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Knowing their Place: the political socialisation of Maori women in New Zealand through schooling policy and practice, 1867-1969

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ABSTRACT Nineteenth-century British missionaries and the colonial government in New Zealand adopted a policy of assimilation of Maori into Pakeha (European) culture through actively discouraging Maori language, belief systems and culture. Central to the goal of assimilation was a Native School policy which in particular, emphasised the 'Europeanising' of young Maori. Church-run schools for Maori, which were subsidised by the state, aimed to return young Maori to their homes to model a Christian Pakeha lifestyle. This article argues that it was Maori girls, rather than Maori boys who were viewed as critical agents of change in the transformation of Maori society and that the colonial curriculum they were taught led to a political socialisation of generations of Maori women.

In calling for a development of feminist theorising incorporating race/ethnicity, gender and class, Anthias & Yuval Davis argue that it is the intersection of these categories that is important because "they cannot be treated as different layers of oppression".[1] This article is an attempt by an educational sociologist and educational historian, one Maori, the other Pakeha (European), to satisfy this request in the specific context of the political socialisation of Maori women through 100 years of educational policy and practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The impact of educational policy development on Maori schooling and education in New Zealand has been, in the main, determined by ideologies reflective of the dominant Pakeha culture. These ideologies, linked to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century views about race, affected the attitudes of British missionaries and settlers towards Maori, the indigenous people of New Zealand. That is, British colonialist expansion in Africa, India and Australia had brought the British into contact with non-European

populations, which resulted in views about the social significance of race. According to Goldberg [2], race came to be defined in two ways: a natural view whereby groups of people were classified by common characteristics or by descent from a common origin, and a view of race which made links between races to social differences on a hierarchical scale. It is the second view of race with its factor of social significance which gave rise to concepts such as 'Christianity' and 'civilisation'. Placed within the context of imperialism and colonialism, these attitudes influenced the types of educational policies formulated specifically for Maori.[3]

In the period 1815-47, it was the 'Christianising' policies of the missionaries which impacted on Maori attending the Mission schools. The churches shared a monogenesist view of race, believing that all human beings were linked to a common origin through their being children of God. Between 1847 and 1867, the state joined with the Church in the provision of Maori education to hasten what it believed to be a necessary 'civilising' process. This view is consistent with a polygenesist view of race where it is thought that different groups of human beings descend from different origins and therefore cannot all be regarded as 'human'. Translated into educational policy for Maori, such views on race meant that Maori were regarded by the Church as being worthy of conversion to Christianity and by the state as capable of being civilised through instruction in the English language via a curriculum of basic industrial skills. This paved the way for education to become the state mechanism for the assimilation of Maori into the dominant Pakeha culture.

The 'civilising' process employed by Church and state in New Zealand mirrored earlier efforts to colonise indigenous peoples in Africa, India and Australia. The purpose of British imperial education within its colonies was, writes J. A. Mangan:

to inculcate in the children of the British Empire appropriate attitudes of dominance and deference ... to shape the ruled into patterns of proper subservience and 'legitimate' inferiority. Imperial education was very much about establishing the presence and absence of confidence in those controlling and those controlled.[4]

The provisions of the Native Trust Ordinance introduced in 1844 reflected such an imperialist educational goal. The New Zealand Government did not replace the term 'Native' with the word 'Maori' until 1947. Schools for Maori were to "assimilate as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the native to those of the European population".[5] The earliest Mission schools taught in the Maori language. After 1847, however, Mission schools were required to teach in English in order to obtain state subsidies. Bilingualism prior to the 1860s was 'taken for granted'. Maori often needed to know some English but equally, pioneer settlers had to be able to speak and understand Maori in order to survive. However, as the population of settlers grew and surpassed the Maori population, the need for settlers to learn

Maori decreased. Instead there was an increasing belief by the settlers that Maori not only learn English but that they should stop learning Maori as well. The Mission schools were abandoned from the late 1850s as the Land Wars gathered momentum and by the mid-1860s Maori schooling was placed under state control. The Native Schools Act, 1867 set up a number of village 'day schools' for Maori children. These Native Schools were administered initially by the Native Affairs Department but in 1879 became a Department of Education responsibility. The aim of the state was to assimilate Maori children into Pakeha culture through actively discouraging Maori language, belief systems and culture and actively promoting Pakeha belief systems and culture. "What is represented", argues Maori academic Ranginui Walker, "was 'cultural surrender', or at the very least, the suppression of Maori identity".[6]

100mm

Figure 1. *Mauimua, Mauiroto, Mauipae* – these are names depicted on the barge boards of the house. This house may have been part of a kainga near Hukarere, at Haumoana, Hawkes Bay. A few photographs like this exist in the collection. It can only be surmised that such photographs were kept as a historical record and reminder of how the missionaries had 'saved' the Maori, transforming them from such 'uncivilised' conditions. Photograph mid-1800s. (Hukarere Collection)

The emphasis on ‘Europeanising’ the Maori people is evident in the 1880 Native Schools Code. Teachers in Native Schools, who were predominantly Pakeha, were urged to hasten the assimilation process in every possible way.

Besides giving due attention to the school instruction of the children, teachers will be expected to exercise a beneficial influence on the natives, old and young; to show by their own conduct that it is possible to live a useful and blameless life, and in smaller matters, by their dress, in their house, and by their manner and habits at home and abroad, to set the Maoris an example that they may advantageously imitate.[7]

Denominational Boarding Schools for Maori Girls

A small number of Maori denominational boarding schools had been established prior to 1880. Among them were the Maori girls’ schools of St Stephen’s (1846), St Joseph’s (1867) and Hukarere (1875). Schools for Maori boys included St Stephen’s (1845) and Te Aute (1854).

The church founders were keen to remove young Maori from their homes and place them in a European environment. The intention of the Church was that on leaving school, Maori youth would take their newly found lifestyle back to the *kainga* (home). It was hoped that with the teaching of new ideas, worshipping God and practising Pakeha ways, that the *kainga* would be more quickly transformed, paving the way for assimilation of Maori into Pakeha society. While these policies applied equally to Maori boys, it is clear that the Church regarded Maori girls as worthy of special attention. Maori girls, by conforming to a model of ideal womanhood, were seen to be the future guardians of morality through their roles as wives and mothers. The Pakeha middle-class concept of woman as ‘Angel of the House’ had as much to do with transforming Maori girls as it had with ‘saving’ them. This was because missionaries, such as the Williams family, commonly regarded Maori women as promiscuous. Early Anglican missionary families knew only too well that their own missionary men had been ‘defrocked’ for illicit liaisons with Maori women.[8] Maori girls were taught, therefore, that the model of womanhood and femininity was the Virgin Mary. “She stood for piety, subservience and goodness, whereas Eve and also Mary Magdalene represented the fallen woman – fallen from innocence, corrupt and corrupting”.[9]

It was common for nineteenth-century missionaries to ascribe such characteristics to colonised indigenous peoples. In his comparative work *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Memmi suggests that it “was through the missionary pursuit of gentility, that a hierarchy of races and a hierarchy of classes” emerged with the result that “the conquered races of the empire were treated as a new proletariat”. [10] In the Maori denominational boarding schools for example, girls were to live a life imbued with the Protestant Ethic. That is, they were to learn that the combination of hard

work and Christian principles were essential prerequisites for their future lives as wives and mothers of a new Maori labouring class.

Whereas the rural village Native Schools had Pakeha teachers bring 'civilisation' and the modelling of industry through living alongside Maori in the district, Church-run schools for Maori identified pupils who were regarded as intellectually able and took them away to boarding school where they lived as Pakeha 7 days a week. While this ideal suited to purposes of colonisation, it had a detrimental effect on the *kainga*, which was recovering from the effects of the Land Wars, epidemics and, in the 1880s, an economic depression. In selecting only the potential young leaders for training at the Maori boarding schools, the fabric of life in the *kainga* was weakened.

Although the intent of the Church, and the state as provider of funds, would be a returning of young Maori to their homes to model a Christian Pakeha lifestyle, in fact the numbers of Maori youth attending these schools were relatively small. Even so, educational historian A. G. Butchers reported in 1930 that the architects of assimilationist educational policies still thought state funding of Maori denominational boarding schools was "an ideal worth pursuing" although the cost was "four times as great per scholar as the village schools system".[11]

This investment was considered well worthwhile in terms of the sponsorship of Maori girls' secondary schooling. Both the Church and state viewed Maori women as critical agents of change in a move from what they saw as an older Maori world to the more modern world heralded by the arrival of the Pakeha settlers. Curriculum documents and Church manuscripts point to the fact that it was Maori girls, rather than Maori boys, who were charged with bringing about the transformation of Maori society. Maori girls would take new ideas and ways of doing things back to the *kainga* and teach by example. In this way, the colonial curriculum for Maori became a means of establishing and perpetuating political inequalities. The purpose was to use the curriculum as had been done in Africa, as "a civilising tool, as a source of labour and an instrument of control".[12]

For Maori girls this meant that once they arrived at boarding school from their homes, many of which were in remote areas, they were to be educated along the lines of an English middle-class Victorian girls' school. Alongside their lessons, girls were expected to assist with the daily running of the school. This meant that they assisted with meal preparation and serving, laundrywork, general housekeeping and gardening. The training in these tasks was also part of the mission of the school. Girls were to be 'domesticated' as part of the 'civilising' process.

This training illustrates the political socialisation of young Maori women; the ways in which gender and race were underpinned by a supposed 'natural relation'. Anthias & Yuval-Davis put it this way:

In gender, necessary social effects are posited to sexual difference and biological reproduction. For race, assumptions concerning the natural

boundaries of culture are used. These supposedly natural differences in capacities and needs on the basis of gender and race then come to enter into economic relations as legitimizers of inequalities in class position.[13]

This meant that for Maori girls, ‘valued knowledge’ was defined as ‘useful’ domestic knowledge, the kind needed to run Pakeha-style homes while their Maori men, defined as the breadwinners, would be employed in full-time paid work of the kind which would similarly reflect their lower position in the class structure. This shaping of collective awareness through the stereotypic image of what constitutes ‘ideal’ Maori citizenship is an example of the use of curriculum to perpetuate social control. The curriculum became the means of demonstrating “political authority”.[14]

Hukarere Native Girls’ School

While girls did receive a compulsory training in domestic skills, they were also, at least initially, given access to a comprehensive curriculum, based on the English grammar school model. For example, at Hukarere Native School for Girls, an Anglican school subsidised by the state, Superintendent Maria Williams believed that the most suitable academic programme for the girls in her care was a classical curriculum consisting of English, Latin, algebra, physiology, drawing, history, drill, singing as well as dressmaking. That she chose to emphasise an academic programme was perhaps the motivation behind a letter she received on 9 August 1898. It was written by Mr J. B. Fielder, who as a school board member, clearly saw the merits of a more technical education for Maori girls. He wrote asking Miss Williams for the following details:

Whether the pupils of the school under your charge are receiving any technical instruction in the following subjects: (1) Plain cooking and general household management; (2) cutting out and making up garments for personal wear; (3) music, and voice culture for either elocution or singing; (4) any other subject in art or science; and, if so, what is and has been the result of such education; and whether the girls after leaving the school have taken service in families or employment in the many branches of work open to their sisters of the European race, or, if married, do they generally live in the native or European style?[15]

The letter went on to ask Maria Williams to comment on the merits of technical education and whether or not she had suitable domestic appliances for practical instruction. The letter concluded with the promise that if she so desired, “any suggestion made by you as to improvements will receive the earnest consideration of the trustees. An early reply will oblige”.[16]

Maria Williams did not take up the hint to plead a case for new equipment, nor did she rush her response. Some 7 weeks later she laid out

the nature of technical instruction to the Trustees yet at the same time carefully avoided detail of her classical curriculum, which she knew full well was documented in the annual reports of the Native Schools Inspector:

(1) That the pupils are taught to do the ordinary work of the house, and the elder ones are taught plain cooking. This year they have had a course of six lessons in cookery from Miss Millington, who was much pleased with the results. (2) They are taught needlework and mending, and when sufficiently advanced they learn to cut out and make up garments for personal wear. Sewing machines are in constant use. (3) They receive instruction in singing, and a few learn instrumental music. They also learn to knit socks, vests, shawls and other useful articles.[17]

On the broader matters, Maria Williams indicated that some girls went into domestic service and others went home. She pointed to the increasing trend for girls to take up professional nursing training. Perhaps sensing an audit on the value for money spent on Maori girls' education, she added that "in the majority of cases the instruction received is not by any means thrown away".[18]

80mm

Figure 2. Maria Williams seated centre of row, wearing dark cape and bonnet. Photograph is early 1900s. Hukarere girls proudly modelling the staid Victorian femininity of Maori women in a pious new world. (Hukarere Collection)

65mm

Figure 3. Making beds. Particular protocols surrounded the making of beds at Hukarere. Girls were trained to make up their sagging beds by tightly straining and tucking the top blanket to disguise a hollowed bed. Counterpanes had to have the corners mitred like hospital beds. Photograph mid-1940s. (Hukarere Collection)

85mm

Figure 4. Serving in the dining room. Much store was laid on the way meals were served. Tables had to be set with linen cloths and proper bowls and utensils laid for serving. Photograph mid-1940s. (Hukarere Collection)

Maria Williams believed that she had achieved a desirable balance in her curriculum; one of academic study and practical skills. This was perhaps not the ideal to which the authorities aspired. The Education Department for example, continued to stress the importance for Maori girls to learn good plain cooking. "The knowledge thus acquired by the young Maori girls would afterwards be of the greatest service to her in married life, especially in the matter of preparing food for babies and for sick persons, many of whom die simply for want of proper food".[19]

While Maria Williams's notes indicate that she limited formal instruction to six sessions per year, girls received a daily dose of home management training. As many former pupils tell it, they were rostered onto a range of hostel duties. "To give us practical experience, the girls cooked the meals under supervision, served them, and did all the cleaning and washing".[20]

80mm

Figure 5. Cooking lessons were also part of the hostel kitchen duty. the cook (Mrs McGarry) 1st left, and matron (Mrs Gordon) centre, supervise the programme. Photograph mid-1940s. (Hukarere Collection)

Working in a Native School subject to the regulations of The Native Schools Code, Maria Williams was obliged to ensure that she included compulsory elements within the Hukarere curriculum. Of particular importance was that all tuition be conducted in English. This policy was explained by the Native Schools' Inspector in his 1896 annual report. "The work of teaching the Maoris to speak, write and understand English is in practice second only to that of making them acquainted with European customs and ways of

thinking, and so fitting them for becoming orderly and law-abiding citizens".[21]

Being a 'law-abiding' English-speaking Maori was not uppermost in the mind of Rangitiria Ratema when she went to Hukarere in 1910. She described what she found there:

that Maori was '*tapu*' [forbidden] ... Even after passing the sixth standard at Whakarewarewa my own English was still not 100 per cent. I preferred to chatter in Maori. English for most of us was hard work, a language only to be used when there was no other way out. Each day at school we would be asked if we had spoken any Maori, and those who owned up would be given lines to write out: "I must not speak Maori". I am afraid I must have been very honest and stubborn. I wrote thousands of lines for this crime. I became an expert in writing in two pencils.[22]

Even though Maori pupils did resist the compulsion of learning English, the Minister of Education's annual reports to government continued to emphasise that such practice was 'natural' and 'common sense'. As Suzanne Ormsby observes:

The ways in which literacy and power were inextricably intertwined were such that we should always be aware that literacy training is a political process. In New Zealand, literacy training through Christianity, accompanied by replacing Maori with English as the language of instruction were powerful instruments in the manipulation of Maori consciousness.[23]

Shortly after his appointment in 1901, the Director General of Education, George Hogben, visited the Maori denominational boarding schools. His report indicates that he recommended these schools strengthen the instruction in English and introduce manual and technical instruction such as carpentry, metalwork, cooking, sewing, hygiene and drill. At the same time, Hogben wanted the Maori secondary schools to abandon studies in Latin and Euclid.

The advocacy of a more practical curriculum was to prepare Maori for staying in their own communities rather than to equip them with professional skills whereby they could compete with Pakeha for white collar jobs in the expanding bureaucratic, commercial and professional sectors in large towns. The Secretary of Education and his department officials promoted the dignity of manual labour so that Maori youth would want to return to their local district upon finishing school. This attitude was reflected in the 1929 annual report of the Director General of Education. "Maori education" he said, "should lead the Maori lad to become a good farmer and the Maori girls a good farmer's wife".[24]

Such views had been resisted by Maori elders for some time. Scholars such as Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck for example, spoke for parents with children enrolled in the Maori denominational schools. They could

themselves, they said, teach practical skills to their children. What they wanted in return for paying substantial school fees was the kind of knowledge better to equip Maori youth for professional education.[25] The government was not deterred. In 1900 and 1902 it introduced the Manual and Technical Instruction Acts. Schools were offered money in exchange for the establishment of more practical subjects into their schools.

By 1906, the Director General was able to report partial success. While he had been able to convince the Hukarere Principal to stop teaching Latin, he had not been able to overturn Hukarere's brother school, Te Aute College, from running Latin, Euclid and algebra classes.[26] Eight years later, the Native Schools Inspectors were confident that the State was making more progress:

In none of the secondary Maori schools at the present time is there any attempt or desire to give what is usually understood by a 'college' education. Generally speaking, the girls' schools afford further training in English subjects and in various branches of domestic duties – cooking, sewing and dressmaking, housewifery, nursing and hygiene; the boys' schools in English and manual training – woodwork, elementary practical agriculture and kindred subjects and that is all.[27]

The Inspector was in fact reflecting the ideal rather than the actual outcome; Maori students excelled in higher school examinations at this time. Many young women went on to take up nursing and teaching studies, and while few attended university at this time, a large number of their boarding school brothers were allowed and encouraged to seek tertiary education. This trend had more to do with attitudes about women's future role than the intellectual ability of Maori girls. Despite credible school qualifications, Pakeha writers have perpetuated the myth that "a less academic standard was set" at the Maori girls' schools because "the girls were encouraged to realise the influential part they could play as Christian wives and mothers in their home communities".[28]

This view highlights the contradiction that existed around the education of Maori girls: that from 'the outside', girls' schools appeared to conform to the stereotypes levelled at Maori – low levels of achievement and subsequently, the relevance of a practical curriculum. However, from 'the inside', manuscripts and oral testimonies illustrate that outcomes were far more complex; linked to wider political factors, both cultural and economic.

Even as late as 1950, when a number of Hukarere women had graduated from university, the educational objectives for Hukarere girls were outlined by the all Pakeha male school board as follows:

Hukarere is entirely a boarding school. The Government gives scholarships to the most promising in the Maori schools; these are tenable for two years but are renewed for the best of these girls for a further two years, enabling them to obtain School Certificates, which

opens to them the chance of attending Training College, teaching in the Maori schools, nursing, dental nursing, which, with dressmaking, are the professions usually followed by our girls. Some are working among their own people as welfare workers and in the Department of Maori Affairs.[29]

Indeed, the State ensured in many ways that Maori girls were channelled into what were deemed 'suitable' occupations. For example, the provision of continuation Scholarships to enable Maori girls to receive nursing training emerged from the Conference of Old Boys at Te Aute College in February 1897. Boys had enjoyed Industrial Scholarships or apprenticeships for some time, but no provision had been made for girls. It was arranged that two Hukarere girls each year would be selected for a 12-month nursing course at Napier Hospital. As day-pupils of the hospital they were within easy walking distance of the school. The course specialised in nursing theory and practice, bandaging and changing dressings as well as classes in cooking for invalids. Later, the course was extended to 2 years and eventually allowed the girls to train as registered nurses.

This latter provision however, came with strings attached. If Maori girls were to have all this money spent on professional training then newly trained graduates would be required to return to work in their home communities.[30] It is not clear just how this regulation was enforced or whether it applied equally to boys who were the recipients of Continuation Scholarships. For girls, it meant that they were locked into a predetermined vocational and locational path.

This construction of the place of Maori women was further emphasised during the term of Inspector-General, George Hogben. However, his plans for changes of emphasis in the Native School curriculum were to impact upon both girls and boys. Hogben considered that greater emphasis should be placed upon English and manual training because these were:

more important than more bookish forms of instruction which might tend to unfit Maori boys and girls for the simple life of the pa and give them no training that would enable them to perform willingly and intelligently the work that had to be done in connection with their homes.[31]

In promoting the dignity of manual labour, Hogben and his departmental officials argued that it was right and proper for every Maori girl to return to their local district. Once there, educated girls would, as the Inspector of Native Schools put it, "bring an uninitiated but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with civilisation".[32]

The view that young women, both Maori and Pakeha, should be educated to better equip them for their future roles as wives and mothers was alive and well in New Zealand at the turn of the century. The argument advanced was for a domesticating curriculum at secondary school level

rather than one that included studies in mathematics or science. The view that women generally were lacking in scientific aptitude was advanced by part-time lecturers at the University of Otago medical school. Dr Truby King, Dr Frederick Bachelor and Dr Lindo Ferguson presented learned papers and spoke at public meetings against allowing young women to indulge in higher mathematics and scientific studies.[33] The stress placed upon girls by the secondary school system was regarded by King as interfering with their physical development, producing young women likely to shirk their maternal duties. In 1906, King published *The Evils of Cram*, a book in which he presented a series of isolated mental case histories of young women. These examples, according to King, demonstrated that mental illness was commonly caused by excessive academic work.[34] King, the founder of the New Zealand Plunket Society, an organisation established in 1907 to promote mother and infant welfare, was a man with a growing reputation in this field.

King and his colleagues called on the state to recognise the need to offer young women and young men quite different forms of education. Domestic management, physiology and hygiene, King and Bachelor argued, should take preference over French, algebra, Euclid and Latin.[35] In New Zealand, they were not alone in their belief that young women should be primarily educated for domestic duties and motherhood. Newspaper editors, senior male academics, politicians and clergy all endorsed these views.[36]

It was not coincidental that the promotion of the ideology of domesticity and education for domestic duties and motherhood came at a time when women were entering the paid workforce in larger numbers than ever before and were competing with men for jobs. There was another factor. Those who promoted the acquisition of domestic skills were predominantly from the Pakeha middle classes, people who were beginning to find it difficult to attract women to work as domestic servants. Their efforts to keep women in domestic roles were frustrated by the outbreak of World War I, which forced the Government to ask women, both Pakeha and Maori, to move into paid jobs vacated by men who had joined the armed forces.[37]

Educating young women for their 'natural' role, however, was seen as the answer to many of society's problems. While these attitudes did not go unchallenged by women doctors and school principals, who queried a specially defined education in a supposedly 'instinctual' subject [38], it is clear that the campaign to educate women for the domestic sphere was reasonably successful. In 1911, the School of Home Science was opened at the University of Otago [39]; in 1917 a certificate in domestic science was expected of all matriculating girls [40], and from 1919, girls taking home science for matriculation could present arithmetic instead of full mathematics.[41] These curriculum concessions were at the expense of pure mathematics and science. They contributed to the growth of the opinion that

girls were intellectually less able than boys and, in any case, would have less use for such subjects.

For Maori girls, this attitude was doubled; as a subordinate category in terms of gender, ethnicity and class their relegation to the private sphere symbolised their use by the state as an ethnic resource. Through the secondary school curriculum of the specially designated Maori girls' boarding schools they were constructed as having limited rights in the labour market and were to be used by the state to foster the links between the concepts of idealised motherhood and nationhood. It was a mechanism for constructing Maori women and through them, paving the way for the transformation of Maori society. As Anthias & Yuval Davis point out, this type of strategy for structuring or restructuring the form of the family was evident in other countries where the colonising state introduced policies to assimilate indigenous peoples. Such policies were, they say:

directed to the ideological or socialisation role of the family and the centrality of women within it; population control to maintain or change existing demographic patterns in favour of the dominant ethnic group [and] all policies and laws under which a legitimate national subject is reproduced.[42]

While Maori women were to be entrusted with this responsibility, they were also to be educated in order to develop a collective awareness of 'knowing their place'. In the first instance, they had to accept that Maori women were to blame for the high mortality of Maori babies, and secondly, that they had to be educated appropriately for the best of care depended on a compassionate nurturing mother who had primary responsibility for child welfare.

This narrow definition of caring failed to recognise the communality of child-rearing practised by Maori; that the care of children is shared between members of an extended family. For example, it is common for the grandmother to raise the eldest grandchild and for the care of a child to be taken over by a close relative for years at a time. Further, the Victorian concept of motherhood did not take into account the impact of other factors which contributed to Maori principles of child-rearing. That is, that after the Land Wars of the 1860s, many Maori families had their land confiscated by the state. Hence, in many cases they lost their source of income, lived in inadequate housing, often with no electricity, and struggled to feed their children. A broader definition of child-rearing would, of course, have required the state to fund social services for many rather than an educational campaign for a few.

Maori girls understood the purpose of the secondary education they received. Makareti Papakura, later an Oxford University scholar, recalled that as a 10 year-old, she was sent to Hukarere Native School for Girls in 1882. She wrote, "You are taught everything in that school and must know about keeping house, cooking, washing, sewing and clearing, as well as

lessons”.[43] Her cousin, Rangitiaria Dennon (Ratema), later the well-known Guide Rangi, went to Hukarere in 1910. In her autobiography she wrote of the importance of Hukarere girls putting their secondary education “to good use ... we needed examples from our own people – a steady stream of examples to convince the masses that the Maori could do it, given the change”.[44] Eve Magee (White), later an artist of renown, followed her two cousins to Hukarere as a 6 year-old in 1914. She remained there until she completed her pupil-teachership at the age of 18. “There was a hope in the minds of the authorities” she observed:

that the Old Boys (Te Aute) and Old Girls (Hukarere) would eventually marry ... I am thankful to say that in spite of all the restrictions many did marry. The Maori people benefited. It's a funny thing with the Maori people – it's not the individual who counts, it is the tribe you work for. It is the tribe you honour and love. It is the tribe that benefits. If the family is good and solid, it naturally followed that the tribe is good and solid.[45]

As late as 1931, there was still evidence that the State aimed to educate Maori girls in the denominational boarding schools and Native Schools quite differently from their Pakeha sisters in the state-run public or board schools. In that year the Inspector of Native Schools explained that:

It does not appear than any attempt to teach all the subjects prescribed for the public schools is likely to be beneficial for the Natives ... They have a good deal of instruction in health, hygiene, and moral teaching that is not necessary in most public schools. Again, it is so advisable that an adequate amount of time should be given to manual training that there is little time available for such subjects as history and geography.[46]

Four years later, the gendered and racialised curriculum for Maori girls was regulated through the aims and principles of the state's new policy for Maori; assimilation was to be changed to adaptation. It was now thought appropriate for the school curriculum to reflect aspects of Maori culture. However, “in the case of girls”, it was written, “a practical knowledge of housecraft, including plain sewing, cooking, washing and care of clothes, house cleaning and beautifying, mending and nursing be considered essential”.[47]

There is evidence to suggest that this philosophy was not always shared by those responsible for the education of Maori girls. The writings of Hukarere Principal, Mere Hall, for example, indicate that she wanted more for her pupils than just for them to be good homemakers. More than any other Maori woman, she realised that such nineteenth-century goals for Maori girls were restricting. Mere Hall had arrived at Hukarere at the age of 7 in 1893, and as an orphan stayed on at the boarding school until such time as she had become a teacher and lived a life as an independent single

woman.[48] She considered teaching [and nursing] admirable careers for Maori women. As she retired in 1944, having spent an unprecedented 51 years at Hukarere, she wrote that:

We found the two years in a school like this was not long enough to give a girl chance to do more than domestic work, so when the necessity arose for more teachers in the Native Schools, the Education Department granted Continuation Scholarships to the best of the original scholarship holders ... In 1939, our first girls entered the Training College and up to the present we have had twenty-three. The Government inspectors keep in touch with them and report very favourably on their progress.[49]

Perhaps guided by Mere Hall's philosophy, her successor in 1945, continued the plea for private scholarships from the Old Girls' Association and other sympathisers. She estimated that "40 pounds per annum would give one pupil" a year's schooling while "the sum of 200 pounds would train one girl for teaching".[50] Although Miss Boyle expressed her gratitude to the Education Department for the scholarships it provided, she did add, perhaps with tongue in cheek, the observation that during the year "the Hon. H. G. R. Mason, Minister of Education, paid an informal visit to the school and generously donated 2 pounds to school funds".[51]

70mm

Figure 6. Mere Hall seated 11th from left, wearing a dark suit, spent 51 years of her life at Hukarere as a pupil, as a teacher and eventually became the principal. This group of girls were among the last group of those she taught there. She retired in 1944 and died in 1966. Photograph early 1940s. (Hukarere Collection)

Lessons for Maori Girls

While some Maori parents continued to send their daughters and sons to the Maori denominational boarding schools, the fees charged by these schools remained beyond the reach of the majority of Maori. Instead, those who had passed the Proficiency Examination, and gained access to a secondary education, attended the Maori district high schools which had first been established in 1941. Here, they would, according to the Inspector of Schools at that time, be well prepared for their future role in New Zealand society:

The Maori is not sufficiently removed from his past to be suited for commerce ... the core of the curriculum is home-making, home-making in the widest sense, including building construction ... furniture making, metal work and home management. The aim is to teach the skills and develop the tastes that make the house not merely a place of habitation but a home in the best sense of the word.[52]

This narrow view of what properly constituted secondary education of Maori precluded the possibility that pupils in the Maori district high schools would sit senior secondary school examinations, such as those offered in the Maori denominational schools or in the other secondary schools catering for mainly Pakeha students. In what can now be described as a racial and socially stratified educational policy, Maori youth who lived predominantly in rural areas and whose choice was mainly limited to the Maori district high school were placed in a very different secondary school environment from their Maori peers in the Maori denominational boarding schools and the Pakeha secondary students. Even though School Certificate courses were eventually introduced into the Maori district high schools, the differentiation in the secondary school curriculum continued to exist between Maori and Pakeha in many areas. For this reason, the Maori denominational boarding school remained an attractive option for those Maori parents who could afford the fees. Reflecting on both her schooldays at a Maori girls' denominational boarding school during the 1940s and her more recent involvement as Principal of the same school, Awhina Waaka provides the rationale: "Our special character ... is sufficient to give us the edge to retain our distinctive rights and our *tino rangatiratanga* [sovereignty] from being totally overtaken and subsumed by the State".[53]

Such evidence of resistance to the imposition of Pakeha gender attitudes and models has increased from the early 1980s. This was a time of high Maori unemployment, high rates of Maori imprisonment, high Maori infant mortality, high Maori suicide, poor Maori health and when the "state of Maori education" was described as "a national shame".[54]

Maori believed that educational initiatives led by Maori could not do any worse than the state's efforts to date and, at least, by teaching Maori

language and culture they could and would validate their own identity. A do-it-yourself campaign was launched whereby Maori provided their own solution to educate Maori children at pre-school (*Te Kohanga Reo*) and primary (*Kura Kaupapa Maori*) levels. It was underpinned by a principle embraced in these two proverbs:

Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori

(The Language is the very life principle of Maori Mana)

(Traditional Proverb)

Me korero Maori I nga iwi nga wa katoa, I nga wahi katoa

(Speak Maori at all times and in all places)

(Koganga Reo imperative)

Maori educational initiatives in establishing their own schools can be regarded as a resistance to over 100 years of denying Maori language as a legitimate medium of instruction. For the past decade the proliferation of Maori-run schools has challenged past educational practices now recognised and described by Mangan as “sustained cultural arrogance, posing as cultural benevolence ... a sustained attempt at Maori socialisation into not merely a European but a British set of values, attitudes and actions”.^[55]

Maori are reclaiming their right to be funded by the state to provide systems of schooling commensurate with Maori notions of teaching and learning. Much of the vision and energy for these initiatives has come from Maori women who continue to play a vital role in the teaching, the administration and the fund-raising necessary to maintain the schools. Maori women are reconstructing their knowledge of their place within New Zealand society – a knowledge over which they now have the control.

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