their children. Their leaders were men of exceptionally noble character, idealists of strong personality, who fought hard to realise their ideals, prominent amongst which were the educational advantages which the new colonies promised for the children. At first and for some time the inevitable labours incidental to the establishment of the settlements precluded the emigrants from doing much in this direction, so that the majority of the first schools were private schools for the children of those who had come out as saloon passengers. But as time went on the individuality of the several settlements began to reveal itself in the manner in which they organised or failed to organise, an efficient system of common, that is, public schools.

Amongst the pioneers of Nelson was the original of Browning's "Waring," Alfred Domett,* himself a poet of no mean

* Alfred Domett was born at Camberwell Grove, Surrey, on the 20th of May, 1811. He was educated at Rugby and matriculated at Cambridge, where he studied for three years, but did not graduate. He travelled in America, Switzerland, and Italy, published a volume of verse, and was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1841. He was an intimate friend of Robert Browning. He came to Nelson in 1842 and remained in New Zealand for nearly 30 years. He was, for a time, editor of the *Nelson Examiner*. Upon the establishment of the Province of New Munster, he was appointed by Sir George Grey as Civil Secretary for that Province, and in 1851 he became Civil Secretary for the whole Colony. In 1854-6 he was Commissioner of Crown Lands for Hawke's Bay, and Napier grew up under his direction. It was he who named its streets after English men of letters—Carlyle, Tennyson, Browning, and so on. He was elected member of Parliament for Nelson, and succeeded Sir William Fox as Premier of the Colony in 1862. As a "Wakefield" colonist, his attitude towards the natives was never that of the missionaries, and from the time of the Wairau massacre it was distinctly unsympathetic. He was not, therefore, suited to the task of handling the difficult Maori problem of that time, and it was unfortunate that it fell to his Government to deal with a renewal of war with the native race. His ministry lasted for 18 months, and after its fall he continued his work in connection with Crown lands, and devoted himself to the production of his epic poem, "Ranolf and Amohia," to publish which he left for London in 1870. He died in England in 1887.

order, and later Premier of the Colony. He was, as we shall see, committeeman and honorary inspector of the first public school in Nelson established within a few months of the foundation of the settlement upon the non-sectarian principles of the British and Foreign School Society; and the subsequent organisation of the Nelson public schools upon the same broad lines excited his keen admiration.* Thirteen years later at Napier, then newly laid out, we shall find him occupying the chair at a meeting of subscribers called to promote the first public school in Hawke's Bay. One school, however, in Wellington—a private one conducted in a little cottage on the Terrace—he seems to have been responsible for closing. It was that of Mrs. George, the lady who became his wife.

† When in 1848, Lieutenant-Governor Eyre‡ invited the newly summoned Legislative Council of New Munster§ to consider the educational needs of the Province, Alfred Domett,

* Under heading "Education," Domett makes the following comments on the state of education in the Colony in 1849:—

"The proportion of those receiving daily education to the whole number between 2 and 14 years of age is 61.78 per cent. at Wellington, 56.89 at Nelson, and 35.55 at Otago. It is highly creditable to the founder and promoters of the Nelson Schools that the Nelson percentage is so high as it is, for the centesimal proportion of the inhabitants of the town and suburbs is in Nelson 42.4 to the whole population; while at Wellington (including Wadestown, but not Karori or Porirua Road in the suburbs) it is 56.4. This much greater dispersion of the population over rural districts makes provision for the education of the children by many degrees more difficult.

"But though we may perhaps congratulate ourselves on the whole that the state of education is no worse than it is, still, considering the circumstances of the great body of the inhabitants of the Province, the proportion above-stated of children between 5 and 15 years of age, without daily education, is much greater than should be allowed to continue. It will be a disgrace, indeed, if there ever be found a single adult, of British origin, born in New Zealand since its regular colonisation, unable to read and write. And a peculiar degradation will attach to a person of European extraction, deficient in these simple accomplishments, in a country the aboriginal and uncivilised inhabitants of which almost universally possess them."—From the Introduction to the *Statistics of New Munster, New Zealand, from 1841 to 1848* (Wellington, 1849).

† The Legislative Council of New Munster held only two sessions—a preliminary one in December, 1848, and a business one from 1st May to 28th June, 1849. It will be seen, therefore, that the subject of education was before the Council for practically the whole of the business session of 1849.—See Appendix A-4.

‡ The well-known Australian explorer.

§ i.e., all New Zealand south of a line extending due east from the mouth of the Patea River—roughly the Wellington Province and the South Island.

now Provincial Secretary, had developed very definite ideas upon the subject. With the support of the Provincial Treasurer, the Hon. H. W. Petre, a liberal-minded Catholic, he at once attacked the denominational system established by the Auckland Ordinance of that year, which the Catholic Petre actually proposed should be repealed and replaced by one establishing common schools on a non-sectarian basis. The Council refused to make any appropriations under the Ordinance within its territory and set up a Committee to prepare a report upon the question for presentation to His Excellency.

The recommendations of this report, which favoured what was known as the "Irish System" were as follows:—

"School districts were to be erected, rates to be levied, local committees set up; penalties were suggested for non-attendance without sufficient excuse; normal school teachers were to be procured from England to assist in establishing the system; while as to religion, no instruction was to be given in the *peculiar or distinguishing doctrines of any denomination of Christians* (sic)."

When Lieutenant Governor Eyre, no doubt inspired by Grey, urged delay, and no action was taken, the Secretary prepared a minute which was endorsed by three of his colleagues—D. Wakefield, D. Monro, and H. Seymour—and entered in the records, expressing strong dissent from the denominational system and from His Excellency's decision in the matter. This eloquent and to us, convincing document* forcefully urges "the need of education being provided for all—when other agencies fail," and expresses its author's conviction that "the schoolmaster will one day be confessed a more powerful protector than the judge." Domett characterises the denominational system of the Ordinance as one which "offers every sect a premium upon every proselyte," and "affords opportunities for the gradual subjection of the human mind to the influence of priestcraft." He considers it quite possible for the sympathetic teacher to inculcate the "*inspired morality of Christianity*, apart entirely from the distinguishing tenets of the sects." Failing this, with a prescience almost prophetic, he recommends a system entirely secular.

Here then in 1849 we have the whole scheme, much as we know it to-day—national schools, education districts, compulsory attendance, trained teachers, funds provided by taxation, non-sectarian instruction in the inspired morality of Christianity or, if that is not possible, then straight out secular

* For text of this important Report and Minute, see Appendix A-4.

schools. It was the vision of "one born out of due season" of whom we are not unprepared to read that he was "a man of no ordinary type, of great intellectual capacity and of high culture, thoroughly genuine and hateful of sham."

How simple it all seems to us from the vantage ground of our present achievements. And what a different tale we should have to tell if Domett, Petre and their friends could have secured legislative sanction for their proposals in 1849. Instead, we shall have an intricate but interesting record of settlers left to their own resources, each little community in its own way providing for its own needs with varying measures of success, until, with the institution of the Provincial Governments in 1853-4, the subject is again brought into the field of practical politics. After much ploughing and scarifying of the ground a promising crop of local Education Ordinances and Acts resulted, and high hopes of a rich harvest were raised. But in the North the yield was small, the soil being poor and the seasons stormy; whereas the South, with fields more richly manured and milder weather conditions, reaped an abundant harvest. As time went on, and comparisons began to be made, many felt, as Domett had done, that a national system of education was the only remedy for this uneven and unsatisfactory state of affairs, and in the House of Representatives this feeling began to find vigorous expression. But the time was not yet ripe. The backward Provinces were given another opportunity to provide the necessary educational facilities. And in 1871-2 we find a fresh crop of new Acts and Ordinances sown in the endeavour to preserve the Provincial educational fields from nationalisation. It was all in vain, and at length Domett's prophetic protest was vindicated, when the House of Representatives, in which by the irony of fate Sir George Grey, the protagonist of both denominationalism and provincialism, then occupied the Premier's seat, passed into law the great Education Act of 1877. Thus at last was given to New Zealand that national, free, compulsory, and secular system of education, of which Domett in 1849 foretold the advent in the following words:—

"I believe that the notion of *religious* (sic.) education by the State must be abandoned, and that ultimately the only practical system of national education will be found to be—one entirely secular."

PART III.

DIVERGING SYSTEMS:
A SURVEY OF THE EDUCATIONAL
ORGANISATION OF THE MAIN
SETTLEMENTS.

ARGUMENT.

Following upon a further examination of the distinctive racial and religious characteristics of the main settlements, the history of the first steps taken in each of the settlements to provide for the education of the children is given in turn. These initial steps are shown to be in strict accordance with the differences discovered in the origin, circumstances, and racial and religious characteristics of the several settlements. Thus we find in Auckland the churches taking the lead in the establishment of schools, and the denominational system confirmed by monetary grants from Sir George Grey and later by Provincial legislation. In Wellington the private schools so completely occupied the field that, although Provincial legislation in 1855-7 made provision for a secular system of public education, no schools were ever established under it in the city of Wellington itself, and not a great many in the Provincial district surrounding the city. In Nelson the unsectarian public school system voluntarily established by the Nelson School Society later received legislative endorsement at the hands of the Provincial Council, which developed thereon the only system of education that remained unchanged throughout the Provincial period, and the one that ultimately became the basis of the national system adopted for the whole Colony in 1877. In Otago a narrow, but thorough, church-controlled system of public schools was established upon the Scottish model; while in Canterbury the English system was followed of giving monetary grants in a lump sum to the denominational heads, the lion's share of which went into the practically unrestricted control of the Anglican bishop. A detailed analysis of the first Provincial education laws is supplemented by a series of conspectuses showing also the course of their subsequent amendment down to the close of the Provincial period. These will be found in Appendix B-2. A record of the names of the pioneer teachers in the several settlements will be found in Appendix D.

CHAPTER X.

RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES.

A more exhaustive enquiry into the racial characteristics and denominational distinctions of the original settlers who laid the foundations of the several Provinces of New Zealand is necessary before any attempt can be made to trace their educational evolution. In accordance with the very interesting and intimate connection between geography and religion, as revealed by the graphs which illustrate this section, the Irish and Scottish elements of the early population of the Colony were almost wholly Roman Catholic and Presbyterian respectively, while the English element, although principally Episcopalian, contained, in some settlements, especially in New Plymouth, a similarly geographical proportion of Non-conformists, chiefly Methodists. From this point of view we shall discuss the constituent elements, first of the population of Auckland; then of the New Zealand Company's earlier settlements; and finally of the specially denominational and racial settlements of the South Island.

* (1) *Auckland*.—"Irishmen first appeared in the new field as independent settlers about 1830. A number of them obtaining their ticket-of-leave, or effecting their escape from the political prison gangs of Australia, found a sanctuary which was not likely to be violated amongst the savage tribes of the North. A distinguished countryman, Lieut. McDonnell, established a dockyard on the Hokianga about 1831, and in a few years a whole village of Irish and half-caste families had assembled there. Amongst them the Roman Catholic mission of Bishop Pompallier had its chief strength. Under the parish system of emigration Irish peasants were encouraged to join this little settlement and thus automatically the Hibernian community at Auckland became an institution of established repute. There was practically no organisation of Irish emigration. The peasants joined in the stream because their family ties drew them towards their friends, now generally well-to-do. Two-thirds of the 20,000 emigrants who reached New South Wales in 1840-1 were Irishmen, and Auckland, lying adjacent across the strip of ocean, received its quota."

* G. H. Scholefield, *New Zealand in Evolution*, p. 40.

The special nature of the early population of New South Wales is well known. Consequently, says J. S. Marais,* in his recent admirable study of the early colonisation of New Zealand "it was natural that a society drawn chiefly from New South Wales should not compare favourably with the carefully selected societies of the Company's settlement."

Further a very large proportion of the military pensioners sent to Auckland in 1846 and 1848 were also Irishmen, of whom the Auditor-General of New Zealand reported unfavourably as emigrants, commenting on "their advanced age and infirmities, the unexpected force of their habits of dependence, and their lack of the energy, perseverance and sobriety that distinguish the non-military emigrants."†

The consequence was that in Auckland Irish Catholics constituted a very numerous and important section of the community. In the first Auckland Provincial Council twelve of the twenty-six members were Irish, whereas out of a total of 117 members of the first Provincial Councils of all the other Provinces taken together, the sum total of Irish members was only nine.‡ This is a factor of importance in appreciating the denominational character of the first Auckland Education Act. It also throws light upon the appointment later of an Irishman (Mr. R. J. O'Sullivan)§ as the first Inspector of schools in the Auckland Province under *The Common Schools Act, 1869*. Nor can we forget that it was from Auckland as a base that the devoted and cultured French priests and Irish nuns of those early years, carried the standard of their Church and their educational system to the uttermost parts of the Colony.

To sum up, of the total Irish population in New Zealand in 1858, the year of the final dissolution of the New Zealand Company, and immediately prior to the beginning of the gold fields influx,|| 60.91 per cent. were settled in Auckland, where they constituted 27.77 per cent. of the population of the Province.

* J. S. Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

† Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 162: This criticism was made, not only of the Irish, but of all the military pensioners.

‡ J. J. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

§ Mr. O'Sullivan also occupied the position of Clerk to the Provincial Council, Secretary of the Education Board, and Secretary of the Grammar School Commissioners.—Rev. W. Taylor, *The Education of the People*, p. 24.

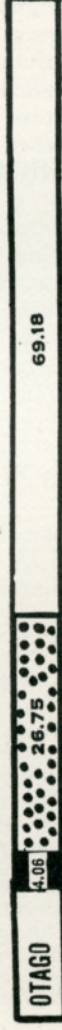
|| A very large proportion of the gold fields influx was also Irish, drawn according to Dr. Scholefield, "largely from the malcontents of Ireland."—(*New Zealand in Evolution*, p. 41). This Irish element was particularly strong on the gold fields of Westland, and is reflected in the strength of the Roman Catholic schools of that Province. See Chapter XX.

Of the Scottish emigrants to New Zealand 43.94 per cent. settled in Otago, where they comprised 69.18 per cent. of the population of that Province. Auckland came next with a 16.89 per cent. Scottish element, and Wellington a close third with 16.63 per cent. Under the regulations of the Government relating to the sale of lands, half the proceeds of such sale was to go to assisting emigrants to New Zealand. Hence, following on the phenomenally successful first land sales at Auckland, £12,000 was devoted to the emigration of Scottish folk "from the neighbourhood of Paisley, which was experiencing a period of acute distress."* Three vessels were despatched in 1842, and, although considerable difficulty was experienced in securing sufficient emigrants to fill the ships, eventually 779 passengers embarked. The majority of these, not over burdened with riches to begin with, fell victims to the land speculators on their arrival, and in consequence remained in straitened circumstances for a considerable time. The Presbyterians occupied at first, therefore, a position of little influence in the community, and, being for many years without a minister of their own denomination, were denied any part in the educational scheme set up under Governor Grey's *Education Ordinance, 1847*. Furthermore, in the allocation of land endowments for educational purposes by Grey, they had little, if any, share. Ten years later, when the Provincial system came into operation, things were different. They had become established both as individuals and as a church, and took their full share in the educational life of the community.

The English-born element in Auckland was much smaller than in any other Province, except Otago, constituting only 55.33 per cent. of the total population. Of it the Anglican Church claimed the great bulk, but the Methodists (or Wesleyans, as they were then chiefly called), although only 8.53 per cent. of the total, were strongly entrenched amongst the Maoris, and

* The Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigrant Commissioners of the British Government in reference to the three emigrant vessels—"Jane Gifford," "Duchess of Argyll," and "Westminster"—sent to Auckland in 1842 show that these carried 779 passengers, of whom 37 (mostly young children) died *en route*. The report goes on to say:—"The people were drawn from parts of Scotland where distress had been prevalent." Later 91 Parkhurst (reformatory) boys were sent—an experiment which proved far from successful. Also in 1847 about 500 military settlers, with their wives and families, were sent out to Auckland at the public expense. These were "veteran out-pensioners" of the 58th Regiment, in reference to whom the following appears:—"Many of these emigrants being from Ireland, and most of the men infirm and aged, much sickness and mortality took place on the voyage out." Indeed, on one ship, the "Clifton," out of 300 passengers, 46 died.—From *The Handbook for New Zealand, 1848* (E. J. Wakefield); p. 369.

RELATIVE PERCENTAGES
OF IRISH, ENGLISH, AND
SCOTTISH-BORN SETTLERS
IN THE FIRST SIX
SETTLEMENTS—1858 Census



were well organised and ably led by their Superintendent, the Rev. Walter Lawry. As to the remainder, an analysis of the figures shows that Auckland was the most cosmopolitan of the Provinces, containing 120 out of 188 Hebrews (63.83 per cent.) at that time living in the whole Colony; 169 out of 306 United States emigrants (54.9 per cent.); 738 out of 1,837 emigrants from British Dominions other than Australia (63.70 per cent.); and even 173 out of the 580 French settlers in New Zealand (35.52 per cent.).

2. *Wellington, New Plymouth and Nelson*.—Of the New Zealand Company's settlers Marais* writes thus:—

“Of the sixty-three ships despatched to New Zealand between May, 1839, and May, 1844, only three sailed from Scottish ports. The large majority were despatched from Gravesend, though a few also sailed from Deal, Plymouth, and Liverpool. . . . We may thus safely assume that the bulk of the emigrants during this first period were drawn from *the counties in the vicinity of London*.”

The same writer tells us that, in the first enthusiasm which the Company's scheme aroused, agents were appointed in no fewer than fifty-two towns of Great Britain.† The Earl of Glasgow, the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Argyll and other gentlemen and noblemen acted as “Extraordinary Directors” for the west of Scotland. There were agencies at Belfast and Dublin as well as one for the whole of Ireland. Large public meetings were held in the Guild Halls of London and Glasgow and in the Mansion House in Dublin. The point of all this is that the Irishmen and Scotchmen who came out to Wellington and Nelson were not haphazard emigrants, but “specially selected young men and women in equal proportion of the sexes”—not aged, or infirm, or in distressed circumstances. As regards Wellington, beyond emphasising the fact that the English emigrants were chiefly drawn from London and its vicinity, nothing further requires to be added but the actual figures, viz., that the Irish, in 1858, constituted 9.74 per cent. of the population; the Scotch, 16.63 per cent. and the English 73.66 per cent.; and that denominationally the Roman Catholics numbered 10.61 per cent. of the whole; the Presbyterians, 14.55 per cent.; the Anglicans 54.6 per cent.; and the Non-conformists 20.23 per cent., including the Methodists 13.52 per cent.

* Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 46, *et seqq.*

The New Plymouth settlement was the most thoroughly geographical of them all, not even excepting the later settlements of Otago and Canterbury. So enthusiastically was the scheme of colonisation taken up in Devon and Cornwall that the assembly which gathered together on October 30th, 1840, to celebrate the sailing of the expedition, was described in the local paper as "one of the most brilliant ever collected on any similar occasion." The settlers were almost 100 per cent. English, and nearly 50 per cent. Non-conformists. New Plymouth was probably the most isolated of the New Zealand settlements, being out of the usual track of vessels. Bishop Selwyn described it as "terra incognita." It was also the most compact, and its population the most nearly stationary, owing to the restricted area to which it was confined through the protracted difficulties with the Government and the Maoris regarding land titles—difficulties which culminated in the disastrous wars of the 'sixties. There was, therefore, little admixture of "foreign" elements, and seventeen years after the first emigrants arrived, the settlement was still 92.28 per cent. English, and 42.97 per cent. Non-conformist, of which latter element the Methodists constituted three-fourths.

Nelson, in 1858, contained 5.74 per cent. of Irish, 14.17 per cent. of Scottish, and 80.08 per cent. of English settlers. Denominationally the Roman Catholics constituted 6.34 per cent., the Presbyterians 12.01 per cent., of the population. Of the remainder 54.99 per cent. were Anglican, 11.5 per cent. Wesleyan, and 15.14 per cent. other sects, including a considerable body of Baptists, as well as a large Lutheran (German) "colony." To this evangelical element brotherly love was a very real thing, and, combining under the leadership of such men as the Quaker surveyor, Tuckett, Matthew Campbell, and others, the "United Christians," as they called themselves, gave a set to the religious and community life of Nelson which has continued to this day a well-recognised feature of the "Sunny City." Even the Anglicans in Nelson developed a tradition of evangelical and low church leanings, while religious instruction in the Catholic schools was given after the hours for secular teaching, in order that Protestant children might attend without any suspicion of discord. In the Province of Nelson alone could one have seen the Anglican Bishop, the Roman Catholic priest, the Lutheran pastor, and the Presbyterian and Wesleyan ministers all sitting together and working harmoniously on the Provincial Board of Education.

3. *Otago and Canterbury.*—The Scottish and Presbyterian character of the Otago settlement has become almost legendary.

But there were settlers of other race and creed in Otago before Captain Cargill and the Rev. Thomas Burns brought the "Wickliffe" and the "Philip Laing" to Otago Heads. That this non-Scottish element was both considerable and annoying to the newcomers is clear from the record of the first census of Otago, taken in March, 1849, just a year after the arrival of the "first ships." The manuscript original of this interesting document is preserved in the Hocken Library in Dunedin. Of a total population of 745 persons, 476 were recorded as being Presbyterians, 161 Church of England, 8 Methodists, 7 Roman Catholics, 1 Independent, and 92 *Unknown!* Immediately below which is entered in a neat, firm hand the following illuminating comment (the italics are ours):—

The number who had declined upon this point to satisfy the gentleman who took the census appears large, and is not easily accounted for. It can hardly attach to *our Scotch families*, who are more or less known to each other, and also by documents from home. *But the secret, whatever it is, will not keep another year.*

There was of course a considerable whaling settlement at Waikouaiti dating back to 1835, with a Wesleyan chapel and Minister from 1840 onwards. Mr. John Jones,* the unconventional and wealthy head of this settlement, no less than the Rev. Charles Creed, the Wesleyan Minister there at the time when

SKETCH OF MR. JOHN JONES.

* John Jones was a native of New South Wales, said to be of Welsh extraction. By daring speculation and business talent he gained a start in the race for fortune, and by some may be thought to have gained the favour of the partial goddess. His connection with Waikouaiti began in 1838, but he came to live in the locality in 1843. His place of residence was at Matanaka. Of a domineering spirit, the only employer of labour, property-holder, and assuming to possess such a vast tract of country, he was sometimes designated "the king of Waikouaiti." He was without doubt the most important personage in the south of New Zealand in these primitive days. This early colonist united a variety of enterprises, of which he was the sole proprietor and principal manager. He was at the same time farmer, runholder, shipowner, moneylender, commission agent, and general merchant. When the first immigrants settled in Dunedin and neighbourhood he took them under his fostering care. He regulated their markets and supplies of food; articles were bought and sold according to his mandate. The first inhabitants of Dunedin could live in luxury or on scant fare at the caprice or dictation of this one man. Without the vessels of Mr. Jones visiting Dunedin Harbour, the Otago settlement for some years would have had little communication with the outside world. Cast on a peculiar time, this man partook somewhat of its character. Before regular settlement the opinion of John Jones was the law, and the means of its enforcement his strong right hand. Living for a time among the natives in their rudest state, and exhibiting an inexhaustible profusion of good things pecu-

the "Otago settlers" arrived, must have been painful thorns in the side of the earnest Free Kirk leaders and their flock. Of this flock Marais says:—

"They did not represent a segment of its (Scotland's) society, for, though eminently respectable, they were drawn almost entirely from the poorer classes of the community."*

liarily acceptable to them, and bestowing on them comforts apparently for nothing—for they reckoned their land of little value—they looked up to him as a benefactor and special friend. . . .

The land which Mr. Jones considered himself to have purchased from the natives would be not less than 15 miles in length by 10 miles in breadth. The sea formed the eastern boundary, Pleasant River on the north, and somewhere about Omimi on the south; while the western boundary was very indefinite. Several hills are mentioned, which it would be difficult now to identify by the names then given to them. Lake Wanaka is referred to as marking a western limit. His own expressed notion was that he should have at least 20,000 acres. It is said that a Maori chief went with him to the summit of one of the high hills in the district, and endowed him with the possession of all the country in view for a few blankets, muskets, and gallons of rum. Whatever truth there may be in the story, and it is not unlikely, his well-known aspirations reached these bounds. He entertained the idea of having no rival proprietor from Blueskin on the south to the northern boundary of Goodwood, and from the sea westward as far as at that time had been explored or was known to Europeans. No one might cultivate a yard of soil or graze a goose within that vast territory without liberty from Mr. Jones; 100,000 acres would be nearer the size of country he aimed at than the modest 20,000 acres he insisted on having conveyed to him by Crown grant. But he found others in the field equally as grasping as himself, who, although not having the means to buy as he had, had the power to hinder to some extent the one great monopoliser. . . . He passed for a sort of giant, a man of power, for a few years among the feeble remnant of a native tribe, the company of dissipated whalers, and the small colony of Otago settlers; but the rush of population to the auriferous fields of Otago in 1861, and the social forces connected therewith pressing on him from all sides, irritated and worried him. Rival merchants chafed him; associated capital rose above him in the control of trade. The commercial and civil life that surged around him he could neither comprehend nor sympathise with. As he was thus sinking out of view by the uprising vigorous colonial institutions, death suddenly snatched him from the struggle with the new state of things. At an early stage of Waikouaiti settlement he built and endowed the Episcopal Church with a number of township sections, and gave sites with donations to the Presbyterians, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic inhabitants for churches. He died on 16th March, 1869, at the age of 60, and was buried at Dunedin in a vault in the Southern Cemetery. His wife, Sarah Sizemore, died in 1864, aged 57.—From the *History of Waikouaiti*, by Rev. John Christie; written in 1880, published in 1927 (Christchurch Press Company, Limited).

* Marais, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 309.

And the same author quotes Captain Cargill himself as saying that only a few persons "of a higher grade" had joined the "colony."

The Scotsmen were none the less typical of all that was best in their race. Although the settlement grew very slowly—for their friends at home waited cautiously to see how things were turning out before they followed the original band—and although other elements obtained a foothold, the Presbyterians kept the reins in their own hands, with results in the main both creditable to themselves and beneficial to the whole Colony. Dr. Scholefield,* in his able review of the evolution of New Zealand, pays the following tribute of appreciation:—

The Otago settlers . . . were drawn chiefly from the agricultural and artisan classes—poor men with rich aspirations. True, the Scots settlement was not without its dower of talent; but generally this was the casual talent of humble people. . . .

Otago soon became the model New Zealand society. Its enlightened institutions nurtured many of the great political figures of the later decades; its educational institutions produced most of the thinkers, professional men, and officials for the whole of New Zealand."

The national and denominational proportions of the population of Otago in 1858 were as follows:—Scottish, 69.18 per cent.; English, 26.75 per cent.; Irish, 4.06 per cent.; Presbyterian, 65.74 per cent.; Anglican, 25.5 per cent.; Roman Catholic, 2.02 per cent.; others, 6.93 per cent., including Methodist 1.58 per cent.

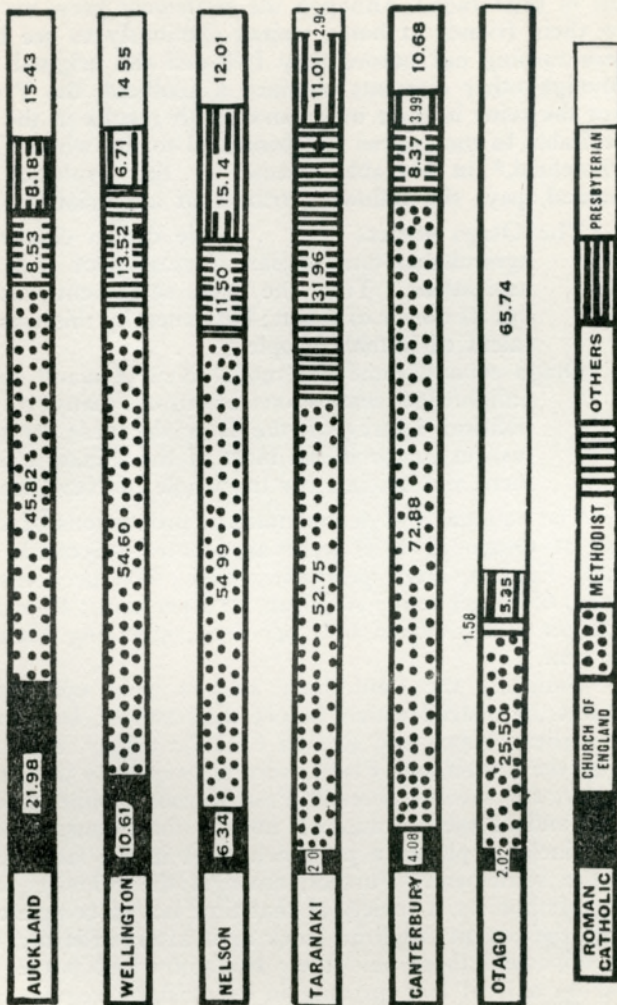
Similarly the Canterbury settlers were not the first to inhabit the district which, before their arrival, bore the name of an earlier French and Roman Catholic colony, that of Akaroa. Even the Canterbury Plains were not virgin to the English emigrants; for several Scottish Presbyterian families had preceded them and of these a number, notably the Deans, the Hays, and the Sinclairs, played a prominent part in the later development of the settlement. Further, amongst the colonists were not a few Methodists, a society at that time not so completely severed from the parent Anglican stock as it afterwards became. Even on shipboard these held their testimony and prayer meetings; and on arrival lost no time in establishing regular services at both Lyttelton and Christchurch.

Canterbury, according to Marais,† was "the best and largest colony that had yet emigrated to New Zealand. It left between

* Scholefield, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

† Marais, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

RELATIVE PERCENTAGES OF THE RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN THE
FIRST SIX SETTLEMENTS--1858 CENSUS.



September, 1850, and January, 1851, in eight ships, carrying between them 1,512 passengers, of whom no less than 24 per cent. had paid for cabin passages and were thus possessed of a certain amount of capital." They too, like the Scotch in Otago, were rich in ideals, and dreamed of being able to send out within two years 15,000 emigrants* whose spiritual and educational needs were to be provided for by a Bishop, an Arch-deacon, 20 clergymen, 20 schoolmasters, properly equipped with churches, parsonage houses and schools.

"At the head of the educational system, which was to be under the control of the Church, there was to be a College capable of taking rank with similar institutions in this country (England), from which, as from a central point, the education, not merely of the Canterbury settlement, nor of New Zealand alone, but of the Australian Colonies, even of India itself, may in a measure be supplied."

How different the reality was from all this will appear later, but it is worth noting that in all three bishoprics where the Anglicans projected large educational schemes, the ultimate result fell very far short of the object aimed at.

This abandonment of their original ideals is in marked contrast with the uncompromising and extraordinarily successful development of the Roman Catholic educational system, the more particularly when the disproportionate numerical strength and weakness of the English and Irish populations respectively are taken into account. Moreover it was not until Scottish Otago had shown the way that English Canterbury set her educational house in order, and followed with like success the splendid example set by her originally humbler and less pretentious Southern rival.

The percentages for Canterbury in 1858 corresponding to those given for the other Provinces, are as follows:—English, 84.11 per cent.; Scottish, 9.56 per cent.; Irish, 6.33 per cent.; Anglican, 72.88 per cent.; Presbyterians, 10.68 per cent.; Methodist, 8.37 per cent.; Roman Catholic, 4.08 per cent.; others, 3.99 per cent.

Of the later Provinces, it is sufficient to say that Hawke's Bay approximated very closely to Wellington, from which district its settlers were chiefly drawn; Marlborough similarly to Nelson; and Southland to Otago. Westland, on the other hand, the mushroom goldfields Province, contained a very powerful Irish Catholic element, and the denominational system of education was consequently adopted there.

* *Ibid.*, p. 317.

CHAPTER XI.

AUCKLAND.

A NURSERY OF THE DENOMINATIONAL SYSTEM.

In the course of a concise summary of the history of education in New Zealand before the introduction of the national system, *The New Zealand Year Book* (1927) says, in the section relating to the Auckland Province:—

“ . . . at the end of 1872 there were *no common schools* (as opposed to private or denominational) either in the City of Auckland or its suburbs or in the goldfields townships or the pensioner settlements.”

Mr. John Barr, City Librarian and official historian of the City of Auckland, says:—

“Until the passing of the Education Act of 1877 elementary education had been carried on by private and denominational schools.

“ . . . When the education system passed into the care of the Provincial Council, that body passed in 1857 an Act for the better regulation of education, but the Council was too hard pressed financially to be able to do much.”*

The Rev. Wm. Morley, D.D., in his *History of the Methodist Church in New Zealand*, says in reference to the early years of Auckland's history:—

“For years the people were in humble circumstances. Most of them had come to better their condition. They were not over burdened with this world's goods and it was an up-hill struggle.”

“At that time and for years after there was no Government system of education. Provision for it was left to the Churches and to private enterprise.”

And later in connection with the establishment of a Wesleyan college in the town:—

* *The City of Auckland*, by John Barr, pp. 157-8.

- * "From 1845 to 1850, the missionaries of New Zealand were greatly concerned about the education of their children. All the towns were small and the educational facilities almost *nil*."

But we have other, and better, because contemporary and local, authority for the statement that there were no common or public schools in Auckland in 1872; for it is, in fact, taken from the Report of the Auckland Education Board itself for the year 1875. Furthermore in a lengthy leading article upon Grey's *Education Ordinance* of 1847 and the state of education then existing in the "Colony," the *Auckland Southern Cross* of June 10th, 1848, says in unequivocal terms:—†

- "We have no schools, and our youth are left to grow up in ignorance. It is the Government alone who are to blame, as they have the funds and do not apply them—and however desirous parents may be to obtain instruction for their children, they cannot create the necessary schools for the purpose.

- "Nor ought we to forget that our best settlers no sooner find themselves in independent circumstances than they consider it necessary to leave the colony for the sole purpose of obtaining that education for their children which the Government, now possessing the means, ought to provide for them here."

The *Auckland Southern Cross* was, however, a paper notoriously opposed to the Government, and allowance must be made for a certain amount of partisan as well as journalistic exaggeration in the above statement of the case. Still, for a population somewhere in the neighbourhood of six thousand, the educational facilities were unquestionably inadequate. And even ten years later the dearth of teachers in proportion to the ever increasing population was still so serious that special clauses were inserted in *The Waste Lands Act, 1857*, offering a free grant of 80 acres of land as a special inducement to all teachers coming to the Province and continuing in active school work for a period of five years.

This provision, together with the new Education Act of the same year, effected a very considerable improvement, until, in 1867, the repeal of the latter destroyed for a time the whole educational organisation of the Province. This is well stated by one of the teachers who came out in 1865 and occupied a

* Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

† See Appendix A-3.

prominent position under the denominational system then in full force:—

* “There can be no doubt that the Act of 1857 worked very beneficially for this Province during the ten years of its existence. It was the means of raising a considerable number of teachers, many of whom came from the mother country where they had schools and incomes which were given up—they were induced to sever ties and break up homes for the greater benefits held out to them. Teachers whilst employed under the Act were generally satisfied; few complaints were heard except from places where the pupils were too few to enable the teacher to obtain his £50 per annum—even under the provision of clause 8. When in full operation the Act supported about 70 schools at a cost of nearly £4,000 per annum.”

As we have seen the early population of Auckland, apart from Government officials and their families, consisted principally of traders, speculators, immigrants of the poorer sort and military pensioners, mostly Irish. Although the Church of England had by far the largest number of native mission stations and Maori adherents, the Wesleyan and Roman Catholic Churches were stronger and better organised than in any other part of New Zealand. Indeed, Auckland was the only district in which, as we shall see, the Wesleyan Church successfully established anything like a school system. Consequently there gradually came into existence a number of denominational and private schools. Under the Ordinance of 1847 State aid could be given to those of the Anglican, Roman and Wesleyan Churches only, a limitation which, at the time of the enactment of the statute, had not been allowed to pass without a vigorous protest from the Presbyterian section of the community.† Private enterprise was therefore heavily handicapped and this accounts for the large proportion of denominational schools in

* Rev. Wm. Taylor, *The Education of the People*, Auckland, 1870, p. 11. See also pages 41 *et seqq.* of *Voices from Auckland—The Official Emigrants' Handbook* published in London in 1862 by A. F. Ridgway and Sons, General Agents for the Province of Auckland, New Zealand.

† This Memorial, which bore the signatures of 253 members of the Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist Churches, was duly laid before the Auckland Provincial Council. *The Southern Cross*, October 16th, 1847, tells what became of it thus—“The Memorial was read, which gave rise to a discussion as to the language used in it, which being considered informal and objectionable, the Memorial was withdrawn.”

Auckland as contrasted with the comparative fewness of such schools in Wellington, where they received no aid from the local Government. And although ten years later the Auckland Provincial Council, in continuing the system of State aid, broadened the basis of its grants by making all "well-conducted schools" eligible therefor, the denominational system was by that time so well entrenched within the district that there were few private teachers who could carry on without at least the semblance of organic association with one or other of the principal churches.

The first official reference to education in New Zealand after it became a British Colony is contained in the Blue Book* (unprinted) for 1840. It is as follows:—

"*Education*.—Note: The information required to be furnished in the Blue Book under this head cannot from the circumstances of the Colony be supplied in the form therein laid down. The following statement will, however, give all that has yet been done.

"*Europeans*.—For the education of the children of the mechanics sent from Sydney in the 'Westminster' to be attached to this Government, a schoolmaster and mistress (Henry and Lucy Didsbury) were engaged at the respective salaries of £40 and £20 per annum. The school was held in a raupo house erected for that purpose, and contained from 20 to 25 children, who were instructed in the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic from the 1st of June to the end of the year. There are likewise two schools conducted by the missionaries, one for about 25 boys at Waimate under the charge of the Rev. R. Taylor, and the other for about 12 girls at Paihia under the charge of Mrs. and Miss Williams.

"*Aborigines*.—The educational establishment for the instruction of natives consists of two infant schools, one at Paihia and the other at Kerikeri, in the Bay of Islands, conducted by the missionaries. There are likewise schools established in almost every native village professing Christianity under the charge of native schoolmasters, who are superintended by the missionaries. In all of these reading and writing are taught, and in some of them the simple rules of arithmetic."

The English school above named, which must have been conducted at Russell, the first seat of the Government, was

* Copy preserved in the Archives of the General Assembly Library, Wellington.

therefore the first "Public School" in New Zealand. It appears to have been discontinued when the capital was transferred to Auckland; for in the Blue Book for 1842 the names of Mr. and Mrs. Didsbury are no longer to be found, being replaced by those of the respective teachers of the two denominational schools already there established.

(a) *The Anglican Schools*.—Undoubtedly the first European school in New Zealand was that conducted at Paihia for the children of the missionaries, at which, in December, 1831, the Rev. H. Williams reports 14 boys and 10 girls in attendance. In 1838, the school having been transferred to Waimate, there were 38 boys and 18 girls, besides an infant department, and the older boys are reported as making "steady progress with their Greek and Latin." These were the schools referred to in the Blue Book report as being in 1840 under the respective charge of the Rev. R. Taylor (boys) and Mrs. and Miss Williams (girls).

When Bishop Selwyn reached Auckland in 1842, he at once established himself at Waimate, and there founded the Collegiate Institution of St. John's,* which, he hoped, would be "the nursery of the ministry and the centre of all sound learning and religious education for the islands of New Zealand." The boys' school hitherto conducted by the missionaries appears to have become from that date an integral part of the larger institution. The College, which comprised a theological seminary with separate day and boarding schools for English and Maori children, was intended to be the nucleus of an ambitious scheme of education extending over the whole of his huge diocese.† Wherever it was practicable church schools were to be established in the different parishes and districts, and these were to be linked with the College.‡ At St. John's itself the theological students were required to take charge of or assist in the various departmental schools. The first tutors of the College were the Reverends Thomas Whytehead, M.A., W. G. Cotton and —

* A beginning was made before the end of 1842; but in after years the Bishop named January 6th, 1843, as Foundation Day.—Rev. J. K. Davis, *The History of St. John's College*, p. 10.

† J. K. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

‡ "The order of deacons is held officially responsible for the management of the schools and the public charities of the diocese. . . .

"The surest way by which a candidate for Holy Orders can recommend himself to the notice of the Bishop will be by diligence and skill in the management of a school. No permanent distinction will be drawn between the offices of clergyman and schoolmaster, and it is the object of the diocesan system to provide that every schoolmaster shall become a clergyman."—*Ibid.*, pp. 52-3.

Dudley, all of whom were brought out by the Bishop from the Old Country. In July, 1843, the enrolment was:—Students for Holy Orders, 7; English boys' school, 7; Maori boys' school, 11. Amongst the first named was H. F. Butt, M.R.C.S., who had charge of the College "hospital" until, after his ordination later in the same year, he accompanied the Bishop to Nelson, where he was appointed assistant curate to the Rev. C. L. Reay, and was for many years the principal teacher at the Bishop's School in that town. In 1844, owing to certain differences with the Church Missionary Society, the Institution was transferred to Tamaki, some five or six miles west of Auckland itself. Here several hundred of acres were purchased with part of certain money left by the Rev. T. Whytehead, M.A., Senior Tutor of the College, who had died but a few weeks after its establishment, and various buildings costing in all £5000 were erected, the money being subscribed by English friends of the Bishop. In October, 1846, Selwyn reports a total of 130 persons at the institution, including 33 at the English boys' school. In 1847, in the Legislative Council, the Colonial Secretary in moving the second reading of the Education Bill referred in eulogistic terms to St. John's, "where" he said, "the most efficient instruction—secular, religious and industrial—was given to a large number of both races at an exceedingly small expense."

The teacher of the English boys' school in 1846 was Mr. Hutton. Some three years later the Revs. J. F. Lloyd, M.A., and C. J. Abraham, B.D., were added to the Bishop's staff, and in 1853, when the College was reorganised and the Maori department discontinued, the latter was placed in charge, Mr. Lloyd becoming second Vicar of St. Paul's Church, Auckland, upon the death of the Rev. J. F. Churton, its founder. The boys' school, however, was too far from Auckland to serve the needs of the townspeople, in consequence of which in 1855 a new Grammar School was opened by the Church. This was conducted for a short time in Karangahape Road and afterwards in Parnell. The Rev. John Kinder, M.A., was its first headmaster, and remained till 1872, when he was promoted to the charge of the Collegiate Institution at Tamaki, being succeeded at Parnell by Mr. Jas. Adams, B.A. The limitations of space preclude us at this point from going farther with the chequered, but extremely interesting, history of these institutions.* One more than usually interesting fact, however, deserves to be recorded here, namely, that amongst the many scholarships which in the course of time came to be founded in connection with St. John's College, is one established in memory of our old

* See Rev. J. K. Davis, *History of St. John's College, Tamaki*.

friend John King, the last of Marsden's historic band of settlers. Moreover, this well-deserved memorial endowment was established by his own son, James King,* who was, as we recollect, himself the first white child born and baptised in the Dominion.

Among the basic principles which actuated the policy of both the missionaries and the Government, the Europeanisation of the native race occupied a foremost place. To this end no opportunity was lost to encourage the coeducation of the youth of both races. Hence the number of trusts established, so we have seen, especially under Grey's regime, with this object. Hence also the establishment, by each of the three missionary denominations, of elaborate native institutions side by side with those organised for the European population. It is, therefore, impossible not to mention here, as an integral part of the Church of England educational organisation, the famous St. Stephen's Native College, which was established by Bishop Selwyn, in 1849-1850, as a boarding "school for both races and sexes of New Zealand and the islands of the Pacific." The funds were provided in the first instance by the Bishop himself, and the school was opened at the beginning of 1850 under the charge of the Rev. G. A. and Mrs. Kissling, the first pupils being Maori girls. The presence of the girls created difficulties which proved unsurmountable and this part of the scheme was soon abandoned. The Europeans from the first preferred to send their children to their own schools. Hence St. Stephen's, despite the intentions of its founder, assumed its main character of a school for Maori boys.

The first Anglican School in Auckland itself was the parochial school opened in September, 1842, in connection with Old St. Paul's Church in Manukau Road, by the Vicar, the Rev. J. F. Churton, LL.B. At this school, according to *The Auckland Times*, December 22nd, 1842, "the average number of children in constant attendance" was "not less than 70." The school was conducted by a master and a mistress, whose names are recorded in the Blue Book for 1842, viz., George and Sarah Lilly. A couple of years later we read of Mr. and Mrs. Lilly's pupils being publicly examined by their minister in the presence of Bishop Selwyn, Mrs. Fitz Roy (the Governor's wife), and other notable visitors.

Later on, especially after the institution of the system of Provincial grants for education, other parochial schools were established in the different parishes and districts, the following

* See pp. 20 and 43.

being a list* of Anglican "aided" schools in operation in 1854, with the teacher's names, and the enrolments, taken from the Blue Book for that year:—

St. Paul's Parochial—W. Bates and Miss Chisholm	....	90
St. Matthew's Parochial—Mr. Smith and Mrs. Morley	....	105
St. Stephen's Boarding School for Natives—Rev. G. A. and Mrs. Kissling	....	30
St. Mark's Parochial, Tamaki—H. W. St. Hill	....	20
St. Peter's Parochial, Onehunga—Mr. and Mrs. Wayland	....	70
St. John's Public—C. S. Abraham	....	8
Howick Public—Rev. V. Lusk (Chairman)	....	50
		373
Less native pupils	....	30
		343
Total European pupils	....	<u>343</u>

(b) *The Wesleyan Schools*.—The Rev. Walter Lawry, who arrived in March, 1844, to undertake the general superintendence of the Wesleyan Missions, was an extremely able and energetic minister. From the moment of his arrival he threw himself with great energy into the work of providing schools for the rapidly growing town, whose population then numbered some 3,970 souls. Enlisting the practical sympathy of the Government and the principal citizens, on May 14th, 1844, he convened a public meeting of those interested in the establishment of a native institution in Auckland for the instruction of the aborigines in the English language and other branches of education. The meeting approved his projected enterprise in which he was, according to *The Southern Cross* of May 18th, 1844, "the first in the field." That Mr. Lawry was no tyro as an organiser may be judged from the support which he obtained from the Press and the public. †"The Editors," he stated later, "of the three Auckland papers were present (at the meeting) and offered to advertise the resolutions *gratis*; they all, though differing on other points, agree in the goodness and expediency of this object, which is no small recommendation. Those who are familiar with the early history of Auckland, will see another proof of general approval in the names associated with the various resolutions." ‡On October 7th, Governor Fitz Roy made a grant of 6½ acres of land in Grafton Road, where the new Methodist Theological College now stands, and the modest school

* For further lists of the Anglican schools in existence down to the repeal of the above-mentioned Education Act, and the abolition of the denominational grant system (1867), see Appendix D-2.

† Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

‡ Rev. W. J. Williams, *Centenary of New Zealand Methodism*, p. 97.

room erected there was opened by the Governor early in the following year, the first teachers being the Rev. Thomas Buddle and H. H. Lawry, brother of the founder.

On April 1st, 1845, a further grant of land containing 192 acres, was made by the Government, at Three Kings, midway between Mount Eden and Onehunga. Here, on April 5th, 1848, Governor Grey laid the foundation of a new and larger institution, with which the earlier scheme was merged. The Rev. A. Reid was brought out from England to be the first Principal of the new institution, a post he held for ten years, and one to which, after an interval of 26 years spent in missionary and general ministerial labours, he returned in 1885, and in which he remained until his death in 1891.*

But Superintendent Lawry's plans included the provision of schools for Europeans also. The unfortunate plight of the missionaries as regards the education of their children had aroused his attention from the first, and afforded another opportunity for the exercise of his special capacity for business-like organisation. He proposed that all the Wesleyan missionaries of Australia and Fiji as well as New Zealand, should unite as joint proprietors in a scheme for the establishment of a College in Auckland for the education of their children. The scheme was enthusiastically adopted. Shares were taken up at £50 each and the English Missionary Committee was persuaded to furnish apparatus and gave a subsidy of £100 per annum for two years. The result was that in 1848 an area of $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres was purchased in Upper Queen Street for £932 and buildings were erected thereon at a cost of £3000. The Rev. J. H. Fletcher, who was selected in England to open the College, made the journey to New Zealand in the same vessel with the Rev. A. Reid, the newly appointed headmaster of the Three Kings native institution. In January, 1850, Mr. Fletcher commenced his labours amidst general rejoicings and high hopes of success, the college being at that time the first and only institution of its kind in Auckland. Both boys and girls were admitted and in 1852 the roll stood at 70, including boarders and day pupils. Such, indeed, was the progress of the school that at one time the fees received amounted to £390 in one quarter—"a large sum," according to Morley, "for Auckland of that time." Mr. Fletcher was followed as headmaster by his two brothers William and John in succession, the former taking charge in 1855, the latter in 1857, and continuing until 1867, when, in consequence of the abolition of the denominational grant system,

* After his first term Mr. Reid's successors were, in turn, the Reverends T. Buddle, G. Stannard, H. H. Lawry and James Wallis.

the school was closed. Already in 1856 "owing in part to the opening of other educational establishments," the attendance was beginning to fall away, and later the College suffered still more from the effect of the Maori Wars. The property, which had meanwhile been presented by the proprietors to the Church to be held in trust for educational purposes, was for a time leased, first to the Rev. Robert Kidd, B.A., LL.D., who conducted there a "Collegiate school" for boys for some years until his appointment in 1869 as first headmaster of the Auckland Grammar School, with which his own school became merged; and later to the Auckland Education Board, which established there in 1877 the Auckland Girls' High School under Mr. Neil Heath. Its subsequent history forms part of the general history of the valuable educational trusts of the Methodist Church, and as such is outside the scope of the present work.

Superintendent Lawry's third sphere of educational activity was in the field of general elementary education. The first Wesleyan Church in Auckland, a weather board structure, 40 feet by 25 feet, had been erected in High Street upon land granted by the Government about a year prior to Mr. Lawry's arrival at Auckland in March, 1844. Here he found a Sunday school established to which a day school was quickly added. Two years later we find that this school too has been duly organised by the Superintendent, as witness the following advertisement which appeared in *The New Zealander*, Auckland, January 24th, 1846:—

"On January 19th, 1846, the Wesleyan Public Day School was opened in the Mechanics Institute for boys and girls. Terms:—Spelling and reading, 3d. per week; writing and arithmetic (pens and ink supplied), 6d.; grammar, geography, book-keeping, drawing, etc., 9d."

Curiously enough, the first teachers were the same Mr. and Mrs. Lilly* that had opened the first Anglican school some four years before.

* "That Mr. and Mrs. Lilly be acknowledged as Master and Mistress of the proposed Day School.

"That Mr. Lilly be entitled to the entire proceeds of the school in addition to the government grant of money for his and Mrs. Lilly's services as Master and Mistress for the first twelve months, and that Mr. Lilly be required to bear the expense of rent and fittings necessary for the schoolroom.

"That this School be designated the Auckland Wesleyan Day School, to be open to children of all denominations; that the hours of attendance be from 9 a.m. till 4 p.m. with an interval of one hour for dinner, and also that this School be under the control of the Wesleyan Sunday

On the passing of the Education Act of 1857, the Wesleyan Church, like the others, organised a number of district schools. A return made in March, 1862, shows the following schools then existing and the attendances thereat:—

Three Kings Native Institution—Rev. G. Stannard, at which the number of pupils until the outbreak of the Maori Wars varied from 130 to 150;

Wesley College—Rev. J. Fletcher (W. Arthur, assistant) 72

Wakefield and Pitt Streets—Rev. A. French and Miss L.

Young (assistant) 50

Hobson Street—Mr. and Mrs. Havelock 100

Whau Road—Miss Hamerton 30

Parnell—Mr. and Mrs. W. Singer 30

Freeman's Bay—Mr. C. Clarke 40

Wesleyan Infant School—Miss Johnson —

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(c) *The Roman Catholic Schools.*—In 1838 the Rt. Rev. Jean Baptiste Pompallier, "Vicar-General of Southern Oceania," accompanied by one priest, Father Servant, and one lay catechist, arrived in New Zealand. Well supplied with funds* by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, he firmly planted the standard of his Church in the new land, which it was expected would shortly be the scene of a French colonising

School Committee."—Resolutions of the Wesleyan Day School Committee, Auckland; Chairman, Rev. W. Lawry; 13th January, 1846. (From original minute book in Methodist Connexional Office, Christchurch.)

In the Blue Book for 1851 we find their names replaced by those of Mr. Joseph Robinson and Miss Isabella Jordan, who were themselves succeeded in January, 1852, by Mr. W. Singer, a trained teacher from England, and his wife, appointed to teach the boys' and girls' schools respectively. Under Mr. Singer the school evidently prospered, for in 1856 we find it divided into "senior and junior departments," the fee for the former having been fixed at 1s. per week. Mrs. Singer's place on the girls' side, however, had been taken by Miss Phillips who was succeeded some two years later by Miss Gittos. Later Mr. Singer was transferred to Parnell, where, with Mrs. Singer again as his assistant he continued to conduct a Wesleyan school until Auckland's fatal educational year—1867.

* "The records of the 'Association pour la Propagation de la Foi' show that the following sums were placed at the disposal of Bishop Pompallier during the first six years of his work in New Zealand:—

1837	....	....	33,200 francs
1838	....	....	52,181 francs
1839	....	....	78,000 francs
1840	....	....	92,800 francs
1841	....	....	135,380 francs
1842	....	....	190,542 francs

—From *England and New Zealand*, by A. J. Harrop; p. 106. (Bishop Pompallier became a naturalised British subject in 1851.)

expedition. In June, 1839, three priests—Fathers Baty, Epalle, and Petit, all Marists, arrived with three more catechists and additional funds. In December of the same year four more Marist Fathers—Petitjean, Viard, Comte and Chevron and Brother Atale, arrived with still more funds. In June, 1841, Fathers Seon, Borgeon, Roget, M. Rouleaux and six catechist brothers were added to the Mission, bringing yet more funds. With reinforcements coming out in rapid succession like this Bishop Pompallier soon had mission stations in all the principal centres of Maori population. In July, 1841, he visited Auckland and found there some 300 to 400 Irish Catholics already settled. Father Petitjean was sent to organise the work of his Church amongst them. By him the first English school in Auckland was opened in 1841—if a school conducted by a French priest and attended by Irish children can rightly be called an English school! This school was first conducted in Shortland Street, “most probably in a private house.” In the following year a little church was built on a piece of ground granted by the Government. Here the school was then held, the good Father and his lay assistant, whose name is not recorded, retiring to rest at night in the tiny sacristy behind the altar! According to the Blue Book for 1842, the attendance had by that time increased to 80, and the school was being conducted by Patrick and Catherine Hennesey. Mr. and Mrs. Hennesey were therefore, it would appear, the first Catholic lay teachers in New Zealand. In 1849, with the aid of a grant from Grey, a second school was opened at Takapuna under Mr. R. H. Huntley.* In 1850 Bishop Pompallier, just returned from a visit to the Holy See, brought back with him a number of additional Irish and French priests and a band of seven Sisters of Mercy, all from one Convent in Carlow, Ireland, of whom Mother Cecilia Maher was Superior. High and parochial schools were now opened in an old wooden building in Wyndham Street, adjoining the old Cathedral. Both schools were an immediate success, being attended by children of all denominations. Aided also by a grant from Governor Grey, a comprehensive institution was established at North Shore, comprising a girls’ boarding school, an orphanage and a native school, a separate part being reserved for the children of the European colonists.

The establishment of suburban parishes now proceeded apace and state-aided parochial day schools were opened in every parish. The following is a list of the Roman Catholic schools existing in 1851, together with the teachers’ names:—

* v. also pp. 134-5.

St. Patrick's Parochial (boys')—Benjamin Gittos	....	104
St. Mary's Parochial schools for girls—Conducted by the Sisters of Mercy; young ladies 5, infants 53, grown girls 88, orphans 17, native girls 12, total	....	175
St. Mary's College, Takapuna, North Shore—Principals, Revs. Rozet and Kums; teachers—Messrs. Atkins, Breen and Powell; Theological students 3, native pupils 20, European day schools 8, total	....	31
St. Joseph's, Onehunga—Michael Rafferty	....	53
St. Cecilia's, Otahuhu—P. Moran	....	42
Panmure—Sergeant James Cleary	....	49
Howick—Sergeant R. N. Barry	....	104
		638
Less native pupils	....	32
		606
Total number of European pupils	....	606

From 1850 to 1867 a number of additional schools were opened by the Sisters of Mercy in the several parishes, at which a number of Protestant children attended. The approach of the public school system is, however, foreshadowed in the following significant extract from an Auckland document to Rome, dated August 28th, 1869:—

“For some years the Government of the Province had given grants in aid of these schools. This was withdrawn a couple of years ago.”

(d) *The Presbyterian Schools.*—The Presbyterians, whose “objectionable” though perhaps not unjustifiable language in connection with the Ordinance of 1847 had so annoyed the worthy Legislative Councillors, found themselves at last placed upon terms of equality with the other churches by the Act of 1857. Already in 1855 they had taken steps to establish a school for children of their own denomination and had secured the services of Mr. John Stables, an Edinburgh trained teacher. Their first school was opened in January, 1856, in Waterloo Quadrant, and later conducted in Symonds Street, throughout the whole of the period under review, the girls’ side being taught, in 1860 at least, by Miss Chalmers. A second school was conducted in Hobson Street by Mr. and Mrs. Alex. Whyte. On January 12th, 1863, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church also, was opened the “Auckland High School,” under “Farquhar Macrae, Esq., Rector, and John Johnston, second master: application for admission to be made to the Rev. D. Bruce, Wynyard Street, or Andrew Beveridge, Chairman of the School Committee.” This school Mr. Macrae conducted with conspicuous success, until in 1871 he was in his turn appointed headmaster of the Auckland Grammar School, Dr. Kidd becoming

classical master. Mr. Macrae of course brought the majority of his scholars with him to the Grammar school, over which he continued to preside until 1880, when he endeavoured for a time, but without his former success, to revive his old school.

(e) *The District Schools (Undenominational)*.—In addition to these denominational institutions a number of schools were organised by the residents of country districts whose needs were not supplied by any one of the Churches. These were usually organised upon the basis of the teacher deriving half his modest remuneration from the pupils' fees and the other half from the Provincial grant in aid. The number of such schools existing in 1867 was very considerable. They too, however, received their death blow when the Provincial grants were withdrawn towards the end of that year.

(f) *The Private Schools*.—Even in these early days Auckland was not wholly without private teachers who sought to earn a more or less precarious livelihood in competition with the state-aided denominational schools. A careful search through the files of the numerous newspapers† which competed with one another in those days for the patronage of the citizens reveals the fact that while the great majority of the teachers soon gave up the unequal struggle, there were a few who won and held the practical support of the public. Prominent amongst these was Mr. John Gorrie, whose school, "The Auckland Academy," was conducted from 1848 to 1860, at first temporarily in Shortland Street, then permanently in Chancery Street at the rear of the old Custom House and Post Office. Mr. Gorrie's syllabus included in addition to the usual elementary subjects, mathematics, Latin and Greek. He also imported and sold the necessary text books to his pupils. The "young ladies" of the town were equally well catered for by Mrs. Woolly, whose establishment was conducted—also from 1848 to 1860—first at "Prospect House," Hobson Street, and later at "Hanover House," Wakefield Street, where she was succeeded by Mrs. G. A. Brassey. Two preparatory schools, one for "young gentlemen," at first under ten years of age, later raised to twelve, and the other for "young ladies" of a like tender age, were conducted respectively from 1848 onwards for several years by Mrs. Kinnear, "Fuchsia Cottage," Windsor Terrace, and Mrs. Wakefield, Princes Street. Mr. S. Kempthorne opened in January 1849, a "Grammar

† *The Auckland Times, The Auckland Chronicle, The Southern Cross, The Anglo-Maori Warder, and The New Zealander.*

School conducted on Church of England principles," which appears to have met with considerable success and to have continued until the opening of the Parnell Grammar School in 1855.

Other teachers of the 'forties and 'fifties whose schools seem to have been shorter lived were, taking those conducted for "young ladies" first:—Mesdames Thompson, "Clifton College," near Government House (1844); Thomas, Queen Street (1849), an "establishment for a select number of young ladies—boarders, thirty guineas, washing, five guineas extra"; Misses Wells, (1852); Christopher (1856-1857); Crispes (1857); Smale (1858); and Miss Terry (1859). Of the boys' schools mention may be made of the Rev. John Duffus, M.A., "Classical and Commercial Academy" (1847); Messrs. McIntyre and B. Reynolds, successive proprietors of a private school at Albert Hall (1850-1851); Rev. F. Gould, private school at Russell (1857); Messrs. Joseph Robinson, "Auckland Seminary," Queen Street (1859), and T. Lysnar, "Commercial School," Barrack Street (1859).

For names of later private schools and teachers see Appendix D-2.

CHAPTER XII.

WELLINGTON.

A STRONGHOLD OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

(a) *Private and Public Schools.*—As we have seen, in the organisation of the first Wakefield settlement no provision was made for any endowment fund for religious and educational purposes. Consequently the Port Nicholson settlers were for the most part thrown upon their own resources from the first. Certainly an effort was made to send out with the settlers the nucleus of a library, and the regulations of the New Zealand Company provided for the holding of regular school on board the emigrant ships, at which those who could read well were expected to teach those who could not. On some of the ships, where there was a larger number of children than usual, one of the emigrants was appointed as teacher for the voyage, but such as were appointed were not in general trained teachers, nor were they in any way engaged to conduct school in the settlement on arrival. The result was that Wellington became the stronghold of private enterprise in respect of education, which continued right down to the end of the Provincial era. Even as late as 1872 there were no common or public schools in the town of Wellington. Neither did the denominational system obtain a hold there as it did in Auckland and in Canterbury, although, as we shall see, a few church schools were established by the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan Churches.

The honour of opening the first school in the Wellington district belongs to the ladies. There are two competitors. Miss Annie Maria Smith, who arrived by the "Oriental" on January 31st, 1840, was employed by Mr. Jabez Allen, storekeeper at Petone, as governess to his daughters. Some of his neighbours, at his invitation, also sent their daughters to Miss Smith, and so was founded a little school for girls, later transferred to what is now the Terrace in Wellington itself. Miss Tilke (Christian name unknown) arrived by the "Adelaide" on March 6th, of the same year. She appears to have had some experience in handling children at home and to have come out with Mrs. Evans, the doctor's wife, under some definite engagement to

conduct an infant school at Port Nicholson. For about a year she taught at Thorndon in a long clay built house with thatched roof. Then she married a fellow passenger, Mr. Lawrence, and left with him for South Australia. Shortly afterwards Miss Smith was also married. She, however, as Mrs. Luxford, remained in Wellington all her life and devoted herself to Sunday school work.

A substantial consolation prize at least should be given to the representatives of Mrs. Henry Buxton* who now took up the running and continued teaching until the year 1878, by which time she was 83 years of age. This remarkable lady was also a passenger, with her husband Henry, and her daughter Sophia, on the "Adelaide." For some time her husband—gardener, grave digger, verger and teacher all in one—conducted a well-attended night school, until in 1847 the relentless grave claimed him. As if in equity his wife and daughter were spared, the latter till 1885, the former till 1888. For thirty-seven years they carried on their school, which was conducted from 1850 onwards in a house in Tinakori Road, nearly opposite Hawkestone Street. Here in the kitchen the good old dame taught the infants (boys and girls), while the seniors (girls only) received instruction from Miss Sophia in the parlour. But if any of the senior girls wanted French, they had to go to Mrs. Buxton in the kitchen to get it. It is interesting to record the fact that, after travelling half way round the world to get to Wellington, Mrs. Buxton never once left it during her remaining lifetime of 48 years. Another popular and long-lived private school was that of the Misses Spinks, who taught the girls and small boys of Te Aro, first in Dixon Street, later in Willis Street, from 1849 to 1879—a period of thirty years.

* Mrs. Buxton's name appears in the 1842 Blue Book (20 pupils) as connected with Church of England. Mr. A. de B. Brandon, of Wellington, was a pupil of Mrs. Buxton in the early 'sixties.

Other early teachers of the gentler sex, whose schools were probably not very long lived were:—

Mr. and Miss Wakefield—Girls' school in Tinakori Road, *circa* 1841; Mrs. Young (a doctor's widow, who later remarried and went to N.S.W.)—girls' school in Ingestre Street, later in Cuba Street, *circa* 1842; Mrs. George (later Mrs. Alfred Domett)—The Terrace, *circa* 1845; Mrs. Harvey (later Mrs. Waterson)—girls' school on Lambton Quay, *circa* 1847; "Governess" Mudgway—infants' school at Te Aro, date uncertain.

The only girls' school approaching a secondary school in character appears to have been that of Mrs. H. Green, wife of the Primitive Methodist minister, conducted first in Ingestre Street, later in Sydney Street, from 1847 to about 1853.

The first male teacher was Mr. Charles Grace, a genial, kindly man of about 50 years of age. Rumour had it that he was an ex-professor of a Scottish University. His range of knowledge was prodigious. In addition to an "ordinary English education" he offered "natural philosophy, astronomy, chemistry, anatomy and natural history." Although he had rather a weakness for advertising his educational ambitions, he had a strong aversion to touting for pupils—which private school teachers of that time were expected to do. The fees charged at his "Wellington Academical Institution" ranged from two to four guineas per quarter for day pupils; £8 to £12 for boarders (day boarders, half fees); French and Italian extra. The hours were—for "young gentlemen," 9 to 11 a.m., 1 to 3 p.m.; for "young ladies," 11 to 12 noon., 3 to 4 p.m. "He will devote"—so ran the advertisement—"two hours each day to the improvement of young ladies. In instructing them the great object of Mr. Grace will be to accustom them to think, which is unfortunately too little attended to in female education." Dr. Evans and Colonel Wakefield both accorded their patronage, and a start was made on October 5th, 1840, in temporary premises. A little later the school was housed in a substantial brick building at Kumutoto, near the beach and a native pa. Despite the "Superintendent's" dreams and advertisements, his pupils were not above the elementary stages and after about a year he sold the property and took up a bush section at Karori. Later we find him again residing in the town making a living as private tutor to a few families by day, and in the evening conducting quite a successful night school at the more moderate charge of 1s. per week per pupil. When gold was discovered in Victoria he went thither, but from all accounts he did not do very well for himself there either.

On June 6th, 1842, was opened the first public school in Wellington. It lasted for two years only. It was promoted by the Wellington Mechanics Institute Committee and began in an old raupo whare with a thatched roof. The syllabus included "the three R's, geography, algebra, geometry and the elements of the physical sciences" and the fees were sixpence a week for the three R's or ninepence for the lot! The first teacher was Mr. J. H. Rule who early quarrelled with his Committee and was succeeded in December by Mr. George Edwards. This gentleman had had experience in ragged school and Sunday school work in England. He had been in Wellington since 1841, teaching privately in a shed some 30 yards north of the present Thorndon Station. At the end of the first year the Committee was greatly pleased with itself. It had 68 pupils at

the school, a flourishing debating society in full swing, a library of some 160 volumes, a site on Lambton Quay given by the Government, and every prospect of a grant of £40 for the school from the same source.* In addition, over a dozen popular lectures had been delivered, the first on "Education" by Mr. Jonas Woodward, "late Master of the British day school," who also conducted an undenominational Sunday school in the whare. Next year things were not quite so rosy, but a great splash was made on May 3rd, 1844, when in the presence of His Honour the Superintendent and all the townsfolk the foundation stone of the new building on Lambton Quay was laid, "with grand Masonic honours," and a full parade of the pupils of the school. Alas! within a couple of months the school was closed. Driven from its whare by the Raupo Ordinance, it was transferred to Edward's old shed, where it breathed its last, the Committee being unable to keep it alive for want of funds. For the same reason the building of the new hall was suspended, and for years the Institute itself lay dormant. Edwards received an honourable discharge having, in the opinion of his employees "conducted the school with ability and zeal." He retired to his bush section at Karori, where, with his wife's assistance, he conducted a small boarding school for a time. His predecessor, Rule, after an abortive attempt to run a rival institution to the Mechanics school under the grandiose title of the "High School," had now left the settlement. The field was open then for Mr. Charles Hinchcliffe, who had already been teaching in Sydney Street for about a year and who now took over Rule's former premises. Here he had from 40 to 50 pupils until 1847. He then moved first to the Scotch Kirk on Lambton Quay and again to the Wesleyan schoolroom in Manners Street. He seems to have returned to England about the year 1848.

William Finimore, like Mrs. Henry Buxton, was a more permanent institution. For four or five years after his arrival in the settlement he kept an hotel. Then somewhere about 1845 or 1846 he opened a school in Willis Street, where, with two brief interruptions, he taught successfully for over twenty years. Pupils came to him from all quarters. His fees were moderate—one guinea per quarter, Latin and French extra. He was a good disciplinarian, strict, but absolutely just; and had, in his palmy days, from 70 to 80 pupils. In the winter months he ran a night school as well. In later years misfortunes fell upon

* Apparently this expectation was fulfilled; for, in the Government estimates for the year we find the item "School establishment—£140" made up as follows:—"One school master £40 and one school mistress £20 at Auckland; one native school master £40; one school master at Port Nicholson £40."—See 1842 Blue Book, re private schools.

him, and, unable to withstand the strong competition of his younger rivals, he was compelled in 1869 to close his school. He died six years later, but the memory of their teacher remained for ever fragrant in the minds of all his pupils.*

These were the elementary schools. There were also a few fairly successful secondary schools, notably those of Mr. (later Rev.) Wm. Marshall and Rev. Edwin Wheeler, both of whom were connected with the Church of England. The former, assisted later by Mr. W. H. Holmes, an English trained teacher from Canterbury, opened in Hawkestone Street in 1850 a day and boarding school known as "The Wellington Grammar school," where the attendance rose to 30 or 40 boys. Wheeler's school, the "Te Aro Grammar school," was of the same date and type and was conducted in the building formerly used by two brothers, Jay and Jabez Clark, on the site of the present Willis Street Public school. Both Marshall and Wheeler had beginners as well as senior boys. In 1855 Marshall went to Napier whither Wheeler seems to have followed him about a year later. In 1857, Mr. J. G. S. Grant, from Dunedin, endeavoured to fill the vacancy with his "Wellington Academy," occupying the Wesleyan school building in Manners Street. His advertisements, like Grace's, were grandiloquent; but his fees were prohibitive, and his school was a failure. He soon returned to Dunedin, the scene of a similar previous failure, where he lived a well-known "character" for many years. More successful was Mr. Edward Toomath, also an English trained teacher. After two years at Lyttelton, followed by two years as head teacher of St. Paul's (Church of England, Wellington) school, Toomath opened "The Wellington Commercial and Grammar School." This school was successfully conducted by him from 1857 to 1870.† Toomath also had a sheep run in the Wairarapa, from which and from his boarding establishment he did well financially. After he resigned from St. Paul's he entered the Provincial Council where he was of great assistance in educational matters, being appointed a member of the first Education

* The names of other private teachers who for a year or more in Wellington attempted to turn to profitable account their own education and the absence of any public school system are:—Messrs. John Allan (1841), Henry Atkinson (1842), Cameron (who kept a "flax-dressing school," 1843), Tomlin (1843), and Jenkins. Most of these were applicants for the Mechanics Institute school when Rule was appointed, and Grace also submitted his name when Edwards was selected.—See further Appendix D-3.

† Amongst his assistants, at various times, were Messrs. J. H. Bran, general subjects; W. H. Holmes and Wm. Mowbray, drawing; Rev. Kirton (Presbyterian), classics; and Mr. (later Sir Walter) Buller, Maori.

Board and honorary inspector until an official inspector was secured. He retained his membership of the Education Board right down to 1881 and died four years later.

(b) DENOMINATIONAL EFFORTS.

(1) *The Wesleyan Schools*.—The denominational schools of Wellington were comparatively few. The Wesleyan Church was first in the field with a Sunday school, opened in March, 1842, under Mr. Cayley, a ship's carpenter by trade. He was assisted by Mrs. Luxford (Miss Smith) and Mr. C. Hinchcliffe, already mentioned. Sunday schools of those days gave secular as well as religious instruction, and when on June 8th, 1846, the Wesleyan day school was opened in Manners Street, Mr. Cayley was appointed teacher. He continued till 1848 and was succeeded in turn by Messrs. R. O. Clark and B. Hayden, until 1850, when, no doubt owing to the pressure of competition, the school was discontinued as a Church school. Hayden, however, with his wife's assistance, conducted a private school for some years, and later entered the service of the Wellington Education Board.

(2) *The Roman Catholic Schools*.—The Rev. Father O'Reily came to Wellington in 1843 with the Hon. H. W. Petre and laboured there for 40 years. In December, 1847, in Boulcott Street, he opened the first Catholic School, under Mr. James Fryer, who, however, had already been teaching privately in the settlement for some time. The reverend Father's advertisement regarding the new "Classical and Elementary School" said:—

"Should any of our beloved dissentient brethren please to intrust their children to our care, and wish them not to be partakers in those religious exercises which occasionally will take place . . . the wishes of such children will be strictly adhered to."

About 40 or 50 boys attended, including a number of Protestant children. Fryer died in 1850, but the school lived on under successive lay teachers until in 1876 it became part of the Marist Brothers school system.

On May 1st, 1850, the first Catholic Bishop of Wellington, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Viard, arrived from Auckland with five Fathers, ten Brothers and one lay teacher (Mr. R. H. Huntley), and funds for the prosecution of his mission. These were followed later by three Sisters from the Convent of Mercy at Auckland. Church and Presbytery, School and Convent, were

soon established. The school, opened in May, 1851, was located in Hill Street and was a success from the first. Mr. Huntley,* who had opened the second Catholic school in Auckland, was in charge, and was assisted by Brother Yvert. Both were excellent teachers. Huntley, an English civil engineer by training, had won distinction in the war against Hone Heke in the North during which also he had been converted to Roman Catholicism. Yvert was an accomplished linguist. In addition to teaching English and French in the School he had at various times a number of private pupils in foreign languages, of whom Lady Grey, the Governor's wife, was one. He was also a strong arithmetician and employed many short methods, for example, retaining in his long division remainders only—"a method," remarks Macmorran in 1900, "not yet common in our schools." Religious instruction was given to Catholic boys before and after ordinary school, and the establishment, which was attended by boys of all denominations, became a serious rival to the great Finnimore's, then in his prime.

The Hill Street School, like that in Boulcott Street, was carried on under various teachers until, in 1876, after a brief period under the Wellington Education Board, both schools were taken over by the Marist Order. The first Convent School, also in Hill Street, which had been begun about the same time (1852) under the Rev. Mother Mary St. Joseph, has been conducted without a break right down to the present time.

(3) *The Anglican Schools.*—It was not until January, 1852, that the first Church of England School was opened. As early as July, 1842, Selwyn had written to his friends in England:—

† "At Wellington everything will have to be begun. There appears to be neither school nor chapel connected with the Church, *nor provision for either.*"

* There are few teachers even to-day who could not learn something from a knowledge of the admirable teaching and disciplinary methods of Huntley. He realised fully the importance of "interest," and of "practical work" in teaching, and thoroughly understood the psychology of rewards and punishment. Inspired by a natural and genuine sympathy with boys, he drew out the best that was in them—the true function of education—both in the schoolroom and out of doors. Especially delightful is it to read of the happy and instructive excursions and camping trips into the country, participation in which, at week-ends and holiday seasons, was the coveted reward of work well done.

About 1864, Huntley was appointed surveyor to the Government and it was under his direction that Government House grounds were first laid out and planted. When this appointment was terminated, owing to some retrenchment, he returned to teaching, this time in the Wairarapa, where he opened a small school.

† Purchas, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

It was then agreed between the Church Missionary Society and the New Zealand Company, that if the Company would advance £500 for New Plymouth, £2000 for Wellington, and £5000* for Nelson, the Society would undertake to supply the religious needs of the settlements. At last, in 1851, there was founded in Wellington the Church of England Educational Society, which for many years controlled the two Wellington Church schools. The first, St. Paul's, was erected on a site given by Governor Grey, and was opened by Mr. Robert Wadsworth, an English trained teacher, who had previously opened the first school in Akaroa. The first enrolment was 35, which grew to 83 in July and 105 in February of the following year. The original building, 40 feet by 20, was enlarged by the addition of class rooms towards which Grey also devoted £260 from the year's educational appropriation. In 1853 Wadsworth left for New South Wales and was succeeded by Toomath, under whom the school was divided into junior, middle and senior departments, with an ascending scale of fees. On Toomath's resignation in December, 1856, the school was carried on temporarily by the incumbent of the parish, Rev. Arthur Baker, M.A.; then by Rev. W. H. St. Hill, from Auckland, (who later conducted a boarding school at Crofton from 1863 to 1875);† then, for six months by Finnimore, who like Toomath, preferred the freedom of his own establishment to the control of the Society; then, temporarily by Edmund Jupp, and at last permanently by Mr. Wm. Mowbray, an experienced and successful English trained teacher, who remained at the head for over 40 years.

St. Peter's, the second Anglican school, was opened in Ghuznee Street, Te Aro, in April, 1854, by Mr. W. H. Holmes, formerly assistant master at Marshall's Grammar School, and still earlier at Christ's College Grammar School in Canterbury. Mr. Holmes was headmaster of this school for 31 years, dying in harness in 1885. As we shall see later, both these schools came under the Education Board in 1873, and eventually became part of the national system.

* The large amount at Nelson was owing to the "large and constantly increasing fund" placed by the settlers at the disposal of the Company for religious purposes, whereas the *New Plymouth and Wellington grants came out of the Company's own funds.*—Brett's *Early History of New Zealand*, p. 614.

† Under patronage of Bishop Abraham; previously conducted by Capt. Martin.

It only remains to add that each of these three denominations received a grant from Sir George Grey upon the usual trust for educational purposes. In 1848, the Church of England received an endowment of 500 acres at Porirua, given by the Ngatitaukawa tribe to Bishop Selwyn for the establishment of a college similar to St. John's College at Tamaki, Auckland, and to be known as Trinity College. This College was never founded. In 1852, the Wesleyans received an area of 73 acres in Wellington of which they sold 70 acres to the Provincial Government for a park instead of establishing a school upon it. In the same year the Catholics received an acre of land in Wellington with a building erected upon it, for the education and training of Maori and half-caste girls. This was known as "Providence of St. Joseph," and was conducted by the Sisters of Mercy. After 40 years the old wooden structure was replaced by a modern brick building which is a recognised industrial school of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER XIII.

NELSON.

THE FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN
NEW ZEALAND.

In the early years of settlement the Nelson settlers had just as many trials and difficulties as those of any of the North Island colonies, excepting, perhaps, Taranaki. Yet in these years Nelson built up a creditable system of public schools, the foundations of which were laid within a few weeks of the arrival of the first ships. Under the terms of purchase one-sixth of the amount paid for land in the settlement was to be held by the Company in trust for rendering it "attractive," of which 30 per cent. was to go to the churches, 30 per cent. to the schools and 40 per cent. to provide a steamer for the port. Owing to the unfinancial position into which the Company got, these arrangements had to be modified considerably later on. Indeed at one time—about 1844-1845—the hardships and sufferings which the people underwent in consequence of the Company's inability to carry out its undertakings were probably more severe than in any other settlement in New Zealand. Yet the settlers persevered, both locally with their struggling colony, and also at home, where, with the help of influential friends, they compelled the Company to discharge in a considerable measure its obligations to the ecclesiastical, educational and shipping needs of the settlement. But it was years—not, in fact, until the Provincial Council days—before the above-mentioned funds were finally vested in a local Board of trustees for the benefit of the Province, so that at first the settlers had no help but their own.

Within six weeks of the arrival of the first ships the first newspaper, the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, appeared (published weekly—first number, March 12th, 1842). In the third issue Mr. J. Wilson advertises to "his friends and the inhabitants of Nelson in general that he intends opening a school . . . on Monday next, 4th April," and in June of the same year Miss Huxham opened the first ladies' private school. But the Nelson colonists were, of no mind to leave the education

of their children to the vagaries of private enterprise. On May 24th, when the first settlers were still struggling to get themselves and their families housed, and others were still pouring into the township by the shipload, a meeting of subscribers was held for the purpose of establishing "an elementary school,* to be open to the children of all, without regard to the religious opinion of the parents,† in which no sectarian views whatever should be taught; and that the Bible, when read, should be read without note or comment." This was in reality a branch school of the British and Foreign School Society, and the moving spirit in connection with its establishment was Mr. F. Tuckett,‡ a Quaker member of the Society, and its agent in the Nelson settlement. Captain Wakefield, for the Company, gave a site and a £ for £ subsidy towards the cost of the school house, and on September 12th the school was opened with Mr. W. Moore as teacher and Mr. Alfred Domett and Captain Wakefield honorary inspectors. By this time the population numbered over 2000 souls.

But there was an educationist in Nelson with larger ideas even than this. In a house built of toi-toi belonging to Mr. Butler, a number of Christians on the 27th March,§ 1842,

* Broad, *Jubilee History of Nelson* (1892), p. 155.

† For religious denominations of Nelson settlers in 1858, see p. 112.

‡ Mr. Tuckett was the surveyor sent out by the New Zealand Company to survey the site for the Nelson settlement. He was also later the selector of the site of the Scots settlement at Otago.

§ "A coincidence occurs this year. Whilst we are observing the ninth Easter Anniversary of the opening of this building and the organisation of our Society, we are called on to notice also the present day as the anniversary of the germ of our institution. Few are here to recollect that 11 years past to-day the first school in Nelson was opened. Our Society had its origin, as it were spontaneously, in the immediate wants of the place. In a rush-woven cottage on the banks of the Maitai assembled a few labourers and mechanics, who saw the necessity of some effort on their own part for the instruction of their children for at least one day in seven, and in that rude and primitive building they commenced their benevolent work on the 27th of March, 1842. Taking the circuit of the scattered and half-impenetrable plain, we now inhabit as the town of Nelson, they endeavoured to collect nearly the whole of the children of the early colonists, and to impart to them such humble information as they themselves possessed. Permit it to be said that this unpretending school was not without its influences even at first. It was a pleasant sight on a Sabbath morn to see the well-attired little parties issuing from the groups of huts, and passing along the narrow avenues in the tall fern, to the place in which they were reminded of the religion of their fathers in a country new and strange, and taught from the Bible, and on the open principles of our present Educational Society."—Extract from the Ninth Annual Report of the Nelson School Society; 28th March, 1853.

commenced a school—the first regular school in the settlement. This school was the precursor of the Nelson School Society, which instituted the first, and in many respects the most successful, system of public schools in New Zealand, and the one which, more than any other, served as a model for the national system of education adopted for the whole Colony in 1877. The story of its establishment and of the formation of the Society is briefly told in a letter sent by the Secretary, Wm. Stanton, to Major Richmond, "Superintendent of the Government," and dated April 8th, 1848:—

- * "The first school in this settlement was commenced in a private house on the 27th March, 1842, by a number of Christians, who, on their arrival at Nelson, united in the erection of a chapel or schoolroom in Tasman Street, which was opened on the 4th December, 1842, and was attended by 120 children under the superintendence of Mr. Matthew Campbell. In the course of a few months the proprietors, removing into the suburban district, let the building to the Superintendent, but in consequence of the high rent, and the unfinished state in which it remained, it was deemed expedient, either to purchase it and put it into repair, or to proceed with the erection of a new school; accordingly a reasonable offer was made to the proprietors, which they declined; a Committee of Management was then formed, a treasurer and secretary appointed, and application made to the Board appointed by the Government for the appropriation of the public reserves, for a grant of land on which to erect a Sunday and day school "for the education of the children of all classes and denominations." Five trustees were nominated, and the grant was made by the Board and confirmed by His Excellency Captain Fitz Roy. The Deed of Grant, signed and executed by His Excellency the present Governor (Captain Grey) was received in March, 1847."

The land so granted was situated in Bridge Street and the foundation stone of the school was laid on February 14th, 1844, by Mr. (later Sir William) Fox, who was at that time agent of the New Zealand Company at Nelson. The building, which was of brick, was formally opened on Easter Sunday, April 7th, 1844, as the Nelson Sunday and Day School. The enrolment had increased by this time to 150 Sunday scholars and 70 day pupils.

* From the original Minute Book (Manuscript) of the Nelson School Society.

Attached to the school was a library for the use of teachers and children, the books for which the indefatigable Campbell had collected from the friends of the movement. Encouraged by its success the Society then went on to establish branch schools. The majority of these schools were first established as Sunday schools only, the day schools following a little later. But, until the day school was commenced in any given locality, the children received secular as well as religious instruction at the Sunday school. The following table shows the development of the Society's work down to the date of the above-mentioned letter to Major Richmond:—

Nelson School—Foundation stone laid 14th February, 1844; Opening, 7th April, 1844.

Nelson Infant School—July, 1847.

Wakefield—Foundation, 8th October, 1843; Opening, 1st January, 1844.

Spring Grove—Sunday school, 18th May, 1845; day school, October, 1847.

Stoke—28th December, 1845.

Waimea Village—1st January, 1846.

Richmond (Sunday and day school), 16th February, 1848.

Waimea East—22nd March, 1848.

Riwaka—23rd November, 1848.

Later the Society added schools at Clifton Terrace, Hope, Appleby and Motupipi—twelve in all. The total enrolment in April, 1848,* was, at the three day schools, 195; at the seven Sunday schools, 422.

In response to an application made in the aforesaid letter Sir George Grey made an annual grant to the Society of £35 per annum out of the educational appropriation made under the *Education Ordinance, 1847*.† But before doing so he required the Society to organise itself in such a way that the trustees might be duly constituted a body corporate, to be held responsible for the proper application of such grants. For this purpose formal rules and regulations were adopted, almost wholly taken from those of the British and Foreign School Society, and submitted for His Excellency's approval on September 6th, 1848. Rules III and IX were as follows:—

“ III. All schools connected with this Society shall be open to children of parents of all religious denominations. The sacred Scriptures, in the authorised version, or extracts therefrom, shall be read and taught daily. No Catechism or peculiar religious tenets shall be taught in the schools, but every child shall be enjoined regularly to attend the place of worship its parents prefer.”

* Population almost stationary—about 3000.

† The amount of this appropriation for 1850 was £600.

“IX. No member of the Committee shall at any time or under any circumstances receive any pecuniary advantage from the Society; nor shall the Society even make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money or otherwise, unto or between any of its members.”

The subjects of instruction in the day schools were reading, writing, arithmetic and needlework (for the girls). By resolution of the Committee, dated 24th December, 1846, the fees were fixed as under:—

“That the scholars’ fee be threepence per week when ciphering is taught; twopence when only reading and writing are taught; provided nevertheless that not more than sixpence per week be received from any family; provided also that any member of the Committee have power to furnish tickets for the free admission of any child, in cases of family distress, sickness, etc.—reporting such cases at the next Committee meeting. No child to be permitted to attend the day school without producing the usual fee, or a ticket, on the Monday morning.”

The original British and Foreign School Society’s school early merged into the larger scheme and Mr. Tuckett became an enthusiastic and generous friend of the movement. As agent for the Home Society he gave its building to the Nelson Society which had it removed and re-erected at Spring Grove in May, 1845. Furthermore, by a deed dated December 12th, 1846, Tuckett conveyed to the Society “all rents and arrears of same” in respect of several properties which he owned in the settlement, for a period of three years, “so long as the school under your management shall be conducted on the principles of the British and Foreign School Society, i.e., affording a Scriptural education without the inculcation of sectarian views.” This proved a substantial contribution to the funds of the Society, and in a letter to the British Society expressing the Nelson Society’s appreciation of Tuckett’s assistance we read that the receipts for the first year amounted to £41. It must be understood that, with a scale of fees almost nominal, the Society depended almost wholly upon subscriptions and donations for its funds. And considering the conditions existing at the settlement during those early years, the response was truly remarkable. The Minute Book contains frequent acknowledgements of gifts of sites for schools, donations of money, and books. Both Sir George Grey and Bishop Selwyn took a keen interest in the Society’s work and several private donations both of money and

of books are acknowledged from His Excellency, who also, on more than one occasion, visited the Nelson school. Amongst other benefactors the names of Wm. Fox and the Hon. A. C. Dillon recur more than once. The latter, writing to Matthew Campbell in January, 1846, said "I congratulate you sincerely for having persuaded the people that Christ's religion may be taught without adherence to any church or sect." Mr. J. P. Robinson, was the first teacher of the Nelson school. Subsequently he became a member of the Committee and when, later, he was elected Superintendent of the Province, he continued to give his enthusiastic support to its non-sectarian Sunday school work. Other notable men who also served on its Committee were the Hon. Matthew Richmond, J. W. Barnicoat, Thos. Renwick, John Saxton, A. Fell, and the ministers of all the Protestant churches.

The secretary of the Society during the whole period of its day school work was William Stanton, whose Minute Book shows him to have been businesslike and thorough in his attention to its affairs. But the dynamo of the whole organisation was its energetic and devoted treasurer and trustee, Matthew Campbell, described in the deed of trust as a miller. For forty years (1844 to 1884) he served the Society as treasurer and superintendent of its principal Sunday school. When the Society's funds were low he never allowed the work to flag, advancing moneys again and again from his private means not only on account of current expenses, but even for the erection of new schools. In fact, so completely was he identified with the Society's schools that they were universally referred to throughout the settlement as "Campbell's schools."

There were in addition a number of denominational schools organised in the Nelson settlement; but owing chiefly to the vigorous growth of the public school system, the majority of them took no permanent root. The Wesleyans at one time had three, of which only that in Nelson itself (Bridge Street) survived. In 1853 the Rev. S. Ironside obtained a grant of £30 from Grey for this school, but it was definitely stated to be a special grant, which could not be looked for again as an annual one. In 1857 this school became part of the Provincial system. Similarly a Lutheran School established at Ranzau (Waimea) for the German settlers by the Rev. J. W. Heine, and taught by Mr. J. Weiergang, became later a part of the Provincial system.

The Church of England schools, of which at one time there were four, were maintained partly from fees and subscriptions and partly with assistance from the funds of the Church, supplemented by grants from the Bishop and the Government at

Auckland. But they too were compelled to yield to the popularity of the public schools. They were situated at Nelson, Waimea Village, Lower Wakefield, and Motueka, and were used also for church purposes in those places. The whole scheme was in fact a part of Bishop Selwyn's intended educational system. In 1842, when Selwyn first visited Nelson, he left behind the Rev. C. L. Reay to be the first Vicar of the parish. Returning a year later, and bringing with him the Rev. H. F. Butt, then fresh from St. John's College, he found an Anglican school established by Mr. Reay, which he reorganised and placed under Mr. Butt's care as the Bishop's School. About a year after the departure of Mr. Reay, which took place in April, 1847, Mr. Butt became incumbent of the parish, and in a report furnished on September 18th, 1848, to the Colonial Secretary (Alfred Domett) he laments the fact that it has not been possible to carry out the Bishop's scheme. "The Grammar school is in abeyance for want of a teacher," he wrote and received help from an unexpected quarter. For it so happened that at that time Thomas Arnold, M.A.,* son of the famous Dr. Arnold of Rugby, was in Wellington, whither he had come, prompted by intellectual and spiritual unrest and a roving nature, to take up two 100 acre sections which his late father had purchased in London when the first settlement was being promoted. After clearing five acres and erecting a hut, young Arnold on the advice of Domett went across to Picton with the Welds and thence made his way overland to Nelson, where Domett encouraged him to expect the headmastership of Nelson College. Delays occurred in connection with the establishment of this College and Arnold taught from February to October, 1849, in the Bishop's Grammar School, which was held in the old stockade erected upon what was then known as Fort (now Church) Hill. Arnold then left for Tasmania where the Governor, Sir William Denison, who was, like Domett, an old pupil of Dr. Arnold's, had offered him the post of inspector of schools.

On January 3rd, 1854, the Rev. H. F. Butt, writing to the superintendent of Nelson, for assistance, says:—"It is with sorrow and regret that we are compelled to state that our school in Nelson has been closed for some time past although it was one of earliest in the settlement." The assistance given enabled the school to be reopened and when the Provincial system was established a few years later the Bishop's School alone was retained as a denominational school for the Church of England, the remaining Church schools being merged into the public school system.

* Thomas Arnold, *Passages in a Wandering Life*, pp. 64-112.

The first Roman Catholic clergyman resident in Nelson was Father Garin, who came in 1850 with one lay brother—Claude Marie Bertrand. Prior to that Father O'Reilly visited the settlement from Wellington, and in his parish diary is this graceful entry, so thoroughly characteristic of the spirit of Christian tolerance and charity that seemed to prevail from the first in this settlement:—

* “The Catholics, aided by kind subscriptions of the Protestants, erected a little chapel on land belonging to them.”

This “little chapel,” which cost exactly £43 to build, was opened on Easter Sunday, 1847. It was not, however, till Father Moreau's arrival in July, 1851, that a school was opened. The chapel was the school house, Miss O'Dowd the teacher, and the attendance on opening day numbered 19 boys and 20 girls. For the first few years at least, no school fees were charged. In the second year the attendance had grown to 49 and a separate teacher was appointed for the boys' side—J. J. McQuade. Father Garin also established a boarding school of which he took personal charge. Father Moreau taught French, Latin and Mathematics to the senior pupils. It is interesting to note that Archbishop Redwood, Metropolitan of the Catholic Church of New Zealand, was one of Father Garin's first pupils. A convent, with high and parochial schools for girls, as well as industrial schools for both boys and girls, was established later (1870-1871). These were conducted by the Sisters of the Mission. This completed the Catholic school system. All these schools were numerously attended by Protestants as well as Catholics. They were supported entirely from the modest fees paid by the children and the funds which Father Garin was able to provide. In 1855 the attendance was 120. The interesting feature of these Nelson Roman Catholic schools is that during the ordinary school hours no religious instruction was given as the children attending embraced all denominations, the Catholic children being taught religion either before or after school. The standard of efficiency was unusually high and the schools, like the public schools, were known by the name of their founder, as “Father Garin's schools.” Unquestionably the efficiency and public character of these schools, as well as the tact and personal popularity of Father Garin, went far to secure

* When on February 16th, 1887, the Nelson (Church of England) Cathedral was consecrated, the other Protestant churches held no services in order that all might attend the Cathedral service. And when in 1890 the Earl of Onslow laid the foundation stone of the present Methodist Church the Bishop and clergy of the Church of England and other Protestant churches took part in the ceremony.

for the Catholic population in 1857 that practical consideration of their special views on religious education which resulted in the establishment of the Nelson "separated schools" as a regular part of the Provincial school system.* The good Father, whose pastorate lasted for 39 years, outlived Matthew Campbell by five years. When he died on April 14th, 1889, the whole community mourned, and there is no doubt that early Nelson was doubly fortunate in the possession of such enthusiastic and practical educationists as these two men.

The following first official Returns of schools, personally compiled by Major Richmond as Superintendent in 1847 from the original returns of the teachers themselves, is still preserved and is worthy of reproduction.† It shows that both Mrs. Fox and Mrs. Dillon, as well as their husbands, took an active and unselfish interest in the cause of public education. The insistence upon the 'public' character of the schools will also be noted.

RETURNS OF SCHOOLS—1847.

Public or Free and Where Situated.	Teacher and Salary.	Enrol- ment.	System.	Sources of Income and Remarks.
NELSON—				
1 Public, Trafalgar Square	R. Sutcliff, £50 p.a.; Rev. H. F. Butt	55	Anglican	Church of Eng- land and Fees
1 Public, Bridge Street and Infant School	M. Campbell and others	84 55	British and Foreign	Fees (2d. & 3d. per week) and public Sub- scription
1 Public, Selwyn Place	Mrs. Wilson	9	No parti- cular mode	Fees
1 Private and Free, Haven Road	Mrs. Fox and Miss Derwent	12	—	Supported by Mrs. Fox
RURAL—				
1 Public, Marsden's Wood, Waimea South	—	20	British and Foreign	(As above)
1 Free Waimea West	—	15	No parti- cular mode	Supported by Mrs. Dillon
1 Public, Riwaka	Wm. Irvine	20	Wesleyan	Fees and Sub- scriptions
Total Attendance at Day School		280		

* "If we are the only religious body who bring forward such conscientious objections, we do not see that the Government would suffer any harm or be hindered in carrying out its own views by granting to the schools belonging to the Roman Catholics a sum which would enable them to procure for their children an instruction which may be in conformity with their own principles, as they are willing to submit themselves to the inspection of Government Inspectors in regard to secular matters."—Memorial of Roman Catholics against the Education Act of 1856, dated April 14, 1857. (Signed A. M. Garin, Catholic Priest, H. Redwood, sen., H. Redwood, jun., John Sullivan, J. W. G. Beauchamp.)—*Votes and Proceedings*, Nelson Provincial Council, Session IV, 1857.

† For complete list of pioneer teachers see Appendix D-6.

It only remains to add a brief note upon the early history of Nelson College, which is interwoven with that of the settlement itself. After a long struggle on the part of the settlers, in which the late Dr. Greenwood, afterwards Principal of the College and Inspector of schools for the Nelson district, took a vigorous part, the New Zealand Company eventually paid over to the trustees appointed under the "Nelson Trust Funds Act, 1854" the sum of £20,578 0s. 6d. in full and final settlement of the claims of the settlers. The College for which the settlers had waited some fourteen years then became a reality. Without waiting for the legal formalities to be completed a beginning was made on April 7th, 1856, in a "tumble-down edifice in Trafalgar Square near the Cathedral." Here the school was opened and conducted for some months while a building in Manuka Street, near the Catholic Church, was being prepared. In these premises the College was conducted until October 2nd, 1861, when the permanent building was occupied.

The catholicity of spirit which animated the minds of the Nelson settlers is nowhere better exemplified than in the following clause from the Deed of Foundation of the College which was executed on November 14th, 1857:—

"The funds of the institution having arisen from the contributions of persons of different religious persuasions, creed cannot be admitted as a disqualification either as regards teachers or pupils."

The first Governors were J. D. Greenwood, Charles Elliott, David Monro, J. W. Saxton, J. W. Barnicoat, C. B. Wither, Wm. Wells, H. C. Daniell, and Alfred Domett.

The following is a facsimile of the original advertisement of the College which appeared in the *Nelson Examiner* of March 22nd, 1856:—

NELSON COLLEGIATE SCHOOL.

The Board of trustees of the Nelson trust funds are enabled to announce that they have made arrangements for opening the above school (*based on unsectarian principles*), on Monday, the 7th April, next.

Headmaster—Rev. J. C. Bagshaw, M.A. (Brasenose College, Oxford).

Terms—Day scholars, £6 per annum. Payments to be made quarterly in advance.

Application for admission to be made to the Headmaster, from whom further information may be obtained, at the school house, Manuka Street (the late residence of Mr. Mabin).

The Headmaster will be prepared to receive a limited number of boarders and day boarders.

A. G. Jenkins, *Secretary*.

22nd March, 1856.

Thus in its provision for higher education also, the predominant characteristics of the Nelson scheme were the complete elimination of all trace of denominationalism, and the establishment of its institutions upon the broadest possible public basis.

CHAPTER XIV.

OTAGO—WHERE THE PRESBYTERY RULED SUPREME.

By the "Terms of Purchase," the name given to the Agreement between the Otago Association and the New Zealand Company, the price of land within the settlement was fixed at £2 per acre, and one-eighth of the entire proceeds of the land sales was to be set apart for "religious and educational purposes" under the control of trustees for the Presbyterian Church of Otago; but instead of the money being paid to the trustees, it was invested in settlement land by way of an endowment for the purposes named. The property so purchased was vested in the Presbyterian Church of Otago, and, when the responsibility for public education devolved upon the Provincial Council, the endowment was found to be beyond the reach of the authorities for "educational purposes." The Company had, however, at the outset advanced some £3,500 against the fund, and out of this a building was erected to serve both as schoolhouse and church and the salary of the teacher paid for some three years.

There is no difficulty about determining the first school in Presbyterian Otago.* It was begun before ever Otago was

* The first teachers at Waikouaiti, which was outside the original "Otago Block," were as follows:—

DR. JOSEPH CROCOMBE received the Surgical Diploma of the London Royal College of Surgeons on the 19th June, 1833. For some two years following he was medical officer on a whaling vessel. The ship being wrecked near New Caledonia, the survivors, including the doctor, were brought in a pitiable condition to Sydney. Upon recovery Dr. Crocombe engaged to attend Weller's whaling station at Otago Heads, where he landed on May 8th, 1836. Two years later Mr. John Jones engaged him to attend his station at Waikouaiti, where he performed "various kinds of duties as they were required, acting as clerk to Mr. Jones' small goods store and medical adviser and *teacher* to the European families." He was twice married, his first wife being a native, by whom he had a son and a daughter. He died in 1873. Dr. Crocombe, therefore, has some claim to be regarded as the first teacher in the South Island.—See *History of Waikouaiti*, by Rev. John Christie, p. 67. Then came the Revs. J. Watkin and C. Creed, mentioned in the text, the latter of whom was responsible for the engagement of—

MR. THOMAS FERENS—as witness the following:—"In the ship 'John Wickliffe,' which arrived in 1848, and brought the first contingent of

reached—if such an Irishism may be permitted about a Scots School—by James Blackie, the official schoolmaster to the settlement, who called the roll on the ship “Philip Laing”* soon after the voyage began, and continued to give instruction “every weekday excepting Saturday, without intermission, while the emigrants remained on board.” On the settlers arrival at their destination, after a brief interval pending the erection of the school house, Mr. Blackie conducted the school there until 1853, when ill-health compelled him to resign his office. In the summer months the attendance rose to as many as 70, but in winter fell to little above 40. At first no charge had been made for schooling, but in July, 1849 the Kirk Session decided to institute a fee of from two to three shillings per quarter.

When the New Zealand Company surrendered its Charter in 1850 the colonists were thrown completely on their own resources. A public meeting was held and it was decided to raise money by public subscription and to proceed with the establishment of a small primary school in each district “so that every child shall be taught to read and write.” At the central school Mr. Blackie was succeeded in turn by Messrs. Wm. McKenzie, J. E. Brown (temporarily), Robert McDowal (or McDowell), and Wm. Somerville, until it was reconstituted in 1856 by the *Education Ordinance* of that year. In addition to this school a small school for girls at the lower end of Walker Street was kept for a time by Miss Peterson; another by Mr. Alex. Gebbie, a widower, in a fern-tree whare with a clay floor in the North-East Valley. In 1854 these two were married and “by agreement with the Kirk Session and the settlers”† Mr. Gebbie opened a school in the new church at East Taieri. Miss Peterson’s school apparently lapsed, but not so that in the fern-tree whare in the Valley, where Mr. Gebbie was succeeded in turn by Messrs. Robert Short, Andrew Russell, and A. G. Allan.

immigrants to Otago, there came a young local preacher from the city of Durham, Thomas Ferens by name. He had received a good education, and was full of zeal. A few days after his arrival the Rev. C. Creed visited him, and one or two other Methodists at Port Chalmers. After inspecting his credentials, Mr. Creed offered him the position of *day school teacher* for the Maori, half-caste, and European children on the Mission station (at Waikouaiti). He accepted the proposal, and discharged these duties for about three years.” Mr. Ferens’ son (Mr. W. H. Ferens) is still living in Dunedin, the President of the Otago Early Settlers’ Association.—See Morley, *The History of Methodism*, p. 135.

* Out of 247 passengers on this ship 93 were children under 14 years of age.

† Dr. J. Hislop in *Picturesque Dunedin*, p. 140.

In October, 1853 there was established at Green Island under Mr. Thomas Bell what is now the oldest primary school in Otago, through whose classrooms no fewer than 6000 pupils have passed in the seventy odd years of its existence. Mr. Bell was succeeded in 1855 by the Rev. A. Bethune, who left in the following year for the new settlement at Invercargill. Of this school Messrs. Adam Wright (1856-1858), A. G. Allan (1858-1874), Wm. Taylor (for six months in 1874) and Wm. Duncan (1874-1897) were the successive head teachers under the Otago Provincial Education Board. Of the assistant teachers of those early days the most notable is Miss Caroline Freeman, herself a former pupil of the school, and later the first woman to graduate (B.A., N.Z., 1885) from the Otago University, and the founder of the Girton Colleges, Dunedin and Christchurch.

As early as 1849 a small private elementary school was conducted at Port Chalmers by Mr. Bramley, and one for infants by Mrs. Johnson; but the Port Chalmers public school, erected in 1869 into a District High School, was opened in 1856 under Mr. Colin Allan, whose daughter, Miss Flora M. Allan, M.A., later for many years occupied the position of Lady Principal of the Otago Girls' High School. Mr. Allan's successors during the Provincial period were Mr. Wm. Reid (1861-1869, with Miss Hooman (1864) as the first lady assistant), and Mr. Mackay (1869-1881). In 1857 the Portobello school was opened as a "side school," the first teacher being Mrs. Edwards,* who resigned in 1861.

The following additional Otago schools date from 1856:—The "Dunedin High School" (Alex. Livingston and Miss Margaret Dods), which became in 1862 the Dunedin (now Arthur Street) School (Thomas Halliwell, 1862-1878); and the East Taieri School (John Hislop, 1856-1861). In 1858 new schools were opened at Wakari (A. D. Johnston, 1858-1864); Anderson's Bay (Andrew Russell,† 1858-1865); West Taieri (E. S.

* Mrs. Edwards was the mother of Judge Edwards of the New Zealand Supreme Court.

† Copy of COMMISSION in favour of Mr. Andrew Russell, 1858.

We James Crawford Junior and John Auld writers to Her Majesty's Signet at Edinburgh two of the Agents in Great Britain for the Province of Otago in New Zealand appointed by the Immigration and British Agent Ordinance of the said Province in the eighteenth year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. . . do hereby appoint the said Andrew Russell as one of the Teachers or Schoolmasters of the said Province at a salary of not less than One Hundred Pounds sterling per annum besides a house rent free which salary we as authorised and empowered by the said Power of Attorney do hereby bind and oblige

Gardner 1858-1866); in 1861 at North-East Harbour, North Taieri, Waiholā, Otakia, South Clutha, Wairepa, Caversham.

In 1856, following upon the enactment of an Education Ordinance drafted by himself, Mr. John McGlashan, who was already Provincial Solicitor and Treasurer, became the first Secretary of the newly established Education Board, a position which he held until 1861, when he was succeeded by Mr. (later Dr.) John Hislop, himself the draftsman of the successive Otago Education Ordinances and the colonial Education Bill of 1871. The following is the Return of Schools given in his first report dated 30th September, 1857:—

the Provincial Council of the Said Province of Otago and the Superintendent thereof and his successors in office to make payment to the said Andrew Russell and that in four quarterly payments yearly but under the following conditions—

PRIMO THAT the said salary shall commence to run from the time of the arrival at Dunedin of the said Andrew Russell

SECUNDO THAT the said salary shall be due and paid only during the good behaviour and faithful performance of the duties required of and from the said Andrew Russell

TERTIO THAT the fees to be levied from the pupils their parents or guardians by the said Teacher shall be at such rates and payable at such time as shall be fixed or sanctioned by the Otago Board of Education aforesaid and shall be imputed by the Teacher PRO TANTO of his salary and he shall be entitled to receive for his own behoof any fees so levied or drawn by him above the amount of the said salary

QUARTO THAT the said Teacher shall conform to the above said Education Ordinance or any other Ordinance to be passed in that behalf by the Superintendent and Provincial Council of the said Province and any rules or by-laws made in pursuance thereof

QUINTO THAT the school books and school apparatus which shall be placed at the disposal of the said Teacher shall remain the property of the Otago Board of Education and be subject to their orders

SEXTO THAT the passage money of the said Teacher and his Wife to the extent of Sixty Pounds sterling having been undertaken to be paid by us on behalf of the said Provincial Government the said Andrew Russell shall not be called upon to repay the sum of Sixty Pounds provided he continues for the space of three years in the Province from the time of his landing in Dunedin faithfully to perform his duties as Teacher to the satisfaction of the said Board of Education

BUT shall he not so discharge such duties he shall be held liable and by acceptance of the appointment now made he hereby becomes bound to pay the full amount of his passage money viz. Sixty Pounds sterling to the Provincial Treasurer of the said Province for the time being
IN WITNESS whereof these presents written on this and the two preceding pages by Robert Thomson clerk to the said James Crawford Junior are subscribed" etc.

(Signed) JAMES CRAWFORD
JOHN AULD

Witnesses JOHN A. MORISON
ROBT. THOMPSON

ROBT. TOMSON
S. GREIG

OTAGO EDUCATION BOARD.—RETURN OF SCHOOLS.

District.	Teacher.	Remarks.	Average Attend- ance.
1. Dunedin ...	Alex. Livingstone, sen. (Rector)	Alex. Livingstone and Miss M. Dods (Assistants)	101
2. North-East Valley	Vacant	Site bought; school and residence being built	14
3. { Port Chalmers	Colir Allan	School in Wesleyan Chapel	31
{ Portobello ...	Mrs. Edwards	School and house (Not stated)	
4. Halfway Bush ...	Vacant	School & house about to be built	
5. Anderson's Bay	Vacant	School & house about to be built	
6. Green Island Bush	Adam Wright	School and house	20
7. Taieri East ...	John Hislop	School in Church; house built	36
8. Taieri West ...	Vacant	School and house not yet built	
9. Waihola ...	Vacant	School and house not yet built	
10. Tokomairiro ...	Alex. Ayson	School and house	34
11. Clutha ...	Vacant	None	
Total ...			236

In the report for the following year (1858), we find these vacancies filled and new schools opened as under:—

North-East Valley—Alex. Allan.
Wakari—A. D. Johnston.
Anderson's Bay—Andrew Russell.
West Taieri—Alex. Gardner.
Inchclutha—Alex. Grigor.

The Report itself, speaking of these and earlier appointments, says:—

“The schoolmasters of all the principal schools are qualified, it is believed, to conduct the higher branches of education when there will be a demand for them. It has been the aim of the Board to establish in the educational districts hitherto erected a scientific standard of education. For this end professional schoolmasters have been procured from Britain—men conversant with the science and art of teaching—trained men who not only have acquired knowledge for themselves, but who have acquired it with a view to teach others.”

And such they were, with the result that the standard of education was higher in Otago than in any other Province. Some of these appointments were also notable for the length of

their duration, the record for a single school being surely that of the South (now High Street) Dunedin School, which had only two headmasters in sixty years—J. B. Park (1864-1891) and J. W. Smith (1891-1924). Other long headmasterships were those of Alex. Stewart (Union Street, 1863-1907); Andrew Russell (Mornington, 1865-1881), and Wm. Duncan (Green Island, 1874-1897). At the Union Street School, Mr. Stewart had as his assistants Mr. (later Sir) Robert Stout and Miss Stott, the three teachers being familiarly known as the three S's.

Under the McGlashan Ordinance, although no funds were available from the Presbyterian endowments for public education, the Presbyterian character of the public schools of Otago was, as we shall see, very strictly safeguarded. In the first place, no one could be appointed a teacher unless he presented a certificate from his minister guaranteeing his fitness to give the religious instruction which was as much a part of his duty as the giving of secular instruction. Secondly, as a further security, although one which in practice proved unnecessary, any two male parents might impeach the soundness of his doctrine before the school committee and the Board, with provision for his dismissal without appeal in the event of the charge being sustained. Nor was it until the overwhelming influx of the miners in the early 'sixties led to the rapid secularisation of the system that the schools and teachers were emancipated from this rigorous subservience to the ministers and elders of the kirk. For the first twelve years of the settlement, therefore, the school system was a public one maintained partly out of the Provincial revenues and partly by fees levied on all pupils, but to all intents and purposes under the effective control of the Presbyterian Church alone. Indeed, the only private denominational school in Otago during these early years appears to have been that of the Roman Catholic Church, opened in 1864, in old St. Joseph's Church under Mr. Shepherd (boys) and Miss Campion (girls).

Early in the history of the settlement (about 1855) Mr. J. G. S. Grant, then newly arrived from Victoria, endeavoured to establish "The Dunedin Academy," with a fanfare of characteristic advertisements, but the venture met with but little success and was soon abandoned. On the other hand, a private school conducted by Mr. John Shaw in Albany Street, near Leith Street, in the 'sixties received a considerable measure of public support. Sir Robert Stout taught for a time at this school also. Later both headmaster and assistant abandoned teaching for the legal profession in which Sir Robert rose to be the Chief Justice of New Zealand. For the names of other early Otago teachers down to 1867 see Appendix D-8.

With the tremendous influx of free immigration consequent on the gold mining boom, a new condition of affairs arose in

Dunedin, to which reference is made in the following extract from the Otago Education Board's Report for 1864:—

“About four months ago, Mrs. O’Rafferty, wife of a surveyor in this city, pitying the sad case of those children whom she noticed running idle in the streets, altogether uneducated, untrained and uncared for, rented a small apartment in St. Andrew Street, secured the services of a very competent female teacher (Miss Connely, who was succeeded in the following year by Mrs. Whatman), and on her own responsibility and at her own charge, opened a Free School for those children. She visited the parents at their own houses, and succeeded in inducing many of them to send their children to her school, so that in a short time the class room became crowded and a number had to be refused admission for want of accommodation.”

This admirable work developed so rapidly that in the following year larger premises were secured for the first school in Bath Street and a second free school established in Walker Street; while a third was being planned for the neighbourhood of Pelichet Bay. Other ladies became interested in the movement and the Provincial Government was induced to bear practically the whole expense of the Bath Street School, leaving the others to the management of the ladies’ committees and the generosity of the public.

For an account of the establishment of the Otago Boys and Girls High Schools, and of the Otago University, which were founded with the thoroughness that characterised the whole educational system of the Scottish Province, see Chapter XXX.

CHAPTER XV.

DENOMINATIONALISM IN CANTERBURY.

(a) THE ANGLICAN SCHOOLS.

The Canterbury settlement was not established until December, 1850, only three years before the granting of constitutional government. The ecclesiastical and educational aims of the promoters soared high. The proportion to be reserved for religious and educational purposes out of the proceeds of the sale of Canterbury lands, the price of which was fixed at £3 per acre, was no less than one-third.*

"As there were a million acres for sale, a million pounds would thus be raised for the endowment of a bishopric, for the building of churches and parsonages, for the erection and equipment of a university, and for an ample supply of schools and schoolmasters."

But alas! (if I may quote a Scottish bard in relation to an English settlement)—

"The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men,
Gang aft a-gley!"

A brilliant educationist, the Rev. Thomas Jackson, M.A., Prebendary of St. Paul's and Principal of the famous Battersea Training College for teachers, who was selected to be the first Bishop of the settlement, *venit, vidit, abiit*—in other words, he came to Lyttelton, but, being disappointed with the site of his see, promptly returned to England and accepted another appointment. Upon which the said see remained vacant until the arrival of Bishop Harper in 1857.

In 1853, the Canterbury Association, being in a tight financial corner, and seeing this "one-third" accumulating most attractively, hit upon the clever expedient of paying the money over to itself for the purchase of an endowment of *land* for the objects of the trust. The capital was thus placed beyond the reach of the settlers for the provision of *either churches or schools*, and the income from the investment was at first no more than £140 per annum. The high price of the land had

* Purchas—*Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement*, p. 32.

already taxed the resources of the settlers to the utmost, and it was difficult to raise money by voluntary subscription for purposes for which they felt they had already made generous provision. Consequently there was no Cathedral* until 1881. And instead of "an ample supply of schools and schoolmasters" there was a lamentable dearth of educational facilities for quite a number of years. Sites were provided in abundance, but there was no capital to build on them. Hence the strange anomaly that with the exception of the "Canterbury College and Grammar School," the settlers in what was educationally the most richly endowed Province of all, had to depend for many years to a large extent upon private enterprise for the education of their children.†

‡ "Education," says James Hay, "was a big problem for the pioneers. There was too much work to be done for the parents to find time for teaching, and by the time teachers were procured many were grown up; so that the classes at school were, for a time, mixed with reference to stature and age."

What the Canterbury people needed was a branch of the Nelson School Society—and a Matthew Campbell! Instead, we find the settlers compelled to act for themselves. For instance, Mr. Ebenezer Hay, father of our author, who came out to Wellington in 1840 and removed to Canterbury in 1843, is said to have taken

§ "a keen interest in educational matters, and himself built a district school on his own land and secured a teacher, the families benefiting contributing only to the salary of the teacher, and not to the building."

It was to this particular school, situated at Pigeon Bay, that Mr. J. W. Gillespie (1859) and Mr. W. S. Fitzgerald (1861), later Principal of the Dunedin Training College and Inspector of Schools, were first brought out from the Old Country by Mr. Hay. The members of the Rhodes family also, as well as a number of others, were generous in assisting various districts to obtain schools in the early days in a similar manner.||

* It was not in fact until 1900 that the Cathedral was completed.

† See also Purchas, H. T., *Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement*, p. 71.

‡ Hay, *Earliest Canterbury*, p. 63.

§ *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

|| "I have consented to guarantee the salary of a schoolmaster at Akaroa where a strong wish to have one was expressed and where there is reason to hope that a large proportion of the sum required

The first schoolmaster of the settlement was the Rev. (later Dean) Henry Jacobs, M.A., who, like James Blackie of Otago, had received his appointment in England before the colonists set out for New Zealand. He arrived on December 17th, 1850, upon the "Sir George Seymour," of which ship he was Chaplain; but there is no record of any school having been conducted *en route*. Immediately on arrival, however, he established his "College and Grammar School" in two rooms in the Immigration Barracks at Lyttelton, then larger than Christchurch.* Dean Jacobs was "Classical Professor" and Mr. C. A. Calvert, B.A., "Mathematical Tutor" of the collegiate department. The former was also headmaster of the Grammar School, in which he had the assistance of Mr. W. H. Holmes, one of Dr. Jackson's Battersea trainees, who had in fact come to Canterbury in the same vessel with him. Indeed, several of Dr. Jackson's trainees were brought out to the Colony by the Canterbury Association.† These men were excellent teachers, but their services were, in several cases, lost to the settlement owing to

will be made up by the school fees. Mr. Manson and Mrs. Gebbie, old settlers who have purchased Land Orders and selected land under them at the head of this bay, have also applied for a schoolmaster offering to pay half his salary (£35 per annum) and to build a house for him with a school attached."—J. R. Godley to the Secretary of the Canterbury Association, 4th June, 1851.

* "The Bishop of New Zealand arrived here in his schooner on Friday last on his way to the Southward. He preached twice yesterday and has this day opened our first school at the store."—Letter, J. R. Godley to Secretary Canterbury Association, January 6, 1851.

† The Estimate of "Expenditure to be provided for during 1851" for the Canterbury settlement includes

Salaries—Jacobs	---	---	---	---	£200
Holmes (Grammar School)	---	---	---	---	70
Calvert (Grammar School)	---	---	---	---	70
Toomath (Elementary School)	---	---	---	---	70
Bilton (Elementary School)	---	---	---	---	70
Miss Simpson (Girls' School)	---	---	---	---	35
Miss Ransom (Girls' School)	---	---	---	---	35
Allowance for School and Fittings	---	---	---	---	100

(Signed) G. A. New Zealand
Thomas Jackson
John Robt. Godley

—From Despatch dated 4th February, 1851: J. R. Godley to Secretary Canterbury Association, January 6, 1851.

"The non-arrival of Mr. Jackson and the want of any instruction as to his views leave me in a state of considerable perplexity with reference to the Clergy and schoolmasters, who have come out and who of course are too numerous to find occupation among our present population."—Letter J. R. Godley to Secretary, Canterbury Association January 6, 1851.

the inability of the Association to carry out its educational ideals. Thus Mr. Robert Wadsworth, who taught for some time at Akaroa, where he opened the first school, went to Wellington in April, 1852. So also Mr. Edward Toomath, who arrived in the "Cressy" and taught at Lyttelton for two years, went to Wellington in October, 1853, whither Mr. W. H. Holmes had preceded him the year before. Other English trained teachers were Mr. Saunders, who taught in the first Wesleyan School in High Street, and Mr. John Bilton, who had charge of the first Anglican Elementary School in Christchurch,* which was opened on July 20th, 1851, in connection with the old Church of St. Michael.†

Early in 1852 the College and Grammar School were transferred to Christchurch, which had been selected as the capital of the settlement, and were housed in the parsonage of St. Michael's to which a room 17 feet by 16 feet was added for a schoolroom. In 1854, Mr. F. Thompson was appointed assistant master in the Grammar School, which was the only part of the

* "The foundation of St. Michael's and All Angels, small though the beginning was, was immediately followed by the opening of a primary day school, the mother school of St. Michael's, and the only primary school in Christchurch at that time and for some little while after. It was held at first in the Church, but before long a schoolroom and a master's house were erected on a site a little nearer Tuam Street than that of the present buildings, with surroundings more picturesque than now to be seen. The first year or two the school was supported by the Church and voluntary subscriptions. When the Provincial Government came into existence the Church of England, Presbyterian, Methodist and Roman Catholic bodies each received a subsidy *pro rata* for religious and educational principles, and Bishop Harper, to whom was given that for the Church of England, allocated it, giving St. Michael's day school what he thought fit. The first master appointed to the schools was Mr. Bilton. He was followed by Mr. Prince, who in turn was succeeded by Mr. Hawley, who arrived in the "Cashmere," Mrs. Hawley having charge of the girls. During this period the school perhaps reached its highest part of success, both for sound education and as regards numbers, upwards of 400 pupils being enrolled.—From the Souvenir and Handbook of St. Michael's and All Angels Church, Christchurch, published 15th December, 1913.

† In the course of a sermon preached on the occasion of its opening the Rev. H. Jacobs, speaking from the text, "Who hath despised the day of small things?" (Zech. iv, 10), said:—

"We are opening the first church and school, in the capital of a new settlement. This is the first permanent and substantial building erected for the purposes of divine worship and religious education in this colony. . . .

It may be, in the course of God's providence and in future years, that the commencement of systematic religious and secular instruction and regular divine worship in a great city, the metropolis of a thriving nation, may be traced back to this building, and to this day."

institution really in operation. In 1853 almost the first business done by the new Provincial Council was to constitute the College and endow it with no less than one-fifth of the total lands acquired by the Association for endowment purposes. Thus, of all the educational ideals of the promoters of the settlement, the only one that was not postponed was the establishment of an endowed "*Public School* on the plan of the Great Public Schools of England, the course of instruction to resemble as nearly as possible that of Westminster, Eton, Winchester, and Harrow."*

Having quoted from the deed of Foundation of Nelson College, we may now, by way of contrast, quote an equally characteristic extract from that of the corresponding Canterbury institution,† incorporated some four years before its Nelson rival (the italics are again ours):—

"We do hereby found the said College to the honour and glory of the eternal and ever Blessed Trinity for the propagation of the Most Holy Christian Religion *as it is now professed and taught by the United Church of England and Ireland*, and for the promotion of sound piety and useful learning, more especially within the said Province of Canterbury."

And to be strictly impartial, likewise the first advertisement of the College as it appeared in *The Lyttelton Times* of the 8th March, 1851:—

"The Lyttelton

Collegiate Grammar School.

"This Department of the College has been commenced and will for some time be carried on in the Schoolroom at Lyttelton under the care of the Classical Professor of the College.

"The course of instruction will embrace the Greek and Latin Classics, Ancient and Modern History, Ecclesiastical History, and Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra and Euclid, Vocal Music, Drawing, and French; *and, above all, the Doctrines of the Christian Religion, as expounded by the United Church of England and Ireland.*"

The terms were fixed at two guineas per quarter, in advance, to commence "on Lady-day," and 2s. 6d. (lower forms) 5s. (upper) for the use of books; and for the Preparatory School,

* After the arrival of Bishop Harper, and the enactment of the first Canterbury *Education Ordinance*, 1857, a considerable number of Anglican schools were established, a list of which will be found in Appendix D.

† *Christ's College and Grammar School List*, p. 14.

1s. per pupil per week; and the advertisement was signed, "By Order of the Bishop-Designate, Christopher A. Calvert, Secretary."^{*}

(b) THE WESLEYAN SCHOOLS.

We have seen how the Wesleyan denomination was established in Canterbury contemporaneously with the foundation of the Settlement itself. Its adherents threw themselves with enthusiasm into the task of organising their church and its work, and by 1853 had chapels and schools in both Christchurch and Lyttelton.

^{*} The difference between the educational organisation and curriculum of 1851 and those of our own day is clearly brought out by the companion advertisements of the Lyttelton "Church Commercial" School and Evening Classes, both under the superintendence of Mr. Edward Toomath, who continued to be a conspicuous figure in early New Zealand educational affairs for over 30 years.

From *The Lyttelton Times*, March 8th, 1851:—

"The Lyttelton

Church Commercial School.

This School has now been in operation for nearly two months. It is a mixed school for the present of Boys and Girls above the age of 6 and under 14. The terms for the first and second classes are 6d. each per week; for the under classes 3d.; to be paid to the Master of the School every Monday morning in advance.

The school is under the general superintendence and inspection of the Clergy, who, besides regularly teaching for a certain time each day, will examine the children periodically in public, as well in their religious knowledge as in the general acquirements.

The History and Geography of the Old and New Testaments, the Church Catechism, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, Modern Geography, and Vocal Music, will form the principal subjects of instruction. The girls will also be taught needlework.

Instruction will be provided in the elements of Mechanics, Natural Philosophy, Land Surveying, Mensuration, Linear and Figure drawing. The payment of 6d. extra per week will entitle a boy or girl to instruction in any or all of these subjects.

By order of the Bishop Designate of Lyttelton,

Christopher A. Calvert, Secretary."

From the same paper, April 12th, 1851:—

"Evening Classes.

"Messrs. Toomath and Holmes

"Beg respectfully to inform the inhabitants of Lyttelton that they intend opening evening classes for the instruction of Adults and Young Persons of both sexes, chiefly in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic; to which may be added, if required, English Grammar and Composition, Music, Drawing, Mathematics, etc.

"Time of attendance—Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, 7-8. To commence Monday, 28th inst.

"For terms and particulars apply at the Commercial School."

According to the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Canterbury Volume,* the honour of opening the first school in Christchurch belongs to Mr. John Broughton,† an ex-officer of the Royal Engineers, and an accomplished German scholar, who arrived in the "Cressy" on December 27th, 1850, and "after engaging in various occupations became the first schoolmaster in Christchurch, continuing in that work until 1870, when he retired into private life." Mr. Broughton was a member of the Wesleyan Church, having been "converted" soon after his arrival in the colony, and was the donor of the site in High Street,‡ upon which the first Wesleyan Church was erected, 35 feet by 20 feet, said to be at that time the largest building in the township. Dr. Morley records that when the Wesleyans established a day school in connection with this church—aided by a subsidy of £80 per annum from the Government—they first appointed Mr. Saunders, "an approved teacher and preacher from England," and on his retirement were fortunate to secure Mr. Broughton's services "at a salary of £10 per month." Mr. Broughton was succeeded by Mr. J. Cumberworth, who continued teaching there for many years, even after the school was removed to the site of the present Durham Street Church in the middle 'sixties. When, after 1857, Government grants under the first Canterbury *Education Ordinance* were made available to the denominational schools, additional Wesleyan Schools were established at Kaiapoi, Woodend, Papanui, and St. Albans.

* Page 357.

† An exhaustive enquiry and search made in Christchurch by the writer amongst the family and old pupils of Mr. Broughton as well as at the offices of the Methodist Church of New Zealand, the Diocese of Christchurch, and the Canterbury Education Board, failed to substantiate the claim thus made. The Blue Book of the Colony for 1852, which mentions the names of Messrs. Jacobs, Bilton, Horrell and Toomath, is silent about Mr. Broughton. Nor is there either amongst the advertisements or in the news columns of *The Lyttelton Times* throughout the year 1851 any reference to Mr. Broughton as a teacher, while two advertisements appear relative to Mr. Bilton and St. Michael's Anglican School—one on April 12th intimating that Mr. John Bilton is "prepared to give private instruction on pianoforte and vocal music; enquiry to be made at the Church Commercial School, Lyttelton;" the other announcing the publication of a small pamphlet, according to Dr. T. M. Hocken the first printed in the settlement, containing the sermon preached by the Rev. Henry Jacobs "at the opening of the first church and school in Christchurch on Sunday, July 20th, 1851." The Government subsidy referred to by Dr. Morley clearly belongs to the Provincial period which did not begin until 1853.

‡ This gift was made in 1853.

(c) THE PRESBYTERIAN SCHOOLS.

We have seen that the earliest settlers on the Canterbury plains were Scotch Presbyterians. It was a great disappointment to these settlers and their families when Mr. Tuckett rejected the Canterbury Plains as a site for the Scottish settlement, more especially because it was known that a minister and a schoolmaster were being sent out with the first contingent of colonists. In 1856, however, their numbers having been swelled by later arrivals, the Presbyterians in Canterbury felt themselves strong enough to establish a church of their own. On Saturday, April 13th, of that year the Rev. Charles Fraser arrived and preached in the Wesleyan Chapel on the following day, and thereafter, by arrangement, once each Sunday in the Wesleyan Chapels at Christchurch and Lyttelton until, on February 1st, 1857, St. Andrew's Church, Christchurch, was ready for occupation. Upon the enactment of the *Canterbury Education Ordinance* in 1857, the Presbyterians, like the other denominations, began actively to establish schools of their own, and on the 15th November, 1858, the congregation of St. Andrew's Church opened the "Christchurch Boys' High School." The original building was in Oxford Terrace, but was removed in 1864 to the site of the present West Christchurch District High School. The first master was Mr. McEwan, and the school was continued until 1874 under a succession of able Headmasters, viz., Messrs. D. Scott, Charles Cook, Alex. Montgomery, Wilmer, Edge, and the Reverends Jas. Cumming and John Campbell. Both Messrs. Cook and Montgomery had been assistant masters under Mr. Scott, and in the hands of these three teachers the school was so successful that the "Lyttelton Times" in a review of the educational facilities of the Province dated June 14th, 1862, said of it "Provincial statistics show that it has produced higher results than any similar educational establishment in the City." The Rev. John Campbell subsequently became Headmaster of the Napier Trust Boys' School. In 1873, the School was sold to the Canterbury Education Board and became the West Christchurch District School, under its own former Headmaster, Rev. James Cumming (1874-1882), with Miss Stothhead as assistant Mistress. The first Chairman of its School Committee under this new arrangement was Mr. H. J. Tancred, who had been Chairman of the Education Commission of 1863, and was also the first Chancellor of the New Zealand University; and in later years it was from the Headmastership of this School that Mr. John Caughley, M.A., was elevated to the post of Director of Education in New Zealand.

No less successful was the Lyttelton High School (for boys

and girls), established shortly afterwards by the same denomination at the seaport town. Its Headmaster for many years was Mr. Ferguson, under whom, in 1862, it was reported by the Inspector of Schools to be "one of the most efficient educational establishments in the Province." In addition to these primary schools were established at North and South Christchurch, Kaiapoi, Akaroa, Arowhenua, and Lincoln.

(d) THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

The Roman Catholics in Canterbury, like the Presbyterians in Auckland, were for some years without a resident clergyman of their own denomination, and consequently had no share in the first denominational educational grants. At last, in 1864, St. Joseph's School, the first Roman Catholic School in Canterbury, was opened in Lichfield Street, East Christchurch, by the efforts of Father Chatagnier. It was transferred in 1869 to a building erected at the corner of Barbadoes Street and Moorhouse Avenue. The first teacher was Mr. Edward O'Connor, his assistant being Miss Vallance. In 1868, a second school was opened for girls by the Sisters of Our Lady, and a third, in 1872, by Father Ecuyer.

There were also, in the early days, as stated above, several schools organised by the residents of country districts, as well as a number of private schools in the larger centres.

At the time of the Tancred Commission (1863), whose report resulted in the repeal of the Ordinance of 1857 and the institution of a Board of Education and establishment of public district schools, there were in existence in Canterbury some 37 schools receiving state aid. Of these, 21 belonged to the Church of England, 9 to the Presbyterians, and 7 to the Wesleyans. Of the total number 7 were in Christchurch, 5 in Lyttelton, and the remainder in the country districts. There were in addition as many as 22 purely private schools (10 in Christchurch, 3 in Lyttelton), making a total of 57 schools in the Province. Classified according to their curriculum, the Commission adjudged 13 to be "superior," 33 "ordinary," and the rest "elementary" or "dame" schools.*

* For a fuller list of the names of the pioneer teachers of Canterbury, so far as they are now ascertainable, see Appendix D.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST PROVINCIAL EDUCATION LAWS.

The New Zealand Constitution Act of the British Parliament became law on the 30th June, 1852—three years before the granting of constitutional government to the Australian colonists. It was not promulgated by Governor Grey until January 17th, 1853, and on September 27th, 1853, the first Provincial Council met, that of Canterbury. On that historic occasion Superintendent Fitzgerald in his opening address to the Council dwelt at considerable length upon the question of education, which, he said,

“* . . . presents to us two problems, upon which it is desirable that we should entertain distinct and consistent views, and, if possible, establish them as rules to be adhered to in all our future legislation. First, what is the relation in which the State in its corporate capacity is to stand towards the various religious bodies existing within it? And, secondly, in what manner and to what extent ought the State to interfere (*sic!*) in the education of the young?”

As we shall see, this same problem presented itself to each Provincial Council in turn. In all except that of Auckland, where Grey's Ordinance of 1847 was still in force and where there were already several denominational schools in receipt of Government aid, the first step taken was the appointment of a Commission or a Committee of Inquiry. The reports of these Commissions formed the basis for legislative action, and during the years 1855-7 the five chief Provinces formulated and put into legal effect the diverse systems of education which they respectively adopted.

Viewed in the light of Superintendent Fitzgerald's two questions, the educational policies of these Provinces fall into two main groups. In Auckland and Canterbury the Churches were recognised as the proper bodies to undertake the organisation of educational facilities for the young, the “interference” of the State being confined for the most part to the provision of monetary grants in aid. This view reached its logical ex-

* *Journal of Proceedings*, Canterbury Provincial Council, Sessions I to X, p. 10.

treme in Canterbury, where the Government, after providing a fixed yearly appropriation of £2,500 for a period of five years, left the whole organisation, control, and management of education to the ministerial Heads of three religious bodies. In Wellington, Nelson, and Otago the opposite principle prevailed, namely, that it is the duty of the State to organise and control as well as to finance the system of education adopted. So the question became not "in what manner and to what extent the State ought to *interfere*," but in what manner and to what extent, if at all, the Church should be permitted to *interfere* "in the education of the young." This view was pushed to its logical extreme in the Wellington statute, which enacted that "no religious instruction shall be given in any school maintained wholly or in part under this Act, and no *ministers of religion* shall be allowed to teach in or otherwise directly *interfere* in the conduct or management of any such school."

Any attempt, however, to discuss the five original Provincial systems together, cannot but fail, especially in view of what has already been said of the diverse characteristics and circumstances of the Provinces themselves. It is proposed, therefore, to treat them *seriatim*, dealing at this stage with the systems themselves and postponing until later a consideration of the practical results achieved thereby.

The dates of the passing of these statutes were—Wellington 1855, amended 1857; Nelson 1856, amended 1858; Otago 1856; Auckland and Canterbury, 1857. It will be convenient, however, to discuss the North Island enactments first, and then those of the South.

(1) WELLINGTON.

The first Wellington Provincial Council met on Friday, October 28th, 1853, and on the Monday following a Committee, later changed to a Commission, was set up to make enquiries and submit recommendations with a view to the introduction of an Education Bill. The report which was presented for adoption on January 3rd, 1855, favoured what was known as the Irish System. Only those fundamental truths upon which all sects were agreed, were to be taught; and if no such agreement could be achieved amongst the denominations the only alternative suggested was a thoroughly secular system. Both in the press and on the public platform the ministers of the churches fought hard to prevent the adoption of the Commission's proposals. The principal meeting was that which commenced in the Athenæum on Wednesday, January 10th, and was adjourned successively to the Thursday, Friday, Tuesday, and Wednesday

following, before all the speakers had fully expressed their respective feelings and opinions for and against the system proposed to be adopted. The principal resolution carried was—

“That this meeting cordially concurs in the condemnation of the Denominational System expressed in the Report, and is of opinion that . . . no opening should be afforded for . . . its adoption in any way, however modified or partial.”

The meeting from first to last was attended with the greatest enthusiasm and excitement on both sides,* the Church faction being led by the various ministers and that of the secularists by Messrs. W. Fox, the author of the Report, and W. Fitzherbert, the Provincial Secretary, while without doubt, behind the scenes, the whole weight of the Superintendent, Dr. Featherston, was thrown into the same scale. In the Provincial Council the three “F’s,” as they were called, eventually carried the day, and the Bill with its drastic secular clause was passed into law on the 20th of the following month. But the victory, as we shall see, was a Pyrrhic one, and for many years the Act barren of any real results, at least in Wellington itself, which continued to be, as heretofore, a “stronghold of the private schools.”

The following is a summary of the Act, which was comparatively short, consisting of 17 clauses only. Its purpose was “to promote the establishment of Common Schools in the Province”; but it was not to come into force except in such educational districts as the Superintendent might see fit to set up, and then only upon his proclamation made to that effect. Provision followed for the organisation of the “rate-payers” of

*The reports of the resolutions, amendments and further amendments moved at this meeting, and of the speeches delivered, occupy no fewer than thirty-four columns of the issues of the *New Zealand Spectator* from January 13th to January 27th of that year, in addition to the leading articles and correspondence also published relative to the subject. Prominent amongst the speakers were Messrs. Wm. Fox, Wm. Fitzherbert, Jerningham Wakefield, Edward Toomath, the Rev. W. St. Hill and the Rev. (later Bishop) Octavius Hadfield. With characteristic astuteness Messrs. Fox and Fitzherbert refrained from moving the chief secular resolution themselves, having secured as its proposer the Rev. R. B. Paul, a Church of England clergyman who had a few years before taken a prominent part in the early organisation of the Church in Canterbury. It is of interest also to record that both Fox and Fitzherbert were the sons of Anglican clergymen. Both were also English University men, the former being a graduate of Oxford, the latter of Cambridge. Dr. Featherston was the son of a layman, and a graduate of Edinburgh. In the same way, twenty-two years later, the secular clause in the *Education Act, 1877*, was moved not by Messrs. Stout and Ballance, the secularist leaders themselves, but by an earnest Anglican, Mr. Wm. Wood.

the district, by means of (1) an initial general meeting, (2) the election of a School Committee to serve for a period of one year, and (3) an annual general meeting for the purpose of receiving the Committee's Report, electing the new Committee, and assessing a rate for the ensuing year. The powers of the general meeting in this respect were limited, and the only rate permissible was a uniform one assessed upon every householder within the district and "not exceeding one pound per house per year." The money so raised was to be paid over to an elected treasurer and by him paid out "upon an order of the school committee and not otherwise," for use "exclusively in maintaining schools . . . payment of teachers, purchase of books, furniture, and apparatus and other . . . expenses of carrying this Act into operation." The School Committee was further entrusted with full responsibility for the management of the school or schools established within the district, including the appointment and removal of teachers "and all matters relating thereto." All schools so maintained either wholly or in part were to be "open to all children resident within the district *on equal terms*" and "open at all times to inspection by some person appointed by the Superintendent." As stated, the schools were to be of a strictly secular character, and the right of entry on the part of ministers of religion was expressly denied. Finally, power was reserved to the Provincial Government itself to make appropriations out of the general revenue to supplement the moneys raised locally either "by rates under this Act or by voluntary contribution," provided that the schools so established were conducted in conformity with the secular principle which was regarded as the essential feature of the Act.

In June following the passing of the Act an education district was set up at Wanganui and two schools were established within the area proclaimed; but for a number of years this remained the only centre in which the Act was in force. In February, 1857, a sop was therefore thrown to Cerberus, who continued barking vehemently at the Act, in the shape of the following Amendment of only three clauses:—

- I. "Whereas . . . it was enacted that 'no religious instruction should be given in any school maintained wholly or in part under the (original) Act,' and whereas *it is desirable to relax such prohibition*. Be it enacted . . . (1) That notwithstanding any thing in the said Act contained the teacher or teachers in any such school if authorised in writing by the Committee . . . may instruct the children . . . in the Bible . . . *but no notes comments or doctrinal or sectarian instruction shall be given or used therewith.*"

II. A conscience clause followed enabling the children of objecting parents to be absent from such "instruction."

III. Then, as if in fear lest the sop should be even moderately palatable, the brief final clause reiterated the determination of the Council that "nothing in this Act contained shall be taken to authorise any minister of religion to teach in or otherwise interfere in the conduct of any school"—except of course that a minister was not prevented from becoming a committeeman if the ratepayers chose to elect one.

The only other educational enactment of the period was a land regulation providing for the reservation in every district of an area "not exceeding one-thirtieth part of the public lands for the purposes of education" (Session II, 1854-5) a provision, which unfortunately, like the Act itself, was not as fully availed of as it should have been.

Thus, then, the first legislative provision for the establishment of common schools remained inoperative in the Provincial capital for many years, during which the private and denominational schools continued to be the only available means of education.

(2) AUCKLAND.

The *Auckland Education Act, 1857*, was a much more complicated measure of no fewer than 40 clauses. It continued and elaborated the system already inaugurated in that Province by the Legislative Council Ordinance of 1847. Its guiding principle was stated in the preamble, namely "that voluntary efforts should be aided by grants from the Provincial revenue." "All well-conducted schools" were entitled to aid, upon the recommendation of a Board of Education charged with the administration of the Act. Local funds were to be raised at least equal to the amount of the Government grant, either by voluntary contribution or by school fees, which, however, were limited to 1s. per week. There was no provision for any rate. The responsibility for the provision of suitable school buildings, furniture, and playing fields was thrown upon the "Patrons or Committee of Management" of each school, by whom also some approved person was to be chosen as School Superintendent, to whom the grant should be paid and by whom it was to be paid to the teachers "to whom it was due." The teachers, who were to be appointed by the School Managers, must first have been graded and certificated first or second class by the Board; and their salaries, fixed by the Act itself, were, for the first class, Masters—£75 per annum, Mistresses—£50 per annum; and for the second class, £50 and £30 respectively. Assistant teachers in any case were not to receive above £30 per annum.

Teachers guilty of immorality, negligence, or making false returns of attendance might be punished by loss of salary (whole or part) and in the last case by complete disqualification from "ever again" receiving aid under the Act. Staffing was regulated according to average attendance on the basis of an additional teacher for every 40, in Infant Schools 60, pupils. The Government grant was calculated to provide half the teachers' salaries, the other half being made a first charge upon the local funds. If these fell short, the grant might be reduced to an equal amount, but provision was made for a limited supplementary grant to be made in certain cases. In so far as the local funds might exceed the amount of the grant, the surplus might be applied at the sole discretion of the school authorities. There was to be an Inspector appointed by the Board, but his duty was merely to see that the provisions of the Act were complied with. Neither the Board nor the Board's Inspector had any control over the "discipline or management" of the schools. In fact, each school might, by nominating an approved "special inspector" of its own, be exempt from inspection by the Board's officer, so long as the required attendance and other returns were regularly submitted. The question of providing religious instruction was left entirely to the school authorities, provided that, if such were given, the children of objecting parents must be given opportunity to be absent therefrom. Thus was the denominational system confirmed in the Auckland Province by an elaborate Ordinance, the effect of which, in actual practice, was simply to provide for each "aided" school half the teachers' salaries, and then leave the whole management of the school to its "patrons" or promoters. There was no break, no sudden change of principle, on the assumption of control by the Provincial instead of the Legislative Council—only a steady increase in the number of denominational schools due to larger appropriations being made available for educational purposes.

(3) CANTERBURY.

The *Canterbury Education Ordinance, 1857*, was as brief as the Act of Auckland was long, as simple as the other was elaborate. In the opening address already referred to, Superintendent Fitzgerald, in the course of an earnest and thoughtful appeal to the newly constituted Council, said:—

* "I am deeply impressed with the necessity of averting evils, which I foresee are otherwise inevitable, by the introduction into this Province of a general system of education on a scale commensurate with the wants of

* *Proceedings* already quoted, pp. 12, 13.

the Province; but when I enquire into the means of accomplishing this great end, I am met at once by the conviction that there are no funds whatsoever at our command which can be applied to such a purpose. . . .”

And in another part:—

“Unless some universal, some very earnest and self-denying effort be made to avert the danger, I am at a loss to conceive how we can anticipate other than a deterioration in the character of the inhabitants, which it is bitterly painful to all right-minded men to contemplate, and keenly wounding to all honest national pride to submit to.”

In order to obtain the “blessings of a really national education,” to the principle of which he invites the Council’s assent, the Superintendent suggests the imposition of some form of direct taxation, and urges further that, “if such an educational scheme . . . is to be worth anything, it must be set on foot with no niggard hand.” His eloquent and moving appeal, however, met with no response such as he desired. Instead the Council from year to year made hand to mouth grants, with “niggard hand,” to those denominational schools which had by that time been established. And in his final address to the same Council nearly four years later his buoyant hope of a “really national system of education” is gone, and a feeling of keen disappointment has taken its place:—

“You may not have forgotten,” said Fitzgerald, “that at the first opening of the Council I urged upon you most strongly the necessity of some permanent provision for the education of the people. It is with the deepest regret that I shall be compelled to resign the government, leaving nothing of a permanent nature done in this matter. The system at present in operation is *the very worst which can be adopted*. It is a system of giving just enough assistance to paralyse all independent exertion, without giving enough to establish a thoroughly efficient system of education; and its worst feature is, that it offers no prospect of permanence, the salaries of the masters being dependent from year to year upon the political views and sympathies of the party in power.

“I have abandoned the hope that any general system will be adopted by this Council, and I am compelled to confess, with much disappointment, that in this subject, which has always seemed to me of infinitely greater moment to the future welfare of the country

than any other which you can consider, there is a feeling of lukewarmness and indifference, not so much in your Council as amongst the people generally. Unsatisfactory as the schools are in many respects the people have not availed themselves of them as they might have done; for in no respect are they more unsatisfactory than in the smallness of the number of children in attendance, in proportion to the sums expended by the Government."

By this time Bishop Harper had arrived and the Council felt impelled to legislate, which it did as follows:—

"Whereas it is expedient to make better provision for the establishment and maintenance of schools within the Province, there shall be paid out of the public revenues every year for five years the sum of £2,500 to the several persons and in the several portions undermentioned respectively, that is to say:—To the Bishop of Christchurch or acting head of the Church of England, £1,700; to the principal minister or acting head of the Wesleyan Body, £250; to the principal minister or acting head of the Presbyterian Body, £250. These sums to be expended by the "heads" in the establishment maintenance and support of schools within the Province."

This was a considerable advance upon the amount voted in 1853 and 1856, namely £1000. The system of payment in a lump sum, and not to the separate schools as in Auckland, was adopted at the express request of the Bishop, who preferred "the grant to the Church schools to be made in one sum, *leaving him to apportion it.*" This plan which was similar to that in vogue in England, commended itself to the Canterbury Councillors. The "several portions" allotted to the denominations were in approximate proportion to their numerical strength, in accordance with which the lion's share was awarded to the Bishop.

Every school wholly or in part maintained out of the sums so granted was to be "placed under the entire management of the denominational head, and such head shall have the appointment and removal of the teachers and the entire control over all the instruction, both religious and secular, in any school so placed under his management;" but children of objecting parents might be withdrawn "at such times as are peculiarly set apart for instruction in the doctrines of religion."

The school fees were to be uniform in all schools "of a similar class," and fixed by the Superintendent and the heads

in consultation; and there was to be an inspector appointed by the Superintendent "provided that such appointment shall be made *with the assent of the Bishop* and of not less than half of the other heads." The inspector was not to concern himself with the religious instruction carried on in any school, but solely with the secular side, and in the event of a school being found unsatisfactory in this respect or remiss in furnishing the necessary returns, the Superintendent might "prohibit the application of any portion" of the grant to such school. Detailed accounts were to be furnished annually by each "head," together with the inspector's reports, for the consideration of the Council. A promise was also made to the Roman Catholics that as soon as they should be "organised as a religious denomination with a recognised head, residing in the Province," the Council would be prepared to entertain from them also an application for a proportionate share in the educational grant.

The paramount position of the Bishop in the Canterbury settlement cannot fail to be noticed. Besides being the official head of Christ's College he administered without interference 77 per cent. of the Provincial educational appropriation; for the provisions for consultation with the civil authorities respecting appointments, and for regular statements of account were not enforced, but remained a dead letter until the system was abolished in consequence of the Tancred Commission's Report, 1863-1864.

* "When Bishop Harper arrived on the scene," writes Canon Purchas, "he found himself placed in the position of Director-General of most of the educational institutions of the settlement. . . . Charged with the appointment of teachers, the payment of salaries, the providing of books, and the expenditure (virtually uncontrolled) of a large sum of public money."

Thus the Superintendent was compelled to assent to an ultra-denominational scheme of education and a complete burking of responsibility on the part of the Provincial Council, instead of securing the "really national system" which he had at the outset recommended. In his final address to the Council he said:—

"I am especially gratified that an 'Education Bill' has been passed before my term of office expires; not that I wholly approve of that measure, but that it is a very great improvement upon the former plan, and it gives stability and permanency to a system of education. For this reason alone it gave me great pleasure to assent to this law."

* *Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement*, p. 173.

(4) OTAGO.

The Otago Provincial Council at its first session appointed a select committee to consider and report upon the question of education, and in December, 1854, the following Report was adopted:—

- “(1) That provision should be made from the public funds of the Province, or by assessment, for providing a liberal education for all the children of the Province as far as practicable;
- (2) That permanent provision for such education should be made by special ordinance or ordinances setting forth clearly and distinctly the character of the education to be provided, and the mode in which such provision should be made.”

There followed recommendations for the establishment of a High School at Dunedin and the engagement of six teachers for Otago at home by the Scottish School Inspectors and the Rectors of the Free Church Normal Schools. The resolutions were given immediate effect, and the following teachers were selected and sent out by the home authorities:—Mr. Alex. Livingston and Miss Margaret Dods (for the High School) and Messrs. J. Hislop, C. Allan, A. Ayson and A. Wright for the primary schools of East Taieri, Port Chalmers, Tokomairiro and Green Island respectively. Meanwhile the Council was not idle, and before the new teachers arrived a comprehensive and exhaustive Ordinance had been enacted to provide “for the establishment of public schools throughout the Province progressively with the increase of population and for a system of superintendence and management thereof.” Under this law a Board of Education was set up, consisting of the Superintendent and his Executive Council, the Rector of the High School which was to be established at Dunedin and two representatives from each school committee. There was to be a permanent secretary from the first, and inspectors—with unrestricted powers of inspection—were to be appointed from time to time as required. This Board was given full power to make and enforce rules and regulations for carrying the Ordinance into effect, and in particular for (1) the system of inspection; (2) the election of school masters qualified to impart *religious* and secular knowledge, and of general ability; and (3) the election, regulation and procedure of all school committees. Education districts were to be set up and new schools established as the increase of population required. For this purpose a meeting of “persons liable to assessment residing in the district” was to be convened by the Board, at which the steps requisite for the establishment of the

school were to be decided and seven members elected, who, with three representatives of the Board, were to constitute the School Committee for the ensuing year. The duties of School Committees were to assist in providing all requisite accommodations for the teacher and pupils, including "where practicable a commodious school-house, with suitable maps, plans, and other furnishings, and a dwelling house for the schoolmaster consisting of at least three apartments together with a piece of ground not exceeding ten acres in extent, properly fenced," the cost of the whole being defrayed out of the annual educational appropriation of the Council. Subject to a faithful observance of the provisions of the Ordinance, the Committee was given full power to select the schoolmaster and control the general management of the school, with the right reserved to the Board to intervene in case of any contravention of the Act. Teachers were authorised to levy fees "at such rates and payable at such terms as the Board shall determine"; and such fees were to be "imputed *pro tanto*" of their salaries, the balance to be raised by the imposition of a poll-tax upon all adult males resident in the Province, not exceeding £1 per head, but if not paid within 30 days increasing to 25s. and recoverable summarily by distress upon the mere warrant of a Justice of the Peace. Salaries were fixed at £200 per annum for the Rector of the High School and £100 per annum for the primary school teachers, and fees properly received in excess thereof, if any, the teachers were permitted to retain for themselves. "Instruction in the principles of religious knowledge," stated in the preamble to be "consonant to the opinions, religious profession, and usage of the great body of the people" was to form a regular part of the "ordinary" instruction given in the schools, with the usual right reserved to objecting parents to withdraw their children from such lessons. A strong effort by the framers of the Bill to prescribe religious instruction "as set forth in the Shorter Catechism" met with so vigorous a protest from the citizens at a specially convened public meeting that the objectionable phrase had to be dropped. But every possible precaution was provided to ensure the appointment of none but "true blue" schoolmasters.

"Every candidate for the office of Schoolmaster in any Public School shall produce a certificate signed by a *Minister of the denomination to which he belongs*, attesting his religious and moral character, and shall be subjected to such examination as may be prescribed by the Board; and no person shall be inducted as Schoolmaster until he shall have passed such examinations, and have obtained and produced to the School

Committee a certificate by the Board approving of his appointment; and such examination shall be open to the School Committee, who may suggest such question as they may think fit, except in the case of schoolmasters who shall have been selected and appointed in Great Britain under authority of the Board.

"If a complaint shall be presented to the School Committee by any two *male* heads of families being parents or guardians of children who attend any Public School under this Ordinance, *accusing the master of such School with teaching religious opinions at variance with the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures*, the School Committee shall, with the sanction of the Board, and with such assistance as the Board shall direct, enquire into such complaint; and if it shall be proved that the Schoolmaster has taught such opinions, or has persevered in doing so after remonstrance, the School Committee may *censure, suspend, or deprive* the schoolmaster as they may think fit; provided always that every such sentence shall be approved by the Board.

"It shall be competent for the Board on complaint of any two heads of families (note the omission of the word 'male') . . . charging the Schoolmaster with crime or *moral delinquency, or whenever the Board shall otherwise see reason*, after due enquiry and consideration of any statement which such schoolmaster may make in his defence, *to censure, suspend, or deprive* him as they may think fit."

Those who have an intimate knowledge of the history of the Otago Settlement will be inclined to smile over some of the provisions of this precise Ordinance. After, for instance, reading the "long and intolerant" letter* of the Superintendent, Captain Cargill, to the Rev. Chas. Creed, the veteran Wesleyan missionary at Waikouaiti, published by the latter in *The Otago News* in May, 1849; or weighing the facts relating to the refusal of the Provincial Government to "grant public lands to religious bodies" when an application came before it for a site for an Anglican Church, one can hardly imagine any candidate successfully proffering a certificate signed by a minister of any other denomination than a Free Kirk one!† The naive remark also of Mr. John Hislop regarding the clause providing for dismissal

* Hocken, *Contributions to the Early History of N.Z.* (Otago), p. 112. Compare the tolerant spirit of Christian fellowship existing in the Nelson Settlement; v. p. 172.

† *Picturesque Dunedin*, Article on "Education," by J. Hislop, p. 144.

for teaching false doctrines, that "the writer cannot recollect that any proceedings were ever taken under this provision of the Ordinance" cannot but tickle a Sassenach's sense of humour, although no doubt to the serious-minded Scot there is absolutely nothing humorous about it! The same might be said of Mr. Hislop's explanation of the obviously discreet attitude of the Otago Presbytery towards the Provincial system of education—

*"This duty (of providing the means of education) was taken up so heartily by the Government and the Provincial Council, that the Church authorities *very wisely* resolved to refrain from maintaining rival denominational schools."

For, having secured a Provincial scheme of education which ensured at the public expense sound Presbyterian teachers and teachings in all the schools, the worldly-wise Presbytery could well conserve its splendid "religious and educational" endowment, besides saving itself the trouble of organising and conducting schools of its own. Whereas in Canterbury the Bishop was the acknowledged and appointed Head of the Provincial System of Education the Presbytery in Otago was unofficially, but not less effectively, in control of the situation by virtue of the clauses quoted relating to the teachers' qualifications for appointment, and their utter defencelessness against the Board's unqualified power of censure, suspension, or deprivation.

Apart, however, from the attempt to introduce the Shorter Catechism specifically into the curriculum, the only provisions which excited opposition at the time were, (1), that which provided for the presence of three nominees of the Board upon each School Committee, and, (2), the poll-tax. In many districts the settlers resolutely refused even to form Committees until assured that the former provision would be allowed to lie dormant; while as to the latter

†"So strong and widespread was the resistance to the levying of this tax that no attempt was made by the authorities to enforce payment; the entire cost of the schools being met out of the ordinary Provincial revenue and the school fees, supplemented in a few instances by local subscriptions."

It only remains to add that upon the recommendation of the School Committee, a successful teacher usually received back from the Board the *whole* of the fees collected by him, in addition to his fixed salary of £100—a further powerful incentive,

* *Idem*, p. 138.

† Hislop, in *Picturesque Dunedin*, p. 143.

if such were needed, to study the wishes and carry out the instructions of his Committee.*

(5) NELSON.

At the very commencement of its career the Nelson Provincial Council set up a strong Commission to consider and report on a scheme of education for the Province. After earnest discussion a resolution was carried,

“That, as every settler was to be called upon to pay for its support, whatever his religious opinions might be, the basis on which the scheme ought to rest, must in equity be a secular one.”

Thanks to the energy of Matthew Campbell and the Nelson School Society, the Province already had an effective and creditable scheme of public schools in operation. The natural and obvious course was followed of taking over the Society's schools as the foundation for future development.† The buildings were at first rented from the Society, which stipulated, (1), that the rent agreed on should be paid into a separate fund for keeping the properties in good repair, in case the Provincial system should break down and the Society be compelled to resume operations; and, (2), that the Society should still have the use of the buildings for their Sunday School work—a branch of education which, as we shall see later, was also more effective in Nelson than in any other of the five chief Provinces.

The Nelson Act, which was passed in 1856, set up a form of organisation very similar to that of Otago, with the exception, as we should expect from the foregoing resolution, that

* “The Board recognise it as a sound principle that one portion of the salaries should be fixed and certain, in order to secure good men; and that another portion should be uncertain and dependent on their own exertions, and the satisfaction they give to their school committees and the Board, in order to keep them good. The school fees collected and paid to the Board by the teachers during the past year, amount to £646 3s. 7d.; and, in accordance with the above principle, the Board recommend that, as formerly, his school fees be returned to each of the teachers in the country districts who may be reported to have discharged his duties with the approbation of his School Committee. The amount to be so returned is estimated at £340.”—From the Annual Report of the Otago Education Board for 1859.

† Several of these schools were built on land which had been granted by the Government to the Nelson School Society upon the following trust:—“To permit the said premises and all buildings thereon erected or to be erected, to be for ever hereafter appropriated and used as and for a school for children of all denominations without the imposition of any sectarian creed.”—Report of Sub-committee of Nelson Central Board of Education re Nelson School Society School properties, 31st December, 1856.—*Votes and Proceedings*: Nelson Provincial Council, Session IV, 1857.

the rigid provisions of the southern Province in regard to securing just the right colour in religious instruction, are replaced by a clause to the effect that "any religious instruction given shall be *free from all controversial character*," accompanied by the usual conscience clause. The Superintendent was empowered to constitute educational districts and to set up a Central Board of Education consisting of representatives from the District Committees. There was, however, only one Committee for each district, no matter how many schools might be established therein; and this was later a ground for dissatisfaction amongst those who felt that each school ought to have a Committee of its own. Power was given to levy rates,* and the funds so raised were distributed proportionately by the Board amongst the local Committees. Power was also given to the Board to grant additional sums for books, apparatus, etc., out of money voted for the purpose annually by the Provincial Council. So earnestly and thoroughly did the Nelson Council enter upon the work that in the following year (1857) we find proposals made for a grant of no less than £5,000 for new school-houses and a guarantee to the Board of an income from the provincial revenue of £3,000 per annum for a period of seven years, the number of scholars to be provided for having already increased, in round numbers from 300 to 800. The local authorities were given full administrative control over the schools within their districts, and effective inspection was provided from the first, two Inspector's Reports having already been presented by May, 1857.

* The following return submitted to the Nelson Provincial Council on June 11, 1857, shows the several schools existing in the various "districts," the revenue from local rates, and the salaries paid to the teachers. The income here shown was supplemented by a grant out of the general Provincial funds of £3,000 per annum. The initial expense of buildings was met by a special loan of £3,000 borrowed from the trustees of the Nelson Trust Fund.

Educational Districts Returns of Rate.—Appropriation of Moneys by Central Board, etc.

<i>Rate received at.</i>	<i>Rate—One Pound.</i>	<i>Rate—Five Shillings.</i>
Nelson	£360 0 0	£47 10 0
Waimea East	174 0 0	48 15 0
Waimea South	116 0 0	46 5 0
Waimea West	60 0 0	20 0 0
Suburban North	38 0 0	6 15 0
Motueka	86 0 0	28 0 0
Riwaka	31 0 0	14 15 0
Moutere	19 0 0	5 15 0
Motupipi	15 0 0	6 10 0
Totals	<u>£899 0 0</u>	<u>£224 5 0</u>

The principles upon which the rating provisions of the amended (1857) Act were drawn are well set out in the following extract from the First Report of the Central Education Board, which was laid on the table of the Provincial Council on June 12th, 1857:—

“Influenced by a desire to remove all ground of complaint of injustice, although even only apparent, but influenced still further by consideration of equity and by precedent derived from the practice of other countries, the Central Board has arrived at the conclusion that it would be a wise plan to set aside altogether the present mode of collecting the rate, that is, to do away with the household rate, and substitute for it a tax upon real property. The effect of this, of course, would be to throw the burden of education in the major degree upon the wealthier classes of the community; in the minor

Salaries allowed to Teachers per annum.

Nelson	---	For a Master, Sept. 15 to Dec. 31, 1856	£120	0	0
		For a Fe. Teacher, Sep. 15 to Dec. 31, 1856	100	0	0
		1857—One Master	150	0	0
		One Master	120	0	0
		One Female Teacher	125	0	0
		One Assistant Female Teacher	20	0	0
Waimea East	---	For a Teacher at Stoke	80	0	0
		Hope	80	0	0
		Ranzau	70	0	0
		Appleby	80	0	0
		Richmond	100	0	0
Waimea South	---	Voted for a Female Teacher at Richmond, but no appointment made	40	0	0
		Teachers—J. Smith	80	0	0
		J. Squires	80	0	0
		E. Rennell	80	0	0
		J. M. Fyfe	80	0	0
			70	0	0
Waimea West	---	One Teacher	80	0	0
Suburban North	---	One Teacher	80	0	0
		One Teacher	80	0	0
		One Teacher	100	0	0
Motueka	---	Teacher for Boys	60	0	0
		Teacher for Girls	60	0	0
		Teacher for Painga Totara	60	0	0
Riwaka	---	One Teacher	100	0	0
Moutere	---	One Teacher, Upper Moutere, part of year	37	10	0
		One Teacher, Lower Moutere, part of year	37	10	0
Motupipi	---	One Teacher	100	0	0

degree upon those who had been less successful. But still, when the general equalisation of landed property in this country is considered, and the facility of its acquisition by every industrious man, it is apprehended that the burden would be more generally and equally distributed than might be at first sight supposed; and if to this plan it be objected that it is open to the same ground of complaint as the former, that it compels persons who have no children of their own to pay for educating the children of others, the answer is that the possession of property brings with it certain duties, and that the holders of property are directly interested in the maintenance of an efficient moral police. But the experience of other countries has shown that objections of this nature are not urged or felt by the possessors of property.

“The Central Board does not consider it a part of its duty to pursue a matter of this sort into details which, properly speaking, it is the business of the Legislature to consider; but a very important point may be glanced at, before dismissing the subject. Supposing funds for the purposes of education to be levied by a property rate, should the schools as at present be open to all children? It would be very impolitic, in the opinion of the Board, and not more impolitic than undesired, to place any class of society in the position of having their children educated entirely at the expense of any other. The answer to the question put is, therefore, in the negative. But as the advantage of having the school-door open is great, and as it is desirable that no impediment should be placed there to the admission of children, the Board would suggest that, in addition to the property rate, a certain sum more or less should be levied for each child between the ages of five and fourteen. If this sum were fixed at a low rate, it would offer to parents education for their children on easy terms; it would act as an inducement to them to send them to school, in order that they might receive the value of what they had paid for; it would remove all feelings of eleemosynary assistance, and thus preserve, as is most desirable, feelings of reliance and self-respect. A direct payment towards the school, not only by the holders of real property, but also by all parents of children, would also have the effect of interesting a larger number of persons in its success, and thereby leading to its greater usefulness and efficiency.”

In pursuance of this recommendation it was enacted that whilst no fees were to be charged for admission to the schools the educational property-tax was to be supplemented by a general rate payable in respect of all children of school age living within three miles of a school, whether actually attending school or not, with a limit of £1 per household in the case of large families. By this means it was thought also to bring the principle of compulsion to bear in respect of the attendance of all children of school age, in that those who had been compelled to pay special taxation in respect of their children could then generally be relied upon to see that they took advantage of the facilities so made available.

In Nelson, as elsewhere, notwithstanding the efforts of the framers of the system to ensure strictly non-controversial teaching to those children only whose parents did not object, the question of religious instruction obtruded itself. But the debates in the Council upon the operation of the Act in this and other respects were conducted with courtesy and ability, and a sensitive regard for the conscientious scruples of the minority. The result was the passing, in 1858, upon the motion of Dr. Monro, of an Amendment which remained for 20 years a distinguishing feature of the Nelson Education System. This Amendment which had been recommended to the Council by the Central Board of Education itself* provided as follows:—

“Whenever any school shall have been established in any educational district, and any number of ratepayers resident in such district, contributing not less than £50 per annum to the rates levied under the authority of this Act in such district, shall have appointed a Committee of five persons for the management of such school, and provided a sufficient schoolroom to the

* “The plan they would suggest is the one which they understand has been adopted in Canada with much success; and certainly no more effectual security can be devised to protect the rights of a minority, and to guarantee it against anything like hardship or oppression on the part of the greater number: it is this, that if in any town or school district there be a dissatisfied minority, such minority may require their own school rate to be set apart, and may establish a school according to their own liking, denominational or not; only providing that the school be open to government inspection, and that the Central Board be satisfied that a sufficient amount of instruction is given in it. It would of course be only in towns, and where the population is tolerably dense, that such a provision would be likely to be taken advantage of. Still, under all circumstances, it would afford a great protection to any minority or denomination considering itself used with injustice, and would not be without its effect in making the conduct of the majority reasonable and conciliatory.”—Report of Central Board of Education, Nelson, 31st December, 1856.

satisfaction of the Central Board, and shall signify in writing to the Central Board their desire to be constituted into a *separate body* for educational purposes; It shall be the duty of the Central Board from time to time to pay over to the Committee for the time being the *amount to be thereafter contributed by such rate-payers in such district*, after deducting the expenses incurred in collecting the same; and it shall be lawful for the Central Board to grant such additional aid in books, school apparatus, and money as to the Central Board shall seem expedient: Provided always that every such school shall be *open to all children* between the ages of five and fourteen years *without fee or payment*, and to inspection in the same manner as other schools established under this Act; and any religious instruction given in such school shall be imparted at such hours that parents objecting thereto may be able to withdraw their children from the school at the time when it is given; and no rates or grants shall be paid over to the Committee as aforesaid *unless secular instruction* shall be imparted in such school *to the satisfaction of the Central Board.*"

Thus was the Golden Rule applied to the problems of education in the Nelson Province, under which the Roman Catholic authorities* "received head-money periodically from the Board for each boy and girl educated at the separated schools, based on the ascertained cost of educating the other boys in the schools of the town." These Catholic schools were few in number and, as they were the only ones to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the Amendment, and conformed to the requirement of the general system in respect of the secular instruction given, the whole scheme suffered no kind of disintegration, but rather gained in strength and unity by reason of the happy feelings of satisfaction and harmony which prevailed amongst all sections of the community.

(6) THE REMAINING PROVINCES.

Of the remaining Provinces, Taranaki set up a Committee on Education in 1857, but the intervention of the Maori Wars prevented anything being done until 1868. Hawke's Bay, newly separated from the Wellington Province, and Marlborough from Nelson, legislated in 1859 and 1861 respectively. These Provinces had before them for their guidance the various Acts and

* Broad, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

Ordinances above discussed ; but their systems for the most part conformed to those of the neighbouring Provinces from which they had sprung. Similarly Southland during its brief separate existence (1861-9), and Westland, during the few years that remained before the abolition of the Provincial System (1874-6) followed in the main the schemes adopted in Otago and Canterbury respectively.

PART IV.



THE SURVEY COMPLETED FOR THE
WHOLE COLONY; AND A BALANCE
STRUCK.

ARGUMENT.

The early history of education in the larger settlements repeated itself on a smaller scale in the smaller and later ones. The struggles of the isolated settlers of the more sparsely populated areas to provide the means of education for their children are revealed in these chapters, which describe how the country districts of Wellington Province endeavoured to establish scattered little community schools under the Provincial education law; how the settlers of Hawke's Bay rose to the occasion under the stimulus of Domett's presence and built up an education system comparable with that of Nelson, and the most efficient in the North Island; how Nonconformist and war-harassed Taranaki had to rely on private and denominational efforts; how the educational needs of the mushroom-grown population of the Westland goldfields were also met by private and denominational, chiefly Roman Catholic, schools; and how the pastoral district of Marlborough and the rural district of Southland laboured under the heavy handicaps of want of money and a scattered population in the endeavour to provide the means of education for their children.

The section concludes with a detailed analysis of the educational achievements of all the Provinces as revealed in the educational returns obtained for the first time for the whole Colony in the Census of 1864. From this examination the efficiency of the public as compared with the denominational system is immediately disclosed, that of Nelson being clearly the most successful from every point of view, while that of Auckland proves to have been the reverse, notwithstanding that the denominational system in the North was at that time functioning at its best.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF WANGANUI, RANGITIKEI,
AND THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS OF WELLINGTON
PROVINCE.

In 1840 some two hundred emigrants "hived off" from the main Port Nicholson Colony and settled at Petre, known later by its native name, Wanganui. This small isolated settlement was, like New Plymouth, the scene of constant anxiety and unrest on account of the Maori Wars. Its population in 1845 was 186; in 1846, 215; in 1847, 157. It was garrisoned by Imperial troops from 1847 to 1868. In 1847, the place was almost abandoned, except for the garrison. After the capture of Te Rauparaha most of the settlers returned. E. J. Wakefield's *Handbook for New Zealand* (1848)* describes it thus:—

"A small church, and a lock-up house, a post office, and a school, all of wood, constitute the only public buildings of the little town, which has not more than thirty houses in it altogether."

From Earp's *Handbook* (1849) we learn that this was a free school with but thirteen pupils and was held in connection with the Anglican Church, being partly supported by funds provided by Bishop Selwyn. In addition there was a native school with an average attendance of 20 pupils who were receiving instruction in the English language, while on Sundays Mrs. Taylor conducted a school for 39 European pupils, and the Church Missionary Society two schools with an average attendance of about 200 natives altogether.

The teacher at the Church of England School in 1851-2 was Alexander Twiss. But bigger schemes were under way, as the following extracts from the diary of the Rev. Richard Taylor will show:—

"April 26th, 1852—

"I took breakfast with Sir G. Grey, and rode with him to the Hutt. The Governor expressed a very strong interest in the welfare of Wanganui and his readiness to do everything in his power to promote the welfare of the natives. He has promised to aid me in establishing a boarding school, also an hostel.

* p. 211.

"July 8th—

"Mr. McLean arrived and slept at our house. We crossed over this morning and selected a block of 250 acres, which the Governor has promised to grant as an endowment. Sir G. Grey has written to me to say he has appointed a clergyman who has just come out to this country, as master.

November 15th—

Rev. C. Nicholls and his family have arrived to take charge of the proposed institution.

June 11th, 1853—

I took breakfast with the Governor. I had a long talk about schools. I found that his object is to place all under the Bishop and a board of his appointing."

Such was the origin of the Wanganui Collegiate School, of which Mr. Nicholls was the first teacher.* The Crown grant of this estate was dated October 13th, 1852. The school was intended to be an industrial school for both native and European children of all classes upon equal terms and for poor and destitute children of all races of the Pacific, and the endowment was expressly given to Bishop Selwyn upon such trust. The story of its development into a great publicly endowed denominational secondary school, which refuses to accept Government "free place" holders as pupils, cannot be detailed here. Those who wish to follow this aspect of its history will find the particulars in the numerous reports of Special Committees and Royal Commissions which have enquired into this and other diversions of Grey's endowments from the original purposes of the trusts set up.†

For many years the only portion of the Wellington Province in which the Education Act, 1855, became operative was the Wanganui—Rangitikei District. Four of the first of these schools, established shortly after the passing of the Amending Act, 1857, were the subject of a special report in May, 1862, by Mr. A. Follet Halcombe, an educated settler‡ and a nephew

* It is interesting to record that Mr. W. H. S. Nicholls, a son of the first teacher, is still living in Wanganui, and that his grandsons have passed through the school in recent years.

† In 1860, the school buildings were burnt down. With the help of the accumulated rentals the school was rebuilt in 1865 and reopened as a commercial and grammar school under Mr. Goodwin, who continued as its head teacher until 1878, when he was succeeded by Mr. (later Dr.) G. R. Saunders. These were, however, the days of small things, and the roll of 1879 comprised only seven boarders and 26 day scholars.

‡ Mr. Halcombe was manager of the Westoe Station, near Marton.

of Mrs. Wm. (later Lady) Fox. The teachers at that time in charge were:—At Turakina, Mr. Parkinson; at Lower Rangitikei, Mr. Banfield; at Upper Rangitikei, Mr. C. F. Barker; and at Matarawa Valley, Mr. Harkness.

An old pupil of Mr. Barker, Mr. Francis Harrison, late Secretary for forty years of the Wellington Law Society and Librarian of the Wellington Supreme Court Library, supplies the following interesting particulars, which may be regarded as being typical of the difficulties which confronted outback settlers all over New Zealand in those early years:—

“About the year 1857 my parents left Porirua and settled in the Rangitikei district, some 5 miles from Tutaenui, subsequently renamed Marton by Sir William Fox, but on the flat below the cliff.

“Shortly afterwards a mixed boys’ and girls’ school was opened in a small shingled building on Sir (then Mr.) Wm. Fox’s land, for the convenience of those settlers with families living in that part of the district at the time, the cost of maintenance falling on such families.

“Marton (Tutaenui) at that time consisted of about six houses, including a small general store (badly stocked), a blacksmith’s shop and a cooper’s, who made butter kegs. This was before either Palmerston North or Feilding existed.

“The School was conducted by a man named Barker, who before and after school hours occupied his time by making bricks. He slept in a small room partitioned off at the end of the school room and cooked for himself. The school was also used on Sundays for Church purposes if a clergyman happened to be in the district. The School not being conveniently central however, the building was moved bodily across Hammond’s paddocks by placing timber under it in sledge form, and hitching several teams of bullocks to it.

“After the death of Barker, the families interested arranged with a man named Johnston to teach, he being lodged at one or other of the parents’ houses periodically.

“The instruction given by each of these masters was the 3 R’s, English, Grammar and Latin—I don’t remember any history or geography being taught. Those requiring anything further than the above had to seek it outside the district. Chiefly for that reason we returned to Wellington about 1864 or 1865 when my brother and myself attended the Crofton Grammar School at Crofton (now Ngaio).

"This was a Church of England School founded or continued by Bishop Abraham and conducted by the Rev. W. H. St. Hill both for boarders and day scholars. Prior to Mr. St. Hill's time a Mr. or Captain Martin was in charge, but whether as a private venture of his own or under the supervision of the Bishop, I have no positive information."

The following Return of Schools to which grants were made from 1/4/1863 to 31/3/1864 shows not only the schools at that time organised under the Provincial System, but also the teachers' names, as well as other information of more than passing interest regarding the conditions under which schools were organised in the country districts of the Province at that time. The amounts listed are exclusive of special grants towards the erection of school houses, rent of school houses, cost of books, fittings, etc., amounting in all to £429 11s. for the period under review.

* *Return of Schools to which grants were made—1/4/63 to 31/3/64.*

School.	Teacher.	Grant towards Salary of Teacher.			Scale of Fees.	Roll No.
		£	s.	d.		
Masterton	Thos. Briscoe	20	0	0	50/- p.a.	16
Carterton	Mrs. M. Jones	29	7	6	Nil	41
Greytown	Edmund and Mrs. Jupp	67	10	2	6d. per week	40
Tahaurinikau	Robert Lucas	42	2	0	Nil	8
Morrison's Bush	Mrs. E. Wakelin	17	16	0	No return	—
Featherston	J. G. Cox	37	10	0	9/- per quarter	31
Upper Hutt	Mrs. S. S. Kitchin	47	18	8	6d. to 1/- p. week	34
Taita	Robert Robinson	49	16	10	6d. to 1/- p. week	34
Hutt (near R.C. Church)	F. L. Philip and Mrs. Philip	51	14	8	1/- per week	52
Hutt (near Scotch Church)	—	19	17	1	—	—
Hutt (near Bridge)	Jas. Harrington, wife and daughter	37	10	0	Nil	146
Wai-nui-o-mata	A. G. Willoughby	50	0	0	Nil	22
Karori	Mrs. S. M. Taunton	16	18	6	—	—
Karori	J. D. Jacks	42	3	10	6d. per week	60
Johnsonville	J. Wheeler	45	2	10	4d. to 1/- p. week	27
Ohariu	Mrs. France	4	17	9	9d. per week	8
Taua Flat	Mrs. S. M. Taunton	13	6	4	6d. to 1/- p. week	29
Porirua	A. Johnson	39	2	0	Nil	16
Pahautanui	E. L. Ingpen	28	15	9	6d. to 1/- p. week	32
Tutaenui	C. Gibson	25	15	6	Nil	30
Rangitikei Lower	J. T. McClenahan	41	0	0	No return	23
Rangitikei Upper	C. F. Barker	50	0	0	1/- per week	13
Turakina	H. A. Moore	58	6	8	Nil	33
Matarawa	P. McCormish	40	0	0	No return	39
Wanganui	T. H. Davis	66	13	8	2/6 to 5/-p. month	37
Total ...		£945	5	9		761

See also Appendix D.

* *Acts and Proceedings* of the Wellington Provincial Council, 1864-5.

It is of importance to remind ourselves that though this is the official return of the public schools for the Province of Wellington, it contains the names of no schools conducted in the town of Wellington itself. For, as we have seen, education in the capital was wholly in private hands, and it was in the country districts alone that the original Provincial system operated.

The first Roman Catholic Church in Wanganui was built in 1857.* From Father Poupinel's report, 1864, published in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, we learn that at this date there were some 700 Catholics at Wanganui, with a school in the township and another up-river at Kaureroa. These schools were established by Father Penzant. In 1873 the Wanganui Catholic School was placed under the Wellington Education Board along with the Wanganui Anglican parochial school and the two Catholic and two Anglican schools of Wellington. In the case of the Wanganui Catholic School, however, this arrangement was terminated by Father Kirk two years later, and the school again became a purely denominational one; but the former Anglican school was permanently absorbed into the national system.

* *Year Book of the Marist Fathers, N.Z. and Australia*, 1927, p. 115.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF
HAWKE'S BAY.

Hawke's Bay first comes into notice as a port of call for whalers and an asylum for escapees from justice. But when Grey's land regulations came into force many Wellington settlers came overland and took up large blocks for pastoral purposes, so that in 1854 Alfred Domett was sent up to be Resident Magistrate and Crown Lands Officer of the now developing district. The first sale of Napier town sections was held on April 5th, 1855, and a month later we find Mr. (later Rev. William) Marshall engaged to open a public school, and Mr. Domett sitting as Chairman of the meeting of subscribers called to erect a school house. Two quarter acre sections were purchased for £10, and the school which cost some £200 was opened in December of that year—a most creditable achievement for the little township. For even as late as 1859, when the Provincial Government of Hawke's Bay was established, the total white population of the Province did not exceed 1000 souls. Considerable assistance (both financial and other) appears to have been given by the schoolmaster himself, of whom we read in the *Hawke's Bay Herald*, October 16th, 1874, in an article describing the town of Napier at that time:—

“Thanks to the energy of a gentleman whose name will ever be honourably associated with the early history of Napier, Mr. (now the Rev. William) Marshall, a handsome school house, with belfry, was one of the first objects to meet the eye of the visitor.”

Marshall resigned in December, 1858, and some considerable delay took place before his successor, Mr. W. Smith, took over the school. On April 3rd, 1862, the schoolhouse was burned down, and being uninsured, was not rebuilt. The pupils were transferred to an old corn store in which the school was conducted until 1874, when, the roll having increased to 133, a new building was erected on another site. The original half-acre in Hastings Street was leased for business purposes, and the funds, which had accumulated, were, in 1872, vested by order of the Supreme Court in the Napier School Trust, the forerunner of the present Napier High School Board. Meanwhile Marshall, who had been engaged in farming, returned to

the township in 1864 and opened a private school, the "Napier Grammar School," which he carried on until 1872, when he was succeeded by the Rev. D'Arcy Irvine. This school was also later on merged into the Boys' High School. The first mistress of the Napier Girls' Trust School (forerunner of the Girls' High School) was Mrs. Grant, whose husband at the same time taught the boys' school in Hassell's store. She was succeeded in 1873 by Miss Gascoigne who continued in charge until 1879 and is still living in Napier. Mr. Grant's successor was Mr. A. P. Tennant, who was in charge for a few months only, and was followed by the Rev. John Campbell, from Christchurch, in 1873.

As regards the religious denominations, the Anglican missionaries were the first to arrive in the district. They established stations at Awapuni, Tangoio, Waipukurau, and elsewhere. The Roman Catholic Mission was next, being established at Meeanee in 1852. When Napier was founded, the Roman Catholics were the first to build a church, which they did in March, 1859, Father Reignier being the first resident priest. In January of the same year, the first Presbyterian Minister, the Rev. P. Barclay arrived, followed in February, 1860, by the Rev. W. St. Hill (Church of England); and in April, 1861, by the Rev. Shaw (Wesleyan). In 1859, the newly established Provincial Council passed an *Education Act*, which provided £ for £ grants to all schools which complied with the conditions laid down.* The result was that all the denominations thus got an equal start and the work of establishing schools went rapidly ahead. In districts where there were neither private nor denominational schools, the local residents formed committees and established public schools. Notwithstanding the scanty and scattered populations a remarkable and practical enthusiasm for education was evinced throughout the whole Province.

In a letter dated 4th March, 1861, signed by Mr. T. H. Fitzgerald, the first Superintendent of Hawke's Bay, to Mr. H. B. Sealy† on his appointment as first inspector of schools for the Province, it is stated.—

"The schools now receiving aid from the Government under the *Education Act* are six in number, viz., three in the town and three in the country; those in the town being Mr. Smith's school for boys and girls, Mr. Hoben's

* See also Chapter XXIX, Section 4.

† Mr. Sealy was succeeded as inspector by Mr. Henry H. Goodwin (June, 1866 to December, 1866). He was followed after an interval by Mr. E. L. Green (April, 1868 to May, 1870). After another interval came Mr. William Colenso, F.R.S. (July, 1872 to December, 1877), followed by Mr. H. Hill, B.A., F.G.S. (1878 to 1914).

boys' school and the Misses McGarvies' girls' school. . . . The three in the country districts are the Clive School, the Petane School, and the Wairoa School."

Of these, Mr. Smith's was the public school; Mr. Hoben's and the Misses McGarvies' were St. Mary's Roman Catholic schools for boys and girls respectively. The Wairoa School was conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Gazen,* who also received boarders, following the practice established by their predecessor, Mr. R. Thompson, who was the first teacher in the Wairoa district. About the same time Mr. Donaldson at Ahuriri, and Mr. Dierness* conducted Government schools for the Maoris. In 1864 a Roman Catholic convent was built by Father John Forest in readiness for the coming of the Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions. This was occupied on February 26th, 1865; and was the first convent of that Order in New Zealand. From 1862 to 1867 a Presbyterian school was kept by Mr. W. Thompson; and from 1866 onwards an Anglican School (St. John's) by Mr. Wm. Hudson.†

By 1869 the number of aided schools had increased to 18 and in 1875 there were in the Province altogether 20 public, four aided denominational (all Roman Catholic), and 9 private schools, in addition to Te Aute College and several Government Maori elementary schools. This creditable record was due to the sincerity of the regard which the people had for education and their practical zeal in overcoming the disabilities under which they laboured in order to achieve their ideals. In this respect as well as in the system of administration the Province of Hawke's Bay bears a close resemblance to that of Nelson.

* T. Lambert in *Old Wairoa* spells these names "Gasson" and "Deerness."

† Other teachers and schools in Hawke's Bay in 1866, besides the Te Aute Maori College, under the charge of the Rev. Samuel Williams, were Miss Tupper's (private school for girls); St. Mary's Roman Catholic Schools (boys, Messrs. Mulherne and Carrack; girls, the Sisters of the Mission; St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Girl's Boarding School (the Sisters); the Napier girls' school (Mrs. Brooke-Taylor and Miss L. Caldwell); and two private girls' boarding schools conducted respectively by Mrs. Saywell and Miss Caldwell. In 1868 the Misses Bathan and Boyle opened a school for girls which was taken over in 1874 by Mrs. Neill. In 1865 Mr. Andrew Thompson succeeded Mr. Gazen as teacher of the Wairoa Schools followed in turn by Mrs. F. F. Ormond (1868) and Mrs. L. Gosnell (1871). Also in 1867 a Roman Catholic "Providence" for Maori girls was opened in Napier by the Sisters, at which the late Rev. Mother Aubert taught in 1871; while two years later a school for Maoris and European boys was opened by the same denomination at Meeanee. See also Appendix D.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS OF TARANAKI.

More than any other, the New Plymouth settlement suffered from land troubles with the natives. There was no provision made for general instruction either by the Plymouth or the New Zealand Company, or by the Government except in the direction of setting aside certain reserves for future educational uses. "And the district was too sparsely populated and the people generally too poor for private teachers to hope for support."* Many of the poorer children learned to read in the Wesleyan Sunday schools which were early established in the town. There were, however, a few private schools attended by the children of the more prosperous. There was no Provincial legislation until 1868, and even then the amount of money available for grants to schools was very little indeed. Consequently there were no public schools and, for a considerable time at least, no denominational schools either. The early history of education in Taranaki, therefore, resolves itself into a brief chronicle of the names of a succession of private teachers who supplied as best they could the educational needs of the Province almost to the close of the Provincial period.

Certainly the longest lived and best-known of these private school teachers was Miss Lydia Shaw, who arrived at New Plymouth by the "Amelia Thompson" in 1841, and is still living there (August, 1927). Miss Shaw was seven years of age when the settlement was planted. Her first teachers there were Mrs. Harris and Mrs. John Newland, the latter being the wife of the first gaoler in the township. She then attended a school conducted by Mrs. Samuel Popham King, whose husband, a well-educated gentleman, established the first library, known as "The Taranaki Institute." Her last school was that of Dr. and Mrs. Horne, the doctor himself being of Huguenot extraction, and a good French scholar.

It was about this period (1850) that Messrs. Murch and J. C. Sharland conducted a school for boys, the latter of whom later established a successful chemist's business in New Plymouth. In 1852 Miss Garland had a school for very small boys. Another well-known teacher of the 'fifties was Mr. Beardsworth,

* Wells, *The History of Taranaki* (1878), p. 295.

who conducted a boys' school until 1861, and who is said to have written the first geography of New Zealand for use in schools. About the same time Miss Mace, a sister of Captain Mace, who won the second New Zealand Cross in the Maori War, was teaching a school for settlers' children at Omata, at a point just south of what was known as the "Whaler's Gate." From 1858-60 Miss Harris, daughter of the first teacher mentioned, taught a class of girls at Frankley Road, about two miles out from New Plymouth, and Mr. Harris, probably her brother, had a similar class for boys. Other early school teachers of about this period were Mesdames George, Sunley, and Burgess.

When the Maori War broke out, the rural population was driven into the town and these outside schools were closed. Mrs. Passmore, widow of the first victim of the war, conducted a school for girls for some time in town. During this period (1860-63) school attendances were naturally irregular, but girls' schools were conducted at various times by Miss Sarah Hoskin and the Misses King (daughters of Mrs. S. P. King above-mentioned). At this time a large number of children were sent with their parents as war refugees to Nelson, where they were taught in the public schools of that Province and in special schools opened for them by the Government. On their return to New Plymouth a Wesleyan day school* was established, conducted first by Mr. and Mrs. Schofield, and later by Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Collis. Mr. Collis had formerly been a missionary teacher in Fiji.

About 1866 or '67 Mrs. Wilcox conducted a school for girls, also Mrs. Courtenay Kyngdom and Miss Messenger, both sisters of Colonel Messenger; and Mesdames Homeyer and Parker. Mr. and Mrs. Crompton opened schools for boys and girls respectively in 1867, the former becoming the first District Inspector of Schools under the *Education Act* of 1877. In 1868 Miss Lydia Shaw took over the charge of the Kawau Church School, hitherto conducted by her niece Miss Mary Ann Shaw, later Mrs. Allen Douglas. In 1878, this school was removed to what was known as the Sandhills, a site now occupied by the Foresters' Hall. Amongst the early assistants at this school were Miss Ainslie, Mrs. Mary Croft, Miss St. George (later Mrs. Newton King) and Miss Swanston. In 1884 Miss Shaw opened the West End School as a side school of the New Plymouth Central School, and taught there until her retirement in 1900.

* There was also a Wesleyan Native School, named after the Governor, "The Grey Institution," of which the Rev. John Whiteley was in charge for many years.—Rev. J. Buller, *Forty Years in N.Z.*, p. 350.

After the wars the Provincial Council passed an Act under which a small Government subsidy was granted to certain schools. Other teachers of this period were Messrs. *Batkin, Ellis, and W. I. Grayling, the last-named being also the author of a history of the Maori War and the part taken in it by the Taranaki settlers under the leadership of Capt. (later Sir Harry) Atkinson, subsequently for many years Premier of the Colony.

The fees usually charged in the Schools of the Province were 9d. per week per pupil; and in view of the generous school holidays now granted during the year, it is interesting to record that, by order of the Superintendent, the only holidays allowed in Taranaki from one Christmas to another were Good Friday, Easter Monday, Queen's Birthday, and Anniversary Day (March 31st in New Plymouth).

* See also Appendix D.

CHAPTER XX.

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS IN WESTLAND.

Westland was of mushroom growth. At the end of 1864 there were fewer than a thousand Europeans on the West Coast. The opening of the gold fields in the following year resulted in such an influx of miners, that, two years later, the population stood at 50,000 souls. There were at this time in Hokitika alone over 100 hotels. The number of children, however, was comparatively small at first. Nevertheless schools quickly sprang up, the majority of which were organised by the Roman Catholic Church.

"Of those pioneer gold seekers a large proportion were Irish," writes Mr. P. J. Duggan,* himself the teacher of the Grey Valley School in 1875, and of the Kumara School in 1877,

" . . . and as soon as they had settled in a new discovery their first thoughts were to get a resident priest, and, when the priest arrived, his first work was to build a church and open a school. It thus came about that the Catholic school was the only school of those primitive times and children of every denomination attended them."

These Roman Catholic schools were situated at Greymouth, Hokitika, Ross, Kanieri, and Reefton. There were also two Church of England, one Presbyterian, one Wesleyan, and several private schools in existence at various times prior to 1878. The first school established in Greymouth was St. Patrick's, founded by the Rev. Father E. Royer in 1866. This school was situated in Arney Street and opened with 75 pupils. Mr. Honan, "native of County Cork," was the first teacher, and the fees were 2s. 6d. per week for senior and 2s. for junior pupils, schooling, like everything else, being more expensive on the goldfields than elsewhere. Mr. Honan was succeeded about 1874 by Mr. Ahearne. On the girls' side the first teacher seems to have been Miss McMahon, succeeded in the 'seventies by Misses Clarke and Dennehy. There were also established in 1867 three semi-private schools—that is, schools in receipt of Government subsidy, viz., the Misses Heaphy's school in Mackay

* *N.Z. Tablet*, Sept. 14th, 1927. Mr. Duggan is still living at Oamaru.

Street; Mr. H. Warren's "Greymouth Grammar School"; and a Church of England School, taught by Mr. Thomas Thomas (for many years afterwards teacher at Totara Flat under the national system). In 1873 Westland became a separate Province, and in 1876 the Greymouth Main Public School was established with Mr. A. B. Thomson as its first head teacher, Mr. Alex. Roulston the first assistant master, and Mrs. Magoffin the first mistress. Mr. Roulston was succeeded in the same year by Mr. W. B. Douglas, and Mr. Thomson two years later by Mr. R. Goulding.

The first school in Hokitika was that of Mr. Alex. Malcolm, opened in September, 1865, with 69 pupils. Other schools established shortly afterwards were Miss Coll's day and boarding school, Revell Street, and Miss Young's at Staffordtown. This latter appears to have been in connection with the Wesleyan denomination. In 1868 Father Martin came to Hokitika and commenced his long pastorate of 38 years. He put up a fine building (for those times) in Tancred Street, where a Roman Catholic School, St. Mary's, was opened by Mr. Carrick, from "County Galway." This school accommodated 250 pupils, and Mr. Carrick remained in charge until 1878 when the Sisters of Mercy took over the school, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mother Mary Clare, who is still living in Hokitika as superioress of St. Columbkille's Convent. In addition, Father Martin founded a school at Kanieri, taught by Mr. John Griffin; but upon the decline of the mining this school was closed (1877). A Mr. Niven also held a school in Kanieri about this time.

In 1866, the Church of England also opened a school in Stafford Street, Hokitika, known as All Saints' School, where Archdeacon Harper, son of the Bishop of Christchurch, was stationed. This was taught by Mr. Stanton, but with the decline of the mining and the abolition of the subsidy due to the establishment of free national schools in 1877 it was closed. There was also a Presbyterian School established in Hokitika about 1870.

At Ross Roman Catholic Schools, also called St. Patrick's, were opened in the late 'sixties under Miss O'Donoghue (girls) and Mr. John Mulhern (boys), the latter being succeeded in 1878 by Mr. J. J. Crottie. Another successful school at Ross was that of Mr. Hill, which, in 1870, had a roll of 84 pupils. Finally a Roman Catholic School was established at Reefton in 1875 by the Rev. Father M. Cummins.

Upon the introduction of the national system in 1878, the private and Protestant schools were either taken over by the State or were closed, but the Catholic schools retained their separate existence.

CHAPTER XXI.

EARLY EDUCATION IN MARLBOROUGH.

The first Englishman to settle in Queen Charlotte Sound was Captain Guard (1827). He was succeeded by Dicky Barrett, who came there with the Ngatiawas in 1834. By 1839 this settlement was one of the most important in the South Island. In that year the Rev. J. Bumby visited the place, and in the following year "Port Underwood," as it came to be called, with its population of 100 souls, obtained its first Christian Minister, the Rev. S. Ironside (Wesleyan). The Wairau was later in being developed. In 1848 there were only 194 settlers, mostly runholders, of whom the most notable were Messrs. Charles Clifford and Frederick A. Weld, both of whom were afterwards knighted. Following on Grey's "cheap land" regulations in 1853 many acres were taken up for pastoral purposes; and in 1857 there was quite an exodus of farmers from the Waimea (Nelson) to the newly developing district. Blenheim, originally known as "The Beaver," had 300 inhabitants in 1860. The churches were all represented by that time, the Rev. D. Nicholson (Presbyterian) and the Rev. H. F. Butt (Anglican)—both of them from Nelson—having come in 1857, and the Rev. Mr. Warren (Wesleyan) in 1859. The Roman Catholics were ministered to by Father Garin from Nelson until 1863, when Father Tressalet was appointed resident priest, only to be succeeded in the following year by Father Sanzeau.

The first school in Marlborough was opened in Blenheim by Mr. John White, who was sent by the Nelson Education Board in response to the repeated and urgent requests of the residents. Indeed, one of the reasons which the people of Marlborough urged for their separation from Nelson and establishment as a separate Province was the lack of provision for their educational needs. The difficulty lay in the scattered nature of the comparatively small population in such a large pastoral area, the total number of children of school age in 1864 being only 728. On the establishment of Provincial self-government, moreover, the inhabitants began quarrelling as to whether Picton or Blenheim should be the capital of the Province. Their educational needs consequently still received insufficient attention. But in any case their financial resources were too small to enable

them to accomplish much under the circumstances. An Education Board was set up, of which the first secretary and Inspector of Schools was Mr. T. Williams, while the first teachers under the Board were Messrs. H. W. Harris, at Blenheim, James Smith (boys' school), and Miss Goodman (girls) at Picton, and J. Hawk, at Havelock—these being the three principal centres of population. There was in addition a private school for girls conducted at Picton by Mrs. B. S. H. Broughton; while in Blenheim two Roman Catholic schools were established (1872), one for boys, taught by Mr. Joseph Ward; and one for girls, taught by Mrs. Carrick, until it was taken over by the Sisters of Mercy in 1885.

CHAPTER XXII.

SOUTHLAND'S FIRST TEACHERS.

The whaling settlement at Jacob's River (Riverton) was in 1837 one of the chief settlements in New Zealand, and probably the next to Kororareka itself in size. Its founder and ruler was Captain George Howells, whose son, Mr. George Howells, aged 86, still lives there (1927). The number of children of Europeans there when New Zealand became a British Colony was sufficiently great to justify a subsidy being granted for a school by the Government at Auckland. The diary of the Rev. James Watkin, entry dated March 6th, 1844, bears witness that the school was then newly opened:—

“Last night reached a place called Jacob's River. Here, too, I met the natives, held a service, and distributed books which are in great request. Visited a school which has just been commenced for Anglo-New Zealand children. I gave the master what assistance I could.”

It is known that Mr. J. Lidiart, who arrived in Southland in 1835, was the teacher at the Riverton school in 1853, but whether he was the teacher referred to by Mr. Watkin is not certain.

When the Scottish settlers arrived at Otago in 1848 there were already in Southland, besides the settlement at Riverton, other whaling settlements at Bluff and Stewart Island. When the Scottish settlers themselves came south in 1856 to found Invercargill, prominent amongst them was the Rev. Alexander Bethune, who had been schoolmaster at Green Island. Mr. Bethune, after a few years spent in clearing and farming his property at Myross Bush, resumed his profession as a teacher, this time in Invercargill, which had already been proclaimed a school district under the *Otago Education Ordinance* of 1857. His school, conducted from 1860 in the old Courthouse, was the first public school in Invercargill. Here Mr. Bethune taught for some five years, when he resigned to undertake other work for his church. Later, however, circumstances compelled him to resume teaching, this time at Myross Bush, where he continued in

that vocation until 1877. Other Southland schools* dating back to the early 'sixties were those of the Misses Bain (1860), W. S. Hamilton, in Tay Street (1864); Dugald Cameron, Riverton (1864); the last two being schools organised by the Southland Provincial Council during the years of its initial, but short-lived, prosperity. A few years later (1867-8) the following schools were in operation in the Province:—the Public School, Tay Street, J. G. Smith, teacher; A. Macdonald's Grammar School, Leven Street; J. B. Wardrop's Boys' School, Conon Street—all at Invercargill; Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Stewart's School for boys and girls at Barwhey (East Invercargill); Joseph Evans, public school at Campbelltown (Bluff); Dugald Cameron, still at Riverton; while schools for the Maoris were conducted at Ruapuke by the Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers, and at Riverton by the Rev. G. Honoré. Other early private school teachers in Invercargill were Messrs A. Burns, later first librarian of the Athenæum—a school in Deveron Street; Cook and Wise (Tay Street); Evans; A. B. Tuson (North Road, Avenal); the Rev. Searle, succeeded by "Professor" Henri (Leet Street); Mrs. Petten-gall (near Earnslaw Street); Mrs. Rodgers (Leven Street); and Mrs. Gundry (Spey Street). The first Roman Catholic schools were conducted by Mr. and the Misses Carden, brother and sisters, in Nith Street.

Still earlier private schools in Riverton were those of Messrs. Beechy, John Leonard, and H. H. Symon; and Mesdames Pankhurst, Horne, and Galliot; most of them dating back to the 'fifties.

As long as the Provincial Council of Southland lasted (1861-9) the Rev. W. F. Tarlton was the Chairman of its Education Committee, and the Rev. W. P. Tanner, of St. John's Church of England, its Inspector of Schools.†

*This is no doubt the school referred to in the Report of the Invercargill School Committee for 1860, which says, *inter alia*:—"Owing to the great delay in establishing a school under the Ordinance, a private one had pre-occupied the field, which absorbed fully half the expected pupils. However, that is gradually mending, and the public school gaining ground."

† See also Appendix D.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PROVINCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS ANALYSED.

We are now in a position to enquire into the practical results achieved in the various Provinces. It will be convenient as well as fairer to deal with the five major Provinces in one group and the smaller ones in another, although tables of statistics will be presented later which will enable comparisons to be made throughout the whole Colony. As time passed by it was inevitable that the various Acts and Ordinances should be subject to various amendments chiefly in respect of their machinery and financial clauses. These will be discussed later. It will be sufficient at this stage merely to note that in Canterbury the administration of the annual appropriation was taken out of the hands of the Churches in 1863 and placed in those of an Education Board, although the denominational grants themselves were not cut off.

It is well nigh impossible to obtain reliable comparative statistics in regard to the state of education prior to 1864. Year after year the Registrar-General, the Government Statistician of those days, in submitting his Tables to the Colonial Secretary, bewails his inability to compile anything like a satisfactory statistical survey of this field of investigation.

"In the years in which the Census is taken," he writes in his report for 1862, "a large amount of information on the subject of education is, of course, collected; although (as I had occasion to remark in my Report on the Census of 1861, as well as in that of the Census of 1858) the columns for school attendance were those which, in many instances, were least satisfactorily filled up. An effort was made to procure for the present Volume, not merely a continuation, but an enlargement, with all attainable accuracy, of the information previously acquired. With this view, a series of questions respecting public schools was prepared, and forwarded to the several Provinces. The result however, has, I regret to say, been only very partially successful. Different Provinces have their different systems, their different modes of keeping their records,

and their different periods of making up their annual accounts; and delay, difficulty and ultimate defectiveness characterised many of the returns from the particular localities in which public schools were established."

Not until the Census of 1864 were the returns such that anything like a satisfactory table could be presented, and after that, by degrees, more reliable information became available. By this time the various systems had been in operation long enough to gauge the effectiveness of each, and a careful examination of the figures available is very illuminating. For instance, it is now possible to ascertain the numbers and percentage of children of school age in each Province in attendance at the various schools, and the proportion not in receipt of any education at all.

First let us consider the percentage of children of school age attending the public schools—i.e., schools of any type (denominational or other) maintained wholly or in part by means of Government grants:—

Percentage of children of school age attending the public schools.

Nelson	----	----	----	----	----	49.67
Otago	----	----	----	----	----	35.18
Canterbury	----	----	----	----	----	24.09
Wellington	----	----	----	----	----	21.47
Auckland	----	----	----	----	----	16.62

Now let us take the percentage of children of school age attending day schools of any kind—public, private or denominational, aided or unaided. What do we find?

			Percentage attending at any day school (public or other).	Percentage not attending at any day school.
Nelson	----	----	69.51	30.49
Wellington	----	----	53.50	46.50
Otago	----	----	52.94	47.06
Canterbury	----	----	46.28	53.72
Auckland	----	----	46.18	53.82

Next let us consider what is done for these unfortunate children between the ages of 5 and 15 years who are not attending any day school at all, by comparing the percentages of children of school age who are receiving instruction at Sunday school without being in attendance at any day school:—

Percentage attending Sunday school but not day school.

Nelson	----	----	----	----	11.31
Canterbury	----	----	----	----	10.47
Otago	----	----	----	----	6.86
Wellington	----	----	----	----	6.41
Auckland	----	----	----	----	6.08

This is a remarkable discovery and reveals the extraordinary fact that Nelson with 30.49 per cent. of its children not attending day school gathers no less than 11.31 per cent. (roughly one-third) of them into its Sunday schools, while at the other end of the scale, Auckland, with 53.82 per cent. of its children of school age not attending any day school, can only muster 6.07 per cent.* (roughly one-ninth) of this great army of uneducated children into its Sunday schools. This is all the more noteworthy when we remember that the education system of Nelson is a "public" one, while that of Auckland is a "denominational" one.

But let us pursue this matter to the end and see just what are the percentages of children who *see the inside of neither day school nor Sunday school*, giving this time also the actual numbers of such children, and the total number of children of school age (i.e., from 5 to 15 years) in each Province:—

		Percentage not in attendance at any school at all (either Day or Sunday).	Actual number of same.	Total number of children between 5 and 15 years.
Nelson ...	...	19.18	560	2,919
Wellington ...	...	40.09	1,546	3,856
Otago ...	...	40.20	2,624	6,527
Canterbury ...	...	43.25	2,614	6,044
Auckland ...	...	47.75	4,157	8,706

Observe the tremendous gap between Nelson and its nearest competitor and give honour to whom honour is due, to Matthew Campbell and the Nelson School Society, and the early settlers of that truly enlightened Province.

In the statistics for 1866—two years later—for the first time we get a complete return of another kind from an analysis of which still further facts come to light. These relate to the "common" or "aided" schools only, amongst which are included all schools which receive any government aid at all. These enable us to gauge the extent to which the various Provinces were prepared to dip their hands into the Provincial purse to provide educational facilities for the children of their people.

* N.B.—These percentages are of the total number of children of school age, not of those not attending any day school.

First let us consider the amount spent in relation to the number of pupils and to the number of teachers in the schools:—

Amount Spent per Pupil.			Amount Spent per Teacher.		
Nelson ...	...	£5 6 1	Nelson ...	...	£149 4 0
Wellington ...	...	4 18 11	Otago ...	...	124 10 0
Canterbury ...	...	3 13 0	Canterbury ...	...	102 6 0
Otago ...	...	3 8 7	Wellington ...	...	93 11 0
*Auckland ...	...	1 18 6	Auckland ...	...	51 11 0
New Zealand ...	...	3 10 5	New Zealand ...	...	99 2 0

We shall next show the amount spent on education (1) per head of the population and (2) as a percentage of the total general revenue of each Province. The actual figures are also given in each case, as well as those for the whole Colony.

	Per Head of Population.	Percentage of Total Revenue.	Actual Expenditure on Education.	Total Revenue.	Population (1866).
Nelson ...	8/1	8.23	£ 6,267	£ 76,129	15,542
Otago ...	4/2	1.46	10,334	704,116	49,942
Wellington ...	2/11	1.21	3,274	187,345	22,748
Canterbury ...	2/4	1.35	6,956	514,892	58,752
Auckland ...	1/5	1.03	3,506	339,034	50,101
New Zealand	3/2	1.70	33,091	1,941,061	208,682

Gathering these results together we find that out of the eight tables presented Nelson scores eight firsts, and Auckland eight last; Otago four seconds, three thirds, and one fourth; Wellington three seconds, one third, and four fourths; and Canterbury one second, four thirds, and three fourths. From all of which it is clear that from every point of view the Nelson Province was *facile princeps* and Auckland *facile ultimus*; also that the public school system (as represented by Nelson and Otago) was indisputably superior to the denominational system of Canterbury and Auckland.† As Superintendent Fitzgerald

* It will be remembered that the Auckland appropriation provided only *half* the expense of maintaining the schools aided.

† With the results obtained from the above investigations the following summary taken from Saunders' *History of New Zealand*, Volume I (1642-1892), p. 272 *et seqq.*, may well be compared. The figures are based upon the returns furnished to the House of Representatives in response to Premier Stafford's enquiries in 1868, just when educational organisation in the Auckland Province had reached its lowest ebb, and are preceded by the following comment:—

"The results of the various systems of education were shown to give everywhere the advantage to those Provinces that had made the nearest approach to a thoroughly natural and to a purely secular system of public education. Nelson still stood at the head, whilst Auckland, with

had said this latter was a "system of giving just enough assistance to *paralyse all independent exertion*, without giving enough to establish a thoroughly efficient system of education." It was, in fact, "the very worst system which could be adopted," and it is not surprising to find that, as the facts became known, public opinion steadily developed in the direction of adapting to the needs of the whole Colony the public school systems of Nelson and Otago, upon which the culminating Act of 1877 was admittedly based.

The following table shows the actual number of public or "aided" schools established in the various provinces in 1866, together with such other information regarding them as is available. This table includes the whole of the Provinces at that time existing, with the exception of Southland, from which no returns were available.

		Number of Common or Aided Schools.	Number of Teachers.	Maximum Enrolment.	Average Attendance.	Average Attendance shown as Percent- age of Enrolment.	Number of Enrolled pupils per Teacher.	Estimated Popula- tion (1866).
Nelson ...	...	32	42	1,755	1,182	67.35	41.7	15,542
Otago ...	...	55	83	3,546	3,015	85.03	42.7	49,942
Wellington ...	...	27	35	1,011	662	65.47	28.8	22,748
Canterbury ...	...	43	68	2,682	1,909	71.18	39.4	58,752
Auckland ...	...	62	68	2,551	1,819	71.31	37.5	50,101
Taranaki ...	...	10	13	346	310	89.59	26.6	4,626
Hawke's Bay ...	...	13	13	305	228	74.75	23.5	4,820
Marlborough ...	...	12	12	371	277	74.66	30.9	5,573
New Zealand ...	...	254	334	12,567	9,402	74.82	37.6	208,682

its reprehensible indifference to the general education of its population and its determined decision to aid only denominational schools, was left conspicuously behind all the rest:—

No. of Children Attending Schools per 100 of Population.	No. of Children between 5 and 15 unable to Read per 100 of Population.	Public Money Spent on Education per Head of Population.	Proportion per 100 of Whole Popula- tion able both Read and Write.
Nelson 9.4	Nelson 44	Nelson 5/7	Nelson 42
Otago 8.2	Taranaki 44	Otago 4/11	*Taranaki 42
Canterbury 8.1	Wellington 52	Canterbury 3/10	Wellington 35
Wellington 4.4	Auckland 53	Wellington 2/4	Auckland 33
Taranaki 3.9	Otago 54	Taranaki 1/4	Otago 30
Auckland 3.7	Canterbury 59	Auckland 3½d.	Canterbury 27

* Chiefly educated in Nelson during the Maori Wars.

We shall now give for the four smaller Provinces the results enumerated earlier in the chapter in regard to the main centres together with the actual figures upon which they are based. For convenience these tables are arranged vertically instead of horizontally as before:—

	1864 Census.	Taranaki.	Hawke's B.	Marlborough	Southland
I.	Population	4,374	3,770	5,519	8,085
II.	Children of School Age (5 to 15 years) ...	853	633	728	1,453
III.	Attending Common or Aided Schools ...	126	51	99	150
IV.	Ditto, shown as Percent- age of II	14.77	8.06	13.60	10.32
V.	Attending Private or Unaided Schools ...	468	134	135	449
VI.	Ditto shown as Percent- age of II	54.87	21.17	18.54	30.90
VII.	Total Number attending Day Schools	594	185	234	599
VIII.	Ditto shown as Percent- age of II	69.64	29.23	32.14	41.22
IX.	Children of School Age not attending Day School	259	448	494	854
X.	Ditto shown as Percent- age of II	30.36	70.77	67.86	58.78
XI.	Attending both Sunday and Day Schools ...	428	108	75	290
XII.	Attending Sunday but not Day School ...	149	48	11	145
XIII.	Ditto shown as Percent- age of II	17.47	7.59	1.51	9.98
XIV.	Children of School Age not attending either Sunday or Day School	110	400	483	709
XV.	Ditto shown as Percent- age of II	12.89	63.40	66.35	48.79

It must be remembered that at this time Taranaki had no Education Ordinance. Its schools were either denominational (chiefly Wesleyan) or private. The excellent work done by the Sunday schools of this Province will be noted.

For purposes of compendious comparison a final table is given in which the whole of the above information is gathered together for the five chief Provinces and also for the Colony as a whole.

	1864 Census.	Nelson.	Otago.	Wellington.	Canterbury.	Auckland.	New Zealand.
I.	Population	11,910	49,019	14,987	32,276	42,132	172,158
II.	Children of School Age (5 to 15 years) ...	2,919	6,527	3,856	6,044	8,706	31,737
III.	Attending Common or Aided Schools ...	1,450	2,296	828	1,456	1,447	7,903
IV.	Ditto shown as Percentage of II	49.67	35.18	21.47	24.09	16.62	24.90
V.	Attending Private or Unaided Schools ...	579	1,158	1,235	1,341	2,573	8,072
VI.	Ditto shown as Percentage of II	19.84	17.76	32.03	22.19	29.56	25.43
VII.	Total Number attending Day Schools ...	2,029	3,454	2,063	2,797	4,020	15,975
VIII.	Ditto shown as Percentage of II	69.51	52.94	53.50	46.28	46.18	50.33
IX.	Children of School Age not attending Day School	890	3,073	1,793	3,247	4,686	15,752
X.	Ditto shown as Percentage of II	30.49	47.06	46.50	53.72	52.82	49.63
XI.	Attending both Sunday and Day Schools ...	1,116	1,853	933	1,775	2,380	8,958
XII.	Attending Sunday but not Day School ...	330	449	247	633	529	2,641
XIII.	Ditto shown as Percentage of II	11.31	6.86	6.41	10.47	6.07	8.32
XIV.	Children of School Age not attending either Sunday or Day School	560	2,624	1,546	2,614	4,157	13,111
XV.	Ditto shown as Percentage of II	19.18	40.20	40.09	43.25	47.75	41.31

* An examination of the details of the Provincial revenues at this period further reveals that the total sum of £5,143 12s. 5d. was received in educational rates in Nelson for the three years 1862-4 whereas no revenue was so received in any of the other Provinces. The explanation is to be found in the fact that all the other Provinces charged school fees of varying amounts, and in Nelson alone were all children admitted free of charge, the cost being met in that Province by public taxation.

"What do we find in our Colony?" asks the Rev. T. A. Bowden, at this time Inspector of Schools in the Province of Wellington; and himself answers the question thus:—

† "Instead of a compact, uniform and methodical system of school organisation, we find first in each Province a system more or less perfect for the assistance and direction of primary education under the local government. These systems differ as widely from one another as systems organised at different times by different people without any common model would be expected to differ, and are all capable of vast improvement. *Not more than half the children between the ages of five and fifteen attend school at all.* We find also a sprinkling of high schools, grammar schools, and colleges, without any distinct classification, and without any well-defined or uniform curriculum—some public, some denominational, all heterogeneous—often antagonistic; and we find between them and the primary schools a "mixed lot" of private schools, seminaries, and academies, constituting what the Americans call higgledy-piggledy schools."

On quoting this terse review of the position by an educational expert, Mr. T. Ball, member for Mongonui (Auckland Province) in the House of Representatives further stigmatised the existing conditions as:—

"A strangely discordant and incongruous state of things, which called for a speedy remedy."

We shall see in the succeeding chapters what was the drastic remedy which the honourable member had in his mind and how, after some delay, it came to be applied.

* *Statistics for New Zealand, 1862-1866.*

† *Hansard, 1869, p. 524.*

PART V.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS A
NATIONAL, FREE, SECULAR AND
COMPULSORY SYSTEM.

ARGUMENT.

The utter collapse of the Auckland system in 1867-8, due principally to the financial difficulties of the Auckland Provincial Government, led to the Central Government requiring a special report from all the Provinces respecting their educational organisation and its efficiency. This revealed the extreme inequalities existing and the complete inadequacy of the educational facilities provided in the North Island (excepting Hawke's Bay) and in the smaller and poorer Provinces of the South Island. A close review is given of the history of the development in the Colonial Parliament of the conviction that provincialism in education must be replaced by the provision by the Central Government of a national system of education for the whole Colony. Legislative action, however, was delayed for a time because of conflicting opinions as to the best method of dealing with the situation, and this gave an opportunity to the Provincial Governments to set their educational establishments in the best possible order—some in the hope of averting the impending national action, others in equally hopeful anticipation of and preparation for it.

The section then deals with each of these in turn and traces the history of the replacement of the denominational system in Auckland by a public, secular, and compulsory one; of the establishment of a system of public secular schools throughout the Wellington Province, including the capital itself; of the bitter struggles in Canterbury, which resulted in the complete overthrow of the denominational system and the establishment of a public one, together with the inauguration of the first Department of Education in New Zealand; of the organisation of the Otago system by John Hislop and the broadening influences of the cosmopolitan mining population, which combined with the great wealth of the Province to produce a system of education complete in all its branches from the infant department right through to the University; and of the efforts of the smaller Provinces to bring their educational institutions, so far as they could, into line with those of their bigger and wealthier neighbours. For summarised conspectuses of these important developments, bringing into prominence the nation-wide movement towards free, secular, and compulsory public education, see Appendix B-2.

The section closes with a survey of the development of secondary and University education during the period under review. This reveals the ingrained provincialism of many of the leading educationists of the time, and provides the key to the subsequent history of secondary and higher education in New Zealand.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE WRITING ON THE WALL.

All these diversities and disparities in the educational facilities available in the several Provinces were in 1869 forcibly brought under the notice of the Parliament and the public of New Zealand by the quiet, but thoughtful, member for Mongonui, in North Auckland, Mr. T. Ball. In the previous year the Auckland Province had been reduced by lack of funds to the humiliating necessity of having to discharge the schoolmasters whom, in earlier and more prosperous years, it had brought out from Great Britain; and, for a time, to suspend entirely its educational grant. The teachers held a meeting to discuss their position, at which the Rev. Wm. Taylor, headmaster of St. Matthew's (Church of England) school was appointed Chairman.* Subsequently after interviewing the Superintendent in vain, they laid their case before the Colonial Parliament, and urged upon that paramount body the need for its intervention in matters educational. At Mr. Ball's suggestion the Premier, E. W. Stafford, himself a keen educationist, obtained reports from all the Provinces setting out the then state of their respective educational agencies. The House seemed indifferent, and the papers lay on the table without anyone troubling even to move that they be printed, when on August 18th, the unassuming member for Mongonui, reluctant to see them pass without remark into the Parliamentary pigeon holes, moved the first motion ever made in the New Zealand Parliament in favour of the establishment of a national system of education. Just twenty years had elapsed since Alfred Domett, now a member of the Upper House, had outlined his scheme of public education in the Legislative Council of New Munster, and now at last his dreams were about to come true. For Fate had numbered the days of provincialism and denominationalism both, and the hand of Destiny was writing upon the walls of the local legislatures Belshazzar's ancient doom:—

* Lack of funds was also the chief barrier to the development of educational institutions in the Wellington Province. It was this state of affairs which gave point to the perhaps pardonable exaggeration of the Rev. Wm. Taylor in his Appendix to his Ten Letters on *The Education of the People*, in which he says, "Indeed, the whole of the North Island is an intellectual desert!"—W. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

"Mene; God hath numbered thy Kingdom and finished it. Tekel; Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting."

With enlightenment and foresight Mr. Ball interpreted the situation thus:—

* "As a Colony, New Zealand ought to have the best-known educational system; and even that should be modified or changed so soon as it could be shown that the system was capable of improvement. He knew that before a Colonial system could be adopted there must be considerable conflicts of opinion as to the best system to be adopted, to whom the conduct of it should be entrusted, and how far it should be enforced. He had no doubt that at one time he should have been found as staunch an advocate of Provincial institutions as anybody else; but upon a more comprehensive view of the subject he had come to the conclusion that the sooner Provincial institutions, as regarded education, were superseded and supplanted by Colonial institutions, the better it would be for the Colony. He thought that Provincial institutions had stamped all the bad features of their character upon the different educational systems, and, therefore, he thought that they should be wiped out. His argument, generally, was that the existing disparities between the Provincial systems were constantly increasing, and that all the efforts made up to the present time went in the wrong direction. Therefore there should be a change, upon the general principle of the right of each child to receive education, as was so well stated by Charles Kingsley. An argument for change was supplied by past legislation of this Assembly. There was now a Colonial and very excellent system of education amongst the native race. Last year the House passed a measure for the endowment of universities, and this year there was before the House a measure for the establishment of free libraries. All these facts supplied reasons for a unity of education throughout the Colony. He argued for such a system on the ground of the inevitable change that must come over the institutions of the Colony generally. In the decrepitude of provincialism he thought it very inadvisable that the Provincial authorities should continue to possess the control of education."

* *Hansard*, Vol. VI, 1869, p. 523—Mr. Ball.

To preserve these illuminating papers from the fate which threatened them, the honourable member had taken the trouble to prepare a careful analysis of their contents, which he laid before the House, revealing with unmistakable clearness the actual facts of the position. With obvious sincerity and earnestness he drove home the truth, and, after summing up his figures and showing that the five chief Provinces, having a population of 218,688, had spent but £33,670 upon the means of education during the year under review, he concluded by citing, with brief pungency, the amount expended for the same period upon "Police and Gaols," viz., £88,544.

The motion was received in silence. No member spoke, a fact of which afterwards many confessed themselves ashamed. Yet the seed was sown, and in the course of the subsequent debates on education, in which almost every member had his say, there were frequent acknowledgments of the good work done by Mr. Ball that day. But let *Hansard* tell its simple tale:

"He would move the motion standing in his name.

Motion made, and question put, that, referring to 'Papers laid on the table of this House, relative to the state of education in the several Provinces of New Zealand,' in the opinion of this House it is desirable, at the earliest possible period, to terminate the unequal distribution and lack of harmony which obtains in the administration of educational agencies under the independent action of Provincial Governments, by the introduction of a comprehensive system of public schools adapted to the requirements of the Colony. Motion agreed to."

But when, next session, the Government, in answer to a question, declined to introduce a Bill, the Hon. J. C. Tancred* (Canterbury) kept the subject to the fore by submitting a Borough Schools Bill himself. This, he admitted, was a "very harmless" measure, enabling municipal corporations to make a special rate for the purpose of establishing commodious and well-staffed schools in the larger centres of population. It catered in no way for the scattered country districts, and could only be brought into operation on the initiative of the Provincial Governments themselves. But it was a beginning and its promoter hoped that the proposed schools would develop into Normal Schools from which a steady supply of efficient teachers would be drawn for service throughout the Colony.

By this time the Premiership had passed to Mr. (later Sir) Wm. Fox, who, not yet sure enough of the feeling of the House and the country to venture upon a Government Bill,

* *Hansard*, Vol. VIII, 1870, p. 32.

welcomed this private "kite." In the reception it got and the discussion it aroused both in Parliament and in the Press, he looked, with the eye of a practical politician, for a sign. Nor was such withheld.

The Bill passed the House of Representatives and reached the Committee stage in the Legislative Council when it lapsed. But it had served its purpose and revealed to both the central Government and the Provincial Councils the inevitable course of educational development. Still the Premier shrank from grasping the obvious nettle until in a motion moved by Mr. J. C. Richmond (Nelson) a little later in the same year (1870) he received a definite mandate to proceed.

"Motion made and question proposed—That it is the duty of this Legislature to secure that provision shall be made for the education of the people *in all parts of the country*. That for that purpose the Government should during the recess, prepare a Bill to be introduced early in next session; and that the main provisions printed on supplementary order paper should be included in the Bill."

Mr. Macandrew (Otago) immediately moved the following amendment:—

"That in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that a Bill should be introduced early next session for the purpose of securing that adequate provision shall be made for elementary education *in those Provinces wherein the Provincial Government may fail to make such provisions.*"

So the battle was joined at last and a spirited skirmish proved prophetic in its outcome of the evitable result of what was to be a protracted struggle. There was no silence now, and more than once were members accused of suffering from the *cacoethes loquendi* in their obvious inability to curtail their remarks upon the now burning question.

Mr. Richmond's motion was carried, and the Premier thus twice vouchsafed a sign, set at once about the preparation of a Bill. The aid of Mr. Ball, late Member for Mongonui, and Mr. Hislop,* Secretary and Inspector of the Otago system, and draftsman of the Otago Act of 1864, was invoked. Recent de-

* The assistance thus given was generously acknowledged by the Premier, Mr. Fox, in the House on August 31st, 1871. See *Hansard*, Volume X, p. 203. Mr. Hislop was also in attendance at Wellington during the discussions upon Mr. Bowen's Bill in 1877, and rendered considerable assistance, especially in connection with its machinery clauses.

velopments in England (where Mr. Forster's *Education Act* of 1870 had just become law), and in Victoria (where a Royal Commission Report presented in 1867 had laid the foundation for a similar Act in that country) were carefully scanned, and no effort was spared to bring down a measure that would commend itself to all. The Bill, which was presented in 1871, received an almost unanimous welcome, and passed its second reading with hardly a dissentient voice, albeit accompanied by a perfect flood of oratory; which deluge—this time referred to by the Premier as a *lues loquendi*—asphyxiated the Bill. It struggled for breath but a brief moment in Committee and suddenly sank out of sight. The deluge then swept the country. From one end of the land to the other the subject of education was thrashed threadbare. Centralists and provincialists, nationalists and denominationalists, secularists and religious instructionists—all these and many others joined heartily in the fray; and, when in 1872 the members of Parliament assembled afresh from their constituencies, many would-be orators who had come well-primed with their constituents' views suffered a keen disappointment at the complete absence of any reference to the subject of education in the Governor's opening speech. The fact was that the manifest difficulties of the situation had completely damped the ardour of the experienced politician at the head of the Government, who shrank from taking any further action, until he might discern some "greater unanimity of opinion" upon the subject both inside and outside the House.

Thus the Provinces obtained a brief reprieve and many of them endeavoured to set their houses in better order, some hoping thereby to stave off the doom that threatened and to preserve their cherished institutions from the Nirvana of a national system, others for reasons of family pride or, may be, merely from the natural desire of those about to die, seeking to leave their affairs in as satisfactory a state as possible to those who should succeed thereto.

Before, then, we raise the curtain upon a short review of this final revision of the Provincial educational laws, let us step aside for a little while into the Strangers' Gallery of the House, and listen to some of the things which these former Superintendents and Representatives of the various Provinces had to say in the course of these debates, respecting their own and their neighbours' educational affairs. Perhaps better than anything else could do, the responsible utterances of contemporary public men will enable us to get an accurate estimate of the position.

* Mr. W. Fox (Wellington, Premier)—

"I admit that in those parts of the Colony where the education of the children is neglected—as seems to me to be the case in most, if not the whole, of the North Island—it becomes a subject of serious consideration for the House as to what is to be done. The question whether those Provinces, which, from one cause or another have neglected the education of their people, are to throw upon the Colony an uneducated population, to become a dangerous element in the community, must give material for serious consideration."

Mr. W. Rolleston (Canterbury)—

"It was felt by everyone interested in elementary schools in the Colony that they were miserably inadequate to the wants of the people—that they had ill-paid teachers, who received salaries that did not represent the wages of a labouring or working man."

Mr. T. Kelly (Taranaki)—

"In the town of New Plymouth there were private schools where education could be got, but in the country districts it was almost impossible for parents to give their children any education whatever. The means at the disposal of the Provincial Government had been so small that they were not in a position to give that assistance to the country schools which they required. The salaries of schoolmasters in Taranaki were not equal to the wages of a day labourer. Some measure should be introduced in that House to provide for the education of all the children throughout the Colony."

Mr. R. J. Creighton (Auckland)—

"thought from the experiences they had had in the Province of Auckland, since the Common Schools Act had been brought into operation, that it was necessary that the House should pass an Act compelling the settlers to tax themselves for school purposes to levy a school rate."

Mr. J. C. Richmond (Nelson) submitted the following figures supplementing the information given by Mr. Ball in the previous year:—

The public expenditure for educational purposes during 1869 was £32,805, of which Otago, Canterbury, and Nelson

* The following extracts are taken from the debates on the above-mentioned Motions and Bills. The Province in which each member's constituency was located is given instead of the constituency itself.

spent £29,369, and the other Provinces, which contained fully one-half of the population of the Colony, only £3,436. The number of children from 5 to 15 years of age in the latter Provinces was 12,650, and every year a fresh 4,700 attained the age of 5 years, new recruits for the educational institutions of those Provinces. The expenditure per head, calculated for the whole number of children of school age and not merely for those attending the public schools, was £2 10s. in the former and 5s. in the latter group of Provinces. Even in Otago with all its liberal provision for education, out of 10,200 children of school age, only 5,340 were to be found in the public schools. And, said he, "if such a state of things prevails in Otago . . . what must be the condition of the children in other parts of the Colony where scanty provision is made?"

Mr. Fox (Wellington, Premier)—

"The Northern Island formerly did a good deal in some Provinces, until that unfortunate time when it was stripped of its property and resources by the passing of the Native Lands Act in 1862, which had the effect of reducing some of the Provinces to a state bordering on bankruptcy. Since that unfortunate day they have been unequal to the task of carrying on the Government of the different portions of the Colony entrusted to them, solely because they have not the means. When they possessed the means they showed the greatest willingness to encourage education. When Auckland, at a time of great depression, was reduced to the necessity of discharging its schoolmasters who had been engaged during the period of previous prosperity it was not that less interest was taken in the subject of education but because there was no money. That has not been the case with the South. . . ."

"In this matter, as in all others, the Northern Provinces, and particularly the Province of Wellington, had been made a stalking horse, and held up as an example of all that was wicked and bad. Whenever an example was wanted to show that provincialism had utterly failed, the poor little Province of Wellington was pounced upon and held up as an example."

"If the land fund had been taken away from the Provinces in the south in the way in which it had been done in Wellington, he would like to know what would be their position? They would be in a much worse state than Wellington was."

Mr. James Macandrew (Otago)

"could say as far as Otago was concerned, that they had at the present moment over 100 public schools with upwards of 130 teachers. They had attained in that Province that of which they might well be proud, for they had got the only system of national education that existed in the Colonies."

"He would go the extent of compulsory education. He thought, where a Province or a State provided the means of education, every parent should be compelled to send his children to school. In Otago, wherever there were 20 or 25 children, there the means of education were provided. Anything the Colony could do was not likely to exceed that! What he complained of in the proposal of the honourable member was that Provinces such as those of Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago, in addition to educating their own children, should be compelled to educate the children of other parts of the Colony. He did not believe in that. They might as well compel them to support the police of Auckland as well as their own. There was no man in this country who could be said to be unable to educate his children. It was the want of will, and not the want of ability."

Mr. E. W. Stafford (Canterbury), on behalf of the other parts of the Colony, repudiated the claim of Otago to

"the possession of the only system of national education in the Colony. If such an assumption can be made at all by any part of the Colony, I say without any fear of challenge, that it can be made by Nelson, which first established a system of education open to children of all denominations, free to children of all creeds, taking no more from one than from another, and throwing the school doors open to every child whose parents chose to take advantage of the system, without the payment of sixpence in the shape of fees for instruction."

"Again, I am not prepared to admit that, because there is no land fund in the North Island, therefore the people are to be content to let their children be uneducated. . . .

"If we look at the statistics we shall find that the small Province of Hawke's Bay, which for many years has not had anything like a land revenue has done as much

in the way of opening up to the people of the Province the means of education as the largest and wealthiest Province in the Colony, having the largest and most continuous land revenue."

*"He did not know that Southland had ever done anything to establish State Education, and that was an important section of the Colony. It was possible it might soon be united to Otago, and if it had nothing else to be congratulated upon in reference to the question of the union, it would have to be congratulated in having an educational system, for the first time, for the poorer classes in that Province."

"There were large portions of the Colony not doing their duty in respect of elementary education; and, if the people in those parts of the country would not tax themselves, this House would have to use its power of taxing them."

Mr. J. C. Richmond (Nelson)—

"Whatever sins Nelson might be chargeable with it had done its duty in the matter of education—even though its land was not worth £2 an acre. In his opinion Nelson had set an example to the other Provinces in the Colony. It had been the first Province bold enough to levy an educational tax."

Mr. J. C. Tancred (Canterbury)—

"The House should make a law compelling districts to educate the people within their limits. That is the principle of the Bill that is now before the British Houses of Parliament."

"With regard to the difference between the North Island and the South Island, I acknowledge freely that the former has had great difficulties to contend with in consequence of the passing of the Native Lands Act, which deprived them of those funds which are possessed by the Middle Island. I freely admit that this has had something to do with the deficiency in the provision made for education in the North Island. At the same time, I think there are some Provinces in the North Island which have attended to their educational wants more than others. I take one instance, that of Hawke's Bay. I understand that the provisions there made for education approach those made in the Middle Island."

*This goes only to show that even Members of Parliament sometimes made mistakes as we shall see in the next chapter.

"I say that they have provided larger funds for the purposes of education in the Province of Hawke's Bay, in proportion to its resources, than in any Province in the North Island. I believe that arises from the energetic action taken by the Provincial authorities to introduce a sound system of education, and the people have taken it up and have made larger provision for the education of the people than any other Province."

The Hon. Alfred Domett (now in the Upper House, but still the same Alfred Domett, notwithstanding the lapse of 20 years) opposed Mr. Tancred's Borough Schools Bill

"on the ground that, in effect, it declared that the *Provinces* should legislate on the subject of education. Previously they did so *under sufferance*, but now the Legislature said 'we decline to deal with the subject; we hand it over to the Provincial Councils to legislate upon.' That was a step in the wrong direction. He was also strongly opposed to the denominational system."

Mr. Ball was no longer member for Mongonui, but Mr. T. B. Gillies, his successor, made a timely contribution to the discussions. He regretted to hear the South Island members

"talking invidiously of other places as compared with Otago and Canterbury. No doubt Otago and Canterbury had done well for education; Nelson had also done well; but Otago and Canterbury had done well because they were rich, while the other Provinces, who were poor, could not afford to do the same. But it was not right for rich men to plume themselves on what they were able to do, and to blame poor men because they were not able to do likewise."

Mr. H. Bunny (Wellington)—

"It was an easy matter for a rich Province to keep up an efficient system of education, but it was difficult for a poor Province to do so. . . . It was a matter that should be dealt with by the Colony, and should not be left to the chance of the Province having funds at its disposal. If the people of Wellington were not educated, all other parts of the Colony suffered by it. It was a question which ought to be taken up by the Colony. He trusted the Government would see their way to provide a measure which should make the education of the people a Colonial work, and he hoped they would make proper provision for colonial teachers, so that they might secure competent instructors, and for their children a proper education."

Mr. J. C. Richmond (Nelson)—

“The proposals which I have ventured to put upon the order paper are really very little more than an application of the principles of Mr. Forster’s Bill to what all must agree to be the wants of this Colony.”

“He hoped that the Premier, having seen the willingness of the House to work with him in a large scheme for the whole Colony, would be induced during the recess to take in hand the important subject under discussion.”

“Amendment negatived, and Motion agreed to” is the laconic termination of *Hansard’s* voluminous report. Thus was the doom of the Provincial system of education sealed. But when Fox in 1871 prepared to give effect to the sentence of the House, it became apparent that the executioners had irreconcilable opinions as to the mode of execution. Consequently, the whole matter was shelved until such time as they could settle their differences.

Let us take the opportunity afforded by this respite to see exactly how matters had developed in each Province since the passing of the first Provincial laws and what efforts the Provincial Councils made to improve their education systems during these final years of their control.

CHAPTER XXV.

AUCKLAND ABANDONS THE DENOMINATIONAL SYSTEM.

The course of events in the Auckland Province after the passing of the *Education Act*, 1857, has been fairly clearly indicated in the preceding chapters.

“Had it not been for the timely assistance rendered by this Act, the prospects of education in this Province would now have been still more gloomy than they were before the passing of the Act; for at least six of those schools which are now in operation would have been closed from want of funds, and 190 children now under instruction would consequently have been left without the means of education. The scanty pittance contributed by school fees could not have supplied the teachers with the common necessities of life, much less have maintained them in that position to which their important and responsible office entitled them.”*

The first Education Commissioners from whose first report the above extract is taken, were Revs. D. Bruce (Presbyterian), J. F. Lloyd (Anglican), A. Reid (Wesleyan); Messrs. J. Brennan, T. Cheeseman, A. Clark, H. J. Jervis, L. O’ Brien and W. Phillips. The first Chairman was Mr. A. Clark and the first meeting took place on March 12th, 1857. Denominational differences immediately manifested themselves and the Presbyterians and Wesleyan members, including the Chairman, resigned on June 15th, when the Rev. J. F. Lloyd became Chairman. Upon applications being called, Henry Taylor, of Trinity College, Dublin, was appointed first Inspector of Schools. Early in the following year petitions were presented to the Government by the Roman Catholics (28th January, 1858) and the resigned members of the Board (10th February, 1858). The Catholics objected to the Act as—

“Unjust specially against the Roman Catholic members of the Colony, placing them in the alternative either to lose their share of the grant for schools, or to act

* First *Report* of the Commissioners of Education for Auckland Province, 1857.

contrary to their religious dignity and interests by submitting to ministers spiritually opposed to them, their teachers for examination and authorisation.”*

The difficulty was met by the appointment of the Rev. James McDonald, Vicar-General, as Special Inspector of the Roman Catholic schools under the Act. This appointment, although confirmed in the first instance by the Commissioners, was a constant thorn in their side, and they more than once urged the Government to amend the Act in order to bring all the schools under their direct control, and that of their Inspector, but without success:—

“Clause 6 of the *Education Act* of 1857 gives power to the patrons of schools to appoint a special inspector of which power one denomination alone has up to the present time (1865) availed itself. We strongly recommend the repeal of the latter portion of this clause, not influenced by any sectarian prejudices or personal objection to the reverend gentleman who discharges the office of special inspector, but simply on the grounds of justice, that all who receive a common favour should be subjected alike to the same requirements and conditions. In other departments of the Government service where public money is expended enquiry is instituted whether the funds have been judiciously and properly expended, by an officer in no way connected with those who disburse such funds. But in the present case, an interested party receives, expends, and reports upon the application and results of a monied grant from the Government. It may also be adduced in support and with some degree of truthfulness, that the reports of an inspector especially appointed to report upon any matter in which he feels a particular interest, must to some extent bear the tinge of his own predilections;” and so on.†

Notwithstanding these differences, for a time everything went well. Schools were established and schoolmasters were brought out from England. Under the *Waste Land Act* of that Province, 1858, in order to promote the immigration of desirable colonists, the agents of the Province in England were authorised to give “land orders,” which, upon five years residence

* *Act and Proceedings*, Auckland Provincial Council, Session VIII, 1858.

† *Report* of the Education Commissioners for Auckland Province, 1865.

in the Province, entitled the holder free of cost to the area specified therein. Special clauses provided that 80 acres of country land should be thus granted to every settler whom the Chairman of the Board of Education certified as qualified to teach reading, writing, arithmetic and English grammar, and who was actually engaged in teaching in the common schools under the Board for a period of five years. In this way quite a number of teachers were induced to go to Auckland. The second annual report of the Commissioners (1858) showed an increase in the number of aided schools from 20 in 1857 to 26; and of scholars from 912 to 1,354. There were at the same time some 30 private schools with an estimated attendance of 1000 pupils. The report for 1861 states:—"We have the satisfaction of again reporting that the system of education adopted in this Province continues to make steady progress." The list of schools for 1862 shows 45 schools in receipt of aid, the total amount granted by the Government being £1,995, as against £2,117 raised by local contributions, including fees. The salary paid to the Inspector of schools for the year, including travelling allowance, was £270 16s. 8d. In this year Henry Taylor resigned the inspectorship and J. C. Valentine was appointed in his place; but in 1864, upon Valentine's resignation, Taylor was reappointed and continued to hold the office until the repeal of the *Education Act* in 1867.

The salaries paid to the teachers in this Province were poor from the first, and it must be remembered that only one-half of the amount required for this purpose was contributed from the Provincial revenue. Nevertheless, in 1866, the Commissioners were "considerably embarrassed" in meeting equitably the increasing demands made by the denominations upon the annual educational appropriation, now grown to £3,500. The Commissioners got into arrears with their payments. In the following year the appropriation was reduced to £3000. In the following year it stopped altogether. The effect of these retrenchments is described in the following passage from the report of the Commissioners for 1867:—

"The past year may be characterised by a want of educational zeal and activity; it has to a certain extent been a year of retrogression; the number of public schools has decreased, and consequently the facilities for educating the youth of the Province have been diminished. No new school has sprung into existence; no new teacher has been licensed, no deserving teacher has been promoted; and the inspector of schools further

reports, that in point of efficiency the scholars, generally speaking, have not made progress commensurable with former years. He assigns two causes, first, the irregular attendance of children, who in numberless cases have been detained from school at intervals because of the parents' inability to pay the school fee; and, second, the precarious and insecure position of the teachers, which naturally has diminished their zeal, and detracted from their devotedness to their work.

The Commissioners feel compelled again to call the attention of the Legislature to the number of uneducated children in the city and suburbs of Auckland. In the pensioner settlements, and in the more recently established military immigrant settlements their condition is most deplorable, and a stain will for ever remain upon the history and legislation of this Province, if the question of their education is allowed to remain in its present unsettled state.

Out of the sum of £3000 placed at the Board's disposal for the current year the Board, having first obtained the sanction of the late Superintendent, applied a portion (£399 1s. 9d.) towards payment of arrears of salary to teachers on the September quarter of 1866. Your Honour fully understands the teachers' present position; they are now labouring without prospect of remuneration from the Board, the grant for the year, as was foreseen, having proved inadequate. Application was made to your Honour for further help, but the reply of the Provincial Secretary was 'that no more money than had been voted by the Provincial Council for the present year, can on any account be paid to the Board of Education'; on receipt of this reply the teachers were immediately apprized 'That it would be impossible for the Board to continue any grant in aid after September next.' "

The fact was that the constant diminution of the land revenues, combined with the long strain of the Maori wars, had brought the Province almost to the verge of bankruptcy. The Government treasury was so depleted that there was nothing left for it but to repeal the *Education Act* altogether and leave the schools, for a time, to their own resources. It was of this condition of affairs that Mr. Ball had spoken when he said in the House that—

"In the Province of Auckland there was not only an absence of system, but the organisations and entire machinery were destroyed; there was neither a board of education nor an inspector of schools."*

As a temporary measure, an Act was passed authorising Highway Districts to strike a rate to help to keep the schools going; but, almost without exception, the local bodies refused to do anything of the kind. In 1869 a Common School Bill was promulgated and referred to a select Committee of Enquiry. Evidence was heard from representatives of all the denominations, Protestants and Catholic, and from the teachers and others interested in education. The inherent weaknesses of the late denominational system were denounced. It was shown that the entire funds voted by the Council for educational purposes had passed into the hands of one or two religious denominations which had availed themselves of the grant, while a number of schools maintained by other religious bodies received no aid at all. The interests of the community had been, in fact, subordinated to those of the denominations. Prominent amongst those examined by the Committee was Mr. R. J. O'Sullivan, headmaster of one of the Roman Catholic schools, who, as a result of his five years experience under the old Act expressed strong approval of the proposal to establish a secular system of schools. This course was adopted and O'Sullivan was appointed first Inspector of schools under the new system, a position which he occupied with conspicuous success, throughout the remainder of the Provincial period, and also later under the national system. Thus Auckland, which had been for close on half a century the "nursery of the denominational system" was the first Province in New Zealand to establish a secular system of public schools. The greater part of the *Common Schools Act, 1869*, was taken almost *verbatim* from the *Nelson Education Act, 1863*, and the *Otago Education Ordinance, 1864*, one important exception being that no Bible reading or religious instruction whatever was permitted in the schools, even out of school hours. The leanness of the exchequer, however, prevented anything being done other than to carry on the existing schools as far as possible under the new system. The eyes of all were turning to the central government in the confident hope that a colonial Education System would be inaugurated. When, in 1872, that hope seemed to fail, a fresh Act was passed and a determined effort made to remove from the Province the stigma of its past failure. A householder's rate of £1 and a rate of 5s. on each

* See also Rev. W. Taylor, *The Education of the People*, p. 11.

child (raised in 1874 to 10s.) were levied throughout the Province. When this was not sufficient a poll-tax of 10s. per annum on each male adult was also levied, and these revenues, with the gradually increasing incomes from the very large land endowments which had been in early years reserved for educational purposes, enabled the schools to be maintained free. Further, the Act contained "permissive compulsory" clauses under which School Committees were given authority to compel all children from 7 to 14 years of age to attend half-time. Auckland was thus not only the first to enforce the strictly secular principle, but also the first to adopt the principle of direct compulsion in respect of attendance. That the clauses were not enforced in practice was largely due to want of sufficient funds to erect school buildings fast enough to provide for the number of children to be accommodated.

The first Board of Education under the new system was constituted as follows:—

Four members elected by the Provincial Council—Messrs. J. T. Boylan, A. Beveridge, P. A. Philips, and Dr. (later Sir John) Logan Campbell; three members nominated by the Chief Justice—Col. Haultain, and Messrs. A. Clark and J. C. Firth.

In 1875 the Board consisted of Dr. Logan Campbell, and Messrs. Dargaville and Prime, representing the Council; and Col. Haultain, and Messrs. H. H. Lusk and Luckie, nominees of the Chief Justice. As will be seen from the following extracts from the Board's report for 1875, under the new system, the formation of school districts was proceeded with in earnest, and such vigour was shown in the administration of the Act that the Province was in a fair way to redeem its educational reputation when the time came to hand over the reins to the national Department of Education in March, 1878:—

"The operation of the Act is giving every satisfaction in every country district, and there are few places now in which a common school—either whole or half-time—is not within reach. . . ."

"Finance has been from the first an anxious subject, and the want of sufficient funds, especially for building purposes, has materially cramped the efforts of the Board. . . ."

"The total value of school buildings and furniture belonging to the Province cannot be estimated at more than £6,000, the majority of those in use being hired from churches and public bodies. . . ."

" Since March 31st, 1874, the Board have expended for all purposes, including collection of rates, advances to schools for books to be repaid, etc., £21,375 4s. 2d. The proceeds of the rate during this period (being balance of the rate for 1873 and part of the rate for 1874), are £10,540 13s. 1d.; the revenue from endowments, £488 7s. 4d. The remainder consists of advances from the Provincial Government and the bank. . . ."

But the magnitude of Auckland's effort is perhaps best of all shown by the following statistics for the years 1871, that immediately preceding the institution of the new system, and 1874, the third year of its operation:—

			1871	1874
Number of Public Schools	----	----	70	140
*Highest Enrolment	----	----	1,990	8,284
Average Attendance	----	----	1,327	4,929
Number of Teachers	----	----	70	178
Average Cost per Pupil	----	----	£3 3 6	£2 10 0
Total Expenditure on Education	----	----	£6,315	£20,530
Population of Province	----	----	62,335	67,451

In regard to the expenditure, the amount provided out of the public funds in 1871 was £3,135; from other sources, £3,180; total, £6,315. In 1874 the whole was provided from public funds, the expenditure being, on teachers' salaries, £16,707 1s. 0d.; on buildings, administration, etc., £3,823 12s. 11d.; total, £20,530 13s. 11d.

*The number of children attending the private schools at the end of 1873 was 1,582.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WELLINGTON ESTABLISHES PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Except for a few changes in its machinery clauses, the *Education Act, 1856*, with the Amendment of 1857, continued the sole authority for the establishment of public schools right down to 1871, the year of the failure of Fox's colonial Bill. The Wellington Act, it will be remembered, became operative only when and where an educational district was proclaimed thereunder. In 1857, two schools were established, one at Wanganui, the other at Turakina. These were the first public schools in Wellington Province. In August, 1859, the Superintendent was able to report only ten schools established under the Act—none of them in the town of Wellington itself. An attempt was made in the newly-elected Provincial Council to reverse the policy of the original Act, but without success. A Return of Schools subsidised under the Act for the year ending March 31st, 1862, contains the names of 18 schools;* and for the year ending March 31st, 1864, 25 schools,† all in the country districts of the Province. These received from the Government half the teachers' salary, and, in some few cases, a special grant towards the cost of erecting the school-house. The remaining funds had to be found locally, by fees, by voluntary subscription, or by a rate. In some of the schools no fees were charged, in others the fees varied considerably, and were payable weekly, monthly, quarterly, or even annually, as the School Committees determined. In 1862 the proceeds from the Provincial reserves‡ were earmarked for educational purposes. In the same year, Mr. A. F. Halcombe, at the request of the Government, made a special report upon the four public schools "situated between the Wanganui and Rangitikei Rivers," and subsequently upon the general working of the Education System of the Province.

* *Acts and Proceedings* of the Wellington Provincial Council, Sessions 9 and 10, 1862-3.

† See Chapter XVII, p. 190.

‡ *Educational Reserves Act, 1862.*

*“ In all these schools,” he wrote, “ the Irish National School Books are used; and the settlers’ half of the teachers’ salary is raised by voluntary subscription among the parents—a subscription depending rather on the means of the individual than on the number of children each may send for instruction—no regular fee being charged for each child, some being even admitted free, whose parents are not able to contribute. . . .

“ As a general rule in families, the power of raising funds for the purpose of instruction usually varies in inverse ratio with the need of Education; and, in consequence, there are localities to which the Government system has not yet extended, which are as much in need of education as where schools have been established, but which are precluded by the poverty of their inhabitants from raising a sufficient sum to enable them, even with the Government equivalent added, to engage the services of a master.†

Almost all the school committees had elected to adhere to the strict secularism of the original Act; while only two had struck a rate, the remainder depending on the uncertain and irregular income obtainable from voluntary subscriptions. Efficient teachers were almost unknown and the buildings were most unsuitable.‡ One school at Johnsonville met in a room 10 feet by 12 feet and had a roll of 22; another, at Tawa Flat, with a roll of 42 met in a shanty 18 feet by 12 feet. But the attendance was deplorably poor, one school with an enrolment of 58 having an average attendance of only 18.

In 1865, Mr. Halcombe having been appointed Provincial Secretary, the Superintendent, Dr. Featherston, appointed the Rev. T. A. Bowden, B.A., to be the first regular Inspector of schools for the Province. The new Inspector kept hammering away at the Government, as his predecessor had done, pointing

* *Acts and Proceedings*, Wellington Provincial Council, Sessions 9 and 10, 1862-3.

† The educational expenditure of the Provincial Council of Wellington for the year preceding this report was £175 18s. For the following year, probably in consequence of it, the sum of £750 was put on the appropriation for schools. On the 14th May, 1863, the Council resolved to regulate the educational grants according to a fixed scale, viz., salaries to £100, one moiety; over £100, one moiety of £100, and one quarter of the balance; in no case to exceed £75. The appropriations for 1863 and 1864 were fixed at £1,500.—*Votes and Proceedings*, Wellington Provincial Council, 1862-3-4.

‡ See also Chapter XVII.

out the necessity for the appropriation of larger sums for education. But his chief concern in his first report (25th April, 1866) was the lack of any public schools in the city of Wellington itself, where there was still a strong body of opinion totally opposed to the secular and strongly in favour of the denominational system of public education. Mr. Bowden discussed the position as follows:—

“The city of Wellington has hitherto had its educational wants supplied by the several elementary schools established by the various religious denominations and by a considerable number of private schools.

“How far these establishments are adequate to its wants, and whether an elementary common or secular school is not also needed, I have no statistics before me which enable me to determine. The proposal to establish one would no doubt meet with considerable opposition, though I believe the benefits it would confer would soon make themselves appreciated.

“In towns and cities, and all populous centres of society, where conflicting religious creeds prevail, the secular system of education almost always meets with opposition, and its opponents, whilst they cannot but admit that, where religious opinions are divided, the purely secular system, or one on a *broad* (sic) religious basis, will alone afford to a State the means of introducing the full benefits which an intensive and efficient educational machinery can confer upon a people, whilst each in turn rejects a system if *broad* (sic) enough to satisfy the claims of theological opponents; and whilst they might, by super-adding, out of school hours, that religious and moral instruction of which the State is very far from denying the need and value, render the secular system as perfect as they can themselves desire, they, its opponents, too often, seem to prefer the more selfish course of endeavouring to oppose and frustrate what they are themselves unable to supply the place of, and hinder education under the plea of defending it. . . .

“Whilst the claim so often urged by denominational bodies to a *pro rata* distribution of the educational fund has all the appearance of equity in its favour, the effect of such a measure would clearly be to perpetuate an inefficient and render impracticable an efficient system of public education. The money which in one unbroken sum would accomplish much, is rendered of

little value by subdivision. The bundle of sticks is broken."

In his next report (1867) Mr. Bowden turned his attention to the shortcomings of the provincial system itself and hinted at the possibility of, and the necessity for, a national system in its place.

"The principle established by the Education Act for the administration of Government aid in provincial education, viz., that of subsidising local efforts, leaving the initiative to the district requiring aid, fails in two respects:—First, it gives no aid at all where aid is most required—I mean in localities where the settlers are too scattered, or too careless to care for, or too ignorant and blind to the necessity and value of, education for their children, to bestir themselves in the matter so as to meet the requirements of the Act and fulfil the conditions for aid; and, secondly, inasmuch as it limits the standard of education aimed at in the country to the minimum which the parents of children or the settlers generally (themselves often incompetent judges from the nature of the subject) may consider will suffice for the immediate needs of their families. . . .

A national system, in which the initiative in school extension, and the management and support of the schools would rest with the Government of the country, would obviate these defects and render practicable the establishment of an adequate and efficient *system* (sic) of schools; but it would be *costly* (sic), would tend to quench that very small amount of public spirit and local energy which the present system has elicited, and would perhaps be injudicious until the civil growth of the Colony has furnished an existing machinery for the economical establishment of a national system."

As to the standard of efficiency attained in the schools and the regularity of attendance he wrote:—

"The number of schools in operation at the end of 1866 was 28. The number of children on the books, I believe, 1,011; the average attendance, 662. Of the total enrolment 600 were under ten years of age, which circumstance accounts partly for the fact, otherwise very startling, that only 112 children are scheduled as able to read a narrative of ordinary difficulty; only 472 as writing copies on paper; only 250 as competent to work a sum in the compound rules of arithmetic. But this backwardness is also in part to be accounted for

by the great irregularity of attendance at school: thus it will be seen that two-thirds only of the whole number stated above are in daily attendance—that in several schools the average number of days in the whole year on which each child has attended has not amounted to 159—that in very few has it reached 200, whilst the ordinary number of school days amounts to 240.

Of the 28 schools under inspection, only four gave religious instruction; the rest were conducted on an absolutely secular basis.

In 1866 the Government had liberalised its regulations respecting grants in aid so as to provide (1) up to half the cost of school buildings; (2) up to £10 per annum for incidental expenditure; (3) half the teachers' salaries, but not exceeding £75 to any one school; (4) supply of books and school apparatus at reduced prices. In 1867 an Amending Act was passed empowering the Superintendent to subdivide the Province into districts, and to bring the Education Act into operation; and in 1869 another Amending Act was passed revising the system of rating. In 1868 a Select Committee of the Council, appointed to consider the working of the system with a view to its amendment, reported that the Act was working moderately satisfactorily in the country, but that in the towns it was almost a dead letter. The fact was that lack of finance paralysed the whole system, and the Superintendent (Dr. Featherston) was driven to explain that the then state of the public revenue precluded anything being done that would tend to increase the Provincial expenditure—especially in view of the Maori troubles. As in Auckland, the hopes of educationists began to centre around the efforts being made in the colonial Parliament to secure a national system. When these were dashed to the ground in 1871, action became imperative. In that year an Act was passed which made a clean sweep of all existing educational legislation and in conjunction with the Amending Act of the following year, made provision for a system of public schools for the whole Province including the capital city. These Acts were substantially a copy of the Nelson Act, with Central Board, Local Committees, etc. Religious instruction, if given at all, was to be of a "non-controversial character." Funds were provided by a rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the £ on all rateable property, plus a capitation fee of 5s. per annum. Authority was given to assist other schools under certain safeguards regarding the standard of education provided therein. Each succeeding year saw some amendment made, chiefly in the machinery and the financial provisions until 1874, when the capitation fee was abolished and a system of school

fees reinstituted. But even as late as 1872 there were no schools being carried on under the Act in Wellington itself, the whole of the educational institutions of the capital city at that time being still of either a private or a denominational character. In that year, however, the two Anglican schools at Te Aro and Thorndon, and the two Roman Catholic schools in Hill Street and Boulcott Street, and later an infant school under a Mrs. Wilkinson in Hopper Street, were brought under the Act by negotiation with the principals.* At the same time the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools of Wanganui were similarly brought under the control of the Education Board. A stipulation, however, in the case of the Catholic schools, reserving to the

* Conditions governing the transfer of Anglican Schools to the Wellington Education Board.

The school committee of St. Paul's (Thorndon) and the Vestry of St. Peter's (Te Aro) having charge of the schools belonging to the respective parishes, being desirous of co-operating as far as possible with the Education Board of the Province of Wellington, will be willing to place their schools in the hands of the Board under the following conditions:—

(1) The school grounds and buildings to remain in the hands of the present trustees.

(2) All necessary repairs of buildings and fences to be executed by the Board.

(3) The school building to be insured by the Board.

(4) The present school furniture to be taken at a fair valuation by the Board.

(5) The school committee of St. Paul's (Thorndon) and the Vestry of St. Peter's (Te Aro) to have the right to enter into and to use the schoolrooms after six o'clock on two evenings in each week.

(6) This school committee and this Vestry to have the sole use of the schoolrooms on Sundays.

(6a) The first half-hour in each school day to be devoted to religious instruction. The school committee of St. Paul's (Thorndon) and the Vestry of St. Peter's (Te Aro) to respectively have the right to select one of the class rooms as they may think fit, in each school, for the religious instruction of those children whose parents or guardians do not object to such instruction being given to them by the curates of such parishes respectively, or by persons appointed by them; the other class rooms to be placed, according to agreement, at the disposal of other denominations.

(6b) Children whose parents object to any religious instruction may come to the schools at the end of the first half hour.

(7) The present school staff in both schools to be continued at salaries not less than those held by them at present.

(8) The present arrangements to be terminable by either party at the expiration of six months notice."

The attendance at the respective schools at this time was Thorndon, 252; Te Aro, 366; of whom only the following number belonged to the Anglican denomination:—Thorndon, 112; Te Aro, 135. Appendix I to the First Report of the Wellington Education Board, dated 30th April, 1873.

trustees a right of veto over the appointment of teachers, resulted in an outcry against what was alleged to be the introduction of "denominationalism" into the system, and in 1876 the agreements entered into with both Churches were terminated. The Catholic schools then became part of the Marist school system, but fresh negotiations with the Anglican authorities resulted in the Thorndon and Te Aro schools again coming under the Provincial system.

The first Board of Education under the new system was constituted as follows:—

City of Wellington	----	----	A. de B. Brandon
Town of Wanganui	----	----	W. H. Watt
Wanganui and Waitotara	----	----	Clifford Iveson
Wangaehu	----	----	W. Hutchison
Rangitikei	----	----	Chas. C. Graham
Manawatu	----	----	Dr. Batten Smith,
			who resigned August 27th,
			1872 and was replaced
			by Ernest Thyne.
Wellington District	----	----	Edward Toomath
Featherston	----	----	Hon. G. M. Waterhouse
Masterton	----	----	J. Valentine Smith
Castle Point	----	----	Rev. J. C. Andrew

The first meeting of the Board was held on September 30th, 1872, when Mr. Brandon, the Provincial Solicitor, was elected first Chairman and Mr. Graham, first Secretary. The members threw themselves into the work with enthusiasm. In their first report 30th April, 1873, they stated:—

"When this Board first met it was found that there were only 30 schools which had been receiving grants-in-aid from the Provincial Government, but of these there were only 22 which were actually open. The Board at once took over these latter, and by appointing masters to the vacant schools, and establishing new ones, have now altogether 54 under their control, in addition to which there are eleven others, which will be opened so soon as school buildings, now in course of erection, are completed, or other suitable buildings can be procured and competent masters obtained for them."

The provision in the Act enabling grants to be made to other schools brought early application from the denominational schools for assistance. How the Board, grasping the nettle with firmness, handled the matter, is shown in the following extract from the same report:—

"Shortly after the Board met applications were made by the Anglican and Roman Catholic communities, both of Wellington and Wanganui, for grants in aid of their

respective schools, under the 44th clause of *The Education Act, 1871*; but the Board, foreseeing that the funds at their disposal would be far from adequate to carry out what they considered was the first and main object of the Bill, viz., to provide a good sound moral elementary education, apart from all sectarian views, for the whole Province, were unable to grant the desired aid, and postponed further consideration."

Later the following resolution was passed:—

"That until a sufficient amount of non-sectarian education has been provided to meet the immediate educational requirements of the community, the Board is unable to entertain any proposition for granting aid to denominational schools."

The result was that all six schools came under the control of the Board as public schools, as already stated. In an Appendix to the same Report (Appendix No. VI) the Board offered a number of suggestions for the amendment of the Act, recommending (*inter alia*) the repeal of the above-mentioned provision owing to—

"The Board being strongly of opinion that it is highly unexpedient to allow any discretion to the Board to afford aid to any school not wholly under the control of the Board."

In respect of irregularity of attendance it recommended:—

"That compulsory education be enforced throughout the Province, under provisions similar to those adopted by the Victorian Act and the Regulations under such Act, viz., that, under certain restrictions, all children between 5 and 15, shall attend school for a period of not less than 60 days in each half-year, under a penalty to be inflicted on the parents or guardians."

The regulations referred to were practically the same as those subsequently adopted in the national *Education Act, 1877*.

Owing to the difficulty experienced in the collection of the Education rate, a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Rev. J. C. Andrew was set up to consider and report on this and other matters affecting the working of the Act. Upon their report the capitation fee was abolished, and a school fee of 5s. per quarter imposed for every child attending schools established under the Act. The re-adoption of a system of school fees of course rendered impracticable the proposals made by the Board in respect of compulsory attendance, which the Committee otherwise favoured.

In 1873, "from a large number of highly eligible candidates, both from New Zealand and the neighbouring Colonies," the Board appointed Mr. Robert Lee, "of Chelsea Training College, and late headmaster of the Bishop's School, Nelson," to be their Inspector of schools—a position which Mr. Lee occupied with distinction to himself and satisfaction to the Board for over 30 years. After a preliminary tour of inspection Mr. Lee set to work to raise the standards of education of both the teachers and the pupils.* He devised and put into operation a system of four "standards," the first used in New Zealand, and the basis of those subsequently adopted throughout the Colony. In his second report (15th November, 1874) he expressed disappointment that the funds available had been insufficient to effect the improvements necessary to "put this Province on something like a fair vantage ground to compete with the educational progress of the South Island Provinces." Nine months later (August 4th, 1875) he is able to report in a different key:—

"The liberal grants of the Provincial Council made in the past two years in aid of education, have enabled your Board to develop a system of education for the Province, which promises to attain a vigorous growth. The education of the Province has certainly received a new impetus by the adoption on the part of your Board, of a liberal, uniform and encouraging scale of payments to teachers, by the establishment of a pupil teacher system, by the adoption of a system of standards in the examination of pupils specially adapted to the wants of the Colony, by a well-defined classification of teachers, by a supply of new furniture for schools, by the issue of certificates to teachers and advanced scholars, by improved plans for new schools and teachers' residences, by a change in the system of supplying school materials, and by the adoption of new and improved class books for general use in the schools. In addition to these measures, it will be seen, on reference to the schedule of properties, that building improvements have been effected in most of the old schools of the Province, and that several large new schools have been erected, and others are in course of erection."

When the time came, in 1878, to hand over the schools to the new Board established under the national system, there were six public schools in active operation in the city of Wellington,

* First Report of Inspector Lee, April 29th, 1874.

viz., Thorndon, Te Aro, Terrace, Buckle Street (girls), Mount Cook (boys), and Mount Cook (infants). The expansion under the Provincial Board may be seen from the following figures taken from the Annual Reports for the period of its control:—

Year	No of Public Schools	Number of Teachers (including Pupil teachers)	Aggregate Salaries	Attendance at Public Schools (actual, on date of inspection)	Population of Province
1872.	22	Not given	Not given	400 (esti- mated)	24,001 (1871 Census)
1873.	54	70	£5,912	2,533	—
1874.	61	77	£7,368	3,059	29,790 (1874 Census)
1875.	60	90	£8,405	3,332	—
1876.	66	116	£11,735 (for 13 months)	4,140	—
1877.	70	136	£13,595	4,388	—
1878.	80	147	£14,992	5,240	51,069 (1878 Census)

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE STRUGGLE IN CANTERBURY.

Although the Canterbury Provincial Council adopted the denominational system, copying almost in its entirety Grey's original Ordinance of 1847, there were many who from the first were greatly dissatisfied with the scheme, including the Superintendent, J. E. Fitzgerald, himself. In the same year in which the Ordinance was passed, Mr. Fitzgerald, although a keen churchman, made a long and effective speech against the denominational system at a public meeting at Lyttelton. In spite of the opposition of the incumbent of the parish, he carried with him the whole of the meeting in support of a resolution, which affirmed "that the establishment of schools on a municipal or district system for secular education, reserving to the appointed minister of every denomination the task and duty of religious instruction, is the most satisfactory scheme." Nothing further came of it, however, and the Bishop of Christchurch continued personally responsible for practically the whole school system of Canterbury until 1862, when, under pressure of an increasing feeling of dissatisfaction an Inspector of schools, Mr. J. P. Restell,* was appointed in accordance with an Ordinance of the Council, and a Commission set up to report upon the working of the system. This important Commission, consisting of the Hon. H. J. Tancred, Chairman, Rev. J. Lillie, Messrs. W. Rolleston and S. L. Saunders, made a thorough investigation into the whole subject, both as to the actual operation of the Canterbury system, and as to the various systems in vogue in the other Provinces of New Zealand, the Colonies of Australia, and elsewhere. An interim report was presented in July, 1863, and in November of the same year the full report was submitted—a most thorough and comprehensive document—which attracted attention, not only in Canterbury itself, but throughout the whole Colony. It was shown beyond contradiction that the system was as bad as Superintendent Fitzgerald had predicted. The school buildings were all inadequate, in many cases overcrowded, and in some absolutely insanitary. In some places

* Mr. Restell's Inspectorate lasted until 1881. In 1875 Mr. J. W. Hammond was appointed assistant Inspector, and in the same year the Rev. J. W. Habens became Secretary for Education.

owing to denominational rivalry there were two and even three competing schools where one would have sufficed; in other places schools were not provided at all. Of the total number of children of school age the proportion actually attending school was most unsatisfactory, and even in respect of religious instruction the scheme was shown to be a complete failure. Furthermore, it was absurdly extravagant, for, notwithstanding all this inefficiency in buildings and teachers, the cost per average scholar was shown to be no less than £7 13s., that is, more than twice that of the State of Victoria, and almost five times that of England.

It was estimated that the total school population of the Province at the time of the enquiry, i.e., of children from 5 to 15 years of age, was 3,739. Of these 1,651 were enrolled at the aided denominational schools, 452 at unaided private schools, leaving 1,636 not in attendance at any day school. Even allowing for "home education," the Commission were of opinion that there were "over 1000 receiving no secular instruction of any kind."

The limitations of space preclude the inclusion of more than a few brief extracts from this invaluable Report:—

"To insure a faithful discharge of duty, the Commissioners cannot devise any better or more effective machinery than that which already exists, the controlling power of the Legislature. . . .

"It is in this respect, as the Commissioners believe, that the plan hitherto in operation has shown itself most manifestly defective, the administration by heads of denominations having not only withdrawn the education of the Province from the supervision of the State generally but having also had the effect of practically abolishing that control over the expenditure of public money in particular, which forms so essential a part of the functions of legislature. Two methods were devised, by means of which it was intended that control should be maintained. In the first place, it was provided as one of the conditions of the grant that the arrangements connected with school fees and salaries of masters should only be made with the concurrence of the Executive; secondly, that detailed accounts should be furnished quarterly to the Superintendent by the head of each denomination, of the expenditure of the grant received by each on behalf of his respective denomination.

"For some cause or other, practical difficulties appear to have made compliance with these conditions impossible, and they have consequently become a dead letter. . . . The practical result has been not only the creation of an authority independent of the Legislature but also of one incapable in its very organisation, of acting harmoniously within itself.

"Consequently in the organisation of the schools, in the choice of sites, in the conditions on which aid is granted, in the remuneration of teachers, and in many other matters of a similar nature, no certain or uniform principle has obtained. . . .

"The existing local committees cannot properly be termed local organisations at all. None are connected primarily with any particular locality. Their sphere of action is not local, but denominational. The property which they administer is held not so much for the benefit of any given locality as for that of a certain section of the community resident in that locality, and thus the local committees, as now existing, may be considered as the representatives not so much of local wants, as of denominational interests. . . .

"The Commissioners are of opinion that the appointment of teachers principally on religious grounds, making religious zeal a qualification to counterbalance the want of special training, is wrong in principle and faulty in practice. . . .

"In England, the rights and privileges enjoyed by the denominations are purchased by corresponding duties and liabilities. The promoters of schools, though receiving assistance from the state, undertake, themselves, the largest share of the burden, the Government, as a rule, only supplementing local contributions. Here, on the other hand, the term "denominational system" means something quite different. The State bears all the burdens, and the denominations receive all the funds, and, moreover, administer them in the least economical manner."

With this may be compared the conclusion arrived at in respect of the Auckland system by Mr. Swanson, who had been chairman of a Committee of Enquiry into the condition of the Auckland denominational schools, and who, speaking in the House of Representatives during the course of the debate upon the Education Act in 1877, gave it as his considered opinion

that the denominational system in Auckland "broke down utterly," and described it as a system of "bad, worse, worst."*

In reference to the subordination of the teachers to the control of the clergy the Commission said:—

"To place anyone above him (the master) *in the matter of teaching* (sic) is to lower his office in his own estimation and that of his pupils, and to create a divided responsibility, which can only be productive of unsatisfactory results. . . . The master ought to feel himself a free man in his school to appeal to what motives he may think fit in influencing the minds of those under his charge."

The Commission recommended the immediate abolition of the existing system and the institution of a system of public schools modelled chiefly upon those of Otago. The report was naturally a severe blow to the Bishop, who convened a special meeting of the Synod of the Diocese on February 3rd, 1864, and there delivered a "charge," afterwards published in pamphlet form, in reply to the Commission's indictment and proposals. The Synod thereupon unanimously carried the following resolution:—

"That the Synod does not hesitate to express the hope that no system of education will be adopted by the Legislature of the Province in which distinctive religious teaching is not made a prominent and essential feature."

In explanation of this it was stated that "the differences between the Church and the other religious bodies cannot be considered of little importance;" and, further, that the Bishop attached "little or no value to so-called non-controversial religious instruction." Finally, the Bishop was quite staggered by the attitude taken up by the Commissioners in regard to the necessity for making the teacher "independent of the clergyman."

The Provincial Council, immediately upon the presentation of the interim report, passed a short Ordinance taking the administration of the educational appropriation out of the hands of the Bishop and the other denominational "heads," and vesting it in a Board of Education. The grants to the denominational schools were still continued, but were made separately to each school by the Board. A few brief clauses laid down the main lines upon which the new scheme was intended to operate. The measure was obviously a temporary one, and was replaced in the following year by an elaborate Ordinance of 57 clauses.

* *Hansard*, 1877, Vol. XXV, p. 645.

Under this Ordinance the two systems, the public and the denominational, were carried on side by side, the former being regulated by the first thirty-one clauses of the Ordinance, the majority of which are taken almost word for word from the Otago Ordinance passed some six months previously, and the latter by some thirteen or fourteen clauses taken in the same way from the Auckland denominational Act of 1857. The intervening clauses were Canterbury's own original contribution to the ubiquitous religious instruction problem. With this in mind, it will be sufficient to indicate the few alterations made in the Ordinances copied, and the new provisions made for religious instruction.

Where new public schools were about to be established, the local committee had to find a quarter of the initial cost, the balance being borne by the Province. Annual grants for maintenance were limited to £75, the teachers' salaries being a first charge upon this as upon all other school funds. Schools already established under the old system continued to participate in the grants, but provision was made for their being brought under the new system as and when the school committee made application. For every school, denominational as well as public, was now required to have its committee in order to qualify for a grant at all. The curriculum of instruction provided by the Auckland Act was amended by the insertion of the adjectives "*sacred and profane*" after the subject *history*,* an addition which later and for many years even after the establishment of the national system throughout New Zealand, had the disastrous effect of bringing the subject of history under the operation of a conscience clause, and relegating it in effect to a position of distinct inferiority in the syllabus. In clause 57 interesting provision was made for the establishment of a Book Depot.

"There shall be a Depot of books and apparatus under the charge of the Chairman of the Board, and such books and apparatus shall be sold for the use of schools in receipt of aid from the Board at such prices as shall be fixed by the Board, and the proceeds of such sales shall from time to time be remitted to England for the renewal of the stock, provided that all the accounts shall be audited half-yearly by the Provincial Auditor."

It is interesting to note that the Act of 1864 which thus laid the axe to the root of the denominational system in its southern

*"Scripture History," however, was made a necessary subject of instruction by the Ordinance of 1875, and was specifically mentioned in the Standard Syllabus for 1877 by the Rev. W. J. Habens, "so that teachers may not forget that it is essential."

stronghold was "printed under the authority of the Provincial Government of the Province of Canterbury, at the 'Press' Office, Cashel Street, by James Edward Fitzgerald, Official Printer for the time being to the said Government"—a labour of love, no doubt, which brought to the printer, besides his monetary recompense, a much more abiding satisfaction in the realisation of a long-cherished ideal.

Several clauses regulated religious instruction. In denominational schools the local authorities retained the exclusive right to make their own provision for this branch of instruction; but as soon as such a school was transferred to the new system, such right ceased and conformity to the general rule was required. This provided for the opening of school with daily Scripture reading, attendance at which was obligatory upon all children—no conscience clause being provided. In addition, by a unanimous vote of the school committee, the teacher and the teacher only, might give religious instruction, and in such case attendance was similarly compulsory, unless a child was excused by express authority of the Chairman upon the Committee being satisfied that such child was "*under proper religious instruction elsewhere.*" Furthermore, on one whole or two half days per week ministers were given the right of entry for the purpose of instructing the children of their own denominational flock in the distinctive tenets thereof—and, to prevent any error in drafting, parents who wished such instruction for their children were required to submit written requests in which they named the pastor to whose flock their children belonged.

The inauguration and administration of the new scheme was entrusted to the Commissioners who proposed it. Mr. H. J. Tancred, its Chairman, also acted as its Secretary, and the bound volumes of his letters, hand-written and copied in the old-fashioned press, are preserved in the office of the Canterbury Education Board, where they still testify to the conscientious and practical way in which he carried out the arduous task imposed upon him. At the end of the first year he had the satisfaction of being able to report:—

"As regards the general progress of education in the Province, it is satisfactory to observe that there appears to be a steady increase in the number of children attending the schools." And, further, that, "while the number of children under instruction is greater than before, the Board has succeeded in reducing the cost of maintaining the schools by very nearly £2,000; for, whereas the grant, formerly paid over to the Heads of Denominations, amounted in the aggregate to £5,100, it now amounts to £3,200."

Except for minor amendments this dual system continued unaltered until 1871, when, in consequence of the failure of Fox's Bill, and in common with other Provinces, Canterbury again overhauled its educational machinery. From this time onward the organisation of new schools proceeded apace. The Provincial revenues of Canterbury were abundant, and public schools were established in all directions. One by one the old denominational schools were brought under the new scheme, until in 1873 there were only six aided denominational schools still in operation.

Under the Ordinance of 1871, the Board was nominated by the Superintendent and Executive Council. Each district was required to pay one-sixth of the cost of building schools, failing which the Superintendent was empowered to levy a rate of 6d. in the pound in the defaulting district. Every householder living within three miles of a school was taxed £1, plus 5s. for each child. Religious instruction was further reduced to simple Scripture reading, but the teachers gave no instruction. The right of entry of ministers was preserved by a narrow majority in the 1873 Amending Act—16 to 14—but from that date the schools became otherwise entirely secular, even the Bible-reading being omitted. It was at this time that the teaching of history, "*sacred and profane*," first became subject to a conscience clause. Further all grants to denominational schools were stopped, and from this date the English Province of Canterbury, finally abandoning both denominationalism and religious instruction together, maintained at the public expense none but free, secular, public schools. The last ditch was not surrendered by the denominations without a vehement struggle, of which the following account, taken from the *Lyttelton Times* Jubilee Number (December 16th, 1900,) will give some idea:—

"In 1873 the denominational question, which had long been smouldering, burst into flame. From the first a strong party had objected that the compromise with the denominational system would prove unsatisfactory, and as the country grew and the number of schools increased that party grew stronger and stronger. By the year 1873 it had grown strong enough to carry a resolution in the Council practically affirming that the grants to the denominational schools should cease. . . . There was a great outcry. The contest which had raged in the Council before the passing of the resolution was transferred to public opinion and the newspapers, and continued throughout the year with a bitterness and an energy that have scarcely been equalled since by any public

controversy in our history. The advocates of secular education eventually triumphed, and their party was returned at the Provincial election with a large majority."

When, in consequence of the Ordinance of 1871, Mr. Tancred's Commissioners handed over their duties to the new Board of Education, its first members were as follows:—Mr. Montgomery (Chairman 1871-2), C. C. (later Sir Charles) Bowen (Chairman from 1873 onwards), Geo. Gould, John Inglis, A. C. Knight, W. Kennaway, R. J. Loughnan, and T. W. Maude. As in the other Provinces, the new Board threw itself with enthusiasm into its task, in which the District Committees co-operated, according to its first report (30th September, 1872) "with zeal and energy." But Canterbury was not yet done with amendments to its education system, and in 1875 still another Act was passed by which a straight-out Education Department with a permanent Secretary replaced the Board. Also the proportion to be contributed by the districts towards the cost of buildings was increased to one-half, for which purpose a rate of 1s. in the pound might be struck. The former change was not allowed to go unchallenged, and the aid of the General Assembly was invoked in an attempt to restore the Education Board. The Assembly, however, rightly declined to interfere, and so the first government Department of Education in New Zealand was constituted, Mr. A. C. Knight becoming the first Minister of Education, and the Rev. W. J. Habens, B.A. (later first Inspector-General under the national system) Secretary. As far back as 1870, Mr. Habens, in conjunction with Mr. J. Colborne Veel, M.A. (later the Principal of the Christchurch Teachers' Training College) had been employed by the Government to report on the "High Schools," and to examine with Mr. Restell the candidates for the teaching profession. Now, as Secretary to the Department, Mr. Habens reorganised the schools, and in particular promulgated the six "standards" which, without serious alteration, later became the distinguishing feature of the national system. Scales of staffing and salaries, and forms of returns, were modelled upon those of Otago, and all the machinery of administration was so well adapted to the needs of the Province that Mr. Habens was chosen along with Mr. John Hislop, of Otago, to organise the national system inaugurated in 1878 under the *Education Act, 1877*. Canterbury thus reached a pitch of educational efficiency which rivalled that of her southern neighbour; and, when the transfer to the national system took place, no Province was able to hand over a better organised or better equipped system of free, secular, public schools than the erstwhile educational domain of the Anglican Bishop and his fellow denominational "Heads."

From 1871 to 1877 the expansion of the public schools was so rapid and so effective that the percentage of children of school age attending school was almost doubled, as will be seen from the following figures taken from the Report of the Canterbury Education Board (30th March, 1878). These figures show not only the development of the public school system in the Province, but also the strength and decline of the denominational schools from the time of the Report of the Tancred Commission to the institution of the national system:—

“The total expenditure, exclusive of general costs, since 1864, has been as follows:—1864-1877, Buildings, £184,962; Maintenance, £234,047; total, £419,010. Average cost for each child on roll, £2 12s. 6d.; for each child in average attendance, £3 9s.

Number of Schools and Attendance, 1863-1877.

Quarter ending 30th September.	No. of Denominational & Special Grant Schools.	No. of District Schools.	No. of Attendants.	Average Daily Attendance.	Average Attendance as Percentage of Enrolment.	No. of Attendants shown as percentage of total number of children of school age (5-15 years).
*1863	28	4	1,749	1,120	64	
*1864	30	6	1,930	1,278	66.2	
†1865	21	10	1,716	1,135	66.1	
†1866	27	13	2,292	1,559	68	
†1867	29	16	2,431	1,478	52.5	
†1868	31	20	2,663	1,733	65.1	
†1869	30	25	3,238	2,296	70.9	
†1870	33	28	3,201	2,091	65.3	
‡1871	32	37	4,096	2,919	71.3	33.66
‡1872	15	62	5,970	4,151	70	46.42
§1873	8	71	¶7,695	¶4,915	69.5	56.40
||1874	—	84	10,136	5,847	57.7	60.74
1875	—	87	11,874	7,297	61.5	66.75
1876	1**	103	13,534	8,884	65.6	60.90
1877	2**	115	15,018	10,158	67.6	61.61

* 1863-4 returns include those for Christchurch Grammar School, Christchurch High School, Lyttelton High School.

† Returns for the three High Schools—Christ's College Grammar School, Christchurch and Lyttelton High Schools, not included; 1870 returns include the Lyttelton School (then no longer a High School) as an ordinary school.

‡ Christchurch Grammar School and High School included.

§ Christchurch High School closed. Grammar School *not* included. The temporary schools in East and West Christchurch counted as one school in each district.

¶ Including denominational schools temporarily aided by Government.

|| All denominational aid stopped.

** Westerfield and Long Bay Schools.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JOHN HISLOP AND THE OTAGO SYSTEM.

Under pressure from the mining districts as well as generally from the growing non-Presbyterian element in the Province, the narrow-minded and irksome provisions of the first Otago Education Ordinance gave way in 1861 to a more liberal measure. This was, however, disallowed on account of a technical error, but not before Mr. (later Dr.) John Hislop had been appointed Secretary and Inspector to the Education Board therein set up, consisting solely of the Superintendent and Executive Council. Dr. Hislop was one of those men to whom the flood tide of affairs brings wonderful opportunities, and for a generation he, more than any other, shaped and moulded the course of New Zealand's educational development. Coming to Otago with the first batch of selected Scottish teachers in 1856, he early made himself prominent as an able teacher and a tactful man of affairs. He had the faculty of imposing his views upon his superiors and getting them carried into effect. Not only was he largely responsible for the drafting of the Otago Education Ordinances and the regulations made thereunder, by which the whole Otago system was organised and controlled, but he was secretary of every special committee or commission upon educational matters throughout the period. In the office of the Otago Education Board is a bound volume containing copies of all the various educational reports presented during this period. Notes in Mr. Hislop's handwriting at the head of these show that they were practically all adopted unaltered as drafted by him. The Otago High School was at first and for many years controlled by his Department, and the reports of the Commissions of 1869 and 1873 in regard to it were "drafted by J.H." Similarly the report upon the establishment of a University College in Dunedin (1868) was his work, and upon the foundation of the University of Otago, he acted as its first Secretary for some time. For over 20 years, from the inception of the Otago Education Scheme to its incorporation in the national system, John Hislop was its Chief Engineer, shaping and directing its course in every particular, and preparing himself for the larger task of organising similarly that of the nation as a whole. With the benefit of his advice, therefore, and probably of his draftsmanship, a new Ordinance was passed in 1862. This after two years' trial was re-enacted almost without change, except in

respect of its religious instruction clauses, in the comprehensive Ordinance of 1864, which remained unaltered for the rest of the Provincial period. The following were the main provisions of this thoughtful and progressive measure. In order to secure greater administrative efficiency the representation of local committees upon the Central Board was discontinued and the control vested in the Superintendent and his Executive Council together with the Speaker of the Provincial Council. In this way the Board became subject to party political changes, but continuity of policy and administration was secured by means of the capable and conscientious permanent Secretariat and Inspectorate of Mr. Hislop, whose duties and powers are set out with minuteness in what is by far the longest clause of the Ordinance. Subject to this superintendence and inspection the local committees, elected now by "owners, occupiers and householders," were charged with the conduct and management of the Schools. The old clauses requiring from teachers the presentation of credentials from a minister and threatening the pains of "censure, suspension and deprivation" upon taint of heterodoxy in religious instruction (a compulsory subject for the teacher, if not for the pupil!), gave way to the more modern requisite of a certificate from an inspector of schools or other English education authority, with yearly engagement subject to three months notice on either side. Provision was made for the engagement of teachers and pupil teachers. Instead of the poll-tax was substituted a rate with the most elaborate provision for its enforcement, notwithstanding which it proved as impossible of collection as its predecessor, and had to be abandoned. The whole cost of erecting and furnishing schools and of building teachers' houses, as well as of providing and fencing the lands required therefor, was from 1861 assumed by the Provincial Government; but the aid to be given to the local committees out of the Provincial revenue was limited to £50 per teacher. Power was given to the school committees to remit school fees in necessitous cases, and to the Board to make grants to private schools in outlying places where it seemed impracticable to establish a public school. The "Dunedin High School," which in fact had never been more than an elementary school, became, in 1862, the "High School of Otago," and was put upon a proper permanent footing as a secondary school. Liberal provision was made for the beginning of a scholarship system and a £ for £ subsidy was provided in aid of the establishment and extension of local libraries and libraries in connection with Teachers' Associations. In the Ordinance of 1864 provision was made for the appointment of school commissioners by the Superintendent where the local householders failed to elect a committee, or where such committee, when elected, failed to function.

In 1865 an amending Ordinance was passed by which the system of rates, which had been obnoxious to the people of Otago from the outset, was finally abolished. The allowance by the Provincial Government to the schools was increased from £50 to £100 for each teacher, and those children who could not pay fees were to have their fees paid for them by the Education Board out of funds voted by the Provincial Council. As thus established, the education system of Otago remained unchanged to the end of the Provincial period.

Finally, in respect of religious instruction, the old provisions gave way, in 1862, to daily Scripture readings, "and such religious instruction as the district school committee shall appoint, provided always that no religious instruction shall be taught at variance with what are commonly known as *Evangelical Protestant Doctrines*," with conscience clause for objectors. In 1864, owing to "strong dissatisfaction expressed more particularly in the gold fields districts," and after considerable discussion in the Council, the following clause was passed in place of the one last mentioned:—

"In every school established under the provisions of this Ordinance the Holy Scriptures shall be read daily, and such reading shall be either at the opening or close of the school, as may be fixed by the teacher, and no child whose parents or guardians shall object to such instruction shall be bound to attend at such times."

This represented, on paper, a vast advance from the Presbyterian requirements of McGlashan's Ordinance. In actual practice, however, the change was not so startling. The same teachers taught in the schools, holding their appointments for the most part subject to the same committees, and Presbyterianism was still by far the dominant form of religious belief. Religious instruction continued to be given according to Mr. Hislop's report* for the year 1868, of a "purely scriptural, not sectarian" nature, without any "serious difficulty" arising, or any "undue interference" on the part of the clergy. The fact is that the McGlashan system of committee control survived strongly, as did also the system of charging fees for admission, right to the end of the Provincial period. Even the Rev. C. Stuart Ross, the loyal Presbyterian historian of the Otago Education System, remarks upon these defects:—†

* Annual Report of the Otago Education Board, 1869. This report contains a full and interesting "Outline of the Otago Education Scheme" prepared by Mr. Hislop in 1868 for submission to Premier Stafford upon the request of Mr. T. Ball, member for Mongonui.

† C. S. Ross, *Education and Educationists in Otago*, p. 30.

"But, in spite of its many excellences, there were some weak points in the educational system of Otago, which provoked expressions of discontent and aroused a growing opposition to it. The committees, in some places, raised the fees so high as to prevent anything like continuous attendance at schools on the part of the children of the working classes. In Dunedin the effect of this was seen in the idle, loitering groups of boys who spent their days in the public streets. Another defect in the system was the *absolute subjection of the teachers to local control*. It sometimes happened that quite unsuitable and unscrupulous men were elected to serve on committees—men who were singularly destitute of the qualifications required to efficiently direct the educational interests of the district in which they lived. These were pricks in the eyes and thorns in the sides of the teachers who were unhappy enough to be in official connexion with them."

All these things contributed to the slowly and steadily growing conviction that a national, free, secular and compulsory system of education was both desirable and inevitable. The Otago scheme, admirable though its organisation was, did not reach more than 52 per cent. of the children of school age, i.e., from 5 to 15 years, in the Province, and so long as the schools were not free there was no way of compelling the attendance of the absentees.

With all due respect to Mr. Hislop's natural desire to present the Otago Scheme* in its most glowing colours and to gloss over its defects and discords, insistence must be laid upon the fact that from the first there existed a keenly dissatisfied and growing minority, not of Roman Catholics only, but also Anglicans and others, who felt very bitter about the rigid hold which the dominant denomination had upon the public school system. Mr. Hislop did his best personally to meet their criticisms, and regulations were issued from time to time strictly enjoining the teachers to avoid anything which might give offence to "the members of any religious denomination."

Bishop Moran was the energetic leader of the Roman Catholic attacks upon the system. The Anglican Church also worked strongly for a system of denominational grants. The matter came to a head in 1872, when Mr. Macassey, in

* See above-mentioned "Outline of the Otago Scheme," Otago Education Board's Report for 1869.

the Provincial Council* obtained a ruling from the then Provincial solicitor, Mr. John Bathgate, on the question "whether the words 'reading the Bible,' in the 40th clause of the Education Ordinance, 1864, imply that the Bible should be read without note or comment; and whether the words 'such instruction' mean reading only." Mr. Bathgate's reply was in the affirmative. Upon this explicit instructions were issued accordingly to the Inspector and the teachers. Mr. Macassey next moved a resolution which would have committed the Council to a system of denominational grants. This was heavily defeated, as was also one moved by Mr. Mervyn in favour of "a purely secular system." The debate lasted for three days and in the end the Council sought refuge from its dilemma in a motion, carried by 19 votes to 17, which expressed (1), satisfaction with the existing system; (2), regret "that any section of the community should refuse to avail itself of it;" and, (3), the opinion that "any colonial or national plan of education will not be satisfactory unless the teaching be of a purely unsectarian character." A short Bill was then introduced by Mr. Mervyn to amend the existing law by restoring the rating principle and making Bible reading permissive instead of obligatory. This gave rise to further keen and protracted debates. Mr. Donald Reid, Provincial Secretary, said that the rate was necessary in order "that the provincial system should be made universal so that all could participate in it." Under the Bill school committees were empowered to levy a rate of threepence in the £. Mr. Bathgate moved a new clause in reference to Bible reading, which was carried in the following form:—

† "It shall be lawful for the school committee to determine whether the Bible shall be read in school or not, and if a school committee resolve that it shall be read, then it shall be so read *after ordinary school hours, and without note or comment*, anything in the fortieth section of the 'Otago Education Ordinance, 1864,' to the contrary notwithstanding."

The Bill passed the second reading and came through the ordeal of committee, though not without over twenty divisions. It was then allowed to lapse.

* *Votes and Proceedings*, Otago Provincial Council, Session XXX, 1872.

† *Votes and Proceedings*, Otago Provincial Council, Session XXX, 1872.

One other resolution passed by the Council in the same session must be recorded, as indicating the opinion of the Province upon the proposed national system of education, as follows:—

“That this Council, while recognising it to be the duty of the Colonial Government to make provision for education in those Provinces in which it has been neglected, is of opinion that it is not advisable to interfere with those Provinces which have established a system of education satisfactory to the majority of its inhabitants.”

Thus the attitude of Otago on the question of national, free, secular and compulsory education was, that it was fully satisfied with the Provincial system which it had built up; steadily moving towards the complete secularisation of its schools; still devoted to the “fee” system of admission to the schools, but beginning to realise that practically half the children of the Province were not receiving any education at all, chiefly because of it; and apparently still without any thought of compelling all these children to go to school.

But, before we leave Otago, it is necessary for us to turn for a brief moment from the political to the professional and administrative side. In Mr. Hislop the Province possessed an expert teacher, as well as an able administrator. From the first he laid the foundations of a sound education, the principles of which he enunciated clearly in his second Annual Report (1862), under the caption:—

“The Essential Branches of Common School Education.”

“No doubt,” he said, “it is very desirable that the largest possible amount of education and training should be received in school; but when, as is unfortunately the case with many of those who attend our district schools, the period of attendance is limited, care must be taken that due prominence is given to the more indispensable branches. Our district schools, as a rule, can furnish only a foundation upon which the whole subsequent life must erect a superstructure; and it is vastly more important that the foundation should be strongly and fitly laid than that it should contain a great variety of material. There are some branches which are necessary for all, and should form a part of every system of instruction, whatever the pupil may afterwards be destined for. Reading, writing and arithmetic are indispensable requisites, and a thorough knowledge of

these, with their practical application, and an acquaintance with grammar, geography, and British history, ought to be possessed by every youth of our land before leaving school. The knowledge of these, however, should not be of a merely superficial or mechanical description. The instruction in them must be thorough and systematic. The scholars in learning these must learn principles, and should be able to understand and to reproduce for practical purposes all they pass over. I shall, therefore, consider it my duty to discountenance any attempt to introduce and give prominence to other subjects of study, when such evidently lead to the neglect or the imperfect acquisition of the indispensable branches I have specified."

The following Statement of Income and Expenditure for the year ending 30th September, 1866, will serve to show the financial organisation of that period:—

*Statement of Income and Expenditure for year ending
30th September, 1866.*

Income.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. Educational Reserves Fund	---	411	19	9			
2. School books sold	---	603	14	1			
3. High School fees	---	1,173	0	0			
4. From Provincial Revenue	---	7,288	1	9			
					9,476	15	7
Expenditure.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. Office—							
Secretary and Inspector	---	450	0	0			
Clerk (a youth)	---	60	0	0			
Travelling Expenses	---	90	0	0			
Advertising, Stationery, etc.	---	17	4	0			
					617	4	0
2. Elementary Schools—							
Salaries—52 masters and 14 mistresses	---	4,851	5	5			
Ten pupil teachers	---	69	3	6			
Free Schools and fees for destitute children	---	358	17	11			
Rents, Insurance, Sites and Repairs of Buildings	---	602	7	8			
					5,881	14	4
3. High School—							
Rector's Salary	---	550	0	0			
Four Masters' Salaries and Rent Allowances	---	1,663	14	2			
Janitor	---	56	13	4			
Prizes, Printing, Fuel, etc.	---	59	16	10			
					2,330	4	4
4. Advance for School Books	---	647	12	11			
					647	12	11
					£9,476	15	7

NOTE.—Taking the expense of the schools, exclusive of the management and inspection, at £5,881 14s. 4d., and the average attendance at 3,100, the average cost per scholar to the Province was about £1 18s. If the expense of management and inspection be included, the average cost would be £2 1s. 3½d. per head. The average quarterly attendance at the High School for the past year was 123. The expense of that institution, after deduction of the amount received for fees, was £1,157 4s. 4d., which gives an average of £9 8s. as the cost to the Province of each boy's education.

But the educational developments of this period are nowhere better shown than in the enormous sums spent in the erection of school buildings during the four years from the passing of the Act of 1861 to that of 1864, when no less than £86,000 was devoted to this purpose, of which nearly one-third went to the High Schools.

In 1868, the services of a special music master (Mr. Wm. Taylor) were secured, and in the following year a drawing master (Mr. D. Hutton) was engaged. Intermediate between the district schools and the high school, five grammar schools were established, and, as we shall see later, a completely organised system of post-primary and higher education was built up on the foundation of the elementary, that is, the "main" and the "side" schools. In 1870, Mr. Taylor was appointed Sub-Inspector, and as the schools increased in number the Inspectorate was further strengthened by the addition of Messrs. Donald Petrie and Peter Goyen.

The steady onward march of the Otago Education scheme from its inception in 1856 to its incorporation in the national system at the end of 1877 is shown statistically by the following table, taken from the Otago Education Board's Report for the year 1878. The figures are, of course, those for the elementary schools only. For the purposes of comparison with the other Provinces the average daily attendance has been worked out as a percentage of the total enrolment and the population for the census years has been added.

Year.	Number of Schools.	Number of Teachers.	Number of Pupils who attended at all in the course of the year.	Average daily Attendance for the year.	Average Attendance as percentage of Enrolment.	Population of the Province (Census years only).
1856-7	5	7	—	236	—	
1857-8	9	11	—	323	—	6,944
1858-9	13	15	—	447	—	
1859-60	17	19	—	583	—	
1860-61	18	20	964	611	63.4	27,163
1861-2	20	22	1,249	810	64.9	
1862-3	23	30	2,330	1,411	60.6	
1864	38	51	3,566	1,919	55.2	49,019
1865	46	65	3,711	2,333	62.9	
1866	51	71	3,947	2,568	65.0	
1867	56	85	4,367	2,942	67.4	48,577
1868	68	103	4,884	3,278	67.1	
1869	77	119	5,448	3,557	65.2	
1870	97	150	6,919	4,680	67.6	
1871	116	175	8,662	5,706	65.9	69,491
1872	127	190	9,828	6,691	68.1	
1873	140	219	11,451	7,425	64.8	
1874	154	266	13,681	8,853	64.7	85,113
1875	157	288	16,097	9,822	61.0	
1876	165	329	18,350	11,210	61.1	
1877	173	356	19,613	11,749	65.0	114,469
					(1878 Census)	

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE SMALLER PROVINCES AND THE COLONY AS A WHOLE.

(1) NELSON.

Little requires to be added to what has already been written regarding the Nelson Public Schools system. Completely out-distanced by the four larger Provinces in point of population and financial strength, Nelson, from the end of the Provincial period, could no longer be regarded as one of the major centres of settlement in New Zealand. Furthermore, the latter half of the period reveals no striking educational change. In 1863 the earlier Nelson enactments were consolidated in a new Act and to this minor amendments were made in 1867 and '69, but the essential principles of the Nelson System remained unchanged throughout the whole period under review. This was so even in respect of the religious instruction problem, which was a continual source of discord and friction in the other centres. So gratifying was the position in this Province that upon the first occasion upon which Mr. Ball brought before the House of Representatives (on August 4th, 1868) the question of a colonial Education Act, the Premier, Mr. (later Sir Edward) Stafford, who was then representing a Canterbury constituency, in the course of his reply said, with evident satisfaction:—

* "There was nothing of which he felt more proud than his own action in that matter when he was Superintendent of Nelson. In the first session he sent down a Bill to promote education, which, with a few amendments, was working most satisfactorily there."

In later years Otago and Canterbury, with their greater population and greater resources, built up school systems which, by reason of their size, attracted more attention than that of Nelson. But until 1861 at least, the Otago system was marred by the narrow-mindedness of its original ordinance, while in Canterbury until 1863 there was no real public school system at all, and even after that date no educational peace; for, as we

* *Hansard*, 1868, p. 259.

have seen, no fewer than six subsequent Ordinances and Amending Ordinances were passed by the Provincial Council, and in 1875, even the General Assembly was moved, though unsuccessfully, to interfere in the educational disputes of the Province. Nelson was not only the first Province to establish a public school system at all, but it was also the first to provide free education for all children, and the first to impose an educational rate, and for many years the only Province in which the people willingly paid such rate. Furthermore, through its system of educational taxation, it introduced as early as 1857 an effective measure of deliberate, though indirect, compulsion in respect of attendance. Finally the system which it instituted at the first remained in operation without material alteration for over 20 years, and Nelson was the only Province in which there was educational harmony throughout the Provincial period. There was scarcely a Province in the Colony which did not at one time or another borrow more or less freely from the Nelson system of public education, and both in that way, as well as directly, it exercised a powerful influence in helping to mould the national system. Nelson was never a wealthy Province, and its success in reaching the largest proportion of children of school age of any Province in New Zealand, as well as its early and willing acceptance of the principle of direct taxation in order to have its schools free from the beginning, are achievements which its larger and wealthier southern neighbours might well envy. Even after the incorporation of the Provincial schools in the National System, Nelson became again conspicuous as the Province from which emanated what is known as the "Nelson System" of religious instruction, whereby within the four corners of the national "secular" Act a method of solving the religious difficulty was evolved which, if only it had been honestly and zealously followed out by the denominations throughout New Zealand, would have gone far to satisfy all reasonable requirements in the direction sought to be attained.*

* The following extracts from recent Melbourne papers show how this problem is being solved in the State of Victoria.

Extracts from *The Melbourne Herald*, June 25th, 1927.

RELIGION IN SCHOOL.

Churches Sending Teachers.

The Education Department stated to-day that the churches were availing themselves of the opportunity for religious instruction in State schools before lessons began in the morning, at lunch time, or after school in the afternoon.

Not only were the Protestant denominations sending clerical and lay teachers, but Roman Catholic priests attended particularly in the country districts.

(2) MARLBOROUGH.

As already stated, Marlborough was settled from Nelson, and for some time was a part of that Province. When the township of Blenheim was first laid out, liberal reserves were made

Extract from *The Melbourne Age*, June 25th, 1927.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING.

Efforts to reach School Children.

More Money Required.

"In the course of a statement yesterday, Professor J. Smyth, Chairman of the Joint Council for Religious Instruction in day schools, drew attention to the present needs of the schools. To carry on effectively the work of the council, he said, £3000 would be needed yearly in the near future, and ultimately £5000 would be required.

"By the Education Act, State school teachers were forbidden to give Scripture or other religious teaching, yet the weight of educational authority was in favour of making religion the fundamental and permeating subject of the curriculum, and most parents desired their children to be taught it in school. Had the churches been in agreement in 1872 on religious teaching in New South Wales, Scripture lessons would have been included in the curriculum. As it was, the church was left to be wholly responsible for religious teaching. In Victoria it seemed that the churches had neglected their responsibility, but they had to face a problem of great magnitude. To-day there were 2,552 schools under the State department, with 219,765 pupils. Only 158 schools were in the metropolitan area. Till the beginning of the century there was no concerted effort on the part of the churches. Then the clergymen of the Protestant churches began to co-operate, and about that time the Elders' Association of the Presbyterian Church began an effort to undertake the work comprehensively. It viewed the problem apart from sect and creed, and it met with much success. In 1921 the Joint Council for Religious Instruction in day schools was formed. Every Protestant Church was represented on it, and every Church contributed annually to its finances.

"Since then the development of the work had been rapid. To-day over 900 schools received religious instruction. There were 2000 voluntary instructors regularly at work, and at least 60 per cent. of all Protestant children were receiving instruction. The organisers were giving efficient service. Departmental officers were courteous and helpful, and the headmaster of an important city school had stated that the high moral tone and the success of the school were largely due to the efforts of the voluntary religious instruction staff. To consolidate the work and make it effective, local organisers for separate schools, or for groups of schools, were being appointed, and "Ministers fraternals" in all centres were supporting the work to the utmost. Several clergymen regularly visited five or six schools each month. Many of the workers were taxing strength and resources to meet the needs of the situation.

"The needs of the situation were still great. Forty per cent. of the Protestant pupils were not reached, 1,500 schools in country districts were without this instruction and 160 instructors were required for classes in the metropolitan area. The council had decided that to solve the problem four more organisers would have to be appointed, and petrol and travelling expenses would have to be paid to instructors in the back blocks. More money would be required. Each organiser

for religious, educational, and other public purposes; nevertheless a general feeling that the district was not being fairly treated by the authorities in Nelson in the matter of the means of education was one of the grounds for the establishment of the separate Province of Marlborough in 1860. In 1861 the new Provincial Council passed an Education Act in which the Nelson system was adapted to the requirements of the Province.

In 1865 the Otago system was taken as a model, and the control of education taken from the elected Board and vested in the Superintendent and Executive Council. Development, however, was not rapid owing to lack of funds, until, upon the failure of Mr. Fox's Bill, Marlborough, like so many other Provinces, set about the reorganisation of its education system. In 1871 a new Act was passed constituting the Town and Road Boards the authorities for managing the schools. Power was given to levy rates, and fees were charged upon all children between 7 and 12 years of age living within three miles of a school; and this scheme, which was strictly secular in character, remained in operation until the inauguration of the national system seven years later.

(3) TARANAKI.

Although in 1857 an Education Commission Ordinance had been passed, the intervention of the Maori wars prevented anything being done for a decade. In 1867 the existing members of the Board of Trustees for Public Reserves were constituted a Board of Education, and in the following year all revenues from Education reserves were made available for the purposes of the Education Ordinance. The Provincial Council supplemented these by such annual grants as could be afforded, and Local Committees were further empowered to strike a household rate up to £1. Education districts were formed upon application of the householders and local committees elected. At

was paid £150 a year, with £50 for travelling expenses. Four more, with additional office help, would absorb £1000, and petrol would soon amount to £2,000 yearly. It had been arranged for a copy of the New Testament to be given to every child reaching the age of six years. Ultimately these amounts might be doubled. An appeal to a number of business houses had brought in over £600. In Footscray and the adjoining districts there were some 3000 Protestant pupils, and there were not instructors for half of them. So in Northcote, Preston, etc.

"The Chairman of the Council was Professor John Smyth, Professor of Education; the secretary, Mr. G. E. Peart, a retired banker; the treasurer, Mr. R. K. Gillespie, of the Presbyterian Church, and the chief organiser, Mr. S. Trend, a retired teacher. The office was in 156 Collins Street. This work was national and non-political, seeking to solve one of the pressing educational problems of our time, viz.,—How were the State and the Churches to co-operate in the education of the young?"

the same time grants were made to the denominational schools, and in the public schools religious instruction was permitted, either before or after school hours, with a conscience clause. The Irish Board of Education's selected Scripture passages, however, might be read as part of the regular curriculum. As a result a few schools were established, but the funds at the disposal of the Government were so small that the system of instruction inaugurated was very imperfect. The feeling in Taranaki at this time is very clearly set out in the concluding paragraph of the report of the Superintendent, Mr. F. A. Carrington, to the Premier of the Colony, in response to Mr. Ball's enquiry, and by him impressed upon the attention of the House:

"I cannot conclude this statement without expressing the hope that the subject of the promotion of primary education throughout the Colony will be taken up by the Colonial Government and Legislature. I feel the condition of this Province in regard to the provision for such education to be a disgrace, although, with our small and uncertain revenue, it would perhaps not have been right to devote more money to the establishment of schools and the salaries of teachers. It is, I think, a matter of too vital importance to be left altogether in the hands of local governments, the continued existence of which becomes every year more improbable, and whose revenues are so uncertain."

Disappointed in 1871 by the failure of Fox's Bill, in 1872 by the Government's decision not to bring down any Bill at all, and again in 1873 by the shelving of Vogel's Bill—even after it had actually been passed—the Taranaki Council could no longer remain inactive. In 1874 the Superintendent held meetings in the various districts of the Province for the purpose of testing public opinion respecting a projected measure for placing public education on a sound basis by the levying of a household rate of £1 per annum for its support. Notwithstanding very great opposition to the scheme, the Council passed a new Education Ordinance in that year, dividing the Province into two districts, over each of which a Board of seven elected members was set. These bodies, known as the Patea and New Plymouth Educational Boards, controlled the whole of the educational activities of the Province. Their funds consisted of the household rate, the income from the endowments, provincial grants, and the proceeds of a school fee of 6s. 6d. per annum charged on every scholar in attendance at the schools—provision, however, being made for the remission of both fees and rates in necessitous cases.

- * "By the exertions of these Boards very great improvement was effected in the educational system of the districts. The teachers were encouraged by the increase of their small salaries; the block-houses scattered about the country were utilised as school-houses, and many new schools established in various parts of the Province."

Thus Taranaki, too, endeavoured to set her educational house in decent order before the actual time arrived for the inauguration of the national system.

(4) HAWKE'S BAY.

In Hawke's Bay things were much more satisfactory. When separate Provincial institutions were granted in 1859 the total population of the new Province was so small that considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining the services of a sufficient number of suitable men to fill the various offices required in connection with the government. Yet the first bill passed by the Council was an Education Act. This provided for £ for £ grants to any district which raised not less than £40 towards the erection or repair of public school buildings, with the proviso that not more than £100 was to be granted to any one school in the aggregate in three succeeding years. The promoters of private or denominational schools had to provide their own buildings and repairs; but both classes of schools participated in the capitation grant of £1 8s. per child per annum, provided the school fees did not exceed 2s. per week in respect of each pupil. Funds were obtained from educational land reserves. In 1868, Hawke's Bay, following the example of the other Provinces, passed an amendment authorising a householder's rate to be struck. No religious instruction was permitted in the common schools during school hours, the denominational schools being, of course, free to make what arrangements they pleased in this respect, provided the secular instruction given therein was of a satisfactory nature. The system generally appears to have been based on that of Nelson, and to have been a pronounced success from the first. For within ten years of its establishment the little Province could boast 18 schools established under the Act with an enrolment of 464 scholars and an average attendance of 342. By 1876 the number of schools had grown to 26. † "It is remarkable," says Mr. W. Dinwiddie in a paper upon Old Hawke's Bay read before the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute, "how strong the in-

* Wells, *The History of Taranaki*, 1878, p. 295.

† Dinwiddie, *Old Hawke's Bay* (Part II), 1921, p. 44.

terest in education was in those early days." The remarkably good work done from the first by the Province of Hawke's Bay in face of difficulties, almost, if not quite, as great as those of their larger North Island neighbours, and without the benefit of the great financial resources such as those of Otago and Canterbury, attracted attention in all parts of the Colony; and, when the time came to hand over the schools and their administration to the Department, the Hawke's Bay settlers could point with pardonable pride to the achievements that had been made in the 19 years that had elapsed since the Provincial Government had been established.

(5) SOUTHLAND.

Southland became a separate Province in 1861, and in the following year enacted an Education Ordinance which was virtually a copy of that of Otago applied to local conditions. At first the new Province, indulging freely in borrowing, boomed, and we find the Chairman of the Provincial Education Committee reporting very earnestly in 1863 to the Superintendent of the Province:—

*" twelve months ago there was only one Public School in this Province; at the present time there are six—viz., one Boys' School, four schools at which both sexes are taught, and one Female School under the auspices of the Education Committee. These are situated at Invercargill, Riverton, South Riverton, Waianiwa, and Long Bush. With the exception of the Boys' School, Invercargill, the other schools have been too recently established to warrant any general statement of the value of the education carried on by the respective teachers. The number of children in actual attendance is 165."

And in 1864 the following attendances are given: Invercargill—Boys' School 70, Girls' School 21; Riverton, 31; South Riverton, 19; Campbelltown, 20; Long Bush, 18; Aparima, 20; Waianiwa, 20; Myross Bush—buildings completed, but school not yet opened. Total, 8 schools with an attendance of 219 children.

The Provincial expenditure on education, as far as can be made out from the official records preserved, appears to have been—1861, £585; 1862, £873; 1863, £2,441; 1864, £1,485; 1865, £454; and thereafter the "Education Department" un-

* *Appendix to the Votes and Proceedings, Southland Provincial Council, pp. 14-17.*

fortunately disappears from the estimates. In that year, we read in the Proceedings of the Southland Provincial Council—

*“ In reply to Mr. Pearson, the Provincial Treasurer stated that the Government expected to be able *shortly* to pay the salaries of the schoolmasters.”

But it does not appear whether the Government's expectations were ever realised. On the contrary, many schools were compelled to close. Others continued as local private schools, and the educational facilities of the Province fell into a most unsatisfactory state. In 1866 a special report of the Education Committee was presented, and a new Ordinance was passed in the following year under which an Education Board, with Secretary and Inspector, was set up.

The Rev. W. P. Tanner was appointed to this position, but the financial difficulties of the Province were such that nothing further was done in the matter. The Southland Report, laid with the others upon the table of the General Assembly in August, 1868, naively says in reply to the Premier's questionaire:—

“ That the Education Board has been in existence only for the last 18 months, and that, therefore, it has not developed ”;

which, no doubt, accounts for the error of Mr. J. C. Tancred in his reference to education in Southland quoted in an earlier chapter. In the following year S.O.S. signals were being sent to the General Government for financial aid, failing which Commissioners were appointed to confer with Otago Commissioners regarding reunion with that Province. The joint report of the Commissioners, recommending reunion, says:—

†“ Education.—The universally acknowledged success of the Otago scheme of education renders it unnecessary for the Commissioners to enlarge upon the advantages of having that scheme extended to Southland.”

In this way Southland came under the Otago scheme, and by the time the national system came into force Mr. Hislop had succeeded in extending the means of education generally throughout the former Province.

(6) WESTLAND.

The population of Westland, in consequence of the gold rush, grew from 830 in December, 1864, to 7,000 in April, 1865, 16,000 in September of the same year, and 50,000 in December,

* *Votes and Proceedings*, Southland Provincial Council, p. 197.

† *Ibid.*, p. 395.

1866. In 1867 the Canterbury Provincial Council passed the *Westland Board of Education Ordinance*. This provided for a Board appointed by the Superintendent of Canterbury, to which was entrusted the administration of any funds voted by the Council for schools in Westland; and in the same year the sum of £1,000 appears on the Canterbury estimates for "Assistance to Schools in Westland." Such an appropriation was obviously hopelessly inadequate to meet the needs of the enormous population by that time located upon the West Coast. The educational history of Westland in its early years is, therefore, closely connected with that of the churches, most of which had one or more day schools under their control. As we have seen, there were also a number of private schools. Under the circumstances prevailing in the goldfields townships the schools were in most cases very efficiently managed, and a good deal of resentment was shown by the denominations against the growing demand for secular education.

The following extract from a letter of Archdeacon Harper, Hokitika, 1866, is typical of the education "system" existing in Westland at that time:—

*" Back to breakfast; then to school, which I have begun in a rough wooden building, having lit upon a good master and mistress. We have already some 120 children; they pay from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per week, and also for books and stationery, and, with a small government grant, all goes well. Every morning I am there for prayers and Bible reading, and, finding that we have several children of the well-to-do, I spend an hour in elementary Latin, French, History, and some Mathematics. . . .

" The town has also a Presbyterian and a Roman Catholic day school, and some small private schools, but, so far as I can gather, the Church is in a majority here."

In 1867 Westland became a County with local government; but little was done for education, which continued to be supplied by private and denominational schools. The County became a Province in 1874, and an Education Ordinance was one of the first to be passed. An Education rate was struck, and the general Government gave a grant of £3,000 per annum; for the Province was unable to finance its responsibilities and, like Southland, got deeply into debt. Westland was unfeignedly glad when the news came of the abolition of Provincial Governments throughout the Colony, bringing with it in the following year the passing of the Colonial Education Act.

* Archdeacon Harper, *Letters from New Zealand*, p. 101.

(7) THE COLONY AS A WHOLE.

The remarkable extent to which the educational organisation of the principal Provinces, and of the Colony as a whole, was improved in the early 'seventies will easily be shown by a comparative examination of the Census Results of 1864 and 1874. It will be sufficient to give the percentage of children of school age *not attending any day school*, whether "aided" or "unaided."

Percentage of Children of School Age not Attending Day School.

1864.			1874.		
Nelson	----	30.49	Nelson	----	28.77
Wellington	----	46.50	Canterbury	----	31.18
Otago	----	47.06	Auckland	----	32.10
NEW ZEALAND	----	49.67	Wellington	----	33.07
Canterbury	----	53.72	NEW ZEALAND	----	33.22
Auckland	----	53.82	Otago	----	33.67

It is impossible not to remark once more upon the creditable lead maintained by the Nelson Province right down to the abolition of the Provincial system; and also the splendid improvement shown by the other main Provinces, notably Canterbury and Auckland. The unexpected position of Otago at the bottom of the list is due partly to its determined retention of the system of school fees, and partly to the inability of the Otago Education Board to open up new districts without the consent of local residents.

It is no wonder that, in view of the development shown above, the Government took the view that there was no longer the same necessity for colonial legislation as there had been in 1871; and, if it had not been for the total abolition of the Provincial Governments in 1876, it is very improbable that any Colonial Education Bill would ever have been got through Parliament. The successive steps leading to the passage of the Act of 1877, which marks the end of the Provincial period and the beginning of the national system, will form, therefore, the subject of the concluding chapter of the present work.

A brief further delay is, however, necessary in order that we may take a glance at the progress of higher education during the Provincial period.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND THE
UNIVERSITIES.

Despite the abolition of the Provinces and the enactment of the *New Zealand University Act, 1874*, and the colonial *Education Act, 1877*, the Secondary and Normal Schools and University Colleges continued, for at least another quarter of a century, to be organised and controlled by local bodies quite independent, in their own spheres, of any interference on the part of either the colonial Education Department or the New Zealand University. And although the development of higher education in New Zealand belongs more properly to the post-provincial era, it exhibits right down to the present time, even more than the primary system, many of the essential characteristics of its Provincial ancestry.

The condition of higher education at the end of the Provincial period was in fact so extraordinarily confused and ill-balanced that the Government in 1878 set up a strong Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. (later Sir) Maurice O'Rorke (Auckland), whose order of reference included all "the various institutions within the said Colony for the imparting of higher or University education, of secondary or intermediate or grammar school or high school education, and of technical education by means of training schools, schools of art and design, and schools or colleges of practical science;" and the mutual relations which ought to exist between the same. The report of this Commission, together with the Proceedings, Evidence and Appendices attached thereto, occupies over 600 closely printed foolscap pages of the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* for 1879-80. The recent (1925) Commission upon University Education in New Zealand, consisting of Sir Harry Reichel and Mr. Frank Tate, C.M.G., in referring to this excellent and painstaking enquiry and report, said:—

"Most of the observations and conclusions of the Commission were far-sighted and apply to the circumstances of the University to-day. *Many of the evils of the present system would never have developed so far had the report of that Commission been adopted by Parliament.*"

At the apex of the educational pyramid in 1877 stood the New Zealand University—a non-teaching degree-granting body modelled upon certain English and Irish institutions of that nature, with the Hon. H. J. Tancred (Canterbury) as its first Chancellor. The pyramidal faces, as represented by its affiliated Colleges, were, however, very irregular and uneven, as will readily be seen from the following Conspectus of post-primary institutions at that time existing. There was, nevertheless, in the University of Otago, an institution which, had the true intention of the University Act of 1870 not been defeated by Messrs. Rolleston, Tancred, Stafford, Bowen, and the other Canterbury leaders who secured the controlling influence over the institution thereby set up, would undoubtedly have developed into a New Zealand Oxford or Cambridge. Whatever view may be taken of the strong agitation for the establishment at the present time of separate degree-granting Universities in New Zealand, which was the immediate cause of the appointment of the Reichel-Tate Commission, it is quite certain that in 1870 the correct policy would have been to concentrate all available resources upon the establishment and development of one first-class university, instead of dissipating them upon a large number of scattered minor institutions necessarily incapable of a standard of teaching equal to that of the older and stronger universities of the Empire. As it was, whereas Parliament, with this object in view had deliberately set about tying all the sticks into a strong bundle, the Canterbury leaders cut the string and scattered the sticks as widely apart as they could, constituting thereby a problem in respect to higher education in New Zealand which has been the subject of investigation and report by one Royal Commission and Committee of Enquiry after another right down to the present time, and which is, in fact, still far from being finally solved.

The accompanying Conspectus shows in tabulated form all the educational institutions existing in New Zealand at the close of the Provincial period at which any kind of post-primary or higher education was attempted.

As the subsequent development of the various types of educational institutions therein represented is beyond the scope of the present work, it is not proposed here to give more than a brief survey of the state of affairs disclosed by the Conspectus.

The question of University Education in New Zealand first came before Parliament in 1867 as a result of a petition of the Rev. F. C. Simmons, M.A. (Rector of the Otago Boys' High School and later of Nelson College) urging the establishment of

CONSPECTUS OF POST-PRIMARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION AT THE END OF THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

INSTITUTIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITY (Established 1871).										INSTITUTIONS NOT AFFILIATED WITH THE NEW ZEALAND UNIVERSITY.						
PROVINCIAL DISTRICT.	SECONDARY SCHOOLS.				THEOLOGICAL TRAINING INSTITUTIONS.			UNIVERSITY COLLEGES.		Number of Undergraduates.		Students Attending Lectures. (Total Enrolment.)	Date of Establishment.	Number of Boarders.	Total Enrolment.	
	Date of Actual Establishment.		Number of Undergraduates.	Number of Boarders.	Total Enrolment.	Date of Establishment.		University Undergraduates.	Total Number of Students.	Date of Commencement of Lectures.						
OTAGO.																
CANTERBURY.	1852	Christ's College and Grammar School	85	200	1852	Christ's College (Upper Department) * Undergraduates of Canterbury College but residing at Christ's College	2*	4	1875	Canterbury College ...	26	57	1877	Christchurch Girls' High School ... Training College and Normal School	93	63
NELSON.	1856	Nelson College	5	85	105	1868	Bishopdale College (Church of England)	3	8				1842	Bishop's School	26	
WELLINGTON AND HAWKE'S BAY	1867	Wellington College and Grammar School	11	14	73								1853	Wanganui Collegiate (Industrial) School	7	33
													1872	Napier Trust Schools—Boys Girls	9	56
AUCKLAND.	1855	Church of England School, Parnell	73			1842	St. John's College (Church of England)	1	7				1877	Auckland Girls' High School (Primary and Secondary)	17	153
	1869	Auckland College and Grammar School	214			1849	Wesleyan College (Three Kings)	4	4							

NOTES.—(1) The figures given are for the year 1878. (2) Institutions effectively organised for post-primary work subsequent to the coming into effect of the Abolition of the Provinces Act (1st November, 1876) are in italics.

a number of scholarships to be held at the Home Universities. In 1868 an Act was passed authorising the provision of certain land endowments for a future Colonial University; but little or nothing was done in the direction contemplated by the Act until, in the following year, the Otago Provincial Council stole a march upon the rest of the Provinces and upon the general Government by establishing a self-contained local University. Parliament at once responded by passing the *New Zealand University Act, 1870*, the real intention of which undoubtedly was to give colonial status to the University of Otago. A period of six months was allowed for the necessary arrangements to be completed. Otago was delighted, Canterbury dismayed. But nine months elapsed before the New Zealand University Council was constituted; upon which the parties were no longer bound by the Act in this respect; and the Canterbury view-point prevailing in the New Zealand University Council, instead of the intended amalgamation taking place, the two institutions found themselves in a position of direct antagonism upon vital questions of University policy and organisation.

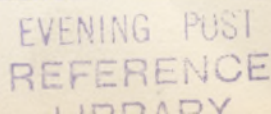
The following statement of the position is from the pen of the Rector of Canterbury College, Dr. James Hight:—*

"It was during the period of 1867-74, that the University system of New Zealand was moulded in the heat of political, denominational, and provincial conflicts. . . .

Nothing had been done by the general Government towards awarding the scholarships authorised by the Act of 1868 when the creation of the Otago University changed the essential conditions of the problem. There was a strong body of opinion opposed to the Otago idea of a teaching university located at Dunedin to serve the whole country. It inclined to a central University of New Zealand, with functions limited to prescription of courses, conduct of examinations and award of degrees and scholarships, and supervising and assisting by grants the university teaching which would be done in institutions to be affiliated on certain conditions to the university. The party of this opinion, led by Rolleston, Tancred, and Stafford, prevailed in the end. . . .

In July, 1870, a joint committee of Parliament recommended the institution of a University of New Zealand, with which the University of Otago was authorised to amalgamate if it should think fit; if the amalgamation took place within six months of the passing of the Act, the

* See *The History of Canterbury College*, Chapter III.



University of New Zealand was to be established at Dunedin. In default of amalgamation the University was to be established at some place at the discretion of the Government. No exclusive privileges were conferred such as would prevent the subsequent establishment of a university at any other place in New Zealand. The university was forbidden to apply any religious tests. It could teach as well as examine, and was given power to affiliate colleges for teaching purposes. Provision was made for an annual grant of £3000 for maintenance expenses, including professors' salaries and for the establishment of lectures in the affiliated colleges.

Rolleston and Tancred objected strongly to the Act; they wanted to establish the university as an examining body, non-localised, and controlling affiliated colleges throughout the country. Their view was taken by the majority of the Council of the University of New Zealand. Otago was willing to amalgamate, but the Council resolved that it was undesirable to fix upon any particular place as a permanent site, and that it should confine its action to founding university scholarships and lectures in affiliated institutions. It proceeded to execute the policy expressed in these resolutions in June, 1871, advertising its conditions of affiliation and its scholarship regulations. The attempt at agreement between the two universities was thus foredoomed to fail, and the precipitate action of the Council of the University of New Zealand drew severe strictures from the general Government. The Council was charged with wishing to force Otago into affiliation after having refused to amalgamate with it."

Otago proudly pursued her own path, engaged three professors, and opened her classes on July 5th, 1871, with a roll of 81 students, the first name thereon being that of Robert Stout—now the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Stout, P.C., K.C.M.G., Ex-Premier and Ex-Chief Justice of the Dominion. In June, as stated by Dr. Hight, the New Zealand University Council, with questionable legality, had invited applications for affiliation from institutions prepared to give adequate instruction in at least three of a number of subjects of which the majority were included in the ordinary curriculum of the secondary schools, viz., Classics, Mathematics, English, Modern Languages, and History; the remaining subjects being Physical Science (in respect of which it was not until as late as 1882 that the University was empowered

to grant degrees), Natural, and Mental and Moral Philosophy. The secondary schools of Auckland, Wellington and Nelson readily responded to so obvious an invitation, especially as it was accompanied with promise of a subsidy towards the extra expense, if any, of providing the aforesaid instruction. In Canterbury itself an organisation was promoted—the Canterbury Collegiate Union—of which the members were Christ's College and Grammar School, the Canterbury Museum, and the Canterbury Philosophical Institute, and to this combination affiliation was also granted.

The Otago Boys' High School did not, of course, apply for affiliation, nor did the Otago University. But the New Zealand University, realising the thinness of its own teaching organisation, made a regulation admitting to its degree examinations all students who kept terms for three years at the University of Otago. The impasse became a scandal, almost, if not quite, Gilbertian. Year after year the matter was brought under the notice of Parliament only to provoke repeated outbursts of Provincial and denominational rancour. The English Episcopalians of Canterbury could not endure the prospect of the New Zealand University becoming the *protégé* of proud and Presbyterian Otago, let alone the thought of the additional revenues that would pour into the already rich Scottish capital from the whole of the New Zealand University endowments and appropriations, as well as from the necessity imposed upon all the northern Provinces of sending their young men to reside in Dunedin during their University course. The southerners called the skeleton New Zealand University a "corporation of Grammar Schools" and petitioned Her Majesty for a Charter. When the application was forwarded to London—after a somewhat mysterious delay of another nine months—it was accompanied by a similar petition from the New Zealand University Council. The vigorous action of the Canterbury leaders put an entirely different complexion upon the whole problem, and Parliament was without much difficulty moved to recommend the granting of the Colonial and the rejection of the Provincial petition.

"The (Canterbury) Provincial Council," writes Dr. Hight, "had followed up the most effective shaft yet levelled against the opponents of the plan of a central examining university with affiliated colleges by resolving on the motion of the Provincial Secretary, to inform the Government and General Assembly 'that in any legislation affecting the University of New Zealand, it would be inexpedient that any alteration should be

made in the present state of the law whereby the benefits arising from that institution should be monopolised by any particular province or provinces."

By this time the Canterbury College had been established by a Provincial Ordinance and from June, 1873, until May 19th, 1874, when the Collegiate Union finally dissolved, these two organisations existed side by side. The first meeting of the Canterbury College Board of Governors was held on July 9th, 1873, when Mr. Joshua Strange Williams, then Registrar of Deeds, was elected Chairman, a position which he continued to occupy until his appointment to the Supreme Court Bench in 1875. The newly constituted Board lost no time in adopting "a petition to the Legislative Council reciting all that had been done towards instituting university education in Canterbury, expressing the opinion that there should be but one university for the colony, and praying that the University of New Zealand be maintained and chartered by the Crown as the sole authority to confer degrees."

A similar petition was presented by the Board of Governors of the Collegiate Union in October, 1873, in order to defeat the proposed establishment of a University in Auckland, similar to that of Otago. To quote once more from the same writer:—

"On October 10th the Board petitioned both Houses of the General Assembly against the Auckland University Bill, which proposed to establish a teaching university for the North Island at Auckland and to share with the Otago University the colonial subsidy of £3,000. The Bill passed through the Lower House but was dropped after the first reading in the Council. Thus was the New Zealand University again saved from its attackers."

Having thus repulsed their "attackers," the Canterbury leaders adopted a more conciliatory attitude. The mailed fist was gloved, and the hand of friendship extended to the Otago University by the following telegram on March 2nd, 1874:—*

"I forward a resolution passed to-day by the Board of Governors of Canterbury College as follows:—

That it is desirable to apply for affiliation to the University of New Zealand; but that, as a preliminary to such application, the Board of Governors open communication with the Governing Body of the University of Otago, to ascertain if the University and the College

* G. E. Thompson, *The History of the University of Otago*, p. 74.

can arrange to take common action in applying for affiliation. Will you receive a deputation on Monday next?

Joshua Strange Williams,
Chairman, Board of Governors."

The deputation was received. The English and the Scots were apparently reconciled and the treaty made was at once ratified by the New Zealand University Council, and without delay thankfully embodied by Parliament in the *New Zealand University Act, 1874*. But the victory lay with the English, and Otago, retaining its title of University, but emasculated of its power to grant degrees, became a member of the very "Corporation of Grammar Schools" which it had so recently and so bitterly denounced. One degree, and one only, had it granted—that of Bachelor of Arts, in 1874, to Mr. A. W. Williamson* of Wanganui, who was thus the first and only graduate of the University of Otago.

By 1878 this curious conglomeration of educational institutions had been made still more incongruous by the affiliation of one Wesleyan and three Church of England Theological Training Institutions and a small denominational Grammar School in Auckland. Otago recanted in disgust and despair, and once more besought Her Majesty for a charter. Ungloving her hand, then, and again nine years later, Canterbury College counter-petitioned Her Majesty (*inter alia*) thus:—†

"Your petitioners are so impressed with the injury that would ensue to the cause of higher education. . . . from the existence of two or more institutions empowered to grant degrees, that they have refrained from approaching you with any petition for a charter; although the institutions under your petitioners' direction is, they believe, as much entitled to a Charter as the Institution known as the University of Otago."

It seems hardly necessary to add that the Otago petition was rejected. The next step was the appointment of Sir Maurice O'Rorke's commission, beyond which we may not here go. The important fact for us at present is that as a result of all this Provincial jealousy and strife the New Zealand University was at last firmly established upon the English and Irish

* Brother-in-law of Mr. H. A. Parkinson, the well-known Secretary of the New Zealand Educational Institute.

† *Report of the Royal Commission on Higher Education (Sir Maurice O'Rorke's), 1879-80, Appendix XIII, papers re Otago Petition for a Charter, p. 87.*

rather than upon the Scotch model—an examining, degree-granting body only, instead of a teaching University similar to those of the Australian States.

There was, in fact, a great deal of truth in the jibe that the New Zealand University, in its early negotiations with the Otago University was a “nonentity seeking to amalgamate with an entity.” For the University of Otago was from the first no sham, no skin-covered skeleton such as the New Zealand University undoubtedly was during the early years of its existence. Nor was its establishment unjustified in the then existing condition of the Province. Prosperous and populous from the development of its gold fields, yet still under the sound educational leadership of the original Scottish element, it had built up the only complete educational organisation existing in the Colony at the time of the abolition of the Provinces. Upon the broad and solid foundation of its excellent primary system of had erected first its Boys’ and Girls’ High Schools (opened in 1863 and 1871 respectively);* then its five country grammar or district High Schools (established at Oamaru, Port Chalmers, Tokomairiro, Lawrence and Invercargill (from 1869 to 1873); its School of Art (1870); Training College and Normal School

* The Otago Boys’ High School had its origin in the “Dunedin High School,” which was opened on December 1st, 1856, under Mr. Alex. Livingstone as “Rector.” This was never much more than an elementary school. In 1862 Mr. Livingstone resigned and became Provincial Auditor. In that year the Otago Boys’ High School was constituted. In the following year its first Rector, Rev. T. H. Campbell, was tragically drowned in Otago Harbour immediately on his arrival from Home. The school was nevertheless opened a month later—August 3rd, 1863—under Mr. G. P. Abram as acting-Rector, with Messrs. D. Brent and J. H. Pope as assistants. The vacant headship was filled in 1864 by the appointment of Rev. F. C. Simmons, who was succeeded by Mr. S. Hawthorne in 1869, Rev. Wm. Norrie in 1875, and Dr. Wm. Macdonald in 1877. During the early years there were frequent differences between the Rectors and the Board, and more than one Commission of Enquiry was appointed to report on the affairs of the School. Each of the three original assistant masters acted temporarily as Rector at one time or another pending the appointment and arrival of a new Head. Mr. Pope, who also taught at the Girls’ School later achieved distinction as Inspector of Native Schools. Another notable teacher who served on the staff of both schools was Mr. (now the Hon.) G. M. Thomson, who joined the staff of the Girls’ School in 1871 and continued teaching there and at the Boys’ School for over 30 years.

The Otago Girls’ High School was opened on February 6, 1871, as the “Girls’ Provincial School,” under Mrs. M. G. Burn with Miss McDougall as first assistant. Mrs. Burn continued as Principal until 1895. Until 1885 both schools were conducted in one building situated in Dowling Street where the present Girls’ High School stands. The separation in 1885 was due to the erection of the central block of the present imposing Boys’ School.

(1876); and its Caledonian Society's evening classes. A glance at the above conspectus will show that all these institutions were abundantly filled with students; and it is quite clear that in founding her University, Otago was but putting the coping stone upon her own admirable educational pyramid with the same earnest thoroughness, which had been a distinguishing feature of Scottish education at a time when the English were still sitting as a nation in the darkness of illiteracy and ignorance.*

* "It would have been a reproach to the early settlers of Otago if they had not paid attention to education. The Settlement was founded under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland, and most of the early settlers called Scotland their home. Their Mother Country had long been distinguished for its educational institutions. Even in pre-Reformation days much had been accomplished in diffusing the means of education. Three universities had been founded in the fifteenth century—namely, St. Andrew's in 1410, Glasgow in 1450, and Aberdeen in 1494. At this time the population of Scotland was perhaps not much more than half that of New Zealand of to-day. In 1706 the estimate of population was 800,000, and Hill Burton considers this was near the truth. These Universities were founded by the Roman Catholic Church, and perhaps we, in these days, underestimate the good work done for education by this Church in the fifteenth century. Then it was believed that education would be the means of keeping in check the fighting spirit, of modifying feudalism, and softening the manners of the people. There were also many schools taught by ecclesiastics. The Scottish Parliament was in advance of its age, for in 1496 it passed a Compulsory Education Act, though the statute was not made compulsory on all classes. It required that through 'all the realm, all barons and freeholders that are of substance put their eldest sons and heirs to the schools fra they be aught or nine years of age, and to remain at the Grammar School until they be competently founded and have perfect Latin, and thereafter to remain three years at the Schools of Art and Jure, so that they may have knowledge and understanding of the laws.' Those who violated this law were to be liable to a penalty of £20.

To John Knox, who was as great a statesman as he was a great ecclesiastic, is, however, due the spread of what we now call district schools. In his First Book of Discipline he directed that in purely pastoral places the 'reidar' or minister should become the teacher, and in all towns and populous places there should be established a 'thoroughly good school,' taught by a master 'able to teach at least grammar and the Latin tongue.' Schools were established throughout the realm, and it has been said that in fifteen years after Knox's advocacy of public schools no populous place was left unsupplied with a school. In these schools reading, writing, and arithmetic, Catechism, Bible, Latin, and frequently French and music were taught.

Though it was not till 1870 that an Elementary Education Act was passed by the English Parliament for the establishment of public schools in England, there had been a Scottish Education Act as far back as 1696, under which ancient law parish schools had been maintained throughout the Northern Kingdom. Scotland had therefore the benefit of a General Education Act about 200 years before a similar law had been passed in England."—From an Article by Sir Robert Stout on "Education in Otago (1848 to 1898)," in the *Otago Evening Star*, Jubilee Edition, March 23rd, 1898, p. 31.

Nowhere else in the whole of the Colony was there anything at all comparable to this thoroughness in every field of education as it was then understood. In Canterbury, except for Christ's College and Grammar School†—an English Church institution through and through—and two Presbyterian High Schools, one at Christchurch for boys, the other at Lyttelton for girls and boys, all of which received an annual subsidy from the Provincial Government, there does not appear to have been any public effort to build upon the foundation of primary education until the very close of the Provincial period, when the Christchurch Girls' High School and the Christchurch Training College were established (both in 1877). The Canterbury Collegiate Union and its successor (Canterbury College) which did not in fact commence its classes until 1875, were not less the outcome of a quickened conscience arising from the steady onward march of Otago's educational schemes than was the reorganisation of Canterbury's system of elementary education. It is in this connection exceedingly interesting to read the original plan outlined in 1850 for the Provincial College,* as Christ's College was without doubt originally intended to become.

† Christ's College, founded in 1851, and housed at first in the barracks at Lyttelton, then in the parsonage of St. Michael's at Christchurch, was transferred to its present site in 1857. It was liberally supported by the Canterbury Provincial Council, both with land endowments and with building grants. In 1863 the buildings were added to by the erection of the "big schoolroom." In 1867 the chapel was opened. In the same year the Headmaster's house and the old schoolroom were destroyed by fire, in consequence of which new buildings were erected. From the outset the boarding department was a conspicuous feature of the institution, and by 1879 it had three separate boarding-houses attached to it. Among many scholarships the oldest and one of the most important was that founded by Mrs. Somes, whose husband had secured by lot the first choice of land (personally selected by Mr. J. R. Godley) in the original settlement—50½ acres at Lyttelton—which subsequently became very valuable. The successive Headmasters of the College during the Provincial period were:—1852-63, Rev. H. Jacobs; 1863-4, Mr. R. Broughton; 1866-73, Rev. W. C. Harris; 1874-88, Mr. C. C. Corfe.

* That the Collegiate Department of Christ's College was really intended to be the foundation of a great Southern University situated at Christchurch is made very clear by the following extract from Dr. Hight's book:—

"The Bishop of Norwich, in an appeal for emigrants at a meeting at Ipswich in May, 1850, said that in carrying out their views 'they contemplated something higher than the best schooling—something like an university institution.' The Rev. Thomas Jackson, the Bishop-designate of Lyttelton made many long and eloquent references to the college at public meetings organised by the Association; in all these stress is laid on the collegiate (or university) department of the college as well as on the grammar school. A full and elaborate scheme was published in May, 1850; the collegiate department would be the Canterbury University—a local Cambridge or Oxford—and it was expected

"Collegiate or Upper Department (for young men above the age of 17).

"This Department shall comprise four divisions: (1) Theological; (2) Classical; (3) Mathematical, and of Civil Engineering; (4) Agricultural.

"(1). The Theological Division will be confined (with the exception of a few general lectures) to the candidates for Holy Orders, who will be expected to attain to the standard of theological knowledge required by the English Bishops before presenting themselves for examination for orders. They will also be expected to teach at least one hour in every day in the Central Primary Schools of the City.

"(2). The Classical Division will, as a rule, include all the students.

"(3). In the Civil Engineering Division it is hoped to give an elementary course of instruction in Physics and Industrial Mechanics, especially such as are applicable to the wants and capabilities of a new country.

"(4). In a country which derives its main wealth from agricultural produce, it will be obviously desirable to introduce an agricultural element in any scheme of higher public instruction."

These admirable ideals the governing body of Christ's College soon found itself unable to realise and, as Bishop Harper stated in his evidence before the Royal Commission upon higher education (1879-80), they "threw their whole strength into the Grammar School."

But, although the ideals of the founders were abandoned as regards this College, they were never lost sight of altogether; and when we come to look into the later history of higher education in Canterbury, we find that the "special schools" established at the Canterbury and Lincoln Colleges were

it would attract students from India and Australia, and would become the educational centre of Australasia, in the widest sense of that term. On October 1st, 1850, Godley, then in New Zealand, was informed by the Association that the Bishop-designate had made all necessary arrangements for beginning the work of the College on arrival. 'If we consider the effect of the universities in forming the character of the English gentry, and on producing the general tone of English society, we may be able to estimate the value of an institution of a similar kind, and imbued with the same spirit, in the southern world.'—*History of Canterbury College*, Chapter V.

But it was a horse of another colour when, upon the failure of this scheme, Otago stepped into the breach with an institution of precisely the same kind that Canterbury had dreamed of for herself!

the very ones outlined in 1850, namely, the Engineering and Agricultural Schools—an admirable instance of that Forsytean tenacity of purpose which was throughout its history so notable a characteristic of the English Province.

Had Nelson been as populous and as prosperous as Otago, Nelson College would have been a University College and not a secondary school to-day.

“The course of instruction,” says the Deed of Foundation, “shall also include the English language and literature, one or more modern languages, geography, mathematics, classics, history, drawing, music, and *such other branches of art or science* as the Council shall at any time determine.”

Its foundation was due to the strong religious and educational principles which the first settlers brought to their new home. Indeed, the promise of its establishment was one of the inducements offered in the New Zealand Company's prospectus to intending land purchasers. The unfortunate financial failure of the Company postponed the realisation of the founders' ideals; and it needed in the end all the energy and persistence possible to compel the Company to honour its contract with the settlers and to secure the payment of the trust funds to the trustees appointed to administer them. The College was opened on April 7th, 1856, but it was not until 1857 that the Deed of Foundation of Nelson College† was executed. Two years later was commenced the erection of that splendid building, modelled upon Eton College, which throughout the whole Provincial period remained the finest and most complete educational edifice in the Colony.*

† The successive Headmasters of Nelson College down to the close of the Provincial period were:—1856-8, Rev. J. C. Bagshaw; 1859-61, Mr. G. Heppell; 1861-2, Mr. R. Broughton; 1862-4, Mr. J. D. Greenwood; 1864-8, Rev. C. L. Maclean; 1868-76, Rev. F. C. Simmons; 1876-86, Rev. J. C. Andrew.

* The foundation stone of this building, which was of wood, and modelled upon Eton College, was laid by Governor Gore-Browne on the 7th December, 1859, when Mr. Beaton, the architect, concluded his address to the Governor thus:—

“For the College they had but one enemy—fire; and if by God's blessing and His protecting care the superstructure should be preserved from fire through future years, and if kept well and regularly painted, he did indulge the hope that it might resist storm and tempest and earthquake; that it might remain as firm as its rock-built substructure, as lasting as the hill upon which it would stand, and as durable as the stone which was about to be distinguished by His Excellency's masonic skill—the only stone in the building.”—Nelson College Old Boys' Register, p. 16.

On the 7th December, 1904, the one enemy feared by the architect

In the meantime, however, the settlers were not without the benefits of secondary education; for, about the same time as Alfred Domett and Matthew Campbell were busy with their respective schemes for "non-sectarian" primary schools, an Anglican school was started, as we have seen, by the Rev. C. L. Reay, which, re-organised in 1843 by Bishop Selwyn, was thenceforth known as the Bishop's School. It was for many years taught by the Rev. (later Venerable Archdeacon) H. F. Butt, and was the first school to afford the benefits of secondary instruction in the South Island. When Nelson College was established, the Bishop's School was not discontinued. Although it lost its senior pupils to the larger institution, it remained a useful unit in the Nelson educational organisation, and afforded by reason of its lower fees a secondary grounding to many promising boys who would not otherwise have been able to set foot upon the ladder of higher education. Bishopdale Theological College, established in 1868, was the foundation of Bishop Suter, made possible by the bequest of an unfettered legacy by his predecessor Bishop Hobhouse. It continued for many years to fulfil its function as a training institution for candidates for holy orders, but as an affiliated university college it was, as reference to the foregoing conspectus shows, a mere make-believe.

As far as the North Island was concerned for at least a quarter of a century after the foundation of the rival settlements of Wellington and Auckland, secondary education, so far as it was provided at all, depended wholly upon denominational and private enterprise; and it was not until the disastrous Maori wars were drawing to a close that the Wellington College and Grammar School* and the Auckland Grammar School† were

claimed its victim, the building being totally destroyed. The disaster aroused sympathy throughout the Colony. Subscriptions poured in from all quarters, and the foundation stone of the present building, which is a replica of the former one, but in brick, was laid by Lord Plunket on 1st October, 1905, the formal opening taking place in December, 1906.

* Similarly Christ's College, Christchurch, was originally established under the name "Christ's College and Grammar School," the last three words being afterwards omitted in both cases, although in fact it was the Grammar School, and not the Collegiate, department of each institution that became the real object of its existence.

Wellington College grew out of an endowment of land granted by Sir George Grey in 1853 "for or towards the maintenance of a college or grammar school to which persons of all classes or races who may inhabit the Colony were to be equally admitted." No School, however, was opened until 1867. Begun privately by Rev. H. E. Tuckey it was taken over by the trustees in 1868. In the same year Rev. T. A. Bowden was appointed Head, and a building was erected in which it was conducted for six years. In 1874 the trustees were replaced by a Board of Governors, and the present (wooden) block of buildings was begun upon

actually established. Even then quite a number of years elapsed before anything like adequate accommodation was provided for them. Indeed the Auckland school had no permanent single location until after the close of the Provincial period, and was more than once housed in a congeries of unsuitable and disconnected buildings. At Wellington things were somewhat better, but it was not till 1874 that a commencement was made with the erection of a permanent home for the College. It was under these conditions, when Auckland Grammar School was but two years and Wellington College four years old, that these Institutions were raised to the status of affiliated University Colleges, with which the Otago University was at first invited and later forced to be associated.

The Church of England Grammar School at Parnell, an off-shoot of St. John's College, Tamaki, was a school without any endowment at all. Founded in 1855, it was in reality a private school under the ægis of the Church, with a primary as well as a secondary department; and, although in its best days it also attained the status of an affiliated institution of the University of New Zealand, upon the establishment of free national education it rapidly faded into comparative insignificance. St. John's College, its progenitor, founded in 1842 by Bishop Selwyn, may fairly claim to have been the first

a reserve of some 69 acres. The successive Headmasters to the close of the Provincial period were:—1867-8, Rev. H. E. Tuckey and Mr. W. S. Hamilton; 1868-74, Rev. T. A. Bowden (with Messrs. Tuckey and Hamilton as assistants); 1874-81, Mr. K. Wilson.

† The Auckland Grammar School is also indebted to Sir George Grey for its original endowments, which were given from 1850 to 1853, and were vested in the Superintendent of the Auckland Province by special Act in 1856. Nothing further was done until 1866 when the Superintendent and the Council differed sharply as to whether the accumulated trust funds were sufficient to justify the immediate establishment of the school. In 1868 the *Grammar School Appropriation Act* was passed and a Board of Management appointed. The School was opened in Howe Street by the Duke of Edinburgh on May 17th, 1869, under Rev. Dr. Robert Kidd with Messrs. J. N. Flower and G. H. Belfrage as assistant Masters. In 1871 Mr. Farquhar Macrae became Headmaster, Dr. Kidd stepping down to a position on the staff. In 1872 the name of the School was altered to the Auckland College and Grammar School in consequence of its affiliation with the University of New Zealand. In later years, however, the original shorter name was reverted to. From May, 1871, till June, 1878, the school was held in the Albert Barracks. On 13th June, 1878, occurred the famous "barring-out," the Headmaster being inside, and the scholars outside, the school. After other changes, Sir George Grey, then Premier, made a grant of money which enabled a permanent home to be erected for the school in Symonds Street, which was opened on February 5th, 1880, and which subsequently, on the erection of the present magnificent school building, became for many years the habitat of the Auckland University College.

academy of higher learning in New Zealand. Its chequered career is interestingly told by the Rev. J. King Davis.* The grandiose ideals of its founder proved one by one impossible of realisation, and at the time we are speaking of it was, like the somewhat similar Wesleyan institution at Three Kings, the home of a mere handful of theological students.†

It is, therefore, perfectly clear that the admission of these denominational institutions (the Anglican and Wesleyan Theological Institutions and the Parnell Grammar School) to affiliation with the University of New Zealand was a piece of camouflage. It is, indeed, difficult to realise the degree of Provincial jealousy against Otago that suffered so obvious a sham to be perpetrated and continued for so long.

Considered apart from their special relation to the New Zealand University described above, the secondary schools of the Colony at the end of the period under review were essentially local institutions. A few of them, such as the Otago High Schools, Christ's College Grammar School, and Nelson College,, were firmly established, and had already achieved a considerable reputation. But in general it may be said that secondary education was by no means widespread, being rather the special prerogative of the upper classes alone, and of a strictly classical rather than a vocational character. The development of the State's control and organisation of post-primary education and of the recognition of the right of all children capable of benefiting therefrom to free post-primary training, which is so prominent a feature of our educational system to-day, is beyond the scope of the present work.

The lack of adequate provision in Auckland and Wellington for higher education, and for teacher training in particular, was a most serious handicap to education generally throughout the North Island at the end of the Provincial period. Had the recommendations of the Commission of 1879-80 been given effect, these disabilities would have been immediately remedied. But the financial obligations of the Commission's far-sighted proposals blinded the short-sighted Government to their importance, and the report, like so many other equally admirable and

* *The History of S. John's College, Tamaki.*

† The Wesleyan Secondary School in Grafton Road, Auckland, of which the three brothers Fletcher were Headmasters in succession, had similarly long since passed its full bloom (chiefly owing to the later establishment of the Anglican Grammar School at Parnell) and the buildings were leased in 1877 to the Auckland Education Board for the accommodation of the then newly established Girls' High School. As for the Trust Schools at Wanganui and Napier, until the post-provincial era these had but slight claim to be regarded as secondary schools.

equally expensive enquiries, was printed with all its evidence to be for ever a dusty monument to the folly of our favourite political pastime of obtaining and ignoring the opinions of experts. The additional years of grace thus given to Otago and Canterbury were used by them to consolidate and strengthen in every possible way the tremendous advantages which the peace and prosperity of the South Island had enabled them to secure during the 30 years in which their northern brethren had been occupied with the problems and the wars that followed in the wake of the Treaty of Waitangi. If, therefore, we are to consider the history of education in New Zealand from 1877 onwards from a national, rather than from a provincial, viewpoint, we must continually remind ourselves of this essential difference in the early Provincial history of the two islands, and see with satisfaction the North Island, in the peaceful prosperity of the first few years of the post-provincial era, developing its institutions with amazing rapidity at the national expense until the wave of depression which followed the Vogelian boom put an untimely end for a while to further developments.

But we must not keep our legislators waiting any longer. For Parliament has assembled and the discussions upon a general scheme of education for the whole Colony are about to be resumed.

ARGUMENT.

The investigation closes with an exhaustive study of the introduction, amendment, and passing of "The Education Act, 1877," which resulted in the establishment of a national system of education for the whole population of New Zealand without distinction of race or creed. Extracts from the speeches of the Hon. (later Sir) C. C. Bowen, the author of the Bill, and of leading representatives of the former Provinces, are freely introduced in order to bring out the original intentions of the Bill, and the strikingly altered shape in which it was eventually passed. In its final form it followed with remarkable closeness the national scheme originally propounded by Domett in the New Munster Council. By a strange turn of fate it was unwillingly passed through its final stages and put into operation by a Government presided over by Sir George Grey, the protagonist of Provincialism and author of the denominational system in Auckland thirty years before. Thus was Domett's protest against Grey's scheme in 1849 vindicated, by a kind of Homeric justice, by Grey's inauguration in 1877 of Domett's scheme of national, free, secular, and compulsory education for New Zealand as a whole.

The work concludes with an extract from an address of Sir C. C. Bowen delivered in 1894, after seventeen years' experience of the new system in actual operation.

For a detailed conspectus of the national system instituted by the Act see Appendix C.

PART VI.

DOMETT VINDICATED
AND
A NATIONAL SYSTEM
INAUGURATED.

CHAPTER XXXI.

AN END AND A BEGINNING.

The outstanding principles of Fox's (perhaps we should say Hislop's) Bill of 1871 were as follows:—

(1) A strong central Department consisting of the Minister of Education with power to overrule the Provincial Boards and a Permanent Secretary and Central Staff of Inspectors.

(2) Provincial Boards appointed by the Provincial Councils and retiring therewith.

(3) Local Committees annually elected by the householders of the school districts.

(4) As between the Boards and the Committees the allocation of powers and duties was—

The Boards were to promote the formation of school districts, determine the proportion which each district should pay towards buildings, and contribute towards salaries. Upon the recommendation of the Committees the Boards were to appoint the teachers, who must be certificated.

The Committees were to fix the school fees and to have power to levy local rates, upon the assignment of which the Governor could advance money to the districts. The attendance of children between 7 and 12 years of age, living within two miles of a school, was to be compulsory; and a Magistrate could enforce, by distress only, a fine of 40s. per week for failure to comply with an attendance order duly served. Religious instruction, of non-sectarian character, was to be given by the teachers, with a conscience clause copied from Mr. Forster's English Education Act of the previous year, and the Boards were empowered to make grants to denominational or private schools under the name of "aided" schools, provided they worked under the same conscience clause. In such schools the appointment of teachers and the selection of class-books were left without restriction in the hands of the promoters.

This scheme was neither free nor secular. But the principle of compulsion was recognised, and the provision for a strong Central Department with its own Inspectorate was an important recognition of an essential element in any truly national scheme. Existing differences in the Provincial schemes caused the door

to be left open for a continuance of the denominational system as practised principally in Nelson, Westland, and Hawke's Bay. This provision also opened to the Roman Catholics in the other Provinces a door of hope that the Nelson System might thereby become general throughout the Colony—an object for which they worked with all their strength.

More than anything else, the wrath of Otago, Mr. Hislop's own Province, killed the Bill. Its unrestricted provisions for denominational (Roman Catholic) Schools roused the implacable opposition of the Presbyterian Church, while its strong central department was equally *anathema maranatha* to the powerful Otago Provincial Council. Says the Rev. C. S. Ross, the not altogether impartial historian of early education in Otago:—

*“ Parents and school committees and the various Presbyteries all petitioned earnestly against it. It was smitten hard by an influential section of the Press, and the attacks upon it from many sides were all so influential and keen that it ultimately found its place among the legislative abortions which never secure a standing in the Statute Book.”

To combat the activities of the denominationalists a “powerful association” was formed early in 1872 which prepared a numerously signed petition in favour of a “national and non-sectarian” system. Meanwhile the Bill had been revised by the Government and printed and circulated through the country. The following concessions to criticism found a place in the revised draft. The Education Boards were to be elected by the District Committees, instead of appointed by the Provincial Councils; class-books in all schools were to be approved by the Governor in Council; and the rating clauses were simplified by the adoption in whole of the Nelson system of taxation. Compulsion was no longer to be “compulsory,” but “permissive” as in the Auckland system; that is to say, the decision as to its application was to rest with the local authorities. The Bill, however, proved such an apple of discord from one end of the country to the other, that on the re-assembling of Parliament the Government decided, quite unexpectedly, as we have seen, to drop the whole matter until the mind of the country became more clear.

In the following year, 1873, Vogel, now Premier, took the matter up and thought to meet local criticism by making the whole scheme permissive. His Bill was almost identical with Fox's in its revised form, but it was not to become operative

* *Education and Educationists in Otago*, p. 27.

except in so far as the Provincial Councils themselves adopted it. In this way Vogel thought a beginning might be made in those Provinces in which education was in a backward state, without interfering with or exciting the hostility of those which already had good systems in operation, with which they were perfectly satisfied. The permissive character of the Bill robbed it of all interest. It was languidly received throughout the country and still more languidly discussed in the House of Representatives. Its rating provisions, for instance, enabled rates to be levied by either the Boards or the Committees, and such rates might be, as the Provincial Councils chose, "an annual value rate, a capital value rate, an uniform householders' rate, or a varying householders' rate!" As Macmorran says:—* "It might be adopted in whole, or it might even be adopted in part: *laissez faire* could go no further." The Bill passed the third reading in both Houses, but the Council's amendments proving unacceptable to the Lower House, upon the prorogation of Parliament it lapsed—"unwept, unhonoured, and unsung."

The next stage was reached in 1874 when Vogel, having first fortified himself with sufficient pledges of support, dramatically launched upon the House and the country his famous resolution in favour of the abolition of the Provinces. The motion was carried by 41 votes to 16, and, although it was restricted in its terms to the North Island Provinces only, the doom of all the Provinces was not less surely sealed thereby. Vogel had been seriously hampered by Provincial mendicancy and log-rolling in connection with his Public Works and Immigration policy; hence his apparently sudden change of front. It was not until the following year that effect was given to the resolution, when, Vogel being absent in England in search of still more loan money, it devolved upon Sir Harry Atkinson to push an Abolition Bill through Parliament. The proposal brought the redoubtable Sir George Grey from his retirement. Now over 60 years of age, happily retired amongst his books and pictures in his picturesque home on the Island of Kawau, near Auckland, the veteran ex-Governor came forth to lead the fight for those cherished Provincial institutions which he had himself established so many years before. It was all in vain. The Abolition Act, passed in 1875, was endorsed by the country at the general election following and came into operation at the close of the first Session of the New Parliament—1st November, 1876.

The need for an Education Act became at once obvious and pressing, and Atkinson prepared an interesting temporary measure, leaving the existing Provincial Ordinances in force

* *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

with a few necessary amendments in certain cases. The Boards were to be elective; admission to the schools was to be by fees, with provision for remission in cases of necessity; compulsory attendance was required to the extent of half-time in each half-year; and considerable power of regulation was reserved to the Central Department, while, with clever shrewdness, the religious difficulty was evaded by the simple acceptance of the *status quo* in each Province. Instead, however, of going on with these proposals, the Government brought down and passed a much simpler temporary measure—*The Education Boards Act, 1876*,—prolonging for the time being the systems then existing in the respective Provinces. One important change, however, was made, viz., that all rates of whatsoever kind for educational purposes were abolished, excepting only the capitation rate for children of school age, or the corresponding school fees, where, as in Otago, such were still charged. A grant of money from the public purse kept the schools going in the interim.

The mind of the country and of Parliament was therefore not unprepared for the submission of the Government's Education Bill at the commencement of the session of 1877.

"I understand," said the Premier, Major Atkinson, at the commencement of the debate on the second reading of the Bill, "there are a large number of gentlemen in the House who have given this matter very great consideration for many years"; and went on to express the hope that "honourable members who have made up their minds upon the subject" would not ask for an adjournment but proceed at once to debate the Bill.

"Made up our minds on the subject of education!" replied Sir George Grey, "most of us have done that years ago—perhaps for a quarter of a century or more!"

At any rate ever since 1869, when Mr. Ball's motion first sounded the knell of the Provincial systems of education, from one end of New Zealand to the other, in the Press and upon the platform, in Church Assemblies, Provincial Councils, Education Boards, and School Committees, the question of a national system of education had been discussed again and again, until the minds of all had become perfectly clear upon the various features which each regarded as vital to the success of any national scheme. From their constituencies then the members assembled for the opening of Parliament on the 19th July in that eventful year, each with a clear-cut line of action in view. The quality of this Parliament was remarkably high. In addition to the great Pro-Consul, Sir George Grey (ex-Superintendent of Auckland), there were nine other former Superintendents of

the recently abolished Provinces:—T. B. Gillies (Auckland), F. A. Carrington (Taranaki), E. W. Stafford and O. Curtis (Nelson), Wm. Rolleston and W. S. Moorhouse (Canterbury), James Macandrew and Sir John Richardson (Otago), and Dr. Menzies (Southland). Of New Zealand's 14 Premiers prior to Richard Seddon, no fewer than seven were members either of the House of Representatives or of the Legislative Council. A very large proportion of the members were Home University men. Indeed, the Premier, though the tenth occupant of the office, was the first non-university-trained man to fill it. The Hon. C. C. Bowen, Minister of Justice, the framer and introducer of the Bill, was by both training and experience well fitted for his task. Of Irish Episcopalian parentage, a Cambridge graduate, and one of Canterbury's first pioneers, Bowen had been prominent in its affairs throughout the whole Provincial period as Provincial Councillor, Deputy Superintendent, Chairman of the Education Board, and later Resident Magistrate at Christchurch. He possessed moreover a degree of tact, patience, and good humour that went far towards a solution of the many difficult situations which arose in the course of the passage of the Bill through Committee. Besides those named above, the following members may be mentioned:—W. H. Reynolds, Wm. Larnach, D. Reid, and Robert Stout (Otago); Edward Wakefield and W. Montgomery (Canterbury); Wm. Fox (Wanganui); A. J. Richmond and E. Baigent (Nelson); Patrick Dignan, J. A. Tole, H. H. Lusk, G. M. O'Rorke and Dr. Wallis (Auckland); Thos. Kelly (New Plymouth); Martin Kennedy (Greymouth); Edmund Barff (Hokitika); Captain Russell (Hawke's Bay); John Ballance (Rangitikei); John Sheehan (Rodney); Samuel Shrimski (Waitaki); and, last but not least, the Speaker, Sir Wm. Fitzherbert (Hutt Valley).

* The Catholics, according to Alfred Saunders, "were in that Parliament more numerous than usual and had brought with them not a few Protestants who had obtained the Catholic block vote by promising to watch over their interests in the House." At any rate their views were ably and vigorously stated by quite a number of members. Joined with the representatives of Nelson, Hawke's Bay, and Westland they formed a powerful party pledged to work for the inclusion of the Nelson system of "separated" schools. The Jews had an able advocate in S. E. Shrimski; the secularists' champion was Robert Stout; and there was an overwhelming combination of Catholic, Jewish, and secularist interests strong enough upon the failure of the Nelson denominational amendment to ensure the rejection

* *History of New Zealand*, Vol. I, p. 377.

of every attempt to secure any form of religious instruction, so that even the simple reading of the Bible and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer were banned as being purely Protestant, and, therefore, sectarian, religious exercises. Otago was opposed to the Bill altogether. It would, as James Macandrew said, make things "worse" instead of "better"; and so its title was changed from "An Act to make *better* provision for Education in New Zealand" to "An Act to make *further* provision, etc."

The Bill was before Parliament throughout the whole session. Introduced on the 24th July, only five days after the opening of the session, it was not finally passed until the 27th November, thirteen days before its close. The Minister in Charge adopted the unusual course of delivering his full-dress explanation of his proposals on the motion for the first reading of the Bill. The debate on the second reading occupies over 150 columns of *Hansard*, no fewer than 28 members having expressed their views and indicated the amendments which they wished to see effected, in speeches averaging about 3,000 words apiece. "Sir," said George Lumsden (Invercargill), speaking towards the end of the debate, "from the tone of this debate I am very much afraid that when this Bill is passed through Committee it will hardly be recognisable." And, indeed, the number of threatened amendments was so great that 45 members from both sides (an absolute majority of the House) held a private meeting and pledged themselves, according to Sir George Grey, "to carry this Bill through the House—promised to force it through in fact"—and it was a fact which aroused the old denominationalist to inexpressible wrath.

"Sir," said he, "the effect of this measure will be to destroy all the private (meaning also the denominational) schools within the limits of New Zealand! . . . A great evil will be done to the country by such a system. I feel more strongly on this subject than I have power to express."

Both Sir George Grey and Mr. Sheehan vigorously opposed the measure, even voting against it upon both the second and the third readings. Then, while the Bill was before the Upper House—where it had several narrow escapes and from which it returned to the Representatives with a number of important amendments—Sir George, now, by a trick as it were of some new Puck, himself in the Premier's seat, placed Mr. Sheehan, his Native Minister, in charge of the very measure to which both had shown such determined opposition. James Macandrew, now Grey's Minister of Lands, said openly in the House, that, personally, he would have preferred to have disagreed with the

amendments and dropped the Bill, which (he said) was not required. Doubtless Sir George and Mr. Sheehan would have taken this course, for which a precedent existed, if such were needed, in the lapse of Vogel's Bill upon disagreement of the Houses some four years before; but Mr. Swanson, the member for Newton, warned the Premier that he "would at once transfer his allegiance from the present Government if they were to abandon the Bill, or fail to do their utmost to pass it."* So Sir George, mindful of the "forty-five," held his peace—which must surely have been a difficult act of self-restraint for a man of his character and experience—while Mr. Sheehan piloted the Bill through its remaining stages. Thus was the author of the denominational Ordinance of 1847 and founder of the Provincial system in 1853, compelled, by the irony of fate, to preside in 1877 over the passage of an Act which negatived almost all his most cherished educational and political ideals. It was Grey's Government, moreover, upon which devolved the task of administering the Act and organising the newly established colonial Education Department during the first two years of its existence.

Although almost all the Provincial systems had been laid under contribution to a greater or less extent in the framing of its clauses, the Bill, as introduced by Mr. Bowen, bore a closer resemblance to the *Nelson Education Act* of 1863, except for the "separated" school provisions of the latter, than to any other of the Provincial enactments. The result was a Bill, which, as Mr. Curtis, ex-Superintendent of Nelson, who opened the debate on the second reading, said, provided a system of public education that was "free, compulsory, and secular, without at the same time driving any of those principles to the extreme." Similarly the principle of centralisation was recognised without being driven to excess.

"The Bill we intend to submit to this House," said Mr. Bowen in his opening address, "provides entirely for local administration, subject to ultimate central control in certain particulars, especially in matters of expenditure. That this is necessary will be obvious when I say that more than seven-eighths of the whole cost of education will be thrown upon the Consolidated Fund. The expenditure on a central department and central staff will not be very great. In fact, it will be very small, because a Secretary and Clerk will probably do all the work of the central department for some time to come. The whole staff of Inspectors throughout the Colony will, however, be under the central depart-

* *Hansard*, Vol. XXVII, p. 387.

ment, because it will be necessary that a due control should be held by the power which gives the money—in fact, ultimately by this House. It is also necessary because the assistance that will be given by the State will be measured by the calculations of the average attendance in the different districts throughout the country. The calculations should therefore be controlled by the Government, and the inspection should be in their hands, so that they may see that a proper standard of education is kept up. Further the classification and examination of teachers will be under the control of the Education Department for the same reason—namely, that without such control the Government could never be satisfied that in every part of the country the same standard of education is maintained. The state will also find the funds necessary for the training schools for teachers. Although, where there are normal schools in connection with primary schools, the management can and will be left to the Local Boards, still it will be necessary that the expenditure on teaching in the normal schools should be under the control of the central department. The necessity for normal schools is overwhelming at present, from the want of teachers, and there can be no national system of education without training schools.”

Upon the question of the capitation rate which it was proposed to adopt in preference to the system of charging fees, Mr. Bowen said:—

“I look upon the system of school fees as absolutely doomed. The mitigation of the evil in most cases provided by allowing committees to say that this child or that child may attend school without payment introduces a very unhappy distinction. There are children who are paying children, and those who are non-paying children, and thus a tendency is created to mark certain children as being paupers, as being relieved at the expense of the state from payment for their education. . . . There is no such objection to a capitation rate, and, as I said before, it is not only for the purposes of revenue that the levying of this tax is deliberately proposed by the Government. Although the rate is a very small one, it reminds parents of the responsibility under which they are with regard to the education of their children, and we propose to leave this capitation rate in the hands of the householders themselves, to be

spent locally in the different districts for the convenience and comfort of the children in the school buildings, and for the maintenance of those buildings. We propose that these capitation rates shall be the absolute revenue of the school committees; and I am sure honourable gentlemen who have had experience in this matter will know something of the bad effects of leaving the school committees at the mercy of the Boards for every shilling they have to spend. You cannot ask men who take a keen interest in the school affairs of their districts to spend all their nights, after the labours of the day, in carrying on a correspondence with the Board upon every trivial item of expenditure; at any rate they will not do it without feeling very much annoyed. Under the old system, in some parts of the Colony, they could scarcely fill up a rat hole without first writing to the Board about it."

Upon the question of compulsory attendance, he said:—

"It will be seen that there are three provisions in the Bill which are relied on for filling the schools. One is the capitation fee, which will exercise a gentle pressure, for it is in accordance with the dictates of human nature that those who have to pay for a thing like to get something for their money; and this plan where tried has been found to act as a sort of gentle compulsion. There is also the system of good attendance certificates which has been adopted from the system tried within a comparatively recent period by the Liverpool Council of Education, who have found it work very satisfactorily. Every child who attends every opening of the school punctually for a year has his school fee remitted for the next year, and gets a certificate for good attendance; and every child who is only absent five times during the year gets half his fees remitted. . . . Such a system is well worth a trial and we have determined to give it one. The last means which is relied on—and it is only relied on for adoption under exceptional circumstances—is that of compulsion. It will be found that the compulsory clauses of the measure are of a very mild character, and are only to be put into force when the committees think fit. I apprehend that they will not be in any hurry to enforce these clauses unnecessarily against their neighbours, but will only do so in cases where parents grossly neglect the educational welfare of their children."

Upon the question of religious instruction he said:—

“Honourable gentlemen will see, on perusing the Bill, that all the instruction that is to be given is absolutely secular, and that no religious teaching whatever will be allowed, with one exception, to which I will allude presently, and the reason for that is very clear. We are bound to be fair; we are bound not to interfere with the conscience of any man. When we establish a system out of the public funds, and while men differ so seriously on religious subjects as they do now, the only way to be absolutely fair is to forbid the teachers to give their pupils any religious instruction whatever. But, while we exclude religious teaching from our schools, I do not think there is any necessity for excluding any allusion to a Higher Power. . . . It is proposed in the Bill that school shall be opened every morning at a fixed hour, by the reading of the Bible and the Lord’s Prayer; but it is not made necessary that any child should attend at that time if his parents should object. . . . I can scarcely conceive that, if men were to carefully consider what the effect of such a rule would be, any one could object to it on the ground that it would be an interference with the consciences of the people; and I will but ask honourable gentlemen to consider what a very serious matter it would be to deprive our children—the children of this rising community—of the knowledge of that Book which has been an education to countless generations of English children, and the language of which, unconsciously to ourselves, illustrates our conversation from day to day.”

Upon the powers and duties of school committees and the appointment of teachers, he said:—

“It will be seen that the duties of school committees are very important. They will not only have the general management of the schools in their district, but they will have to collect and expend the capitation fees. They will have to settle questions as to remissions and exemptions; they will have to put the compulsory clauses in force where necessary; and they will also have the granting of certificates for good attendance. . . . There is one power, hitherto in many parts of the country in the hands of the local committees, which we propose to put into the hands of the Boards, and that is the appointment and dismissal of teachers.

It is proposed that the committees should recommend the teachers, but that they should not have the ultimate power of appointing or dismissing them."

Such, then, were the leading principles of this all important Bill.

The struggle for denominational grants centred round the amendment of Mr. Curtis (Nelson), and that for free education, round the proposed capitation rate. Mr. Curtis's amendment ran as follows:—

"Whenever any twenty-five or more householders in any education district shall signify in writing to the Education Board of such district their desire to be constituted into a separate body for educational purposes, it shall be the duty of the Board to convene a meeting of such householders for the election of a school committee in the manner provided in Part III of this Act, and it shall be lawful for the Board to grant the Committee so elected such aid in books, school apparatus, and money as the Board should think expedient or at the option of the committee such aid may be granted in money only, exclusive of the value of such books and school apparatus as would otherwise be supplied by the Board; provided always that every such committee shall provide a school house or school houses to the satisfaction of the Board, and shall appoint and pay the teacher or teachers of such school or schools, every such teacher having first obtained a certificate of competency as provided in section 44 of this Act: Provided also that all books used in any such school shall be approved by the Board; and that, in every respect wherein no special exception is made in this section every such school shall be a public school under this Act, and subject to the provisions which this Act makes for the conduct, management, and the inspection of public schools; and that every such school shall be open to all children between the ages of five and fifteen years without fee or payment of any kind."

Amongst the Catholic members, Mr. Sheehan alone opposed this clause, thereby bringing himself into severe disfavour with his co-religionists. The arguments against the clause were succinctly stated by Mr. W. Montgomery, the member for Akaroa, as follows:—

"With respect to the clauses proposed by the Honourable member for Nelson city (Mr. Curtis) I have read them

through very carefully, but I must say I cannot support them. I am perfectly well aware that Catholic schools in the district from which I come have been conducted as well as, or better than, other denominational schools; but the Board of which I am a member found, after due consideration, that it was quite impossible to make any difference between one denomination and another. . . . It is not only Catholic schools that would, by such a measure as the amendment of the Honourable member for Nelson be brought into existence; there would also be a number of Church of England schools and other denominational schools. If assistance be given to one denominational school you must of necessity give it to others; so it would go on until we had a large number of small schools, which it would be impossible to work efficiently and economically. Some of our schools cost £7 a head and some about £2 12s., and, if you can by massing children economise expenditure to the extent of £4 or £5 a head, I say it would be folly to encourage a system under which a large number of small schools would spring up. But there is another aspect in which the matter may be looked at. If you have a large number of children in a school you are able to form classes, to economise teaching power, and more efficiently to instruct the whole of the children. I am quite sure that if this amendment were passed it would call into existence a number of small schools belonging to all denominations, and we should immediately revert to the old system which we have gradually, and with as little pain as possible to those who believe in religious instruction, done away with."

The House rejected the amendment by 41 votes to 28 (including pairs). The capitation rate was equally emphatically struck out, and the Government left to provide money for the local committees in some other way. One of the Otago members, however, protested against making schooling "a matter of public gratuity";* while another, in the Legislative Council, said that the people of Otago "would be ashamed to accept any *charitable system of education!*"

In the Council the Nelson Amendment met with a better reception, being in fact passed by 13 votes to 12; but upon a point of order being raised as to the Council's right to amend what was in reality an appropriation clause, it was agreed not

* *Hansard*, Vol. XXVII, p. 250.

to adhere to the amendment; and the whole clause was struck out, obviously with the intention of giving the Lower House an opportunity to reconsider at least the capitation rate.

Having thus disposed of the denominational system and pushed the principle of free education to its logical extreme, the House of Representatives next attacked the religious clauses of the Bill. Here, too, with equal emphasis, although with a different division list, they cut out even the very mention of religion from the Bill, rejecting alike the Government's proposals for Bible reading and the Lord's Prayer, and those of the Legislative Council for the recitation of the Lord's Prayer alone, and the giving of religious instruction out of school hours along the lines of the system in force in Canterbury. Indeed, six members, including the able and energetic Mr. Stout, went so far as to oppose even the inclusion of history in the ordinary curriculum, and a conscience clause was inserted to the effect that "no child shall be compelled to be present at the teaching of history whose parents or guardians object thereto," with the result that right down to comparatively recent times history was treated throughout New Zealand as a minor subject to which very little attention need be paid!

The loophole by means of which the people of Nelson subsequently drove the coach and four of religious instruction through this secular Act was found, by another of Puck's tricks, in the very sub-sections which so rigorously excluded from the Act even the very mention of religion.

"Clause 84, sub-section 2. 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 the afternoon shall be consecutive, and *the teaching shall be entirely of a secular character.*"

"Subsection 3. The school buildings may be used on days and at hours other than those used for public school purposes upon such terms as the committee may from time to time prescribe."

Under these provisions the practice arose through Nelson generally and in other places less generally of fixing the commencement of the morning session at 9.30 for "public school purposes," and granting the "use of the school buildings" for non-sectarian religious instruction, with a conscience clause, from 9 to 9.30. This gave the Churches an excellent opportunity for conducting Bible reading and prayers, and it is to their lasting discredit that they did not show the sincerity of their protestation by making more general use of it. In places where this practice was not permitted by the committees, the schools opened at 9 a.m. for ordinary school work instead.

Having thus provided that education should be free and secular with a vengeance, let us see how far our legislative iconoclasts were prepared to go in compelling attendance at the schools. By abolishing the capitation rate they abolished that indirect compulsion which was one of the main reasons for its imposition. They also robbed the good attendance certificates of their pecuniary reward in the remission of the said "fees," as Mr. Bowen somewhat inconsistently and with unintentional frankness had called them; and so rendered them comparatively futile as a means of "filling the schools." Did they then strengthen the third, and last, proposal of the Government and so make the Act, not only genuinely free and secular, but also genuinely compulsory?

"Clause 89. Subject to the provisions of this Act, the parent or guardian of every child not less than seven nor more than thirteen years of age shall . . . send such child to school for at least one half of the period in each year during which the school is usually open."

Then follow a number of grounds of exemption, namely, efficient or regular instruction otherwise than at a public school, residence beyond two miles from school, impassable roads, sickness or other unavoidable cause, an inspector's certificate "that such child has reached a standard of education prescribed by any regulations under this Act." Upon the committee "ascertaining" that any child, not entitled to exemption, was absent for more than half the year in each year, a notice might be sent "calling upon" the parent to send the child to school. Should this fail, the offending parent might then be summoned before two Justices of the Peace, who might "order" him to send the child to school. If this did not bring the child, a fine of forty shillings per week might be imposed, fresh proceedings to be taken from week to week so long as the order remained unfulfilled. But, as if these clauses in themselves were not obviously impracticable enough, it was naively ordained that the co-called compulsory clauses of the Act should not be compulsorily compulsory at all, but should "only come into force in any school district upon the vote of a majority of the committee of such district!"

Free? Yes! Secular? Yes, but with a loophole which the ministers were unwilling, except in Nelson, to use. Compulsory? No! Or if yes, then in shadow, but not in substance. National? Let us see. All New Zealand, except Otago, favoured a system of free education. Sectarian strife, the bugbear of all the Provincial systems, except that of Nelson, made it ultra-secular. But when what may properly be called the

"national" clauses were reached the provincialists arose *en masse* to smite the Government's proposals, and strange to say the Government itself yielded to the clamour, and accepted without any serious stand the gravest mutilation suffered by the Bill.

"Clause 7. The Governor may from time to time appoint and remove a secretary to the Department of Education and such inspectors of schools, clerks, and other officers as may be deemed necessary."

"Question put, 'that the word inspector be inserted in lieu of the word inspectors' "

upon which a division was called for with the following result: Ayes, 40; Noes, 17; majority for, 23.

Strange that the omission of one little "s" could effect so radical a change! Clause 8 was amended, as we have stated, by the excision of the Government's proposals for the collection of local capitation rates, so that the whole expense should fall upon the Government. The Nation might pay the piper, but the Provincial districts by controlling the inspectorate, would call the tune! For in conjunction with the amended Clause 7 must now be read the following Clause 30, the presence of the plural "inspectors" in which derives its full and ominous significance entirely from its elimination from the former.

"Clause 30.—Every Board may from time to time appoint and remove a Secretary and Inspectors and such other officers as may be thought necessary."

From Clause 100.—"The Governor in Council may . . . make, alter, and repeal regulations," the following items were excised:—

"(a) For the apportionment and administration of all moneys granted by the General Assembly for purposes of public education.

"(b) For the inspection of schools, and for defining the duties and powers of Inspectors of Schools."

Had these two powers been left with the Central Department, New Zealand would not have had to wait until well into the twentieth century for a genuinely national system of public education, with a national inspectorate, a national grading scheme and salary scale for teachers,* and a national scale of staffing for the schools.

* A Colonial Scale of Staffs and Salaries, based upon average attendance, was provided by the *Teachers' Salaries Act, 1901*, and first came into operation in the following year. The Inspectors were transferred from the control of the local Education Boards to that of the Central Department by the *Education Act, 1914*. The first Dominion Teachers' Graded List was published in a special *Government Gazette* in

It is worthy of record that both Mr. Stout and Sir George Grey made earnest and far-seeing protests against this abolition of the Central Inspectorate.

"I quite agree," said Sir George, "with the honourable member for Dunedin City (Mr. Stout) that if the Inspectors were placed under the immediate control of the Minister of Education a very great change would have taken place in the system. In fact, if that had been done, I think we could very soon have got the Education Boards much more numerous and an altogether new system instituted. . . . If you had Inspectors who were under the immediate control of the Minister of Education those Inspectors would be aware of all the improvements which are taking place in educational establishments in various parts of the world, and they would see that such improvements were introduced into this Colony. They would, when visiting the different parts of the Colony, have seen where improvements could be made. But, by limiting your Inspectors to certain small districts, you will prevent them from carrying out the various improvements which are from time to time taking place in other parts of the world."

Thus the great Education Act of 1877, although it brought to an end the Provincial Systems, embodied features which, under local educational administration, gave a prolonged lease of life to many of the evils which it set out to abolish. As a national, compulsory system of free education it was but a beginning—a starting-place for fresh agitation and endeavour.

The remainder of the Act, a conspectus of which will be found in Appendix C of the present work,* presents little difficulty. Power was given to the Boards to establish scholarships, school libraries, and district high schools, the last two of which had been conspicuous features of the Otago education system. In the case of the school libraries, the £ for £ principle was incorporated as the basis of the Board's subsidy, and the meaning of the word "library" extended so as to include "all works of art, scientific apparatus, and specimens of natural history for the formation of museums." The school curriculum was defined, and it was provided that all class-books should be approved by the Governor-in-Council. Military drill and physical training

1916. It was not, however, until 1922 that a clause was inserted in the Education Act by which the local Boards were required, except in certain cases, to base the appointment of teachers in accordance with their position on the graded list.

* See page 335.

were enjoined, and it was solemnly enacted that "whenever practicable there shall be attached to each school *a playground of at least a quarter of an acre.*" Teachers were permitted to conduct evening schools for pupils over 13 years and to charge fees thereat; and in order to meet the needs of outlying districts Boards were empowered either to appoint itinerant teachers or to assist schools started by private enterprise, provided they conformed to the secular principles of the Act.

It is interesting, in the light of later educational developments, to note the following additional criticisms and suggestions offered during the course of the debate upon matters which have since been the subjects of educational legislation.

Mr. E. Wakefield (Geraldine) pointed out the inequalities of the system of electing the Boards by Local Committees. "It seems to me," he said, "that the committee representing the largest school in the educational district, though it numbers 1,000 children, is to have no greater representation on the Board than one numbering 17." The cumbersome method of cumulative voting at these elections was the work of the Legislative Council. This was one of the first matters in respect of which the Act was, in later years, amended.

Mr. C. A. de Lautour (Mt. Ida) protested against the total omission from the system of any form of technical training.

"I think it is nothing short of a national misfortune," he said, "that in a Bill purporting to be the first Bill providing an education system for the Colony there is not a single word to be found about industrial education. If anything is to lift this Colony to a position of greatness, if anything is to keep us as a people on a parallel with the progress of nations in the Old World, it would be the adoption of a form of industrial education which has nearly been brought to a state of perfection in parts of Europe and America."

The recent establishment and rapid development of the New Zealand Technical Schools is but a belated recognition of the honourable member's contention.

Mr. S. Hodgkinson (Riverton) said:—

"There is one omission in the Bill which I think ought to be supplied. I cannot find that there is any provision for giving pensions to old teachers. I think that a teacher who has passed, perhaps, 30 or 40 years of his life as a full teacher with a very small salary should have a sort of retiring pension to live on in his old age, and I know that this is very much desired by the teachers themselves."

Alas! Before this reform was enacted many a poor old teacher was compelled by stern necessity to stick at his work long past the time when he should in the interests of the children, if for no other reason, have been able to give way to a younger man!

Mr. Robert Stout thought that "the greatest blot on the Bill" was its failure to provide for secondary as well as primary education. In this he was strongly supported by Mr. Wm. Fox and Sir George Grey, the former of whom said:—

"Although we have our University, such as it is, and our Colleges, such as they are, in the various Provinces, still we do want that intermediate step which . . . would make primary education practically complete: a system of secondary schools such as that carried out in the United States, in Scotland, and . . . in Prussia."

As far as the Education Department was concerned, it was not until the introduction of the "free place" system in 1904 that this obligation was fully recognised by the State.

It only remains to add that the *Education Reserves Act, 1877*, embodying provisions at first included in the principal act itself, vested in the new Boards all existing reserves of which one-fourth was to be devoted to secondary and the remainder to primary education. In order to provide for the needs of the North Island, it was decided that five per cent. of all waste lands thenceforth alienated from the Crown or by the natives in that Island, should be reserved for educational purposes upon the same conditions as in the South; that is to say,—

"the amount of revenue derived from them will, in each district, be deducted from the amount of subsidy it has to receive from the Government. Before very long, we hope that a very large revenue will be derived not only in the South, but in the North, from these educational reserves, and that they will relieve the ordinary revenue of a large part of the amount required for educational purposes."*

"The Education Act of 1877," said Rusden, writing in 1894, "has received adoration"; and, in consequence, 'hands off the Education Act' became a watchword of all political parties in New Zealand for more than a quarter of a century. Indeed, in all its vital principles the great Act still remains the keystone of our national system of education—a system still free, still secular, still compulsory, and, notwithstanding the notable development of the powers and responsibilities of the

* Hon. C. C. Bowen, *Hansard*, Vol. XXIV, p. 34.

Central Department during the past 25 years, still strongly decentralised. Perhaps, therefore, no more fitting conclusion can be offered to this investigation into the history of its origins and its establishment than an extract from a presidential address delivered in 1894 to the North Canterbury Educational Institute by the author of the Bill himself—Sir Charles Bowen, to whom numerous tributes have frequently been paid, both inside and outside Parliament, not only for the commendable form in which the Bill was introduced but also for the great patience, tact, and ability with which it was piloted through the House of Representatives amidst all the conflicting interests that imperilled its stormy passage:—

“The New Zealand system of primary education was initiated more than 16 years ago, on the abolition of Provincial institutions. At that time no adequate provision had been made in a large part of New Zealand, notably in the northern Provinces, for primary instruction; not for want of will, but for want of funds. In the Provinces of Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago great efforts had been made and good systems established. . . . But for a long time there had been sore need for a national system, and previous attempts had been made to induce the General Assembly to face the question, notably by the late Sir William Fox, but in vain. I remember in 1877 that gentleman telling us that he would do all in his power to help to get the Education Bill through the House, but he did not think we should succeed as local and provincial and religious jealousies were too strong. However, the common sense and public spirit of the Parliament at that time overcame local and personal preferences to secure the one great object—that the key of knowledge should be put within the reach of every child in New Zealand. Perhaps no one engaged in the arduous struggle to effect this object was quite satisfied with the shape in which the Education Act came out of the ordeal of Committee; but we all felt thankful that the Bill had become law; and we deprecated serious amendments which might imperil it, until the habit and necessity of a national system of primary instruction had grown into the minds and hearts of the people. To me it is a constant source of pleasure to see in every part of New Zealand, whether it be a populous centre or an isolated country district, children trooping to well-built schools, in the prosperity and success of which householders take the keenest interest.

And I hope that no present inconvenience or annoyance that may occasionally arise from local blunders will ever induce the country to give up the local Boards and Committees, which were intended to protect the schools from the deadening influence of centralisation. Remember that the blunders of a central office are more deadly and far-reaching in their effects, and far less easily rectified than the most stupid blunder of the most inefficient Committee. Committees will become more and more educated to the level of their duties, but the more intelligent a central office is, the greater is its tendency to usurpation; and the central office, with an absolute power of the purse, would very soon reduce the Committees to mere nonentities without the intervention of the Education Boards, which represent, and are influenced by, public opinion in a larger sense than the Committees, and whose discussion of important questions from different points of view tends to keep alive public interest, and to preserve our system from a dead level of uniformity."

APPENDIX A.

1. *The Education Ordinance*, 1847.
2. Rules and Regulations for Schools established thereunder.
3. Leading Article thereon published in *The Southern Cross*, Auckland, June 10th, 1848.
4. Proceedings taken in the Legislative Council of New Munster relative thereto.

APPENDIX A-1.

An Ordinance for Promoting the Education of Youth in the Colony of New Zealand (7th October, 1847).

- Preamble.** WHEREAS it is fitting that provision be made for promoting the education of youth in the Colony of New Zealand. Be it enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:—
- Schools to be supported by public funds.** 1. It shall be lawful for the Governor for the time being, with the advice of the Executive Council, out of the public funds of the Colony to establish and maintain schools for the education of youth, and to contribute towards the support of schools otherwise established, as he shall from time to time see occasion.
- And to be subject to inspection.** 2. Every such school shall be subject to inspection in manner hereinafter provided.
- Nature of the education to be given.** 3. In every school to be established or supported by public funds under the provisions of this Ordinance, religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language shall form a necessary part of the system to be pursued therein; but in order to provide for the instruction of the children of parents dissenting from the religious doctrines to be taught in any such school, such children as shall attend the same as day-scholars only may, upon application to be made in that behalf by their parents or guardians, be taught therein without being instructed in the doctrines of religion.
- General Superintendence.** 4. Every such school shall be placed under the superintendence and management of such one of the persons named or referred to in the Schedule hereunto annexed as the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, shall in the case of each such school especially direct.
- Appointment of teachers.** 5. The teachers of every such school shall be appointed by the person under whose superintendence and management the same shall respectively be placed as aforesaid and shall be removable by him at pleasure.
- Schools to be inspected yearly.** 6. In order to secure the efficiency of schools to be supported by public funds, every such school shall be inspected once at least in every year by an Inspector or Inspectors to be for that purpose appointed by His Excellency the Governor.
- And report to be made.** 7. As soon as conveniently may be after the inspection of any such schools, such Inspector or Inspectors shall make a report in writing to the Governor for the time being, setting forth the name or description of such school, the number of children educated therein, the funds out of which the same may be supported and the amount thereof respectively, the salaries paid to the teachers thereof, and the

yearly cost incurred for the support and education of each pupil maintained therein, and shall also report upon the discipline and management of the school, the nature and extent of the industrial instruction pursued therein, the attainments of the children, and the state of the school generally as regards its efficiency.

8. As soon as the several schools which may be supported under the provisions of this Ordinance shall have been inspected as aforesaid, the whole of the reports relating thereto shall be together laid before the Colonial Legislature if the said Legislature shall be then in session, and if not then within one calendar month next after the commencement of the then next ensuing session.

All the reports to be published at the same time.

9. Provided always and be it further enacted, That the whole amount of the sums to be advanced under the authority of this Ordinance in any one year shall not exceed one twentieth part of the estimated revenue of the Colony or Province as the case may be for such year.

Amount of aid from public funds how limited.

10. In the construction of this Ordinance the word "Governor" shall be taken to mean the Lieutenant-Governor or the Officer Administering the Government of the Colony for the time being.

Interpretation.

Schedule.

The Bishop of New Zealand.

The Bishop or other the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the Colony of New Zealand.

The Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission.

The Head or Minister of any other Religious Body who shall have engaged in the education of youth in the Colony of New Zealand.

APPENDIX A-2.

EDUCATION ORDINANCE, 1847.

RULES AND REGULATIONS for Schools in connection with the Northern Division of the Educational Board (Church of England).

Published by authority in *The Maori Messenger* (Ko Te Karere Maori), Auckland, November 17th, 1853:—

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

According to the provisions of the Governor's letter, all schools which received any portion of the Government grant, should be conducted upon the principles of a religious education, industrial training, and instruction in the English language.

CENTRAL SCHOOLS.

(1) No school shall be deemed a Central School within the meaning of the Governor's letter which shall not have been designated for that principle by the Board.

(2) No school shall be designated as a Central School unless persons of the Native Race be Boarded therein, and trained to be teachers of Primary Schools.

(3) The following have already been designated as Central Schools:—

St. Stephen's, Taurarua.

Kohanga (the Rev. R. Maunsell's).

Tukupoto (the Rev. B. Y. Ashwell's).

Turanga (the Ven. Archdeacon Wm. Williams').

PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

(1) No school shall be deemed a Primary School within the meaning of the Governor's letter which shall not have been designated for that purpose by the Board.

(2) Every Primary School shall be regarded as Subordinate to some Central School, or to the Education Board of this Division, and it shall be the general rule that the most promising candidates from the Primary Schools shall have the option afforded them of being received into the Central Schools of this District.

(3) It is not considered essential to a Primary School that the children shall be boarded therein.

REGULATIONS FOR ADMISSION.

(1) The primary object in all schools in connection with the Board must be the education of the native race of New Zealand.

(2) Subject to the above principles—destitute children of all classes—whether of European or half-caste race, or from other islands of the Pacific Ocean may be received into these schools in such numbers and upon such conditions as the Board may direct in each case.

(3) No illegitimate children to be admitted without special consent.

(4) No children of the English or half-caste race can be admitted into any school in connection with the Board upon any conditions or stipulations with the parents or relations which may in any way interfere with the interests of the *Native* (sic) branch of the Institution.

APPENDIX A-3.

LEADING ARTICLE ON EDUCATION published in *The Southern Cross*,
Auckland, June 10th, 1848.

“ . . . The Education Bill, passed during the last Session of Council, is in many respects ill-adapted to the circumstances of this Colony. It purports to be a measure of general application, but in point of fact it is of a strictly partial character. Indeed, when some of the principles which it embodies were opposed by a large and respectable portion of the community, His Excellency the Governor admitted that it was chiefly designed for the natives, although its title does not imply the distinction. It is, however, a fact which cannot be controverted, and one which our rules can hardly have overlooked, that no system of education can work well in this Colony which proposes to combine in one plan the education of children of both European and native races. The principle of amalgamation is attractive in theory, . . . but it is absurd to imagine that

European parents would at present send their children to the same school with natives. . . . A system of education, to be generally effective, must embrace two distinct features. The European and native youth cannot be educated together.

"But this is not the only or even the most weighty objection against the existing system. According to the present mode, the funds, which, if properly applied, would be amply sufficient to found good schools for both natives and Europeans, are frittered away and rendered comparatively unproductive by being divided amongst different sects. For not only are separate teachers required, but likewise separate buildings—the money sunk in which is *absolutely wasted* (*sic*). A portion is given to the Anglicans, a second to the Roman Catholics, a third to the Wesleyans, and thus what as a whole would be sufficient for the establishment and maintenance of one effective school for each race is by this system of subdivision utterly inadequate to the purpose for which it is intended. . . .

"It is highly desirable that the Government should establish, by the undivided application of the entire Education Fund, effective schools for both races, and that they should be conducted upon principles wholly independent of and unconnected with differences of religion; the religious instruction imparted by the master of the school to be confined to those great principles of practical Christianity which are generally received and admitted by all religious sects, however different their views on other doctrinal matters, and a special time to be set apart for the particular instruction of the children by their pastors, according to their respective forms of worship and belief."

The article then goes on to recommend the system of education in use in New South Wales, and reprints the following extracts from the Regulations then in force in that Colony:—

Attendance and Religious Instruction.

"As to the governing of schools with respect to attendance and religious instruction:

"(1) The ordinary school business, during which all children of whatever denomination they may be are required to attend, is to embrace a competent number of hours each day, according to the instructions which the committee will give to the master and inspectors.

"(2) On one day (or part) right of entry is permitted for clergy for denominational teaching."

Miscellaneous.

"(1) It is the earnest wish of the Government and of the Commissioners that the clergy and laity of the different religious denominations in the Colony should co-operate with one another in conducting national schools.

"(2) When any school is received by the Commissioner into connection with them, the inscription 'National School' and no other shall be put up conspicuously on the school-house.

"(3) The Board requires that no use shall be made of their school-houses tending to contention. . . . Such use . . . being a violation of the principles of the national education system, will be regarded by the Commissioners as a sufficient reason for dismissing the master or masters and withdrawing their confidence from the local patrons.

"(4) The Commissioners will require that the principles of the following lesson be strictly inculcated in all schools admitted into connection with them, and that a printed copy of the lesson itself, to be furnished by them, shall be hung up in each school:—

"‘Christians should endeavour, as the Apostle Paul commands them, to live peaceably with all men (Rom. xii, 18).

"‘Our Saviour Christ commanded his disciples to love one another. He taught them to love even their enemies, to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them. He himself prayed for his murderers.

"‘Many men hold erroneous doctrines, but we ought not to hate or persecute them. We ought to seek for the truth and to hold fast what we are convinced is the truth; but not to treat harshly those who are in error. Our Saviour did not intend his religion to be forced on men by violent means. He would not allow His disciples to fight for him.

"‘If any persons treat us unkindly, we must not do the same to them, for Christ and His Apostles have taught us not to return evil for evil. If we would obey Christ we must do to others not as they do to us, but as we should wish them to do to us.

"‘Quarrelling with our neighbours, and abusing them, is not the way to convince them that we are in the right and they in the wrong; it is more likely to convince them that we have not a Christian spirit.

"‘We ought to show ourselves followers of Christ, Who, when He was reviled, reviled not again (1 Peter ii, 23).’"

The article then continues:—

"Can any system be more likely to succeed than one based upon the principles here embodied? We would then have a thoroughly efficient school, at which children of all religious denominations would be instructed without distinction in the various branches of useful knowledge, without any obstacle to their more particular and especial instruction by the pastors and teachers of the respective denominations to which they belong. Most certainly this is better than frittering away the Education Fund by bestowing it in independent grants upon different religious bodies, to be employed in forming schools which, from the very nature of the thing, cannot but be—not professedly but advisedly—exclusive. . . .

"Here the Government would provide the whole fund, which is collected from all classes; and every class, and even every individual, has a right to demand his share of the Education Fund, and the only way in which the Government can discharge their duty is by endowing one good school, where education is furnished to all, free from such sectarianism as could be reasonably objected to. . . . But under the present system the money will all be spent and we shall not have one school worthy of the name.

"We have now abundance of means, yet we have no schools, and our youth are left to grow up in ignorance. It is the Government alone who are to blame, as they have the funds and do not apply them; and however desirous parents may be to obtain instruction for their children, they cannot create the necessary schools for the purpose.

". . . Nor ought we to forget that our best settlers no sooner find themselves in independent circumstances than they consider it necessary to leave the Colony for the sole purpose of obtaining that education for their children which the Government, now possessing the means, ought to provide for them here."

APPENDIX A-4.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW MUNSTER.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, and Action taken thereon.—
From the *New Zealand Government Gazette* (New Munster),
June 11th to June 22nd, 1849.

June 11th.—Report of Committee on Education and Motion for
Adoption by Hon. H. Seymour, Chairman:—

It is now generally acknowledged that it is no less the duty of Government to provide instruction for every member of society in the nature and extent of his obligations to it, than to impose penalties upon him for their infraction; and the measures which have resulted from this conviction, and the great education movement which has in consequence taken foot not only in the Mother Country but elsewhere, would in our opinion leave the authorities of this Province without excuse, if they hesitated to profit by the information which has been accumulated, or to follow the example which has been set before them. . . . The care of various religious bodies and the meritorious endeavours of some private individuals have not left this feeling altogether unsatisfied. But, although the good effects of their exertions are sufficiently apparent, they are inadequate to perform all that is required, or to give that amount of education, either as regards the numbers benefited or the amount of instruction conveyed, which alone could justify the Government in still leaving this great question to the promptings of religious zeal or private benevolence. . . . Your Committee, with one exception, have been unanimous in the opinion that it should be made imperative upon the community to provide the means of education for all; and they suggest in their resolutions a plan for this purpose. . . .

RESOLUTIONS OF COMMITTEE.

(1) That it is the duty of every Government to see that its subjects are provided with the means of education;

(2) That the means of education at present in existence in this Province are inadequate to the requirements of the population;

(3) That the *Education Ordinance* considered with reference to the European population requires amendment, inasmuch as no provision is made in it for affording instruction excepting through the heads of certain religious denominations;

(4) That one half of the sum to be voted or applied out of the general revenue for the purpose of education shall be set apart for the exclusive benefit of the Maori population, and the other moiety shall be distributed by the Lieutenant-Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, among the settlements of the Province according to their population;

(5) That the means of establishing a general system of education should be furnished by the people, assisted by Government;

(6) That in order to provide such means, it is desirable to divide the settlements of the Province into school districts of convenient size, and that an education rate of not less than 20s. (twenty shillings) should be levied upon every householder in each district, numbering not fewer than 29 householders;

(7) That such rate should be collected and appropriated by the means of school committees, which committees shall be appointed by the rate-payers, each committee to consist of not less than three or more than five members in each district;

(8) That the several district committees of each settlement shall appoint a Board of Education consisting of four members exclusive of the chief officer of the Government, who shall be Chairman of the Board *ex officio*, with power to appoint a substitute;

(9) That every such Board shall be empowered to apportion the funds appropriated by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Executive Council to each settlement among the different school districts, according to their several requirements; and also to give effect to the provision of an Ordinance to be enacted during the present sitting of Council embodying these resolutions;

(10) That every such Board shall make an annual report, showing the amount of moneys raised in and apportioned to each district, the mode in which it has been expended, the number of schools and scholars in every district, and the general efficiency of each school in carrying out the objects of the Ordinance aforesaid;

(11) That the education to be given in the district schools shall not include instruction in the peculiar or distinguishing doctrines of any denomination of Christianity;

(12) That every parent or guardian residing within three miles of any district school shall be subject to a penalty of £ (left vacant) for every child between the age of six years and ten years for not attending the school for six months at the least in every year, unless it shall be shown to the satisfaction of the district committee that such child or children are otherwise properly educated, or that non-attendance has been unavoidable;

(13) That it is desirable that teachers educated in normal schools be procured from England to assist in the establishment of a system of education in accordance with the principles declared in the foregoing resolutions;

(14) That the committee recommend that the Council should therefore put itself into communication with the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, in order to the adoption of the steps necessary to the introduction of such properly qualified teachers;

(15) That His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be requested to introduce a bill embodying the principles contained in these resolutions.

The Report was adopted.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

June 12th.—His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor's reply to the resolution of the Committee on Education . . . :—

First: That a law is already in existence for the purpose of promoting education, that this law extends to the whole Colony, and that it was framed and passed by a Legislature acting for the whole of New Zealand. Without, therefore, attaching any undue degree of perfection to the Ordinance to which I refer, I think we ought not lightly or hastily to reverse any law of which the efficiency or its suitability to the circumstances of the Colony has not been tested or found defective, and I cannot forget that the *Education Ordinance*, Session 8, No. 10, has only been in existence for about a year and a half, and that there has been, as far as I am aware, only one appropriation under it at Auckland, and that it

has never yet been acted under in New Munster since the separation of the Colony into two Provinces, because when the time came for carrying the law into effect the Executive Council of the Province declined to recommend any appropriation being made in accordance with its provisions. . . .

Secondly: . . . In their third resolution the Committee expresses an opinion that the present *Education Ordinance*, considered with reference to the European population, requires amendment, but then subsequent resolutions recommend the substitution of a different and totally opposite system from that embodied in the Ordinance. Where changes so great are proposed on a subject of such general interest and of such vital importance to the future welfare of the whole community, and more especially when that subject is one upon which great diversity of opinion is known to exist, I think it would hardly be right to legislate without giving the public an opportunity of expressing their opinion prior to this Council being called upon to alter the law. . . .

Thirdly: I look upon the question of education as one of those general subjects upon which it is desirable that a uniformity of legislation should exist throughout the whole Colony, and I think, therefore, that although not one of the points upon which the Provincial Councils are interdicted from legislating, it is one which would be more appropriately considered and decided upon by the General Legislature of New Zealand.

For the above reasons, and others which it is unnecessary for me to enter upon at present, I regret that I do not feel myself justified in acceding to the request of the Legislative Council to introduce a bill during the present Session embodying the principle contained in the reasons adopted by the Council. . . .

The principle of compulsory education involves—to Englishmen at least—so new and startling a departure from ordinary practice, that much consideration and many enquiries would be necessary before a Government would feel justified in proposing its adoption.

AMENDING BILL PROPOSED.

June 18th.—Mr. Seymour . . . presented a draft of a bill to amend the present *Education Ordinance* (by definitely allotting one half the annual Education appropriation exclusively for Maori and the other half for European education in accordance with resolution No. 4 above). His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor expressed his regret that as an Education Ordinance was already in existence he could only consent to a sum being placed on the Estimates to be applied in accordance with that Ordinance . . . and he did not consider himself justified in introducing a bill to alter the law during the present Session.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY'S MINUTE OF PROTEST.

Friday, June 22nd.—“The Colonial Secretary (Hon. Alfred Domett) laid on the table the following minute on the subject of Education, which, on the motion of the Attorney-General (Hon. H. W. Petre), seconded by Dr. Monro, that it be read, was read accordingly:—

“In exercise of the power given by the *Provincial Councils Ordinance*, I desire to enter on the minutes the following reasons for my opinion that an Ordinance on the subject of Education should be enacted this Session, in accordance with the recommendation of the Special Committee appointed to report thereupon.

"(1) I consider the system established by the present *Education Ordinance* objectionable, because it does not and cannot secure the greatest practicable diffusion of education.

"It will not be denied that in every community education *ought* (*sic*) to be universal. Where it is in the power of society to bestow it, every born child has a right to the means of developing its moral and intellectual nature, as well as its physical. . . .

"If want of means of any kind make the performance of this duty by the individual himself impracticable, then it is a duty society owes to the children to furnish such means. But if society does not voluntarily furnish them, then it is the duty of its government to provide them at the public expense. . . . To anticipate and prevent the growth of vice in the infant must be allowed to be better than only to attempt to check and restrain it in the full-grown man. Better and easier to destroy the saplings of vice than to clear away the forest. Better, wiser, and safer to neutralise in their inactive and embryonic state the evil agencies which, suffered to grow and gather, continually threaten to convulse and eventually disorganise society, than vainly to attempt to stifle them when mature and ready for explosion. The policy of educating for virtue is profounder than that of punishing for crime; the schoolmaster will one day be confessed a more powerful protector than the judge, and the wisely written though unpretending story-book a mightier instrument for good than the elaborate statute-book.

"But it is also undeniable that there has always been in every society, and in every probability there will always be, a considerable number of individuals who cannot themselves perform this duty—of providing their children with proper education—and of others who wilfully neglect it. And it is equally undeniable that the voluntary efforts, even of societies most praiseworthy in this particular, have always been (and there is every reason to suppose they will always be) inadequate to supply the means for the general performance of this duty.

"It is, then, the duty of the Government to provide education, where unavoidable circumstances prevent the parents, and society abstains, from providing it; and it is the right and duty, and wisest policy of Government to compel parents to give their children the benefit of such education when provided. There are, perhaps, more reasons why a Government should, by legislative enactment, compel parents to provide children destitute of it with moral than even, as ours has already done, with physical sustenance.

"But the education to be provided, to be compulsory, must of course be such as all parents alike may without violence to conscientious scruples be compelled to send their children to partake of.

"Now under the present system education cannot be made compulsory, because it can only be provided by Government, in association with such of the various sects of religionists as have an acknowledged head in the country. To say nothing of those which have not, it follows that particular schools for every sect must be provided, or parents of one sect must send their children to schools under the control of ministers of some other sect. It is true that the *Ordinance* provides that religious instruction need not be given to children of parents dissenting from the opinions of the sect superintending the school, if they attend as day scholars only. But, while there is a kind of toleration in this, which no sect or class of people ought in this country to be put by Government in a position to require, it does not at all obviate the difficulty. . . .

There are a thousand obvious ways in which an inclination and bias towards the particular sect controlling the school might be communicated to the children attending the school. . . .

"The only conceivable mode of avoiding these differences would be, as has been said, the establishment of a school in each district for every sect. But in rural districts and wherever the population is small and scattered, as in a new country must for a length of time be the case in many parts, and where the variety of religious belief is ordinarily as great as in more populous districts, this would be literally impracticable.

"The present system, therefore, does not admit of education being made compulsory. For much the same reasons it would preclude taxation for education, because the benefit produced by the tax would only be partial. Thus it prevents the adoption of two of the most effectual means for its diffusion.

"Again, were the last-named differences overcome, it would still preclude from Government aid all popular schools established by or under the control of laymen, however beneficial in their operation. In the settlement of Nelson, education for the children of the labouring classes has until very lately been almost entirely, and even now is mainly furnished in schools conducted on the principles of the British and Foreign Society. They have been very successful, and even the religious education given there has been approved of by the ministers of different religious bodies. These schools have been established and maintained for years by the exertions of private individuals, who would have greatly extended their operations had public aid been afforded them. But the *Education Ordinance* precludes this aid because they are under the control of no sect in particular. Anything more practically and grossly unjust cannot well be conceived. . . .

"(2) I object to this system because it requires the Government, and the members of it, to give their positive assent to the dissemination of opposite tenets and the encouragement of conflicting sects. . . .

"(3) I object to this system because I believe its tendency is adverse to the freedom of religious opinion and liberty of conscience at present existing. By placing the mighty machinery of education exclusively in the hands of ecclesiastics, it affords opportunities, whether likely to be laid hold or not, for the exercise of priestcraft, and the gradual renewal of the subjection of the human mind to its influence. . . .

"Perhaps it will be said that this system contains within itself a remedy for such an evil. By affording the aid of Government funds to all sects alike, in proportion to their numbers, it will be urged perhaps that it effectually provides for the maintenance of diversity and independence of opinion. But what a remedy! What an alleviation of the first evil consequence! By such a distribution of these funds—on which, indeed, its defence on some other points has been rested—by the patronage of each sect according to its strength, this system encourages dissension, and continually flings fresh fuel into the flames of sectarianism. It widens and deepens every breach already existing. It offers to every sect a premium upon every proselyte. It arrays them in open emulation all against each other. If it maintains independence for a time, it does it by fostering schism. Thus it attempts the remedy of an evil of the first magnitude by creating another only second to it, and provides an imperfect security against mental enthrallment in an effectual promotion of religious and even social disunion. . . .

"(4) I object to the present system because I do not think it is calculated to give to children religious education of the most suitable kind, nor such as, to be permanent, any system ought to give.

"For I think it may without presumption be asserted that Christianity—the embodiment of the idea of the highest attainable development of the soul of man, and of the mode of its attainment (by voluntary effort and involuntary and mostly sorrowful experience)—can hardly be expected to produce its full and destined effect in the amelioration of societies through that of the individuals composing them, until it be exhibited as such in its brightest and most attractive light. . . . The soundness of faith will then be tested by expansion of feeling, its sincerity and fervour by the conduct it inspires. It will be recognised in the habitual exercise of the Christian virtues in the performance of all ennobling, even though ordinary duties. No longer will it be much rested on the assent of the intellect to different propositions and subtle conclusions of the reasoning faculty, balanced on piled-up processes of argumentation; to any metaphysical theories, or to any systematised reductions of the infinite to the span of the finite.

"But if this practical realisation of Christianity be religion, and the teaching of it religious teaching, then it is undeniable that religious instruction may be given without sectarianism. . . .

"If, however, to the inculcation, as first above described, of the inspired morality of Christianity, in all its mysterious profundity, or to so much of it as suits the capacity of childhood—taught as an emanation from the ineffable God Himself, and invested with all the attributes of awe and authority conferred by its origin—be still refused by any hypercritical exactness of definition, the title of religious education, unless it be accompanied by concise theories of the moral universe, precepts confessedly above the reason, and proof of every kind addressed to the reasoning faculty, then I believe that the notion of *religious* (*sic*) education by the State must be abandoned, and that ultimately the only practicable system of national education will be found to be one already adopted by a considerable party of educationists in England, including many influential and some great names—that is, one entirely secular.

"But if the modified scheme recommended by the Committee, excluding only the clashing and conflicting tenets of sectarianism, be declared impracticable, then I am certain that the secular system just alluded to is the only practicable and satisfactory one, even for immediate adoption.

"(5) Lastly, I object to the postponement of the introduction of the proposed law, because I hold that the present Council is at least equal in authority, when its composition is considered, to that which passed the existing Ordinance; because the sooner any good system is introduced the better its chance of success; because the education of the natives was not proposed to be interfered with, but a vote of £500 recommended by the Committee for that especial purpose, to be applied, for obvious reasons, under the old Ordinance; because the Committee's report was adopted in Council by a majority of ten to two; because opinions on this subject must necessarily be founded on the experience of other countries and further delay is not required to obtain the results of that experience. . . .

"ALFRED DOMETT."

"We concur in the above.

"D. WAKEFIELD.

"D. MONRO.

"H. SEYMOUR."

APPENDIX B.

CONSPECTUS OF EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION DURING THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD:—

- 1.—NATIVE.
- 2.—AUCKLAND.
- 3.—WELLINGTON.
- 4.—NELSON.
- 5.—CANTERBURY.
- 6.—OTAGO.

APPENDIX B.

DATE OF STATUTE.	NATURE OF SYSTEM. Public, Denominational or Private.	FINANCIAL PROVISIONS.	CENTRAL AUTHORITY How Constituted.	LOCAL AUTHORITY. Its Powers	NEW SCHOOL DISTRICTS. How Established.
1847	State-aided denominational	Funds provided by annual Government appropriation, not to exceed one-twentieth part of the year's revenue	The Bishop and other religious "heads" of the three Mission- ary Churches (Anglican, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic) were constituted the sole authorities over the schools of their respec- tive denomina- tions	Individual schools were controlled by their teachers, subject to the supervision of the central organisation of the denomina- tion	The organisation of school districts rested with the denomina- tional authority. Each "district" was organised so as to contain one superior (central) boarding school and a number of primary day schools regarded as subordinate thereto.

N.B.—The system thus inaugurated was continued and elaborated under "The Native Schools Act, 1858," by which a maximum sum of £7,000 per annum was appropriated for seven years, of which under similar conditions 49 per cent. was allotted as the share of the Anglican, 32 per cent.

1867	Free Public. The denomina- tional system was abolished and both the Ordinance of 1847 and the Act of 1858 were repealed by "The Native Schools Act, 1867," but pro- vision was made for continuing State aid to denominational schools estab- lished and in receipt thereof at the time of the passing of the Act	A sum of £4,000 per annum was appropriated by the Act for a period of seven years	The administra- tion of the Act was placed in the hands of the Department of Native Affairs	Provision was made for the election of local Committees of Management by the adult native inhabitants of proclaimed school districts Such commit- tees had control of the district schools, subject to the oversight of the Depart- ment	The initiative rested with the natives of any district to organ- ise themselves into a committee and guarantee a propor- tion of the expenses incidental to the establishment and maintenance of the school desired. These requirements were considerably liberalised by an amending Act of 1871
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N.B.—A Free National System of Education was thus instituted for the Maoris ten years before the passing of "The Education Act, 1877," gave a similar boon to the English colonists. The

1.—NATIVE.

TEACHERS.		INSPECTION (if any).	PUPILS. How Admitted.	ATTENDANCE. To what extent Compulsory (if at all).	RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. Its Nature and Extent.
How Certificated.	How Appointed				
Teachers for the primary schools were trained in the "central" schools and the larger native training institutions, e.g., St. Stephen's, St. John's, and Three Kings College	By the Church authorities	The schools were subject to inspection by Inspectors (generally ministers of the denomination) gazetted as such	The schools were in general free. At the boarding (central) schools pupils were also boarded, clothed and fed at the Government expense	No provision	The Bible was the principal text-book of the schools, and religious education an essential feature of them

the Wesleyan, and 19 per cent. the Catholic Mission schools. This scheme was in full swing when the Taranaki-Waikato wars struck a blow at the whole system from which it never recovered.

By the Department of Native Affairs, through its Inspector of Schools	By Local Committees, subject to regulations issued by the Department	By Inspector of Schools	Free	No provision	The Act contained no reference to the question of religious instruction, which was in practice given in all the schools as a regular part of the work of the school
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Native School System continued to be administered by the Native Affairs Department until 1880, when it was entrusted to the State Education Department.

APPENDIX B.

DATE OF STATUTE.	NATURE OF SYSTEM. Public, Denominational or Private.	FINANCIAL PROVISIONS.	CENTRAL AUTHORITY. How Constituted.	LOCAL AUTHORITY. Its Powers.	NEW SCHOOL DISTRICTS. How Established
1857	Provincial Government denominational subsidy payable to "all well-conducted schools"; but system in fact almost wholly <i>denominational</i>	School maintained by fees, supplemented by Government grant up to half the teacher's salary in each school	Education Board appointed by Superintendent of Province to administer the Act and disburse subsidy	No provision for local committees; but the "promoters" of each school required to appoint a School Superintendent to receive and account for the grant paid to the school	Promoters of schools required to provide suitable building and furniture before application for Government aid entertained

N.B.—Good work was done under this system for ten years (1857-67), when, owing to financial embarrassment, the Act was repealed and replaced (1868-9) by the Common Schools Act, based chiefly on that of Otago. This provided for a "public" system of education, but proved ineffective

1872	Free Public. (System chiefly modelled upon that of Nelson, <i>q.v.</i>)	System of taxation similar to that of Nelson; the rates being considerably increased by amending Act of 1874	Education Board consisted of Superintendent Executive Council, plus non-political element nominated partly by Provincial Council and partly by Supreme Court Judge	Same as Nelson (<i>q.v.</i>)	Same as Nelson (<i>q.v.</i>)
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N.B.—Great activity was shown from 1872 onwards, and the enrolment at the public schools increased from 2,000 to 8,000 in four years. It is noteworthy that this Act was the first in New

2.—AUCKLAND.

TEACHERS.		INSPECTION (if any).	PUPILS. How Admitted.	ATTENDANCE. To what extent Compulsory (if at all).	RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. Its Nature and Extent.
How Certificated.	How Appointed				
All teachers re- quired to obtain certificate of Central Board	By pro- moters of schools on pro- duction of Board's certificate	Schools subject to inspection by officer of Central Board, except where approved "special inspec- tors" appointed by promoters of schools them- selves	Fees not to ex- ceed one shilling per week	No provision	As arranged by promoters of schools—i.e., denominational religious teach- ing an essential feature of the system

for want of finance to establish and maintain schools. It was during this period (1867-1872) that the educational facilities of the Auckland Province were so few and so poor that the question of Colonial action became urgent in the General Assembly.

By Education Board	By local commit- tees	By Board's Inspector	Free	Act contained "permissive compulsory" clauses (first in New Zealand), under which committees could compel all children 7-14 years of age to attend half- time. (In prac- tice <i>not</i> en- forced.)	Strictly secular ; religious instruc- tion in school hours expressly prohibited, but permitted in school buildings out of school hours to children whose parents desired it
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Zealand to enforce the strictly secular system and to give legislative authority for direct compulsion in respect of attendance.

APPENDIX B.

DATE OF STATUTE.	NATURE OF SYSTEM. Public, Denominational or Private.	FINANCIAL PROVISIONS.	CENTRAL AUTHORITY How Constituted.	LOCAL AUTHORITY. Its Powers.	NEW SCHOOL DISTRICTS. How Established.
1855 1857	An Education Act provided for public schools, but remained almost wholly inoperative except in a few country districts (e.g., Wanganui); and educational facilities were provided by unaided (chiefly) <i>private</i> schools	Authority was given to local committees to supplement fees and local subscriptions by striking a rate ; but of 18 public schools under the Act in 1862 only two were supported by a rate	None	Absolute control given to local District Committee	If locally desired, school districts might be "proclaimed" by the Superintendent and the Act made operative therein

N.B.—This system continued without material alteration for 16 years. Outlying districts organised schools under the Act, but in Wellington itself a large number of private schools and a

1871	Public. New Education Act modelled chiefly upon that of Nelson (<i>q.v.</i>). Wellington Church of England and Roman Catholic schools incorporated under compromise regarding staffing and religious instruction	Provision for Provincial rate and capitation fee ; but in 1874 all rates abolished and fees charged instead	Education Board as at Nelson (<i>q.v.</i>)	Local committees as at Nelson (<i>q.v.</i>)	Whole Province divided by the Act into ten school districts, with provision for formation of local committees, etc.
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N.B.—From 1871 to 1876 the development of public education was more rapid.

3.—WELLINGTON.

TEACHERS.		INSPECTION (if any).	PUPILS. How Admitted	ATTENDANCE. To what extent Compulsory (if at all)	RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. Its Nature and Extent.
How Certificated.	How Appointed				
No provision	By local committee. In the absence of any requirements as to certification many persons were appointed as teachers who possessed no real qualification whatever for the work	No provision until 1862	Varying fees up to one shilling per week	No provision	Act in its original form (1855) strictly secular, but amended (1857) to enable local committees to permit the reading of Scripture "without note or comment," with conscience clause. Right of entry of ministers expressly prohibited

few denominational schools supplied the needs of the citizens. This failure to organise public schools more generally was due to the Provincial Government's lack of finance.

By Education Board	By local committee	By Board's committee	1871—Free 1874—By fees	In 1873 an Education Commission strongly recommended compulsion, but it was deemed impracticable where fees were charged	Substantially the same as under the Act of 1857
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APPENDIX B.

DATE OF STATUTE.	NATURE OF SYSTEM. Public, Denominational or Private.	FINANCIAL PROVISIONS.	CENTRAL AUTHORITY. How Constituted.	LOCAL AUTHORITY. Its Powers.	NEW SCHOOL DISTRICTS. How Established
1856	Free Public. A system of public schools from the first, with provision (1857) for "separated" (Roman Catholic) schools. These schools were free and public, and were an integral part of the system. They were subject to the Central Board in respect of the secular instruction given therein	Funds raised by public taxation (rates), collected by the Superintendent and returned through the Central Education Board to the local committees. Where any body of ratepayers contributing £50 (later £25) provided at their own expense a suitable site, school, and furniture, they were entitled to establish a "separated" school, but within the system and subject to the usual inspection, and to receive towards its maintenance the amount of rates so paid	Central Board of Education consisted of one member of the Executive Council and one representative from each local committee. In practice all denominations were represented on the Board, including the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Nonconformist bodies : and the utmost harmony prevailed	Subject to general control of the Central Board, full power of local administration vested in the local committees ; if no local committee elected, power to Central Board to appoint one	Power given to Central Board to set up new districts ; also to provide for schools established outside any constituted district

N.B.—The above system, though amended later in respect of some of its machinery clauses, worked harmoniously and successfully throughout the whole of the Provincial period, i.e., for over 20 years. Most of the other Provinces, in revising their educational legislation from time

4.—NELSON.

TEACHERS.		INSPECTION (if any).	PUPILS. How Admitted.	ATTENDANCE. To what extent Compulsory (if at all).	RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. Its Nature and Extent.
How Certificated.	How Appointed				
By the Central Board	By the local commit- tees ; or in default of such, by the Cen- tral Board	By the Board's Inspector	Free to all chil- dren from the first	Indirect compul- sion exercised by means of general rate payable in respect of all children of school age living within three miles of a school, whether attending school or not, with a limit of 20/- per household in the case of large families	Power given to local committees to permit reli- gious instruction of "non-contro- versial" charac- ter, with con- science clause ; in "separated" schools distinc- tive religious teaching per- mitted, but with same conscience clause. In practice all schools gave religious in- struction under one or other of the above pro- visions

to time, copied clauses from the Nelson Act and the first Colonial Act of 1877 was to a large extent modelled thereon. But the ingenious and harmonious method of solving the difficult problem of religious education remained a feature peculiar to Nelson alone.

APPENDIX B.

DATE OF STATUTE.	NATURE OF SYSTEM. Public, Denominational or Private.	FINANCIAL PROVISIONS.	CENTRAL AUTHORITY. How Constituted.	LOCAL AUTHORITY. Its Powers.	NEW SCHOOL DISTRICTS. How Established.
1857	Wholly denominational	Schools main- tained by fees, supplemented by Provincial grant paid in a lump sum to the Bishop and other religious "heads," and by them allocated to the schools	The Bishop and other religious "heads" were constituted the sole authorities over the schools of their respec- tive denomina- tions	The Act con- tained no pro- vision for the establishment of local commit- tees	Matter entirely in the discretion of the "heads" of the deno- minations. In con- sequence, rival de- nominational schools were often established in the same district, while other equally populous centres were without schools at all
N.B.—In consequence of the Report of the Tancred Commission, new legislation was enacted (1863-4) making provision for the establishment of public schools and the institution of a Central					
1864	Public and denominational	Schools main- tained by fees, supplemented by a system of taxation (rates) based on the Otago system (<i>q.v.</i>) and en- forced	Board of Educa- tion modelled on that of Otago (<i>q.v.</i>)	Same as Otago for the public schools (<i>q.v.</i>). Denominational schools in re- ceipt of State aid still under Church control	Same as Otago for the public schools (<i>q.v.</i>)
1871	Free Public	Nelson system of taxation (<i>q.v.</i>) adopted (1871)			Power given to Cen- tral Board to form new school district as at Nelson (<i>q.v.</i>) (1871)
1873 1875	All grants to denominational schools with- drawn. System wholly public (1873)		Education Board abolished and Education placed under control of a Government Dept. (1875)		

N.B.—In no Province was education a more constant source of discord and political conflict, or of more frequent legislation, than in Canterbury. In the end, from being ultra-denominational

5.—CANTERBURY.

TEACHERS.		INSPECTION (if any).	PUPILS. How Admitted	ATTENDANCE. To what extent Compulsory (if at all)	RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. Its Nature and Extent.
How Certificated.	How Appointed				
No provision	By the religious "heads"	The Act provided for an Inspector to be appointed by the Superintendent and the Bishop in conjunction, but in fact no appointment was made	By varying fees	No provision	Distinctive denominational (i.e., doctrinal) religious teaching was the essential feature of the system

Board of Education. Existing denominational schools continued to receive Government subsidies, now allocated by the Board of Education, and for some years the two systems continued side by side.

By Education Board	In the public schools, by local committees; in the denominational schools as previously	All public and "aided" schools subject to Board's Inspector in respect of secular teaching	By fees	No provision	In public schools Bible-reading daily, at which attendance compulsory. Local committee empowered also to authorise religious instruction, and in such case attendance compulsory unless pupil shown to be in receipt of adequate religious instruction elsewhere. In denominational schools as previously
			Fees abolished; attendance free as at Nelson (q.v.) (1871)		In public schools Bible-reading only; no religious instruction by teachers, but right of entry given to clergy on stated days (1871)
					Bible-reading withdrawn; schools strictly secular—even "history" made subject to a conscience clause

the system became ultra-secular and departmental, and ultimately, both in its extent and its successful organisation, closely rivalled that of Otago.

APPENDIX B.

DATE OF STATUTE.	NATURE OF SYSTEM. Public, Denominational or Private.	FINANCIAL PROVISIONS.	CENTRAL AUTHORITY. How Constituted.	LOCAL AUTHORITY. Its Powers.	NEW SCHOOL DISTRICTS. How Established.
1856	Public, but ad- mission by fees	Schools main- tained by fees (collected by the teacher and im- puted <i>pro tanto</i> of salary), sup- plemented by Provincial grant through the Education Board to the local com- mittee. Pro- vision also made for a poll-tax on all males, but this tax met with general resist- ance and was abandoned	Board of Educa- tion consisted of the Superinten- dent, Executive Council, Rector of the "High School," and two representa- tives from each local committee	Subject to the general control of the Board, full power of local administra- tion was vested in the local com- mittees	Education Board convened meeting of local residents liable to be rated, without whose consent no action could be taken

N.B.—The severity of this system was relaxed in practice. Satisfactory teachers had the fees returned to them as a "bonus," supplementing their salaries of £100 per annum, and there is no record of any teacher having been dealt with under the clause relating to the teaching of false

1861 1864	Public. Admis- sion by fees, with provisions for exemption	Local commit- tees authorised to raise funds by levying a special rate on property. This tax also met with general re- sistance and was abandoned, the whole cost of education being met by fees plus the Government grant	Education Board consisted of Superintendent and Executive Council, without any representa- tives of the local committees. It became in effect a straight-out Government Department	Power given to the Board to appoint School Commissioners to manage any school left by the local residents without a com- mittee	As above
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N.B.—The Ordinance of 1864 continued unaltered throughout the remainder of the Provincial period, and under Mr. Hislop as Secretary, with ample funds to work on, the Otago Education

6.—OTAGO.

TEACHERS.		INSPECTION (if any).	PUPILS. How Admitted	ATTENDANCE. To what extent Compulsory (if at all)	RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION. Its Nature and Extent.
How Certificated.	How Appointed				
By a minister of religion and by the Board of Education (both)	By local committees	By the Board's Inspector	Varying fees, fixed by the Board of Education	No provision	Teachers required to give regular religious as well as secular instruction and to submit certificate of minister of religion as evidence of fitness to do so ; also subject to dismissal if proved guilty of teaching erroneous doctrines

doctrines. Upon the influx of gold-miners in the early 'sixties a new and more liberal ordinance was passed.

By the Board's Inspector only	As above	As above	Power given to local committees to remit fees in cases of poverty ; also special "free" schools opened in Dunedin for children of poor parents	As above	(1862) Daily Bible-reading together with religious instruction in "evangelical Protestant doctrines," with conscience clause (1864) Daily Bible-reading either at opening or at close of school, with conscience clause
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System came to be regarded as the model system of the Colony.

APPENDIX C.

CONSPECTUS OF NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION, 1877.

APPENDIX D.

THE PIONEER TEACHERS.

1. MISSION SETTLEMENTS.
2. PROVINCE OF AUCKLAND.
3. PROVINCE OF WELLINGTON.
4. PROVINCE OF HAWKE'S BAY.
5. PROVINCE OF TARANAKI.
6. PROVINCE OF NELSON, INCLUDING MARLBOROUGH.
7. PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY, INCLUDING WESTLAND.
8. PROVINCE OF OTAGO.
9. PROVINCE OF SOUTHLAND.

1.—MISSION SETTLEMENTS.

PIONEER MISSIONARIES AND TEACHERS.

A.—CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

1816.—Bay of Islands: Thomas Kendall (schoolmaster), Wm. Hall (ship-builder), John King (ropemaker); followed by Wm. Carlisle, —. Gordon, Francis Hall (schoolmasters), and the following missionaries and teachers—Revs. H. Williams, S. Williams, O. Hadfield, W. Colenso, B. Y. Ashwell, Dr. Maunsell, J. Morgan, Thos. Lanfead.

The *Blue Book* for 1842 records the existence of Church of England Schools at Paihio, Koro, Waimate, Keri-keri, Whangaroa, Kaitaia, Waipatu, Turanga, Wairoa; with a total enrolment of 6,763 scholars, of whom very many were adults. The teachers were natives trained by the missionaries and conducting the schools under their superintendence.

The *Blue Book* for 1851 gives the following return of Church of England stations in Auckland and amongst the Maoris:—

Tamaki: Bishop Selwyn, and Revs. J. F. Lloyd and C. J. Abraham.
St. Stephen's: Rev. G. A. Kissling.

Waikato (Kohanga): Rev. R. Maunsell and Mr. (later Rev.) C. Volkner.

Waikato (Otawhao): Rev. J. Morgan.

Waikato (Taupiri, Kaitotake): Rev. B. Y. and Mrs. Ashwell.

Other boarding schools for natives were conducted at Otaki by Rev. S. Williams (1847) and Rev. O. Hadfield (1854); and at Paeti, Rau-whitu, and Tamahere by native teachers.

B.—WESLEYAN.

1822.—Whangaroa: Rev. Samuel Leigh, assisted by Revs. N. Turner, J. Hobbs, Wm. White, and Mr. (later Rev.) J. Stack.

1827.—Whangaroa station sacked by Hongi's warriors and abandoned.

1827.—Hokianga (Mangungu): Mission re-established, and Rev. Wm. White appointed Superintendent.

1834.—In this year the ordained staff of the Wesleyan Mission consisted of Revs. Wm. White (Superintendent), N. Turner, J. Hobbs, J. Whiteley, Wm. Woon, and J. Wallis. These six missionaries had charge of 16 preaching places (Morley, *History of Methodism*, p. 64).

Morley, page 86, also gives the following list of Wesleyan Stations for 1840:—

Hokianga: Mangungu—J. H. Brumby; Newack—J. Hobbs; Horuru, etc.—W. Woon, G. Smales.

Waima: J. Warren.

Wairoa and Kaipara: J. Buller.

Waingarua and Waipa West: J. Wallis, T. Buddle.

Aotea: H. H. Turton.

Kawhia and Mokau: J. Whiteley, G. Buttle.

Taranaki and Kapiti: C. Creed.

Cloudy Bay and Port Nicholson: S. Ironside, J. Aldred.

Waikouaiti: J. Watkin.

The *Blue Book* for 1842 records Wesleyan Schools existing at Kawhia, Waipa, Waikato, Kaipara, Hokianga—with a total enrolment of 2,927. The remarks made in relation to the Church of England Schools apply equally to those of the Wesleyan Mission.

The *Blue Book* for 1851 has the following return of Wesleyan ministers and their stations, together with the number of pupils under native teachers:—

	Pupils under Native Teachers.
Auckland, Rev. W. Lawry (Superintendent)	—
Epsom, Rev. T. Buddle	—
Onehunga, Rev. J. H. Fletcher	—
Howick and Otahuhu, Rev. A. Reid	—
Manukau, Rev. H. Lawry	70
Mangungu, Rev. J. Hobbs	140
Waima and Newark, Rev. J. Warren	150
Wairoa and Waipara, Rev. J. Butler	200
Waingarua, Rev. J. Wallis	500
Waipa, Rev. G. Buttle	480
Kawhia, Rev. J. Whiteley	860
Aotea, Rev. G. Smales	590
Mokau, —, Schnaeburg (catechist only)	—
New Plymouth, Rev. H. Turton	450
Hokianga, Rev. W. Burrows	—
C. Williams (not ordained)	—

C.—ROMAN CATHOLIC.

The following are the dates of the arrival of the first missionaries, the priests being Marists and the funds being supplied by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith:—

1838.—Bishop J. B. Pompallier, Father Servant, and one lay catechist.

1839.—Fathers Baty, Epalle, Petit, Petitjean, Viard, Comte, Chevron, and Brother Atale.

1841.—Fathers Seon, Garin, Borgeon, Roget, M. Rouleaux, and six lay catechists.

J. J. Wilson, in *The Church in New Zealand: Memories of the Early Days*, page 45, gives the following dates of the establishment of the Catholic Mission Stations to 1850, from which places as centres the work of the Mission was conducted:—

1838.—Hokianga, Kaipara.

1839.—Bay of Islands, Whangaroa.

1840.—Tauranga.

1841.—Waikato, Opotiki, Auckland, Rotorua.

1843.—Whakatane.

The *Blue Book* for 1851 gives the following stations and the priests at that time in charge:—

Auckland: Right Rev. J. B. Pompallier and two priests.

Takapuna: Father Rozeband (later Fathers Alletage and Brown).

Howick: Father Reynaud (later Father Garavel).

Onehunga and Otahuhu: Father Clery.

Russell: Father Bourand.

Hokianga:

Tauranga: Father Pairieu.

Rotorua: Father O'Rourke.

Opotiki: Father Segala.

Rangiorua: Father Garavel.

Other early arrivals of note were: Father O'Rourke (1850), Dr. Jas. McDonald (1850), Father James Paul (1856), Father Walter McDonald (1856), and Father M. C. O'Hara (1865); Fathers Lampila, Pezant, Bernard, Grange, Forest, Moreau, Reignier. The lay catechists of the first decade of the Mission were: Brothers Florentin, Elie Regis, Attale, Deodat, Basil, Gennade, Emery, Claude Marie, Justin, Euloge, Michael Colomban, Luke, and Peter Mary.—(From the *Year Book of the Marist Fathers* for 1927.)

The first band of Sisters of Mercy who arrived at Auckland in 1850 were, according to the "shipping list" of the "Oceanic," of Antwerp, 533 tons, in which they came: Mesdames Maria Maher, Elizabeth Hughes, Mary Pages, Mary Franklin, Mary Maher, Elizabeth Taylor, Mary Bannox, and Mary Slattery. In religion they were known as Mother Mary Cecilia, Mother Mary Gertrude, Sister Mary Xavier, Sister Mary Philomene, Sister Mary Lignori, Sister Mary Josephine, Sister Mary Aloysius, and Sister Mary Vincent.—(From the *Seventy-fifth Anniversary Booklet of the Sisters of Mercy, 1850-1925*.)

D.—LUTHERAN.

1844.—Ruapuke: Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers.

Otago Heads: Rev. J. F. Riemenschneider.

Opotiki: Rev. C. Volkner (later joined Church of England).

Nelson: Rev. C. W. Heine, (and, later, Mr. J. Weiergang, 1855).

Orepuki: Brother Honore.

2.—PROVINCE OF AUCKLAND.

PIONEER TEACHERS, 1840-1860.

1840.—Henry and Lucy Didsbury, Government School, Russell.

1841.—Father Petitjean, Roman Catholic School, St. Patrick's.

1842.—Rev. J. F. Churton's Church of England Parochial School, Manukau Road; master and mistress, George and Sarah Lilly.

Bishop Selwyn, St. John's College.

Rev. T. Whytehead, St. John's College.

1844.—Public Meeting *re* Wesleyan Native Institution (see Morley, pp. 111, *et seqq.*).

1844.—Mrs. Thompson, "Clifton College," Private School for Young Ladies.

1845.—Revs. T. Buddle and H. H. Lawry, Wesleyan Native Institution, Grafton Road.

1846.—Wesleyan Public School for Boys and Girls, Mechanics' Institute; master and mistress, George and Sarah Lilly.

— Hutton, St. John's College, Boys' School.

1847.—Rev. John Duffus, "Classical and Commercial Academy."

1848.—Meeting at Paparoa to raise funds for Roman Catholic School.

John Gorrie, "Auckland Academy," Shortland Street, later Chancery Street (till end 1861 *c.*), for Boys.

Mrs. Woolly, "Prospect House," Hobson Street; later "Hanover House" (till 1863 *c.*), for Young Ladies.

Mrs. Kinnear, Fuchsia Cottage, Windsor Terrace;

Mrs. Wakefield, Princes Street—Preparatory Schools for Children under ten years.

- 1849.—Revs. F. Lloyd and C. J. Abraham, St. John's College.
 R. H. Huntley, Roman Catholic School, Takapuna.
 S. Kempthorne, Presbyterian Grammar School, Victoria College
 later conducted on "Church of England principles" till end of
 1854 *c.*).
 Mrs. Thomas, Queen Street, Private School for Young Ladies.
- 1849.—Rev. Alexr. Reid, Wesleyan Native Institution, Three Kings.
- 1850.—Rev. J. H. Fletcher, Wesley College, Queen Street.
 Rev. Mother Cecilia Maher and seven Sisters of Mercy, Roman
 Catholic High, Parochial, and Native Schools, Wyndham St.
- 1851.—B. Reynolds, Albert Hill, Private School.
- 1852.—Mr. and Mrs. W. Singer, till 1867, Wesleyan Public School, corner
 Victoria and High Streets; later at Parnell. (In 1856 Mrs.
 Singer's place was taken by Miss Phillips, who was succeeded
 in 1858 by Miss Gittos; Mr. Singer continued till 1867.)
- 1855.—Rev. J. Kinder, Church of England Grammar School, Parnell.
 Rev. Wm. Fletcher, Wesley College.
- 1856.—John Stables, Presbyterian School, Waterloo Quadrant.
 Miss Christopher, Private School for Young Ladies.
- 1857.—John Fletcher, Wesley College.
 Rev. F. Gould, Russell.
 Misses Crispes, Private School for Young Ladies.
 Joseph Robinson, "Auckland Seminary," near Upper Queen Street.
- 1858.—Mrs. Baillie, Private School for Young Ladies.
 Mrs. Skeen, St. Paul's Infants' School.
 Mrs. Pittocks, Private School for Young Ladies.
 Miss Smale, Private School for Young Ladies.
 Mr. and Mrs. Williams, Private School.
- 1859.—Rev. A. French, Wesleyan Public School, Freeman's Bay, and later
 at Whau Road. (Rev. French was a Presbyterian Minister
 without charge.)
 —. Wilkinson, Academy, Queen Street.
 Miss Terry, Private School.
- 1860.—Mr. and Mrs. Havelock, Wesleyan Public School, Hobson Street.
 Misses Jackson and Hannerton, Wesleyan school-teachers.
- 1861.—R. J. O'Sullivan, St. Peter's Roman Catholic School.
- 1863.—Farquhar Macrae, Auckland High School (Presbyterian).
 John Johnston, Auckland High School, assistant.
 —. Cockram, Commercial School.
 R. Bachhoffner Davis, Private School.
 Mrs. G. A. Brassey and assistants, "Hanover House," establish-
 ment for Young Ladies.

AUCKLAND SCHOOLS IN 1860.

Inspector of Schools, Auckland Education Board: Henry Taylor.

A.—PUBLIC OR "AIDED" SCHOOLS.

Schools.	Teachers.
1. CHURCH OF ENGLAND.	
St. John's	Rev. S. Blackburn
St. Stephen's, Judge's Bay	Ven. G. A. Kissling
Grammar School, Parnell	Rev. J. Kinder
St. Paul's, Eden Crescent—	
Boys	—, Diddum
Girls	Miss Rich
St. Barnabas', Parnell (Girls)	Miss Barnes
St. Matthew's, Hobson Street—	
Boys	—, Corbet
Girls	Miss Davis, Miss Corbet
2. WESLEYAN.	
Wesley College, Queen Street	John Fletcher
Wesleyan Native Institution, Three Kings	G. Stannard
Academy (Primary School), Victoria Quadrant	W. Singer
3. PRESBYTERIAN.	
Hobson Street—	
Boys	Alex. Whyte
Girls	Mrs. Alex. Whyte
Symonds Street	
Boys	John Stables
Girls	Miss Chalmers
4. ROMAN CATHOLIC.	
St. Peter's, Hobson Street	R. J. O'Sullivan
St. Patrick's, Hobson Street	Sisters of Mercy
St. Mary's, Freeman's Bay	Sisters of Mercy
Academy, Parnell	—, Mullampy
St. Mary's, North Shore	—, Segala

B.—PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

Auckland Academy, Coburg Street	John Gorrie
Commercial School, Barrack Street	T. Lysnar
"Hanover House," Wakefield Street	Mrs. Woolly
Edward Street (Boys and Girls)	Misses King and Goldstone
Grey Street	Misses Baber and Tregay
Barrack Street	Miss Secks
Wyndham Street	Mrs. McLeod
Chapel Street	Mr. and Mrs. Mundy
Corner Chapel and Victoria Streets	Misses Price
Vincent Street	Miss McGarvie
Hobson Street	Mrs. Sinclair
Princes Street	Mrs. Lonsdale
North Shore	—, Maloney
North Shore	Rev. —, Haywood
Freeman's Bay	Rev. Alex. French

SCHOOLS IN THE AUCKLAND PROVINCE IN 1866-7.

Board of Education Secretary: H. Taylor.

Chairman and Inspector of Schools: Rev. J. Macky.

AIDED SCHOOLS.

TEACHERS.

St. Paul's (C. of E.)	---	---	---	Ellison, Mrs. Avis, Miss Burn
St. Matthew's (C. of E.)	---	---	---	Rev. Wm. Taylor, Mrs. Kesals
St. Patrick's (R.C.)	---	---	---	— Hammil
St. Peter's (R.C.)	----	----	----	Peter Leonard
St. Joseph's (R.C.)	----	----	----	Miss Leahey
St. Mary's (R.C.)	----	----	----	Miss Hughes
Newton	----	----	----	— Dewar and — Lamont
Newton (R.C.)	----	----	----	Misses Taylor and Willis
City Mission, Free School	----	----	----	— Cunningham
Grafton Road	----	----	----	— Brassey
Wesley College, Queen Street	----	----	----	J. Fletcher, W. Arthur (assistant)
Shortland Street	----	----	----	Mrs. Lewis
Parnell	----	----	----	Miss Durham
Parnell (Wes.)	----	----	----	Mr. and Mrs. W. Singer
Parnell	----	----	----	Mrs. Stamfield
Parnell	----	----	----	Miss Brown
Wynyard Street	----	----	----	Miss Crawford
Wynyard Street	----	----	----	Miss Hawkes
Pitt Street	----	----	----	— Boyne
Pitt Street	----	----	----	— Boileause
Pitt Street	----	----	----	— French
Wyndham Street (R.C.)	----	----	----	Francis Gibbons
Drake Street (R.C.)	----	----	----	Mrs. Francis Gibbons
Hobson Street	----	----	----	Miss Chalmers
Hobson Street	----	----	----	A. French
Hobson Street	----	----	----	— Flower
Freeman's Bay	----	----	----	Miss Johnston
Freeman's Bay	----	----	----	Mrs. Sinclair
Freeman's Bay	----	----	----	Miss Gibbon
Chapel Street	----	----	----	Miss Buchanan
High School, Symonds Street	----	----	----	Farquhar Macrae
Symonds Street	----	----	----	— Talbot
High Street (Wes.)	----	----	----	— Brabazon
Union Street	----	----	----	Miss Reid
Union Street	----	----	----	Miss Johnston
Grammar School, Parnell (C. of E.)	----	----	----	Rev. J. Kinder
Whau Road	----	----	----	— Seward
North Shore	----	----	----	J. Moloney
North Shore (Wes.)	----	----	----	Mr. and Mrs. Mayo
North Shore	----	----	----	— Negus
Remuera	----	----	----	Mrs. Pierce
St. John's College, Tamaki (C. of E.)	----	----	----	Rev. S. Blackburn
Onchunga	----	----	----	Mrs. James and J. R. Moore
Howick	----	----	----	G. Melrose
Otahuhu	----	----	----	A. Grant
Otahuhu	----	----	----	— McLean
Otahuhu	----	----	----	Mrs. Pittock and — Burn

AIDED SCHOOLS.					TEACHERS.
West Tamaki	----	----	----	----	Mrs. Colclough
Papakura	----	----	----	----	S. Falwell
Drury	----	----	----	----	Miss Nesbit
Waiuku	----	----	----	----	—, Ritchie
Waipu	----	----	----	----	—, Morrison
Waipu	----	----	----	----	—, McKenzie
Panmure	----	----	----	----	—, Fraser, —, Gibbons, —, Macintosh
Mangere	----	----	----	----	—, Hewlett
Wairoa	----	----	----	----	A. Bremner
Whangarei	----	----	----	----	R. Houston
Whangarei Heads	----	----	----	----	H. Rowland

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS.

Auckland Academy, Barrack Street	----	----	----	(Teacher not given)
Commercial School, Hobson Street	----	----	----	J. N. Flowers
Mrs. Barnes, Miss Chalmers, Luke Cockram.				
Miss Conway, Miss Davis, Miss Drabble, Miss Drury, Madame Du Fane, Mrs. Glover, —, Hooper, Miss A. E. Lampriere, Mrs. J. W. Lewis, Mrs. Palmer, Miss Rich, —, Taylor, Mrs. Tester, Messrs. Vibert and Anstie, Symonds Street.				

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS MENTIONED IN THE *AUCKLAND
DIRECTORY* FOR 1867-8.

Ladies' School	----	Sarah Austin	----	Barrack Street
	----	Mrs. Bloxham	----	Church Street, Onehunga
	----	Messrs. A. & E. Buchanan	----	Chapel Street
Ladies' Private School	----	Hannah Burnard	----	Franklin Street
	----	Chas. Hedgecock	----	Napier Street
	----	Anne Holmden	----	158 Hobson Street
Collegiate School	----	Elizabeth Johnson	----	Union Street
	----	Rev. Robt. Kidd, LL.D.	----	Karangahape Road
	----	Sarah Lempriere	----	Hobson Street
Ladies' School	----	P. Leonard	----	Dublin St., Dedwood
	----	Mrs. Lewis	----	Shortland Crescent
	----	Wm. Mackintosh	----	William Street
	----	Wm. Singer	----	St. George's Rd., Parnell
	----	Amy Smith	----	Victoria Street
	----	John Stables	----	Symonds Street
	----	Mary Taylor	----	Dublin St., Newton
	----	Matilda Taylor	----	West Street, Newton
	----	Wm. S. Taylor	----	Vincent Street
	----	Wm. West	----	Khyber Pass Road

LIST OF SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS UNDER AUCKLAND
EDUCATION BOARD,

FROM REPORT OF INSPECTOR R. J. O'SULLIVAN, DATED 14TH NOV., 1870.

Waiuku	----	----	----	----	R. J. Moore
Waipu Central	----	----	----	----	J. F. Mackinlay
Matakana	----	----	----	----	C. G. Farrar
Pokeno	----	----	----	----	E. G. Hobbs
Wainui	----	----	----	----	R. W. W. Kerr
Wade	----	----	----	----	Mrs. Watkinson
Mangapai	----	----	----	----	Miss S. Green
Patumahoe	----	----	----	----	J. Laughton
Pukekohe, W.	----	----	----	----	R. Brown
Wairoa	----	----	----	----	J. Cockroft
Drury	----	----	----	----	Mrs. Scholfield
Waipu, N. River	----	----	----	----	N. Matheson
Whangarei Heads	----	----	----	----	J. M. Fraser
Cove School, Waipu	----	----	----	----	K. Campbell
Turanga Creek	----	----	----	----	J. Box
Warkworth	----	----	----	----	A. Campbell
Raglan	----	----	----	----	W. East
Punga Flat	----	----	----	----	J. S. Bestic
Eureka, Thames	----	----	----	----	J. H. Seward
Paparoa	----	----	----	----	T. W. Wilson
Whangarei	----	----	----	----	H. B. Rowlands
Papakura	----	----	----	----	H. Worthington
Churchill	----	----	----	----	J. Martin
Mahurangi Heads	----	----	----	----	P. Greenhill
Dome Valley	----	----	----	----	E. Stephens
Tauranga	----	----	----	----	Mrs. A. Dalziell
Whau	----	----	----	----	R. F. Watkins
Matakohe	----	----	----	----	J. Davis
Mount Albert	----	----	----	----	A. French
Port Albert	----	----	----	----	B. M. Gubb
Cambridge	----	----	----	----	A. Bremner
Pukekohe East	----	----	----	----	Mrs. C. B. Sharp
Wairoa Road	----	----	----	----	Miss Stanton
Pakuranga	----	----	----	----	E. C. Cornes
Newcastle	----	----	----	----	Mrs. L'Estrange
Mongonui	----	----	----	----	J. D. Gordon
Hamilton	----	----	----	----	E. Clarke
Mangere	----	----	----	----	Miss H. Wigmore
Shoal Bay	----	----	----	----	Mr. F. Bushe
Ohaupo	----	----	----	----	Mrs. Kusabs
Te Wheau	----	----	----	----	A. Steventon
Pukepoto	----	----	----	----	C. M. Masters

3.—PROVINCE OF WELLINGTON.

PIONEER TEACHERS.

- 1840.—Miss Tilke (later Mrs. Lawrence), Infant School, corner Mulqueen and Pipitea Streets.
Miss Annie M. Smith (later Mrs. Geo. Luxford), Girls' School, Wellington Terrace.
Charles Grace, School for "Young Gentlemen and Young Ladies," Thorndon.
- 1841.—Mr. H. and Miss Sophia Buxton (1841-1878), Tinakori Road.
Henry Buxton, Evening School, Mulgrave Street. (Died 1847.)
Mr. and Miss Wakefield, Girls' School, Tinakori Road; later Murphy Street.
John Allan, corner Boulcott and Willis Streets.
- 1842.—Mrs. (Dr.) Young, Upper Ingestre Street; later Cuba Street.
Henry Atkinson, Sydney Street.
J. H. Rule, Mechanics' Institute Public School, Charlotte Street; later "High School," Sydney Street.
—, Cayley, Wesleyan School, Manners Street.
W. J. and Jabez Clark, School on site of present Willis Street School; later, W. J. at Ingestre Street, Jabez at Mulgrave Street; both left Wellington 1848.
Geo. Edwards, Thorndon; later Mechanics' Institute School.
- 1843.—Cameron, "Flax-dressing School," corner Murphy and Molesworth Streets.
J. Tomlin, Hobson Street.
- 1845.—Mrs. George (later Mrs. Alfred Domett), Wellington Terrace.
Chas. Hinchcliffe, High School, Sydney Street; later Lambton Quay; later Wesleyan Schoolroom, Manners Street.
Wm. Finnimore, Willis Street (1845-1869).
- 1847.—Mrs. Harvey (later Mrs. Waterson), Girls' School, Lambton Quay.
Governess Mudgway, Infant School, Te Aro.
Mrs. H. Green, High School for Young Ladies, Ingestre Street; later Sydney Street (1847-1853).
- 1848.—R. O. Clark, Wesleyan School, Manners Street.
- 1849.—Misses Spinks, Dixon Street, later Willis Street, Girls and small Boys (1849-1879).
B. Hayden and Mrs. Hayden, Wesleyan School, Manners Street; later under Education Board.
- 1850.—Wm. (later Rev. W.) Marshall, "Wellington Grammar School," Church of England (1850-1855).
Rev. Edwin Wheeler, "Te Aro Grammar School," Church of England, Ingestre Street (1850-1857).
R. H. Huntley, Roman Catholic School, Hill Street (1850-1864).
Sisters of Mercy, Convent School for Young Ladies.
- 1851.—R. Wadsworth, St. Paul's Church of England School, Sydney Street (1851-3).
John Robinson, Porirua Road.
Timothy Stevenson, Hutt.
- 1852.—W. H. Holmes, Assistant to Wm. Marshall (1852-3).
Sisters of Mercy, St. Joseph's Providence (for Natives), Hawkestone Street.
- 1853.—Edward Toomath, St. Paul's School (1853-1856).
- 1854.—W. H. Holmes, St. Peter's Church of England School, Ghuznee Street; later under Education Board, 1854-1885.

- 1855.—Daniel de Castro, "Apsley House Academy," Wellington.
Edward Jupp, Hutt (under the auspices of the Church of England).
- 1855.—James Curry, Hutt (Roman Catholic).
R. Robinson, Miss Cuttriss, Mrs. Mace, Miss Fletcher, F. Phillips and Mrs. Phillips, Mrs. Perry, Mrs. Laton, teachers of Private Schools in Wellington.
- 1856.—Rev. A. Baker, St. Paul's School (temporarily).
Rev. W. St. Hill, St. Paul's School (temporarily); later Boys' Boarding School, Crofton (1863-1875).
Ed. Jupp, St. Paul's School (temporarily).
- 1857.—J. G. S. Grant, "Wellington Academy" (short-lived).
Edward Toomath, "Wellington Commercial and Grammar School" (1857-1870). Assistants at various times: Wm. Mowbray, W. H. Holmes, J. H. Bran, Rev. —. Kirton, Walter (later Sir W.) Buller.
- 1857.—C. M. Harkness, Matarawa Valley.
- 1859.—Wm. Mowbray, St. Paul's School; later under Education Board (1859-1900).
- 1861.—A. Follet Halcombe, Acting Inspector of certain schools in the Wanganui District.
—, Martin, Crofton.
- 1862.—Parkinson, Turakina.
—, Banfield, Lower Rangitikei.
C. F. Barker, Upper Rangitikei.
- 1863.—Johnston, Upper Rangitikei.
- 1866.—Teachers at Wanganui (not included elsewhere): T. H. Davis,
—, Evans, Mrs. Harding, Mrs. Reid, Mrs. Wickstead.

COMMON SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS UNDER THE
WELLINGTON EDUCATION ACT IN 1866-7.

COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

Inspector of Schools: Rev. T. A. Bowden.

Kaiwarrawarra	----	----	----	----	Mrs. Lillicrap
Lower Hutt	----	----	----	----	Mr. and Mrs. Williams and Miss A'Court
Wainuiomata	----	----	----	----	—, Sutherland
Taita	----	----	----	----	Mr. and Miss Mantell
Upper Hutt	----	----	----	----	Mr. and Mrs. Carrick
Johnsonville	----	----	----	----	Mr. and Mrs. Jacks
*Ohariu	----	----	----	----	Mrs. Darby
Tawa Flat	----	----	----	----	—, Miss Taylor (assistant)
Pahautanui	----	----	----	----	—, Ingpen
Karori	----	----	----	----	—, Allington
Makara	----	----	----	----	Mrs. Morgan
Featherston	----	----	----	----	Mrs. Bycroft
Tauherenikau	----	----	----	----	—, Poole
Moroa	----	----	----	----	
Greytown	----	----	----	----	Mr. and Mrs. Jupp
Carterton	----	----	----	----	Mrs. Jones
Masterton East	----	----	----	----	—, Briscoe
*Masterton West	----	----	----	----	Mrs. Roche

* These three schools (Ohariu, Masterton West, and Middle Rangitikei) were the only ones at which religious instruction was permitted by the local committees.

APPENDIX C.

CONSPECTUS OF NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION, 1877.

Statutes Summarised.	Nature of Education System Provided.	Financial Provisions.	Central Authority.	LOCAL EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES.		TEACHERS.		Inspection.	Statutory Subjects of Instruction.	Pupils: How Admitted.	Attendance: To what Extent Compulsory.	Religious Instruction: To what Extent Permitted.
				Education Boards.	School Committees.	How Certificated.	How Appointed.					
1. <i>The Education Act, 1877.</i> 2. <i>The Education Reserves Act, 1877.</i> 3. <i>The Public Libraries Subsidies Act, 1877.</i> [Note.—In 1876, consequent upon the passing of <i>The Abolition of the Provinces Act</i>, a temporary measure was enacted making interim provision for the continuance of the schools pending permanent legislation.—See text.]	National, Free, Secular, Compulsory. (See under Compulsory Attendance.)	Cost of system to be provided out of consolidated revenue by appropriations voted by Parliament for— 1. Expenses of Central Department. 2. Capitation grant to Local Boards of £3 15s. per child in average attendance. 3. Establishment and Maintenance of Normal Schools by Boards 4. Buildings and other expenses. Annual revenues from Educational Reserves, other than those set apart as endowments for Secondary or Higher Education, to be set against the Parliamentary Appropriation <i>pro tanto</i> and deducted therefrom. Local Boards to have full power to administer such Parliamentary and other revenues for the purposes prescribed by the Statutes.	Department of Education set up under control of a Cabinet Minister and Permanent Secretary. Central Department empowered to make Regulations for (<i>inter alia</i>):— 1. Examination and Classification of teachers. 2. Employment and training of pupil teachers. 3. Management of Normal Schools and Training Colleges. The Act, as finally passed, provided for the appointment of a single Departmental Inspector of Schools, whose duties were not defined. (See text.) In practice it became the duty of the Inspector-General, as he was called, to prescribe the Syllabus of Instruction, consider and advise upon the Reports of the Boards, including copies of the Reports of the Boards' Inspectors, etc. Central Department empowered directly to administer and inspect:— 1. Industrial Schools and Reformatory Institutions. 2. (After 1880) Maori Schools. (Other new branches of the service established from time to time were similarly entrusted to the Central Department, and its general power to make "regulations" very considerably enlarged.)	Twelve (subsequently increased to 13) Education Districts set up, for the most part coterminous with the old Provinces. Old Provincial Education Boards to continue until new Boards (9 members) elected by School Committees in each District. Property and Revenues of old Boards to be vested in new Boards. Boards empowered to appoint their own Secretary, Inspectors, and office staffs. Existing officers confirmed in their appointments. Boards empowered to— 1. Set up School Districts and establish and maintain schools. 2. Appoint and remove teachers. (But see under School Committees.) 3. Establish and provide for scholarships and school libraries. 4. Establish and maintain District High Schools, at which full secondary education obtainable (including Classics, Modern Languages, Mathematics, Science, etc.), but such schools must also provide the usual elementary schooling. Permission given to charge fees for secondary education only. 5. Allocate grants to Public Libraries out of special appropriation made therefor by Parliament.	School Committees to be elected, one for each school, and to consist of 7 members, elected by ballot by local householders from their own number. Provision made for cumulative voting whereby voters were allowed to give all 7 votes to one candidate, or to distribute them as they pleased. This to enable minorities (R.C. and other) to secure representation on Committees. Where no Committee elected or functioning, the Board empowered to appoint Commissioners to act as a Committee. Subject to the control of the Boards the Committees empowered to— 1. Establish and manage schools. 2. Provide and maintain schoolhouses and equipment. 3. Recommend teachers for appointment, and suspend or dismiss teachers subject to confirmation by the Boards. (See under Appointment of Teachers.) 4. Establish school savings banks, etc. 5. Use or permit the use of school buildings, out of school hours, for other than school purposes. (This loophole afforded the means of religious instruction being given under the "Nelson System" from 9 to 9.30 a.m.—See under Religious Instruction.)	Teachers examined, classified, and certificated by Central Department. Uncertificated teachers ineligible for permanent appointments, but eligible for temporary appointments where no certificated teachers available. Provision made for the employment and training of pupil teachers.	Teachers appointed by the Board, but power given to the School Committees to recommend teachers for appointment. (As the members of the Boards were elected directly by the School Committees, the practical effect was that the teachers who secured the recommendation of the Committees were almost automatically appointed by the Boards. The power of appointment thus virtually passed to the Committees.) Power was given to the Boards to appoint itinerant teachers in outlying districts, or to subsidise local private schools, but this only where the establishment of a public school is "not practicable."	The Inspector-General of the Central Department had no staff of assistant inspectors (see under Central Authority). Each Board had its own staff of Inspectors through whom it exercised direct supervision and control over the schools and teachers.	Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, English Composition, Geography, History, Elementary Science, Drawing, Object Lessons, Vocal Music, Sewing and Needlework for girls. Only approved textbooks might be used in the schools; and the teaching of history was subject to a conscience clause. The syllabus and standards of Instruction were to be prescribed by the Central Department. For this the Inspector-General was especially responsible (see under Central Authority).	Pupils admitted free from 5-15 years, without discrimination of race (European or Maori). Permission given to Boards to charge fees for secondary classes of District High Schools and for evening classes, where held.	Statutory obligation upon all parents resident within 2 miles of a school to send children from 7-13 years to school for at least one-half the period for which, in each school year, the school is open; subject to exemption by reason of— 1. Efficient regular instruction elsewhere. 2. Sickness or other unavoidable cause. 3. Impassable roads. 4. Headmaster's or Inspector's certificate of proficiency obtained. For procedure and penalties prescribed for failure to attend as required, see Text. BUT the Act provided that the above provisions should come into force in each school district only upon the vote of the majority of the School Committee. Consequently the clauses remained to all intents and purposes a dead letter for many years.	This governed by two clauses, viz.: 1. 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 the afternoon shall be consecutive, and the teaching shall be entirely of a secular character. 2. The school buildings may be used on days and at hours other than those used for public school purposes upon such terms as the Committee may from time to time prescribe. In the Nelson Education District the practice grew up of commencing the morning session for secular instruction by the teachers under Clause 1 above at 9.30 a.m., and granting the use of the buildings to Ministers and others for voluntary religious instruction purposes from 9 to 9.30. Parents not desiring their children to attend the latter sent them at 9.30, but in practice school commenced at 9 a.m. and opened with religious instruction, thus defeating the purpose of the Act. This system did not, however, extend generally throughout the Colony, the elementary schools of which as a whole were conducted strictly in accordance with the secular principle of the Act, even the teaching of history being made subject to a conscience clause in respect of attendance thereat.—(See Subjects of Instruction.)

Western Rangitikei	----	----	----	Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Harkness
Tutaenui	----	----	----	Mr. and Mrs. Riedy
Turakina Valley	----	----	----	—, Helm
Turakina	----	----	----	—, McMinn
Kaitohe	----	----	----	—, Hulke
Matarawa	----	----	----	Mr. and Miss Carrick
Wanganui	----	----	----	—, West

*Middle, Lower, and Upper Rangitikei, and Porirua Bay Schools closed.

PRIVATE AND DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

WELLINGTON CITY.

J. Bran	----	----	Day School, Wellington Terrace
Miss Carpenter	----	----	Ladies' School, Abel Smith Street
Wm. Mowbray	----	----	Church of England School, Sydney Street
Mrs. Cooper	----	----	Glenbervie Terrace
W. Fimmimore	----	----	Day School, Willis Street
Miss Fletcher	----	----	Day School, Hawkestone Street
Miss Hunt	----	----	Ladies' School, Mulgrave Street
Mrs. Kemp	----	----	Ladies' School, Sydney Street
W. H. Holmes	----	----	Church of England School, Ghuznee Street
Mrs. Roberts	----	----	Ladies' School, Willis Street
Sisters (of Mercy?)	----	----	R.C. Convent (School?), Guildford Terr.
Misses Snellson	----	----	Ladies' Seminary, Willis Street
Mrs. Trotman	----	----	Ladies' School, Hawkestone Street
Mrs. Welsh	----	----	Day School, Mulgrave Street
Mrs. Wilson	----	----	Girls' School, Willis Street
Mrs. Wright	----	----	Day School, Wellington Terrace
Mrs. Fleetwood	----	----	
—, Fraser	----	----	
Mrs. Ling	----	----	

1867.—Rev. H. E. Tuckey, B.A., and W. S. Hamilton (Wellington Grammar School).

1868.—Revs. T. A. Bowden, H. E. Tuckey, and Mr. W. S. Hamilton (Wellington College and Grammar School).

Early Roman Catholic Teachers at Boulcott Street, Prior to 1876 (when the Marist Fathers took charge):—D. Hurley, —, O'Connor.

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS UNDER THE WELLINGTON EDUCATION BOARD, 1873-4.

R. Lee, Inspector of Schools.

A.—WELLINGTON CITY DISTRICT.

Te Aro, W. H. Holmes; Thorndon, Wm. Mowbray (formerly Church of England schools).

Hopper Street (infant school), Mrs. Wilkinson (formerly a private school); Boulcott Street, D. Hurley; Hill Street, —, Newlyn (formerly Roman Catholic schools).

B.—WELLINGTON DISTRICT.

Kaiwarrawarra, Miss E. Stevens; Johnsonville, —, Badland (1874, Miss Stevens); Tawa Flat, Miss Wilson; Porirua Ferry, —, Carrick; Pahatanui, —, Singer, sen.; Horokiwi Valley, —, Singer, jun. (half-time); Karori, —, Wilson; North and South Makara, —, Prendeville (half-time each); Ohariu, Mrs. Hughes; Lower Hutt, —, Gush (1874, McDonald); Upper Hutt, —, Macdonald (1874, Thompson); Taita, —, Sinclair; Wainuiomata, Miss Grace (1874, Miss Faithful); Melmont and Korokoro, —, Golder (half-time each).

C.—MANAWATU DISTRICT.

Foxton, —. Thompson; Palmerston, —. Keeling; Sandon, —. Williams; Carnarvon, Miss Stevens.

D.—RANGITIKEI.

Turakina, —. Gouger; Turakina Calley, —. Jacks; Marton, —. Deighton (1874, Gillet); West Rangitikei, —. Jones; Maki-rikiri and Greatford, —. Dixon (half-time each); Bull's, —. Locke; Upper Tutaenui, —. Berrens; Parewanui and Lower Rangitikei, —. McGrath (half-time each).

E. WANGAEHU DISTRICT.

River Bank, —. Powle; Kaitoke and Marangai, —. Hulke (half-time each); Mataongaonga, McGeorge; Mars Hill and Mata-rawa, —. Williamson (half-time each); Omoko and Denlair, —. McOmish (half-time each).

F.—WANGANUI TOWN DISTRICT.

Boys' Grammar School, —. West; Girls' School, Mrs. Cooper; Victoria Avenue, —. O'Callaghan (1874, Barry).

G.—WANGANUI AND WAITOTARA DISTRICT.

Aramoho, —. Gillett (1874, Powle); Wairoa, —. Rowband; Maxwell, (New school; 1874, Jones).

H.—FEATHERSTON DISTRICT.

Featherston, —. Gulliver; Greytown, —. Wakelin; Moroa, Mrs. Keys; Tauherenikau, Mrs. Blade; Kaiwaiwai and Wharekaka, —. Scott (half-time each).

I.—MASTERTON DISTRICT.

East Masterton, —. Skipper (1874, Lillington); West Masterton, —. Jupp; Carterton, —. Armstrong; Taratahi, No. 1, —. Hansard (1874, Tankred); Taratahi, No. 2, —. Barry (1874, Skipper).

Total: 59 Schools. Average Attendance: (1873) 2,134; (1874) 2,567.

4.—PROVINCE OF HAWKE'S BAY.

PIONEER TEACHERS, 1855-1876.

1855.—William Marshall (1855-1858), Public School, Napier.

1860.—William Smith, Public School, Napier.

R. Thompson, Wairoa.

1861.—Mr. and Mrs. Gazen, Wairoa, Private Day and Boarding School.

D. A. Hoben, St. Mary's Roman Catholic (Boys') School, Napier;
The Misses McGarvie, St. Mary's Roman Catholic (Girls') School, Napier.

J. Mackay, Clive.

First Inspector of Schools, H. B. Sealy.

1862.—Donaldson, Ahuriri, Government Native School.

(Teacher's name not given), Wairoa, Government Native School.

1864.—William Marshall (1864-1872), Napier Grammar School.

G. Hardie, Puketapu.

H. H. Godwin, Havelock.

1865.—T. Honan, Meanee.

1866.—Wm. Hudson, Hampden in 1866, St. John's Church of England (Boys') School.

Mrs. Brooke Taylor, July, 1866, Napier Girls' School.

J. J. Elwin, July, 1866, Petane.

1867.—Miss Wilson, Waipukurau.

SUCCESSIVE HEAD TEACHERS OF THE NAPIER TRUST SCHOOLS.

BOYS—

1861-66	----	----	----	----	A. Thompson
1866	----	----	----	----	J. Stables, W. Hudson
1866-73	----	----	----	----	A. Grant
1873 (last quarter)	----	----	----	----	A. P. Tennant
1874-84	----	----	----	----	Rev. J. Campbell

GIRLS—

1872-3	----	----	----	----	Mrs. A. Grant
1873-9	----	----	----	----	Miss Gascoigne

LIST OF TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS IN 1866.

Rev. S. Williams	---	---	---	---	Te Aute (Maori) College
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NAPIER SCHOOLS—

Rev. Wm. Marshall	---	---	---	Napier Grammar School
Wm. Hudson	---	---	---	St. John's (Boys) Church of England School
Miss Tupper	---	---	---	St. Mary's (Girls) Roman Catholic School
T. Mulherne, Mr. Carrack	---	---	---	St. Mary's (Boys) Roman Catholic School
Sisters of Mercy	---	---	---	St. Joseph's (Girls) Boarding School
—, Haswell	---	---	---	St. Paul's Infants' School
(Teacher's name not given)	---	---	---	Napier Boys' Public School
Mrs. Brooke Taylor, Miss L. Cald- well	---	---	---	Napier Girls' School
Mrs. Saywell	---	---	---	Private Boarding and Day School for Girls, Napier
Miss Caldwell (1867)	---	---	---	Private Boarding and Day School for Girls, Napier

COUNTRY SCHOOLS—

H. Drover, August, 1867	---	---	---	Waipawa
T. Paterson, October, 1867	---	---	---	Hampden
T. K. Honan	---	---	---	Meeanee, No. 1 (R.C.)
J. Mackay	---	---	---	Clive
G. Hardie	---	---	---	Puketapu
J. J. Elwin	---	---	---	Petane
H. H. Godwin	---	---	---	Havelock
A. Thompson (followed by Mrs. Ormond, May, 1868)	---	---	---	Wairoa
Miss Carr	---	---	---	Meeanee, No. 2
Mr. E. Bissell	---	---	---	Havelock
Miss Mitchell	---	---	---	Port Ahuriri
Miss Watt	---	---	---	Waipukurau

TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS, 1874-6.

FROM INSPECTOR WM. COLENSO'S RETURNS.

COMMON SCHOOLS.

(a) TOWN:

Boys' Trust School, Rev. John Campbell
 Girls' Trust School, Miss Gascoigne (still living, 1927).
 Port Ahuriri (Mixed), Miss Sproule.

(b) COUNTRY :		1874.	1876.
Meeanee	---	Mrs. E. Carr	---
Taradale	---	Mr. A. P. Tennant	Mr. A. G. Oldfield (C. of E.)
Puketapu	---	Mrs. G. A. Oliver	---
Hampden	---	Mr. H. G. Hill	Mr. A. McLeod
Norsewood	---	Mrs. F. W. Thompson	Mr. Ross
Dannevirke	---	Miss A. Looney	---
Porangahau	---	Mrs. E. Birnie	---
Waipukurau	---	Mr. John Poole	---
Tamumu	---	Mr. John Stewart	---
Waipawa	---	Mr. Wm. Waite	---
Kaikoura	---	Mr. S. Lozell	Mr. W. G. Crawford
Havelock	---	Mr. P. Gilpin	Mr. E. Bissell
East Clive	---	Mr. S. W. Hardy	---
West Clive	---	Mr. J. S. Ballantyne	---
Petane	---	Miss R. McKain	---
Te Wairoa	---	Mrs. Gosnell	---
Te Onga Onga	---	Mr. Mackay	---
Dannevirke	---	---	Mr. Richard
Patangata	---	---	Mr. A. P. Tennant
Hastings	---	---	Mr. W. A. McLeod

DENOMINATIONAL.

TOWN (Napier) :

- St. Mary's (R.C.) Boys', Mr. J. A. Rearden.
 St. Mary's (R.C.) Girls' School, Madame Marie St. Pierre.
 St. Joseph's (R.C.) Girls', Prioress Marie St. Jude.

COUNTRY :

- Meeanee Boys' (R.C.), Mr. R. N. Huntley.
 Meeanee Girls' (R.C.), Mrs. Huntley.

IN BUILDING.

Patangata, Hastings, Maraikakaho (United Methodist); Taradale (Church of England).

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

IN TOWN :

Grammar School, Boys'	---	---	Rev. D'Arcy Irvine, M.A.
Convent Girls' (R.C.)	---	---	The Sisters
Girls' School	---	---	Mrs. Neale
Girls' School	---	---	Mrs. Begg
Girls' School	---	---	Miss Caldwell
Girls' School	---	---	Mrs. May
Children's School	---	---	Mrs. Palmer

COUNTRY :

- Te Aute Boys' School (chiefly Maoris) --- --- Mr. Reynolds
 Waipawa Girls' School --- --- Mrs. Arrow
 Havelock Girls' School --- --- Miss Ross

SCHOOLS FOR MAORI CHILDREN (subsidised by the General Government).

- Napier --- --- Roman Catholic "Providence," The Sisters
 Pakowhai --- --- Mr. E. Bissell
 Omaha --- --- Mr. Bower

5.—PROVINCE OF TARANAKI.

PIONEER TEACHERS.

- 1841-8.—Mrs. Harris.
 Mrs. John Newland.
 1848.—Mrs. S. P. King.
 Dr. and Mrs. Horne.
 1850.—Mr. Murch.
 Mr. J. C. Sharland.
 1852.—Miss Garland.
 1852-1860.—Mrs. Douglas and Miss Mary Ann Shaw.
 Mrs. George.
 Mrs. Sunley.
 Mrs. Burgess.
 Mr. Beardsworth (Boys).
 Miss Mace (Omata).
 1858-60.—Miss Harris (Girls, Frankley Road; daughter of first teacher above-mentioned).
 Mr. Harris (Boys).
 1860-67.—Mrs. Passmore.
 Miss Sarah Hoskin.
 Misses King (daughters of Mrs. S. P. King above-mentioned).
 Mrs. Wilcox (Girls).
 Mrs. Courtenay Kyngdom and Miss Messenger (sisters).
 Mr. and Mrs. Crompton. (Mr. Crompton was later—1878—first Inspector of Schools in Taranaki.)
 Mrs. Homeyer.
 Mrs. Parker.
 Mr. Batkin.
 1868.—Miss Lydia Shaw (successor to Miss Mary Ann Shaw, above-mentioned. Miss Lydia Shaw taught continuously until 1900).
 Mr. and Mrs. Schofield, Wesleyan School.
 Mr. and Mrs. Collis, Wesleyan School.

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS IN 1875.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

BOYS:

—, Crompton	....	....	....	Tulford Street
—, Adams	....	....	....	St. Aubyn
—, Collis	....	....	....	Liardet Street (Wesleyan)
—, Guérin	....	....	....	Devon Street (R.C.)

GIRLS:

Mrs. D. Atkinson	....	....	....	Gilbert Street
Mrs. F. Brooking	....	....	....	Courtenay Street
Mrs. Blaschbe	....	....	....	Devon Street
Miss Crossley	....	....	....	Waitara
Mrs. Crompton	....	....	....	Tulford Street
Mrs. Collis	....	....	....	Vivian Street
Mrs. Douglas	....	....	....	Currie Street
Miss Davies	....	....	....	Liardet Street (Wesleyan)
Miss Guérin	....	....	....	Devon Street (R.C.)
Mrs. Homeyer	....	....	....	Courtenay Street
Mrs. Harrison	....	....	....	Courtenay Street
Miss Mace	....	....	....	Omata
Miss Morshead	....	....	....	Vivian Street
Miss Parker	....	....	....	South Road
Miss Sampson	....	....	....	Bell Block
Miss Ann Smith	....	....	....	Vivian Street (C. of E.)

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS.

NEW PLYMOUTH:

G. O'Connell	----	----	----	East School
W. J. McKee	----	----	----	West School
Miss Lydia Shaw	----	----	----	Currie Street (Girls)

COUNTRY:

T. Bennett	----	----	----	Bell Block
Miss M. Brooking	----	----	----	Huirangi
Mrs. S. Joll	----	----	----	Manutahi
Miss Reeve	----	----	----	Mangorie Upper
(Name not given)	----	----	----	Mangorie Lower
P. Moore	----	----	----	Oakura
Mrs. Hogarth	----	----	----	Okato
(Name not given)	----	----	----	Smart Road
Miss E. George	----	----	----	Tikorangi
Mrs. Holmes	----	----	----	Tataraimaka
A. Earl	----	----	----	Waiwakawaiho
Miss C. Lawrence	----	----	----	Waitara

6.—PROVINCE OF NELSON, INCLUDING MARLBOROUGH.
PIONEER TEACHERS.

Abbreviations: N.S.S., Nelson School Society; C. of E., Church of England; Wes., Wesleyan; R.C., Roman Catholic.

1842.—J. Wilson, Day School.

Miss Huxham, Ladies' Private School.

W. Moore, Public Day School.

Matthew Campbell, Bridge Street, Nelson Sunday and Day School (N.S.S.).

Rev. C. L. Reay, Bishop's School.

1844.—J. P. Robinson, Bridge Street (N.S.S.).

— Jessop, Wakefield (N.S.S.).

1845.—Nelson Wesleyan School.

Mary Ann Hilton, Ladies' Private School.

(Name not given), Nile Street, Nelson (C. of E.).

Mrs. Batchelor, Private School, Haven Road, maintained by Mrs. Wm. Fox.

Jos. Wilkinson, Wakefield (C. of E.).

Mr. —. Whale, Riwaka (C. of E.).

— Mears, Wakefield (N.S.S.).

(Name not given), Stoke, (N.S.S.).

1847.—R. Sutcliff, Trafalgar Square (C. of E.), under Rev. H. F. Butt.

Matthew Campbell (temporarily), Bridge Street (N.S.S.).

Mrs. Wilson, Private School, Selwyn Place, Nelson.

Miss Derwent, Mrs. Fox's Free School, Haven Road.

Free School at Waimea West, maintained by Mrs. C. A. Dillon.

Wm. Irvine, Riwaka (Wes.).

1848.—Jabez Packer, Bridge Street (N.S.S.).

John Riley, Bridge Street (Wes.).

Mrs. Tomkies, Bridge Street, Private School.

Wm. Moore, Waimea West (C. of E.).

Jas Smith, Waimea South (C. of E.).

Benjamin Allen, Motueka (C. of E.).

Jas. Horn, Richmond (N.S.S.).

Elizabeth Flower, Appleby (N.S.S.).

Edward Rennell, Spring Grove (N.S.S.).

Jos. Wilkinson, Riwaka (N.S.S.).

- 1850.—Edwin Wheeler, B.A., Emma Edwards (assistant), Trafalgar Square, Nelson (C. of E.).
 Jabez Packer, Mrs. M. O. Carter (infants), Bridge Street (N.S.S.).
 R. P. Outridge, Bridge Street (Wes.).
 Miss Curl, Selwyn Place, Ladies' School.
 Miss E. M. J. O'Dowd, St. Michael's (R.C.), Collingwood Street
 Free School, established by Father Garin.
 Francis Rush, Richmond (N.S.S.).
 R. de Bruce, Stoke (N.S.S.).
 Mrs. Ballard, Wakapuaka (N.S.S.).
- 1851.—John Percy, Trafalgar Square, Nelson (C. of E.).
 Wm. Moore, Bridge Street, Nelson (Wes.).
 J. J. McQuade, Elizabeth O'Dowd, Father Moreau, Free Roman Catholic Schools, Manuka Street, Nelson (SS. Mary and Michael).
- 1851.—Chas. Sewell, Private School, Shelbourne Street, Nelson.
 Fredk. Ball, Private School, Bridge Street, Nelson.
 Mrs. Caldwell, Private School, Trafalgar Square, Nelson.
 Richard Wallis, May Ann Wallis, Richmond (Wes.).
 Jas. Nicol, Stoke (N.S.S.).
 John Woodruff, Waimea West (N.S.S.).
- 1852.—David Wagg, Bridge Street, Nelson (Wes.).
 John Horrigan, Mary Ann Clarke, Roman Catholic Schools, Manuka Street.
 Miss Smith, Private School, Bridge Street, Nelson.
 Chas. M. Harkness, Stoke (N.S.S.).
 Alex. Ogg, Hope (N.S.S.).
- 1853.—R. M. Burnett, Stoke (N.S.S.).
- 1854.—F. Ball, Miss Richards, Bridge Street, Nelson (N.S.S.).
 J. Packer, Hope (N.S.S.).
 Henry Hawk, Private School, Woodland House, Nelson.
 W. Moore, Waimea West (N.S.S.).
- 1855.—W. Skeet, Bridge Street (N.S.S.).
 Messrs. Hawk and Ball, Bridge Street (N.S.S.).
 L. Bryant, Appleby (N.S.S.).
 John Smith, Wakefield (N.S.S.).
 D. Frazer, River Terrace (N.S.S.).
 J. Tilby, Motupipi (N.S.S.).
 F. J. Litchfield, Motueka.
 J. Squire, Wakefield (C. of E.).
 J. Packer, Hope (N.S.S.).
 J. Weiergang, Ranzau (Lutheran School).
 C. A. Richards, Miss E. Shannon, Roman Catholic School (St. Mary's).
- 1856.—J. D. Greenwood, first Inspector of Schools, Nelson Board of Education.
 G. Heppel, Nelson College.
- 1857.—J. Robson, Nelson.
 E. Austin, Stoke.
 W. R. Jones, Motueka.
 Thos. A. Abcott, Motupipi.
 Andrew Jacobson, Moutere.
- 1860.—NELSON PUBLIC SCHOOLS:
 W. C. Hodgson, Mrs. Sait, Miss Nixon.

1860.—NELSON PRIVATE SCHOOLS:

Mrs. Bury, Mrs. Palmer, Misses Beitt, Miss Sharpe, Miss Daniel,
Mr. Reynolds, Rev. J. Thomas, Chas. Sewell, J. Richardson.

1860.—COUNTRY DISTRICTS:

P. Carswell, J. B. Sadd, Wakapuaka.
E. Hodder, J. Malcolm, Richmond.
E. G. Reynolds, J. M. Fyfe, Spring Grove.
W. Moore, —, Ayers, Waimea West.
J. Squire, W. Brown, Wakefield.
W. Cooke, Upper Moutere.
J. Robson, Lower Moutere.
J. Mackenzie, F. Horneman, Motueka.
F. Ball, Riwaka.
W. Pithey, Motupipi.
J. Neame, Collingwood.

NELSON TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS MENTIONED IN 1866-7-8
N.Z. DIRECTORIES.

Inspector of Schools, Nelson Education Board: W. C. Hodgson.

NELSON SCHOOLS.

Rev. C. L. Maclean, J. Mackay (assistant), Edw. Harris (drawing
master), Nelson College.
R. Lee, G. Cotterell (assistant, 1866), —, Ladley (assistant), F. C.
Guerin (assistant, 1867), Bishop's School.
Rev. A. M. Garin, C. A. Richards, St. Mary's (R.C.) School.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

John Smith, J. B. Sadd (assistant), Boys' School.
Mrs. Sait, Miss Darby (assistant), Girls' School.
Mrs. Cooke, Infant School.
J. Hodgson, Auxiliary School.
Francis Severne, Waimea Street.
J. H. Rowe (school not given).

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

Rev. E. Thomas (Baptist minister); Mesdames Clark, Upper Brooke
Street, M. Reynolds, Hope Street, Rentoul, Palmer, Passmore,
Wilcox, Greenwood, Fraser, White; Misses Daniell (Ladies'
Seminary, Tasman Street), Thomas, Biggs, Lucas, A. Daniell.

COUNTRY DISTRICTS—PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS:

J. T. Smith, Stoke.
J. Gilbert, Clifton.
S. McIntosh, Hillside.
R. Sunley, Miss Spencer, Richmond.
W. Higgins, Mrs. Eban, G. Thornburn, Waimea West.
—, Edmonds, —, Phillips, Mrs. Bryant, Miss Hynde, Waimea South,
including Wakefield, Spring Grove, Hope, Appleby, etc.
—, Bisley, Motueka.
W. Cook, J. Robson, Motueka.
R. Ray, J. Hannay, Mrs. McDonald, Takaka.

FIRST TEACHERS IN MARLBOROUGH.

T. Williams, Secretary Education Board and Inspector of Schools.
J. White, first schoolmaster at Blenheim (sent from Nelson, 1859).
H. W. Harris, Public School, Presbyterian Schoolroom, Alfred Street,
Blenheim.
James Smith, Public School, Havelock.
J. Hawk, Public Boys' School, Broadway, Picton.
Miss Goodman, Public Girls' School, Nelson Square, Picton.
Mrs. B. S. H. Broughton, Ladies' School, Picton.

7.—PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY, INCLUDING WESTLAND.

PIONEER TEACHERS.

AT LYTTELTON:

1851.—Rev. H. Jacobs, C. A. Calvert, W. H. Holmes, Christ's College and Grammar School.

Edward Toomath, Church Commercial School.

W. H. Holmes and E. Toomath, Evening Classes.

AT AKAROA:

1851.—Robt. Wadsworth.

AT CHRISTCHURCH:

1851.—John Broughton, Day School; later at Wesleyan School.

—, Saunders, Wesleyan School, High Street.

John Bilton, St. Michael's (C. of E.) Parochial School.

1852.—Rev. H. Jacobs, C. A. Calvert, F. Thompson (assistant, 1854), Christ's College and Grammar School; removed to St. Michael's Parsonage, Christchurch, 1852.

1854.—Mrs. Chas. Thomson, Ladies' School, Oxford Terrace West.

1855.—Miss Taylor, Day School.

Francis Knowles, "Audsley Academy" for Young Ladies, Pigeon Bay.

AT LYTTELTON:

Mr. and Mrs. Mayo, Lyttelton District School

G. Cotterill, Lyttelton Grammar and Commercial School.

AT CHRISTCHURCH:

1858.—St. Luke's (Church of England) Infant School.

—, McEwan, Christchurch High School (Presbyterian School).

COUNTY SCHOOLS:

1859.—J. W. Gillespie and W. S. Fitzgerald (brought out by Mr. James Hay).

AT LYTTELTON:

1862.—Ferguson, Lyttelton High School (Presbyterian).

AT CHRISTCHURCH:

(Teacher's name not given), Presbyterian Boys' School, Colombo Street.

(Teacher's name not given), Presbyterian Girls' School, Lichfield Street.

1864.—E. O'Connor, Miss Vallance, St. Joseph's (R.C.) School, Lichfield Street; later Barbadoes Street.

1868.—Sisters of Our Lady, Roman Catholic Girls' School, Christchurch.

1869.—Father Chataigner, St. Joseph's (R.C.), Lyttelton.

1873.—Father Ecuyer, Roman Catholic School, Christchurch.

Christchurch (Pres.) High School. Successive Headmasters: Charles Cook, Alex. Montgomery, —, Wilmer, —, Edge, Rev. John Campbell, Rev. Jas. Cumming (West Christchurch District School, 1873-1882).

Warwick House School, Charles Cook.

CANTERBURY SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS, 1863-4.

(Names of Schools from Official Records in the Office of the Canterbury Education Board. These do not give the teachers' names, which have been obtained, so far as possible, by searching the correspondence files of the Chairman, Mr. Tancred, who also acted as Secretary of the Education Commission which at that time controlled the Canterbury Education System.)

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Christ's College Grammar School, R. Broughton	Little Akaloa, D. O. Hampton
St. Michael's Parochial School, —, Hawley	Duvauchelles Bay, F. Vaustone
St. Luke's Parochial School	Riccarton
Lyttelton Parochial School	Prebbleton
Lyttelton Infant School	Upper Heathcote, —, Dempster
Kaiapoi	Lower Heathcote
Rangiora, C. Merton	Papanui, —, Haskyns
Akaroa, —, Benning (J. Murray, 1865).	Purarekanui, R. W. Foulger
Okains Bay, —, Bishop	Wairarapa
	Oxford, J. H. Ralfe
	Timaru, T. L. Stanley

PRESBYTERIAN :

Christchurch High School, D. Scott	Kaiapoi
Lyttelton High School, J. D. Ferguson	Akaroa, D. Bannerman
North Christchurch	Arowhenua, Daniel Ferguson
South Christchurch	Lincoln, D. Bowie

WESLEYAN.

Christchurch, High Street, J. Cumberworth	Woodend
Lyttelton, —, Miller	Papanui
Kaiapoi	St. Albans

PUBLIC (DISTRICT) SCHOOLS.

Governor's Bay	Pigeon Bay, J. Gillespie and W. S.
Templeton, —, Elvin	Fitzgerald
Leithfield, John Dean	

CANTERBURY SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS MENTIONED IN
NEW ZEALAND DIRECTORIES, 1867-8.

J. P. Restell, Inspector of Schools.

AT CHRISTCHURCH :

- Christ's College and Grammar School. Staff: Revs. W. C. Harris,
G. Cotterill, Messrs. A. R. Simmons, G. I. Cotterill, W. B.
Jones, J. E. Darby.
- Christchurch High School. Staff: Messrs. D. Scott, A. Montgomery,
C. Cook, J. A. Waddington, J. E. Darby.
- E. O'Connor, Miss Vallain, R. C. School, Barbadoes St. South.
- D. Hampden, Mrs. Young, St. Luke's C. of E. School, Manchester
Street.
- J. G. Hawley, Miss Hawley, St. Michael's C. of E. School, Durham
Street.
- , McClure, C. of E. School, Avonside.
- J. Cumberworth, Miss Penberthy, Wesleyan School, Durham Street
North.
- Mrs. Alabaster, Preparatory School, Cranmer Square.
- Miss Ashwin, Ladies' Seminary, Armagh Street, West.
- Mrs. Atkinson, Day School, Manchester Street South.
- Misses Cameron, Ladies' Seminary, St. Asaph Street.
- Miss Charles, Infants' School, Cashel Street.
- Mrs. Clarke, Ladies' Seminary, Oxford Terrace West.
- Misses Cole, Ladies' Seminary, Peterborough Street.
- Misses Hicks, Ladies' Seminary, Armagh Street.

Mrs. Horton, Infant School, Lichfield Street.
 C. Jones, Preparatory School, Gloucester Street.
 C. Jones, Boys' School, Lichfield Street.
 Miss Manchee, Preparatory School, Cranmer Square.
 Misses Nelson, Ladies' Seminary, Hereford Street.
 Misses Paynter, Preparatory School, Durham Street North.

AT LYTTTELTON:

J. Ward, Church of England, Winchester Street.
 J. D. Ferguson, Lyttelton (Pres.) High School, Dampier's Bay.
 Mrs. Perrin, Ladies' School, Canterbury Street.
 J. Ross, Presbyterian School, Winchester Street.
 (Teacher's name not given), Wesleyan School, Winchester Street.

PAPANUI:

M. Mayo, Mrs. Jennings, Church of England School.
 James Thompson, Public School, Harewood Road.
 Mrs. Tremlin, Wesleyan School, Harewood Road.
 J. Tomlinson, Day School, North Road.
 J. H. Ralfe, Private School, Papanui Road Exten.

KAIAPOI:

J. Matthews, Church of England School, Island.
 Misses Parnham, Ladies' School, North Road.
 W. H. Wake, Wesleyan School, Fuller Street.

RANGIORA:

C. Merton, Church of England School.
 Mrs. Foster, Girls' School.
 Mrs. Smith, Girls' School.

WOODEND:

Joseph Hutt, Church of England.

OXFORD:

Miss Steadman, Ladies' Boarding School.

SALTWATER CREEK:

Henry Lough, Public School.

RICCARTON:

— Mann, Wesleyan School.
 W. H. Wilson, Public School.

GOVERNOR'S BAY:

W. Blatchford, Public School.

AKAROA:

J. Murray, Public School.
 Miss Webber, Ladies' Boarding School.

TIMARU:

Mrs. Cookson, Ladies' School.
 Mr. and Mrs. Jagger, Public School.
 Miss Rose, Ladies' School.

TEMUKA:

A. E. S. Ross, Public School.

LEITHFIELD:

J. Morrison, Public School.

WAIMATE:

Teacher's name not given, Public School.

THE PIONEER TEACHERS OF WESTLAND.

- 1865.—Alexr. Malcolm, Tancred Street, Hokitika.
 1866.—Mr. Honan, St. Patrick's (R.C.) (boys), Greymouth.
 Miss McMahon, St. Patrick's (R.C.) (girls), Greymouth.
 1867.—Misses Heaphy, Mackay Street, Greymouth.
 H. Warren, Grammar School, Greymouth.
 Thos. Thomas, Church of England School, Greymouth.
 Miss Coll, Day and Boarding School, Revell Street, Hokitika.
 Miss Young, Wesleyan School, Staffordtown.
 1868.—Mr. Carrick, St. Mary's (R.C.), Hokitika.
 Mr. Stanton, All Saints' (C. of E.) School, Hokitika.
 (Teacher's name not given), Presbyterian School, Hokitika.
 Miss O'Donoghue, St. Patrick's (R.C.) (girls), Ross.
 John Mulhern, St. Patrick's (R.C.) (boys), Ross.
 John Griffin, Roman Catholic School, Kanieri.
 Mr. Hill, Private School, Ross.
 Mr. Niven, Private School, Kanieri.
 1874.—Mr. Ahearne, St. Patrick's (R.C.), (boys), Greymouth.
 Miss Clarke and Miss Dermehy, St. Patrick's (R.C.), (girls), Greymouth.
 1875.—J. J. Duggan, Maori Gully (R.C.) School, Grey Valley.
 Father M. Cummins, Roman Catholic School, Reefton.
 1876.—A. B. Thomson, Alexr. Roulston (first assistant; succeeded by W. B. Douglas), Mrs. Magoffin, Main Public School, Greymouth.
 1877.—J. J. Duggan, Kumara (R.C. School).
 1878.—R. Goulding, Main Public School, Greymouth.
 Sisters of Mercy, St. Mary's (R.C.) School, Hokitika.
 S. S. Crofts, St. Patrick's School (R.C.), (boys), Ross.

8.—PROVINCE OF OTAGO.

PIONEER TEACHERS.

- 1838.—Dr. Joseph Crocombe, Waikouaiti.
 1840.—Rev. J. Watkin, Waikouaiti.
 1844.—Rev. C. Creed, Waikouaiti.
 1848.—Thomas Ferens, Waikouaiti.
 James Blackie, First School, Dunedin.
 1849.—Bramley, First School, Port Chalmers.
 Mrs. Johnson, Infant School, Port Chalmers.
 1853.—Wm. McKenzie, J. E. Brown, Robert McDowal, Wm. Somerville, successors in turn to Jas. Blackie at the First School, Dunedin.
 1853.—Thos. Bell, Green Island.
 Miss Peterson, Girls' School, Walker Street, Dunedin.
 Alex. Gebbie, North-East Valley, Dunedin; later opened first school at East Taieri.
 Robert Stout, Andrew Russell, A. G. Allan (1858), successors in turn to Alex. Gebbie at North-East Valley.
 1855.—Rev. Alex. Bethune, Adam Wright, A. G. Allan (1858-1874), successors in turn to Thos. Bell at Green Island.
 1856.—Alex. Livingstone, Miss Margaret Dods, "High School," Dunedin.
 Alex. Ayson, Tokomairiro.
 Colin Allan (1856-1861), Port Chalmers.
 John Hislop (1856-1861), East Taieri.
 1856.—John McGlashan, first Secretary of first Otago Education Board.
 1857.—Mrs. Edwards, Portobello.

- 1858.—A. D. Johnston, Wakari.
 Andrew Russell, Anderson's Bay.
 Robert S. Gardner, West Taieri.
 Alex. Grigor, Inch Clutha.
- 1861.—John Hislop, first Inspector of Schools, Otago Education Board.
 Wm. Reid (1861-69), Port Chalmers.
 Robert Peattie, North-East Harbour.
 Wm. Duncan, North Taieri.
 Alex. Stott, Otokia.
 Vilant Graham, Warepa.
 J. Phillips, Waikouaiti.
 J. Stevens, Waiholo.
 Peter Stuart, North-East Valley.
- 1862.—Andrew Russell, Caversham.
 Thos. Halliwell, Dunedin School (now Arthur Street School).
 John Shaw, Private School, Albany St., near Leith St., Dunedin.
- 1863.—Alex. Stewart (1863-9 c.), King Street School (opposite present Dunedin Hospital; later removed to Union Street).
 Robert Stout, —. Stott, assistants to Alex. Stewart at King Street School.
- 1864.—John B. Park, South (now High St.) School, Dunedin (1864-1891).
 Miss Hooman, assistant to Wm. Reid (Port Chalmers).
 Robert Mitchell, Caversham.
 —. Shepherd, —. Perrin, Miss Campion, Roman Catholic School, old St. Joseph's Church, Dowling Street, Dunedin.
 Robert Stout, assistant to John Shaw, Albany Street School.
 (Both Messrs. Shaw and Stout later abandoned the teaching for the legal profession.)
- 1865.—Andrew Russell (1865-81), Mornington.
- 1869.—Mackay (1869-81), Grammar (District High) School, Port Chalmers.
 Thos. Lewis, North-East Valley.

LIST OF SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS.

From Mackay's *Otago Almanac*, 1864.

- PUBLIC SCHOOLS: DUNEDIN SCHOOLS.
- Otago High School, Dowling Street. G. P. Abram (acting Principal), D. Brent, A. Malcolm, V. B. Nicourt (assistants).
 T. Halliwell, Central School, Rattray Street.
 A. Stewart, North School, Great King Street.
 J. B. Park, South School, Walker Street.
 Miss Connely (succeeded in 1865 by Mrs. Whatman), Free (Ragged) School, St. Andrew Street.
- PRIVATE SCHOOLS:
- Miss Beck, Maitland Street.
 Mrs. Dent, Moray Place.
 Mrs. Douglas, Pelichet Bay.
 Mrs. Gillon, Young Street.
 Madame Lubecki, George Street.
 Misses Newman and Williams, George Street.
 Mrs. Proudfoot, Manor Place.
 Misses Redway and Dancer, Dowling Street.
 J. H. Shaw, Grammar School, Albany Street.
 Miss Tollers, Filleul Street.
 Miss Thomson, George Street.
 Mrs. White, Elm Row.

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS MENTIONED IN
N.Z. DIRECTORIES, 1867-8.

John Hislop, Inspector of Schools.
 Rev. F. C. Simmons, Otago High School.
 A. G. Allan, Public School, Green Island.
 Mrs. Bonney, Girls' School, Maitland Street.
 Mrs. Bray, Day and Boarding School, Forth Street.
 Wm. Milne, Miss Houghton, Caversham Public School.
 Mrs. Cham, Day School, Sunnyside.
 Mrs. Dick, Young Ladies' Seminary, Royal Terrace.
 J. Dickson, Public School, Saddle Hill.
 Mrs. Whatman, Public School, Bath Street.
 David McLauchlan, Public School, Halfway Bush.
 Miss Jarrett, Ladies' Boarding School, Elm Row.
 Miss Johnston, Day School, St. Andrew Strete.
 Madame Lubecki, Boarding School, George Street.
 Thomas Halliwell, Middle District School, Dowling Street.
 R. S. Gardner, Milton Hall School, Stuart Street.
 Rev. Father Moreau (R.C.), Dowling Street.
 Alex. Russell, Public School, Mornington.
 W. Taylor, Public School, North-East Valley.
 Mrs. Palmer, Day School, Great King Street.
 Miss Blair, Preparatory School, Dowling Street.
 Mrs. Constance Shields, Day School, Albany Street.
 Mrs. Smith, Private School, Dowling Street.
 J. B. Park, South Dunedin District School, William Street.
 Mrs. Sproull, Ladies' School, Maitland Street.
 Alexander Stewart, District School, Union Street.
 Mrs. H. Waymouth, Day School, Duke Street.
 Mrs. G. R. West, Ladies' Seminary, Moray Place W.
 Mrs. and Miss Chapman, Filleul Street.
 Mrs. Day, Forth Street.
 W. B. McKay, Anderson's Bay.
 Wm. Reid, District School, Grey Street, Port Chalmers.
 W. Porteous, Blueskin (Waitati).
 J. Phillips, Waikouaiti.
 John Watt, Palmerston.
 D. Munro, Hampden.
 James Orr, Otepopo.
 W. Gairdner, East Taieri.
 —. Crockett, West Taieri.
 J. Stevens, Waihola.
 D. Todd, Balclutha.

MILTON (TOKOMAIRIRO).

Mrs. A. Clarke, Ladies' Private School.
 Miss Davidson, Ladies' Private School.
 David Ross, Main Public School.
 John Robertson, Gorge Side Public School.
 Peter McIntyre, Woolshed Side Public School.

OTAGO SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS, 1870.

(From Official Records in the Office of the Otago Education Board.)

TOGETHER WITH NAMES OF THE FIRST TEACHERS IN THE RESPECTIVE SCHOOLS.

Name of School.	Head Teacher in 1870.	First Teachers.
SCHOOLS FOUNDED BEFORE 1856.		
Dunedin Middle ...	T. Halliwell	Jas. Blackie (1848) Alex. Livingstone (1856). Assistants : A. Livingstone, jun., and Miss M. Dods
Green Island ...	A. G. Allan	T. Halliwell (1862) — Bell (1853) Alex. Bethune (1855) Adam Wright (1856) A. G. Allan (1860)
SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1856.		
Port Chalmers ...	W. B. McKay	C. Allan (1856), W. Reid (1862)
Portobello ...	J. Tily	Mrs. Edwards (1856) C. Greenwood (1862)
East Taieri ...	J. Waddell	J. Hislop (1856) J. Waddell (1862)
Tokomairiro ...	D. Ross	A. Ayson (1856)
SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1858.		
Anderson's Bay ...	S. Clarke	A. Russell (1858) J. P. Baker (1863) W. B. Mackay (1864)
East Clutha ...	J. McEwan	— Brydone (1859) D. McEwen (1860) J. McEwan (1861)
Inch Clutha ...	Alex. Grigor	Alex. Grigor (1858)
Wakari ...	D. McLaughlin	A. D. Johnston (1858) Peter Stewart (1860) A. D. Johnston (1863) P. McLaughlan (1864)
Warepa ...	T. H. Meeking	Wm. Waite (1859) H. McLeod (1862)
West Taieri ...	G. Crockett	Alex. Gardner (1858) R. S. Gardner (1862)
SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1859.		
Otokia ...	P. Leitch	
North-East Valley ...	I. Scholefield	W. McClure (1863)
Waiholā ...	J. Stevens	A. Bett (1858) T. Douglas (1862)
SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1860.		
North-East Harbour	G. P. Bell	K. Morrison (1860) J. E. Lewis (1863)
North Taieri ...	G. B. Anderson	W. Finlay (1860) G. B. Anderson (1863)
Waikouaiti ...	J. Phillips	F. Franks (1860)
SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1861.		
Caversham ...	W. Milne	J. F. Barke (1861) R. Mitchell (1863)
SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1862.		
North Dunedin ...	Alex. Stewart	Alex. Stewart (1862)
Oamaru ...	W. S. Fitzgerald	J. Paradise (1862)

SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1863.

Glenore ...	...	G. H. Macan	P. McIntyre (1863)
Saddle Hill ...	...	Jas. Dickson	Jas. Dickson (1863)
Waitahuna ...	...	D. Clarke	John Stevens (1863)

SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1864.

South Dunedin ...	...	J. B. Park	J. B. Park (1863)
Blueskin ...	...	Wm. Porteous	Wm. Porteous (1864)
Kaikorai ...	...	H. P. Macklin	
Hampden ...	...	D. Munro	D. Munro (1864)
Kaihiku ...	...	T. Paterson	T. H. Meeking (1864)
Lake Waipori ...	...	A. Anderson	J. Cameron (1864)
Waiholā Gorge ...	...	A. Y. Smith	
Otepopo ...	...	A. Pirie	J. Orr (1864)
Alexandra ...	...	Geo. Reid	Miss E. Hamilton (1864)
Arrow ...	...	W. McHutchison	E. Ings (1864)
Clyde ...	...	E. Ings	Miss C. A. Hume (1864)
Lawrence ...	...	J. Stenhouse	J. Stenhouse (1864)
Queenstown ...	...	K. Sutherland	John Brown (1864)
Bath Street ...	...	Mrs. Whitman	Miss Connely (1864)

SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1865.

Cromwell ...	...	D. McKellar	N. Fleming (1865)
Teviot ...	...	J. A. Shepherd	G. Ireland (1865)
Palmerston ...	...	J. Watt	J. Ferguson (1865)
Balclutha ...	...	D. Todd	J. Hall (1865)
Port Molyneux ...	...	G. Wilson	J. Stevens (1865)
Naseby ...	...	J. Petchell	J. Petchell (1865)
Hamilton ...	...	W. Ure	G. S. Mitchell (1865)
Mornington ...	...	A. Russell	A. Russell (1865)
Stafford Street ...	...	Miss Dow	
Benevolent Institution ...	...	Miss Coxhead	

SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1866.

Popotunoa ...	...	Jas. Roy	
St. Bathans ...	...	J. Yorston	R. Darling (1866)
Maungatua ...	...	W. Murray	
Kaitangata ...	...	H. Hawson	
Waipori ...	...	J. P. Baker	J. E. Wilson (1866)

SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1867.

Bluespur ...	...	W. McLelland	
Akatore ...	...	Jas. Graham	
Taieri Beach ...	...	Ed. Webber	A. E. Innes (1867)
Pleasant River ...	...	Geo. Hardie	W. A. McLeod (1867)
Papakaio ...	...	D. B. Craig	Mrs. Trotter (1867)

SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1868.

Waitapeka ...	...	J. Porteous	
Lower Harbour ...	...	W. Anderson	A. Fleming (1868)
Upper Harbour ...	...	Alex. Kyle	D. Murray (1868)
Wetherstone ...	...	T. Johnston	
Tapanui ...	...	G. S. McNeish	
Awamoko ...	...	J. Robertson	J. Oliver (1868)
Hillend ...	...	H. McColl	A. Talbot (1868)
Whare Flat ...	...	N. McLeod	
Switzers ...	...	J. F. Dean	
Macraes ...	...	M. W. Stack	J. Knox (1868)
Blacks ...	...	H. Dixon	M. H. Stack (1868)
Moa Flat ...	...	J. C. Smith	
Southbridge ...	...	J. McNichol	W. Smith (1868)

SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1869.

Mimihaū ...	...	A. Murray	
Waiaieka ...	...	J. Oliver	G. Hardie (1869)
Merton ...	...	J. Orr	
Waiwera ...	...	W. Hay	
Hyde ...	...	S. H. Saunders	
Wangaloa ...	...	E. Neill	
Te Houka ...	...	J. McNeur	
Shag Valley ...	...	W. A. McLeod	

SCHOOLS FOUNDED IN 1870.

Cardrona ...	...	G. S. Pope
Macetown ...	...	D. M. Scott
Moeraki ...	...	D. McInnes
Tuapeka Mouth ...	...	A. B. Matthews
Sawyers' Bay ...	...	D. Murray
Owaka Flat ...	...	T. D. Thomson
Lower Shotover ...	...	H. Brown
Drybread ...	...	J. Murdock
Mount Cargill ...	...	A. Montgomery
Graytown ...	...	R. Macandrew
Nokomai ...	...	— Tapham
Kuri Bush ...	...	J. Neame
Adam's Flat ...	...	H. Rodgers
Alberton ...	...	— Thomas
Brighton ...	...	J. Yorston
Tomahawk ...	...	R. Brown

9.—PROVINCE OF SOUTHLAND.

PIONEER TEACHERS.

1853.—G. Lidiart, Riverton.

Other Private School Teachers at Riverton in the fifties: —
Beechy, John Leonard, H. H. Symon, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs.
Horne, Mrs. Galliot.

1857.—Invercargill proclaimed a "School District" of Otago, but no teacher appointed.

1861.—The Misses Bain, Invercargill (Private School).

Rev. Alex. Bethune, Invercargill (Public School).

1862.—Rev. W. F. Tarlton appointed Chairman, Southland Provincial Education Committee.

Rev. James Fullerton, Mavis Bush.

1864.—Rev. W. P. Tanner appointed Inspector of Schools.

W. S. Hamilton, Tay Street, Invercargill.

Dugald Cameron, Riverton.

J. B. Wardrop, Long Bush.

G. McLeod, B.A., Waianiwa (Oreti).

SOUTHLAND TEACHERS IN 1867-8:

A. Macdonald, Grammar School, Leven Street, Invercargill.

J. G. Smith, Public School, Tay Street, Invercargill.

J. E. Stewart, Boys' School, Barwheys, East Invercargill.

Mrs. Stewart, Ladies' School, Barwheys, East Invercargill.

J. B. Wardrop, Boys' School, Conon Street, Invercargill.

Joseph Evans, Public School, Bluff.

Dugald Cameron, Public School, Riverton.

Other Southland Teachers of the 'sixties were:—

- A. Burns, School in Deveron Street, Invercargill.
- Cook, — Wise, School in Tay Street, Invercargill.
- A. B. Tuson, North Road, Invercargill.
- Rev. — Searle.
- Professor — Henri.
- Mrs. Pettengall, Mrs. Edmund Rogers, North Road, Invercargill.
- Mrs. Gundry, Leven Street, Invercargill.
- Miss Hoblyn, Misses Carden, Spey Street, Invercargill.

SOUTHLAND TEACHERS IN 1870:

- Roslin, Rev. A. Bethune.
- Gummie's Bush, H. Henri.
- Flint's Bush, Rev. J. Fullarton.
- Wallacetown, G. McLeod.
- Morton Mains, J. S. Andrews.
- South Riverton, D. Cameron.
- Riverton, J. E. Stewart.
- Long Bush, E. K. Mackay.
- Waianiwa, J. McLeod.
- Winton, G. de Joux.
- One Tree Point, W. L. Weiss.
- Campbelltown (Bluff), vacant.

SOUTHLAND TEACHERS IN 1874:

- Roslin, A. Bethune.
- Gummie's Bush, A. B. Tuson.
- Flint's Bush, J. Fullarton.
- Wallacetown, S. Irvine.
- Woodlands, J. McLaymont.
- Riverton, E. Webber.
- Long Bush, J. G. Smith.
- Waianiwa, J. McLeod.
- Winton, D. Cameron.
- One Tree Point, J. Brown.
- Campbelltown, Jas. Orr.
- Forest Hill, J. McNicoll.
- Grove Bush, A. White.
- Orepuki, J. I. Andrews.
- Groper's Bush, E. R. Mackay.
- Invercargill, Headmaster vacant. Staff: J. McLeod, J. McPherson,
C. McIvor, C. Bain.

APPENDIX E.



BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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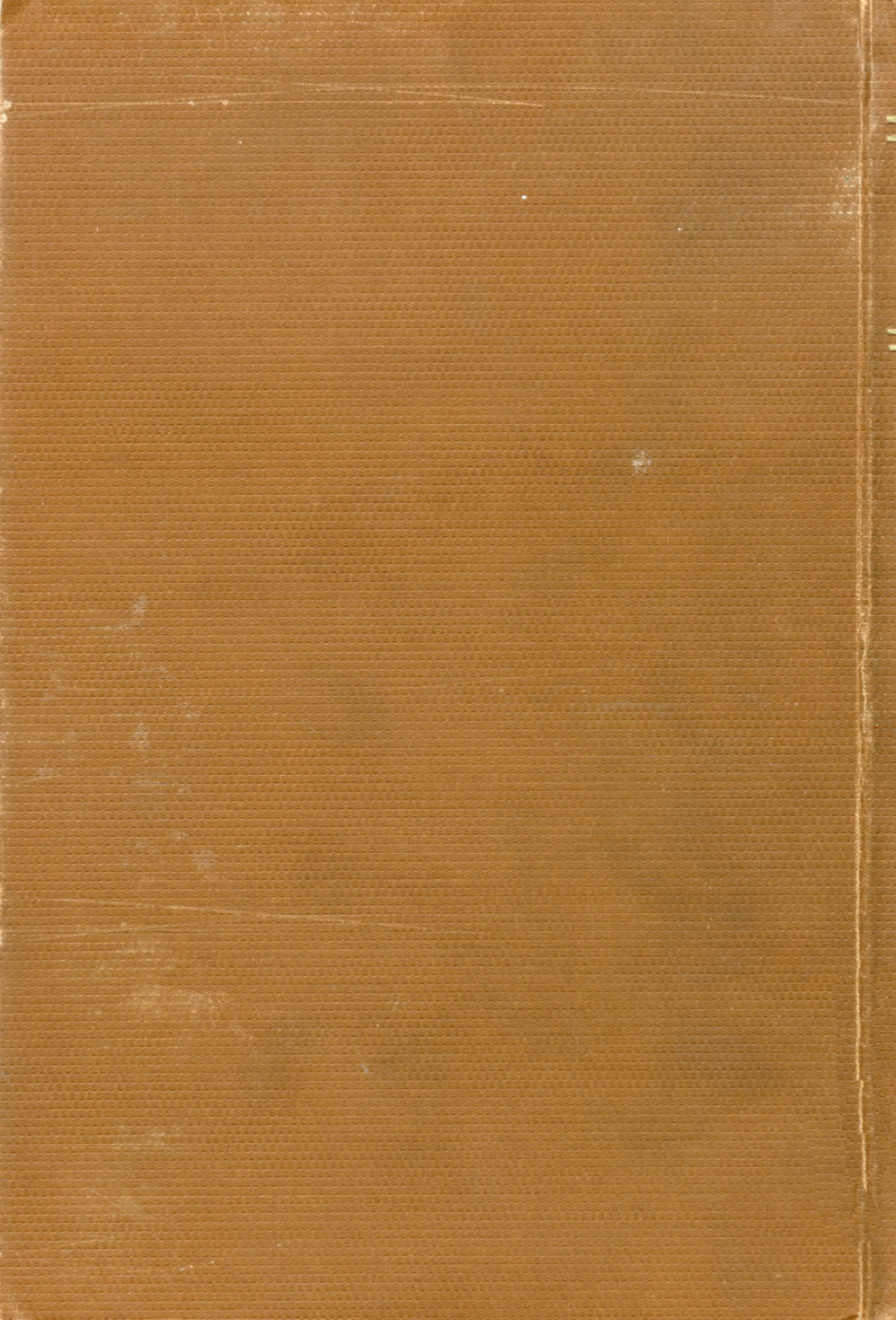
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