CHAPTER EIGHT

MĀORI GIRLS EDUCATION & NATIVE SCHOOLING
1840-1940

Children were taught ‘correct’ British values and beliefs while having their own destroyed. The oppressor was naming the world and defining how others should live in.¹

Introduction

There is a growing body of literature related to Māori involvement in Pākehā schooling.² The same may be said in regard to girls schooling.³ Where academics from a range of disciplines have discussed, analysed and provided critique of Pakeha schooling for Māori, it remains that only a small group of, predominantly Māori women academics have sought to engage with the ways in which Māori girls schooling has been constructed historically. Whilst I don’t wish to go over already well walked ground I do wish to look at two specific components of Native Schools and the impact and influence of those on the maintenance and perpetuation of particular discourses pertaining to Māori women. These two areas are (i) the development of policies and legislation by the colonial settler Government which perpetuated western gender ideologies and (ii) the role of the Native Schools curriculum in the development and entrenchment of western gender ideologies. It is my belief that each of these two components have been instrumental in the establishment of discourses that have subsequently undermined the position of Māori women within their communities and in more contemporary times within wider Māori society on a national level.

Historical writings related to Māori and schooling have tended toward general discussions of the ways in which the colonial powers established schooling as a vehicle for the ‘civilising’, and social control, of

Māori people, and the complex ways in which these have impacted upon wider societal issues for Māori. The history of Māori girls schooling has tended to be located as the 'add-on' chapter at the end of books on the history of girls schooling, or, in the discussion of Missionary and Native schooling, has tended to be ignored. In many instances the documentation of Māori girls schooling has been seriously flawed⁴. Barrington and Beaglehole have provided some key descriptions of early schooling for Māori, including references to Māori girls.⁵ Where their text is invaluable in the depth of description it does not provide any strong critical analysis or reflection. More recently the International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education has developed a pictorial text on the Native Schooling system, this text provides description and analysis⁶, it is however an introductory publication that is targeted at a general public audience and therefore the written text has been kept to a minimum.

As Māori people move increasingly to tell our own stories and relate our own histories there is a growing trend amongst Māori women, in particular, to bring forward the stories of our tūpuna wāhine.⁷ Those that have provided in-depth writings or documentation related to the schooling of Māori girls have tended to be Māori women who, due perhaps to their direct interest in the field, have sought to outline some of the historical ideologies and structures within which Māori girls schooling has been located.⁸ This chapter provides an overview of the literature regarding Māori girls schooling and schooling for Māori girls. It serves as a case study of the ways in which the intersection of race, gender and class in colonial Aotearoa has real material implications for Māori women. The major focus for this chapter is to explore the ways in which beliefs pertaining to Māori girls and women have been constructed within Missionary and Native schooling systems.

**Mission Schooling**

T.H Beaglehole writes that in 1814 the Church Missionary Society indicated the intention to begin a system of schooling by noting that "a separate fund for the establishment and support of schools among the heathen" had been opened. Schooling was seen as an essential part of the Society's work to bring

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⁴ Two key cases of this may be seen in the works of both Berys Heuer and Ruth Fry, discussed in the previous chapter.
‘divine truths’ to the ‘heathen.’ Judith Simon records that under the leadership of Samuel Marsden there was a clear missionary agenda to bring christianity to Māori through a process of civilisation. The relationship between the notions of christianity and civilisation were important to the overall agenda of the missionaries, Judith expresses this well;

While christianity and ‘civilization’ were perceived as interdependent and virtually separate, Marsden believed that giving prior emphasis to the ‘civilizing’ of Māori, would enable the teachings of Christianity to be more favourably received. Thus with artisans as his missionaries he set out to introduce to the Māori the ‘mechanical arts’ particularly the skills of agriculture and carpentry. Furthermore, he planned, through the ‘civilizing’ process to create ‘artificial wants to which [the Māori] had never before been accustomed and which ... must act as the strongest excitement to the exercise of their ingenuity’. By this means, he hoped to bring about the restructuring of ‘the whole system of [the Māori] internal economy (Nicholas, 1812:16-17).10

Judith argues that the ‘replacement’ agenda held by the missionaries involved both the removal of Māori institutions, practices and values and the replacement with European institutions, of which capitalism was an integral part.11 Practices of ‘civilising’ and ‘christianising’ operated hand in hand in collaborative ways to instigate changes within Māori society. Judith Binney writes that there was a definite belief held by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) that in order to bring christianity to Māori there must be an ‘improvement’ of conditions.12 She writes powerfully about the role of the civilising agenda as espoused by the CMS.

The conversion of the heathen was to be combinged with an attack on the social practices of the indigenous people, usually called their ‘abominations’. They intended specifically to transform, indeed eradicate, by their actions and their words, the existing structure of Māori society. Such assumptions were part of the belief that ‘social progress was inextricably bound up with the message of atonement’. Christianity was to be accomplished by the ‘transformation of primitive society to civilized society’. It was according to the missionaries, a very simple change.13

The establishment of Mission schooling was to provide a formalised context within which these practices could be inculcated into Māori communities.14 The beginning of Colonial forms of schooling for Māori has been identified as being in Rangihoua in 1816. This the first mission school was developed by Thomas Kendall and began the infiltration of colonial thinking, attitudes, practices, knowledge, systems into Māori communities.15 Documentation highlights the tenuous existence of this

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10 Simon, J., 1990 op.cit.:62
11 ibid.
12 Binney notes that this was in opposition to the philosophy of the London Missionary Society who in that time believed that if christianity was taken to the ‘natives’ they would then aspire to ‘civilisation’. The Church Missionary Society however held to their view that a civilising agenda must be central and that ‘good manners and social discipline must precede the gospel’. Binney, J., 1968 The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall, Oxford University Press, Christchurch: 8
13 ibid.:13; Simon, J., 1990 op.cit.
14 ibid.
school due to the tenuous relationships between Pākehā and Māori. Judy Simon notes that the school at Rangihoua was open for only two years, however in the 1820s and 1830s Māori enthusiasm for schooling grew. Barrington and Beaglehole write that the missionaries arrived in Aotearoa with a very clear purpose, that being to spread the word of christianity and in doing so to “show the natives the way to salvation”. The translation of the bible into te reo Māori meant that from a very early stage in the colonisation of this country christian doctrines were readily available to Māori communities. This was to have a key influence on the infiltration of colonial ideologies. This was the intention, to utilise schooling as a means of introducing christian ethics and practices to the ‘natives’. For the Missionaries schooling was seen as an integral part of their duty in the processes of bringing a heathen people to christianity. This was precisely why Thomas Kendall had come to Aotearoa. Kendall had, in 1805, ‘found grace’ in the form of Reverend Basil Wood through which he stated

My attention was arrested as out of a long slumber during the solemnity if the service and particularly when I was told so plainly what was the only remedy for sin and misery.

Binney notes that after having read in the 1808 Church Missionary Society Report of the “deplorable state of the heathen world” Kendall converted to the missionary vocation. Evangelical thought located ‘sorrow’ and ‘depravity’ as a consequence of sin and that if the ‘heathens’ were ‘perishing’ it was their role to ‘save’ them. This is the context from which Kendall was operating. According to Binney, Kendall saw himself as a ‘divine instrument’ and was eager to be a part of the mission to Aotearoa. It appears from his correspondence that on his arrival in Aotearoa that his view of Māori as ‘heathens’ and ‘savages’ were affirmed and he wrote the ‘New Zealanders’ “must indeed be sunk to the lowest pitch of human degradation”. However, having said that he was also convinced that Māori were an intelligent people who could be converted.

Assimilation was not solely limited to a missionary intent but was a part of the wider Native Policy that would be developed by colonial settler Governments. With colonial schooling beginning in Aotearoa with such a focus there is little doubt that the assimilatory function of schooling was essential to the overall thrust of Native Policy. In early Mission schools this was facilitated through te reo Māori, with missionaries teaching initially in te reo. The translation of the bible and the enthusiasm of many Māori people to develop literacy worked to complement the development of Mission schools.

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16 Simon, J., 1990 op.cit.
17 Barrington, J.M. and Beaglehole, T.H. 1974, op.cit.:2
18 Kendall to Wood 23 January 1813, ms.54/1 cited in Binney, Judith 1968 op.cit.:4
19 ibid:5
20 ibid:6-7
21 Smith, L.T. & Smith, G.H. 1990 ‘Ki Te Whai Ao, Ki Te Ao Marama: Crisis and Change in Māori Education’ in Jones, A. et.al Myths and Realities: Schooling in New Zealand, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North
According to Beaglehole it was the belief of the missionaries that ‘God’ revealed truths in the bible and therefore it was their role to create the conditions for the ‘heathens’ to read and attain ‘Gods’ word. Having noted this as the intention of the missionaries, Beaglehole validates the objectives stating that in every way Māori contact with the missionaries was ‘educative’, providing experiences and modelling of missionary life. Finally, he writes that it is perhaps just that it be the missionaries who act as the ‘advance guard’ to a process of civilisation that would in turn mean the death of many Māori, as they had come “to show the way to eternal life.”

Much can be said about comments such as that made by Beaglehole although it can be best summarised in stating that such statements reflect a lack of analysis of the cultural oppression and colonisation, which must be engaged in any discussion of early schooling for Māori. In the extended version of the Beaglehole article, rewritten with J. Barrington, the strong paternalism is not as evident and we are provided with more specific information about the Mission schools themselves. Barrington and Beaglehole note that the school at Rangihoua, although only open for a short period, revealed much that would become characteristic of later Mission schools. The racial ideologies of the time were no less evident than in the physical arrangements of Kendalls school at Rangihoua which include a raised platform of approximately seven inches above the floor for the ‘European’ children. The number of students in attendance went from 47 in 1816 to 70 in 1817, with there initially being significantly more girls. In 1817 however the numbers of girls equalled the number of boys. This is an important situation to note as it indicates that Māori whānau were in fact sending their girls to school in equal numbers to boys and therefore schooling was seen as something that was a possibility for all children. The missionary idea that there was a need for separation of girls from boys is inferred in the Barrington and Beaglehole text by Kendal who wrote that he was awaiting the return of William Carlyle who would then “assist me to keep the boys apart from the girls.” A reason for why the girls and boys should be separated is not given. One can only assume that the need for separation is to ensure that colonial gender ideologies are more able to be promulgated. This is more adequately illustrated by Kendalls book ‘A Korao no New Zealand’ or the New Zealander’s First Book; being an Attempt to Compose some Lesson for the Instruction of the Natives’. The content of this book, although poorly written in te reo Māori, gives an example of the assimilatory nature of the school.

1. Kadidde God, kena tungata keno
2. Koea ta tungata pi karungho eta
1. God is angry with bad men
2. Thou art a good man to hear the

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23 Beaglehole, T.H. 1970 op. cit.:25
25 ibid.
26 Thomas Kendall cited in ibid:12
27 This would more likely be written in current written Māori language as: He Korero no New Zealand
koraro no God
3. Koea ta tangata keno aquorhe
arungho ta koraro no God

word of God.
3. Thou art a bad man not to hear the
word of God.

The gendered nature of the translations also shows that the manipulation of te reo Māori began very early with contact between the missionaries and Māori. The term ‘tangata’ here is translated as ‘man’ rather than as ‘person’. This is in line with the overall social context of the time where the use of the English language was such that references to people was done though the terms ‘man’ or ‘men’. It is not surprising then that Kendall began to develop a gendered curriculum that had the girls making clothes and the boys making fences and working the land. The curriculum for Missionary schooling was based in the notion that christianising and civilising went hand in hand, and that the roles of Māori girls and Māori boys were to be determined by the racialised and gendered ideologies of the missionaries.

Mission schools were taught entirely in te reo Māori through the early part of schooling developments in Aotearoa. The dual need of missionaries requiring to know the language of Indigenous peoples for both their own survival and to increase their ability to disseminate the word of their god is evident. The active engagement of with both Māori and English literacy forms has been researched by Kuni Jenkins and Margie Hohepa. With the initial development of print literacy for Māori being focused upon the bible, and books such as those written by Kendall, it is little wonder that gender ideologies of our colonisers became quickly entrenched. This was not only facilitated through the missionaries but was a part of the wider colonial development.

The school day was ordered around the community and the need to gather food, commencing just after daybreak, with a break in the day during which the missionaries taught their own children. Māori children returned in the evening for further lessons. Attendance was largely dependent on the availability of food and when provisions ran out the school was closed down until further supplies were available. The lack of provisions that finally saw the school close completely in 1818. Judith Simons states that Māori interest in schooling was directly related to an interest in the new technologies brought by Pakeha. New technologies and knowledge were clearly welcomed and were put directly into use for the benefit of whānau, hapū and iwi. However, not all technologies were beneficial for all. The introduction of the musket, alcohol, diseases, various animal and plant species, tobacco and other goods

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28 In current spelling of te reo Māori the phrases may look more like this: 1. Ka riri a God ki ena tangata kino; 2. Koia te tangata pai ka rongo e te korero no God; 3. Koia te tangata kino kahore i rongo te korero no God.
31 Binney, J. 1964 op.cit.
proved deadly for Māori. The musket upset the dynamics between Māori and brought to those in possession of them a power that had never before been known in inter-tribal warfare. The Missionaries were not removed from the trade in goods and some were instrumental in making muskets accessible.  

Hence, the interest in the Mission Schools, and later Native Schools, was not merely located in a desire to read and write but was at the same time to gain access and knowledge of key instruments that would support the overall interests of the hapū or iwi.

As Judith has written there was a distinct difference in the intention of Māori and of Pākehā. For Māori people engagement with Pākehā knowledge and education was considered a form of expansion and adding to existing knowledge. For the colonial settlers however it was to produce a situation that not only encouraged but actively advocated the replacement of Māori knowledge with Pākehā knowledge. This intention is clearly evident in the Native Schools records, in particular in the reports of early inspectors. Added to this was the ongoing objective of the missionaries to bring christianity to Māori.  

A range of authors have highlighted schooling as a key mechanism in processes of assimilation. Patricia Marangi Johnston writes that the notion of assimilation derives from racial ideologies that advanced a belief that the 'inferior' races needed to be assimilated into the 'superior' culture in order that they be 'civilised'. This is also identified by Barrington and Beaglehole as being the primary intention, citing from the Missionary Register they note;

The schools were to play a key part in the Society's work, for they were to be the means by which the children could be 'trained up in the knowledge of those divine truths, by which, under the blessing of God, they will be rendered useful members of the Society, and heirs of glorious morality'.

Native Schooling

Schooling has been identified as a key vehicle for the assimilation of Indigenous peoples. A key assumption of assimilation policies was the notion of the existence of a hierarchy of civilisations, within which the coloniser is located as 'superior'. The coloniser when established in the position as the dominant group then control what is defined as appropriate ways of being including language, knowledge, customs, relationships and general life-style. What this has meant in Aotearoa is the suppression of Māori worldviews and ways of living and the development of a determined effort by the

33 Jenkins, K.E.H. 2000 op.cit.
34 The 1847 Education Ordinance saw the instigation of a state controlled education system. However, it was not to be entirely operated by the colonial state as Governor George Grey, for expediency, developed the system based upon the existing Mission Schools. Given that Mission Schools were already well established it was advantageous to utilise those as the foundation for a state system. This was the beginning of the state controlled Native Schools.
36 Simon, Judith 1991 op.cit.
colonial forces to replace those with what was deemed appropriate for the Natives of this country. The Pākehā education system has been instrumental in these processes. It has been constructed to facilitate the maintenance and reproduction of selected knowledge. This has occurred through the construction of particular forms of pedagogy, curriculum, methods and content of examinations, credentials etc. The colonial education system was established not on any principle of benefiting Māori people, but was premised on the assimilation of Māori serving the interests of the immigrant settlers, of benefiting the dominant group.

The colonial schooling system is one example of a colonial institution established specifically to aid in the assimilation of Māori. This chapter outlines the role of the Native Schools system in the development and entrenchment of discourses that promote the domestication of Māori women. The term domestication is used in a sense that encompasses both the patriarchalisation of Māori society and the diminishing of Māori women's status within our own communities. As a system founded on the ideological belief that Māori people required both civilising and christianising, the Native Schools were viewed as instrumental in bringing about the desired change.

The key aim of this chapter is to continue to highlight the role of the colonial state in the perpetuation of western colonial ideologies that contributed to the denial of Māori women fundamental rights within Māori communities and in doing so the diminishing of Māori women's voices in wider decision making processes. The process of entrenching western patriarchal beliefs over mātauranga Māori was multi-levelled. It operated at both the macro state institutional level where policies developed were clearly antagonistic to the interests of Māori women and at the micro level of the school and the classroom. Policy and legislative development by the colonial settler Government highlighted the clear intention to reduce the role and positioning of Māori women in decision-making processes. This chapter focuses also on how the wider ideological thrust of the coloniser was introduced into Native Schools and the implications of that for Māori women.

**Legislative Developments and Colonial Discourses of Race and Gender**

Legislative and policy moves contributed to the ongoing marginalisation of Māori girls and women within the state education sector. This section will examine some of the historical pieces of legislation that have influenced the marginalisation of Māori women.

37 Barrington, J & Beaglehole, T.H. 1974 op.cit.:8
1844 Native Trust Ordinance

The 1844 Native Trust Ordinance highlighted formally the intent of the colonial government as follows:

And whereas great disasters have fallen upon uncivilized nations on being brought into contact with Colonists from the nations of Europe, and in undertaking the colonization of New Zealand her Majesty’s Government have recognized the duty of endeavouring by all practicable means to avert the like disasters from the Native people of these islands [New Zealand] which object may be best obtained by assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the Native to those of the European population.

The 1844 Ordinance was packaged as an obligation on the part of the British to assimilate and 'civilise' the 'natives', which according to Hariata Huata provided the basis for an ideology of British cultural supremacy.\(^{38}\) Alan Ward writes that in a context where ‘amalgamation’ of Māori was a focal point, the Ordinance was written to promote Māori welfare.\(^{39}\) The object of assimilation was he posits to promote economic development to avoid Māori becoming economically vulnerable. Where he identifies a number of flaws in the Ordinance he argues that the most serious was the colonial assertion of racial or cultural superiority and the 'pandering' to the prejudices of settlers which meant the positioning of Māori beneath Pākehā. What this meant, Ward states, was that the potential for state building where Māori were actively involved was not realised.\(^{40}\) Judith Simon notes that policies such as this served the assimilation agenda whilst also seeking to bring Māori under the British Law as a means of social control.\(^{41}\) Barrington and Beaglehole note that the Ordinance itself generated little interest and was not gazetted. However, despite that they state the general thrust of the Ordinance was to be influential in educational policy for nearly 100 years.\(^{42}\)

1847 Education Ordinance

Through the 1847 Education Ordinance the Crown provided their support to the existing missionary schools by creating a national system of Native schools whilst at the same time legitimating the structures and curriculum under missionary control. Governor George Grey viewed it as expedient to retain the existing system as opposed to the establishment of a totally new system. Hence, it may be stated that the Crown, through the 1847 Education Ordinance, was then legitimating the missionary agendas, in regard to Māori people generally and Māori girls and women in particular.\(^{43}\) The Native Schools Act of 1847 brought to Aotearoa a formalised Pākehā education system through the formal recognition of the Missionary schools. Governor George Grey viewed it as an act of expediency to

\(^{39}\) Ward, Alan A Show of Justice: Racial Amalgamation in Nineteenth Century New Zealand, Auckland University Press, Auckland:39
\(^{40}\) ibid.
\(^{41}\) Simon, J. 1990 op.cit:67
\(^{42}\) Barrington, J.M. & Beaglehole, T.H. 1974 op.cit.:40
\(^{43}\) ibid.
formalise the role of the Mission schools rather than attempt to instigate a new system of Native Schools.

The funding of the system was dependent upon the achievement of the key objectives and is summarised by George Grey as follows;

All schools which shall receive any portion of the Government grant, shall be conducted as heretofore upon the principle of religious education; industrial training, and instruction in the English language, forming a necessary part of the system in such schools.\(^{44}\)

As the first piece of legislation related directly to the development of a national Pākehā system of education in Aotearoa, the 1847 Education Ordinance may also be viewed as the first legislative expression of Pākehā male control of the education system. The Ordinance provided for the supervision and management of each school by "one of the persons named of referred to in the schedule hereunto annexed". Those named in the schedule were as follows;

- 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.

That such positions in the time were held only by Pākehā men requires little discussion and the assertion is validated within the Ordinance itself as noted;

6. 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.

The impact of the Education Ordinance on Māori women is described by Pania McWhannell as providing a foundation of sexism and racism upon which Pākehā schooling for Māori was based. Māori women's opinions and concerns were ignored by Pākehā officials.\(^ {45} \) This operated alongside the assimilatory aims of the Ordinance, the key principles of which Barrington and Beaglehole identify as being;

- There must be religious education.
- There must be industrial training.
- There must be instruction in the English language.
- The Government was to appoint inspectors who should inspect and examine the schools annually.\(^ {46} \)

The Ordinance itself was developed to provide for the education of all youth, however Grey sought firstly to apply it to Māori children. The idea of education for all youth together was not readily

\(^ {44} \) Letter from Sir George Grey to the Bishop of New Zealand cited in AJHR 1865 E-No.3, W.Martin Esq., to the Hon. the Native Secretary, Auckland 6 May 1964, Government Printer, Wellington:1
\(^ {46} \) Barrington, J.M & Beaglehole, T.H. 1974 op.cit.:44
accepted and an article in the Wellington Newspaper ‘The Southern Cross’ noted

...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... The European and native youth cannot be educated
together. 47

This attitude toward the mixing of Māori and European children was not only confined to the 1847
Ordinance but was repeated on numerous occasions in Inspectors Reports on the Native Schools. 48 The
focus of the Ordinance was upon Māori and ‘half-caste’ children whilst the development of schooling
for Pākehā children operated from the time of the 1852 Constitution Act at a regional level until the
1877 Education Act. 49 The 1847 Ordinance also reflected the wider assimilatory native policies in its
focus on the provision of English, upon which funding was dependent, and the inclusion of both
religious and industrial training. This was again to locate Māori, as Ward referred to in regard to the
1844 Native Trust Ordinance, in ‘menial’ positions.

1867 Native Schools Act

With the 1867 Native Schools Act came the move to secular schooling, although in many ways this is
somewhat of a misnomer for Māori education in that the Boarding Schools remained very clearly under
the control of the various religions. Admittedly the Boarding Schools were considered ‘private’ schools,
however those schools had significant impact on Māori society and as such as a part of the wider
colonial state must be included in this discussion. A clear example of the ways in which early colonial
policy and legislation were constructed through eurocentric gender belief systems can be seen in
Barrington & Beaglehole’s discussion of the 1867 Native Schools Act. According to these authors the
establishment of Native Schools within Māori communities could only occur if a;

considerable number of the male Māori inhabitants of a school district wrote to the Colonial
Secretary asking for a school. 50

The following section from the 1867 Native Schools Act shows that this position is provided explicitly
within the Act and may be clearly interpreted as a method through which the Crown, via state
mechanisms such as legislation pertaining to Native schooling, put into place structures which alienated
Māori women from key decision-making positions within Māori communities. Sections 5 and 6 state;

5. Upon the memorial of any considerable number of the male adult native inhabitants of any
locality or district where no native school already exists praying for the establishment of a school

48 Refer Native Schools reports in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR), 1840-
1960
49 Simon J. 1994 op.cit.
50 Barrington, J.M. and Beaglehole, T.H. 1974 op.cit.:101
and in which memorial are defined the boundaries of such a locality or district the Colonial Secretary shall by notice in the Kahiti or by such other notification as he shall think fit call a meeting of male adult native inhabitants of such a locality or district at such time and place as may seem desirable and shall name a person who shall preside over the meeting.

6. If the meeting so called shall by vote of the majority of the male adult natives inhabiting such district then present declare that they are willing that the district shall be constituted an Educational District and shall further declare that they are willing to provide a proportion of the expenses of the establishment and maintenance of a school in accordance with the provisions of this Act the meeting shall thereupon proceed to elect a committee consisting of not less than three nor more than seven persons the majority of whom shall be aboriginal natives who shall thereupon elect a chairman and report the proceedings of the meeting to the Colonial Secretary shall notify in the Kahiti that such district is an Educational District under this Act and the committee elected as aforesaid shall be called the District School Committee of such district.

As mentioned earlier these sections of the 1867 Native Schools Act provide overt examples of aspects of legislation that served to isolate Māori women from crucial areas of decision-making and therefore from actively exercising their rangatiratanga in respect to the access of Māori children to schooling and to the structures (i.e. committees) which then served to provide for the establishment of native schools within their areas. Furthermore, the introduction of State, controlled and operated, schooling did not alter the way in which the curriculum was constructed to achieve the domestification of Māori girls. Māori girls were expected to learn the 'appropriate' values and skills of 'civilised young ladies' and this task was linked explicitly to the expectation that they would be considered more suitable and attractive to men; Māori men. In order to clearly illustrate the dominant prevailing ideologies of the time the following quotes have been taken from the Appendices to Journals of the House of Representatives. Selected from a range of reports and letters these statements show emphatically that the marginalisation of Māori girls and women, through Pākehā schooling, occurred systematically through the imposition of domestication and assimilation agendas.

A key process through which these were imposed were through the construction of curriculum. Māori girls and women were taught domestic skills which often included the making of clothing for the school\textsuperscript{51}, cooking, washing, ironing, embroidery and other skills deemed appropriate for girls.\textsuperscript{52} In the 1860 report on Kōhanga School in Waikato it was noted the girls were "thoroughly instructed... in every branch of domestic usefulness".\textsuperscript{53} A general summation of the attitude to Māori children's education in the report on Otawhao School in 1862.

I feel anxious to train the children in industrial pursuits, especially in sheep farming and the management of cattle. Simply to fill the head with knowledge, without imparting industrious habits, would in my opinion, prove rather injurious than beneficial to the Māori race. Every boy educated in the school ought to leave it possessed also of a knowledge of the management of sheep and cattle, and of ploughing, reaping, mowing, sewing, &c. Unite education with industrial

\textsuperscript{51} The Three Kings School \textit{AJHR} 1860 E4, Government Printer, Wellington
\textsuperscript{52} St. Annes School, Freemans Bay \textit{AJHR} 1860 E4, Government Printer, Wellington
\textsuperscript{53} Kohanga School, Waikato \textit{AJHR} 1860 E4, Government Printer, Wellington
training; prepare the boy or girl for the position you expect them to fill in life, and under such management there is reason to believe that our exertions will not be thrown away; the schools will become centres for the promotion of Christianity and civilisation amongst the surrounding tribes.\textsuperscript{54}

1880 Native Schools Code

The 1880 Native Schools Code saw a shift in the 1867 requirement which required that a "considerable number of the male adult native inhabitants" request the establishment of a native schools to one which provided for "at least ten Maoris, actually residing in any locality, petition the Minister of Education for a Native School" and if those petitioners provided at least two acres of land and committed to contribute toward building costs as required by the Government. The change in wording however did little to shift the wider colonial ideologies of assimilation and social control agendas. The continued assumption of the male makeup of the committees is shown in the following extract taken from the Code

(1) In every district there shall be a committee of five persons, elected annually by the parents of the children in the district. The committee-men shall all be Maoris or half-castes, unless it be otherwise allowed by the government.\textsuperscript{55}

Although removing the explicit legislative requirements there continued the more insidious ideological assertions of dominant Pākehā gender beliefs through the assumption that those on the committees would be men and that Māori girls and women be provided with domestic training. Furthermore there existed, within the code, a contention that those appointed to take charge of the schools would be "a married couple, the husband to act as master of the school, and the wife as sewing mistress" and that the 'master' and 'the wife' would model appropriate behaviour both within the school and the wider community in order to exercise a "beneficial influence on all the natives in their district".\textsuperscript{56} A memorandum outlining expectations for Native Schools teachers was circulated to all Native Schools and outlined the requirement that teachers prioritise their role in the assimilation process. The memorandum stated;

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 houses, and by their manners and habits at home and abroad, to set the Maoris an example that they may advantageously imitate.\textsuperscript{57}

The role of the teacher and their family as models for Māori was well entrenched by the Code, with the conduct of the teacher being regarded as essential in order to ensure that Pākehā values and customs become embedded into Māori thinking and practices. The curriculum content expected was to maintain

\textsuperscript{54} Otawhao School, \textit{AJHR 1862 E4}, Government Printer, Wellington
\textsuperscript{55} The Native Schools Code \textit{AJHR 1880 H1f}, Government Printer, Wellington
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{57} John Hislop, Secretary, Education Department, Wellington, 4 June 1880, \textit{AJHR H-1f}, Government Printer,
the already established policy that English be the language of instruction and continue the industrial training objective which although not outlined clearly for boys was again made explicit for Māori girls, who were expected to move through various levels of proficiency in sewing.\textsuperscript{58} This was further extended by the notification that Māori girls could be ‘received’ into the homes of married teachers where they would learn “the work of the house” for a period of three to six months.

\textit{Schooling as Colonial Trojan Horses}

According to Linda Tuhiiwai Smith\textsuperscript{59} schools were placed in the heart of Māori communities like Trojan horses as a part of the wider assimilation and social control agendas. Their task was to destroy the less visible aspects of Māori life: beliefs, value systems and the spiritual bonds that connected people to each other and their environment. They were to be replaced by another set of values, attitudes and behaviours, which were to contribute to a society based on class and sexual stratification, subjugation and exploitation.\textsuperscript{60} In a very clear description of what was expected of the Native Schools William Bird quotes James Pope as stating the role of the Native Schools as being

[to] Bring an untutored but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with our civilisation by placing in Māori settlements European school buildings and European families to serve as teachers, and especially as examples of a new and more desirable mode of life.\textsuperscript{61}

It was an essential part of the assimilation process that Māori people came to believe in a new natural order of things based on their participation in their own cultural oppression. Furthermore, it became an essential process through which to construct common-sense beliefs through which to provide the justification for the cultural and gendered oppression of Māori women. In fact in many instances Māori girls were focused upon in terms of the assimilation agenda, as is stated by Churton in 1877.

It has long been my conviction that the only way to secure the future welfare of the Māori race is to bring up the children, especially the females, to habits of industry and the acquisition of the English language, and I do not see how this can be done except by the institution of Boarding Schools – day-schools I believe to be quite inadequate for the purpose.\textsuperscript{62}

When Native Schools were established they represented a highly visible way that Pākehātanga seemed to be. The ‘master’ was perceived as the "most powerful Pākehā of all", he was the role model of what it

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\textsuperscript{58} ibid.


\textsuperscript{60} ibid

\textsuperscript{61} James Pope cited in William Bird to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 22\textsuperscript{nd} March 1909 in \textit{AJHR 1909 E-3}, Government Printer, Wellington:7

\textsuperscript{62} H. Churton to the Hon. Dr Pollen, Native Minister, \textit{Wanganui} 17th May 1877 in \textit{AJHR 1877 Vol. 2 G-4}, Government Printer, Wellington:13
meant to be Pākehā. The ‘master and his wife’ then provided models of what was considered appropriate roles for men and women, roles which clearly modelled men in ‘leadership’ positions and women in the supportive, nurturing role. These constructions of what was deemed appropriate behaviour and work for men and women were then further reinforced through the euro/androcentric curriculum. Māori girls and women were to be placed in the domestic sphere both as wife and mother in the colonial structured nuclear family and as servants to the colonial masters. The Native Schools system was based fundamentally on the two agendas of assimilation and social control. Part and parcel of these agendas was a process of redefinition of roles within Māori society to ensure the ‘progress’ of Māori people was conducive to the expectations of the Pākehā coloniser.

The redefinition of social roles within Māori society was a key focus of the Crown and the schooling system as constructed by the Native schools structure contributed significantly to the reconstruction of gender roles within Māori society in an attempt to align the roles of men and women with those that were dominant in Pākehā society. The domestication of women not only asserted the ideology of the inferiority of women but also laid the groundwork for the ‘feminization’ of selected occupations that became regarded as women’s work, for example teaching, nursing, service work. Conservative gender notions such as these are concerned with the maintenance of dominant relations between women and men, in particular ‘traditional’ gender relations. These relations are based upon a number of fundamental beliefs that biological differences are ‘natural’ and therefore the roles that are attached to those differences are also considered ‘natural’; that traditional gender relations are expected and necessary in order to maintain stability in society and the belief that girls and boys must be socialised appropriately in to their traditional roles in order to ensure their future happiness and stability. This will ensure that they take up their roles fully.

For Pākehā girls and women this was in line with what Sandra Coney views as the role of Pākehā women as childbearers/childminders has been closely linked to nationalism. She notes that Pākehā women were to have babies in order to ensure, what was referred to by Frederic Truby King, founder of the Plunket Society, as ‘racial success and national greatness’. The role of Pākehā women was made very explicit by Truby King in his writings. For King, Pākehā women were crucial in the development of the colonial nation.

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63 ibid:4
64 James, B. & Saville-Smith 1994 op.cit.
65 Jones et.al 1990 op.cit.
66 Coney, S. 1993 Standing In The Sunshine: A History Of New Zealand Women Since They Won The Vote, Penguin Books, Auckland:54. Sandra Coney also cites the 1897 Secretary of Labour as highlighting the need to curb the increasing number of women participating in the workforce and that what was required was the continued maintenance of the doctrine that Pākehā women, as wife and mother, are a valued part of society.
The safety of nations is not a question of the gun alone, but also of the man behind the gun, and he is mainly the resultant of the grit and self-sacrifice of his mother. If we lack noble mothers we lack the first element of racial success and national greatness.

The idea of the value of Pākehā women was one that was designed to affirm the wider notions of racial purity as held by those such as Truby King. The underpinning assumptions of racial purity and white supremacy is evident also in the ways in which education for Pākehā girls was constructed. Kay Matthews argues the primary emphasis of the education of Pākehā girls was that of the "good and wellbeing of the family", which was reinforced through a curriculum that focussed upon their preparation for a lifetime of domestic labour. Colonial education was differentiated by dualistic gendered expectations. Kay notes that in the larger schools girls were taught callisthenics and needlework, with lessons in domestic economy, while boys were focused on drill and agriculture. She writes:

It was appropriate for boys and girls to be educated directly for their future lives, which, so far as girls were concerned, were those of wife, mother and domestic servant.

Gynaecological theories, which dominated ideologies regarding women, and their position in Pākehā education, has been explored by Ruth Fry. Judith Simon, referring to the work of Fry, identifies that there were distinct differences between the opportunities provided for girls and boys. In regard to mathematics she notes that there was a belief girls lacked the 'innate ability' and it was stated by Ruth Fry that an argument against girls doing mathematics was that:

'too much mental exertion on mathematics would be mentally and physically debilitating and possibly de-sexing'.

Where there are certain similarities in what Kay outlines was required in the schooling of Pākehā girls, to that proposed for Māori girls, it is equally evident that both the intentions and the objectives underpinning the schooling experiences were vastly. Pākehā teachers and their families were located amongst Māori people as "exemplars of European family life, customs, and civilization". The importance of this was such that comments are made in regard to the fact that Māori girls who attend schools away from their kainga must return in order that the wider community ‘benefit’ from her schooling. Robt. H Eyton notes that in terms of the schooling of Māori girls there must also be recognition of what may happen for those girls that do not return to the kainga. He notes that it has been brought to his attention that Māori girls may become “bad characters”, after having completed and

67 Truby King cited in Coney, S. 1993 op.cit.:66
69 ibid.
70 Fry, R 1985, 1988 op.cit.
71 Simon, J. 1994 op.cit.:49 Judith writes that "Dr Truby King, the founder of the Plunket Society, was a strong opponent of higher education for women, claiming that excessive schoolwork was damaging to the mental health of girls. He asserted that brainwork sapped from girls the strength they should be storing for motherhood".
72 Ruth Fry 1983 op.cit.:47
education and not be aware of the difficulties she may be faced with in trying to live a “civilised or semi-civilized life for which she has acquired”. Although Māori girls were described as being capable of filling any position amongst Europeans “for which a Maori girl is suitable”. This opportunity is often denied to Māori girls and therefore, Bird and Porteous state, they and their communities are best served by them returning home.

The ‘family’ structure that was presented, through the Native School Code and the curriculum within the Native Schools, for Māori people to ‘imitate’ was based fundamentally on a conservative nuclear family model consisting solely of a father, mother and children, and which constructed and maintained unequal gender relations. Part of this process was the implementation of a system of having Māori girls live with teachers in their homes, as I have noted previously this practice was affirmed in policy in the 1880 Native Schools Code, and is described the following quotes from Bird, regarding Turakina Girls School, and Spencer Von Sturmer.

We are glad to note that the arrangement by which the girls are treated in all ways as members of the teacher’s family is still in vogue at the school. This we consider as a very sensible method of imparting European ideas of family life.

At the schools where a female teacher is employed the girls take lessons in sewing, also assisting in the master’s house to bake and attend to other household duties, thus preparing them for a useful future.

The nuclear family was constructed as an ‘ideal’ form, which was to eradicate, and then replace, existing whānau structures. The undermining of the whānau was part of an overall strategy which would aid in the undermining and eventual eradication of hapū and iwi structures. In doing so the colonial intention was to remove those key structures that provided the basis of Māori societal relationships and in particular of land tenure. The nuclear family model promoted particular forms of gender roles and expectations, alongside a limited construction of sexuality and sexual ‘morals’ all of which were based in colonial definitions of heterosexuality, marriage, family and what was considered appropriate sexual expression. The dual appointment strategy of having married ‘masters’ and their wives served this purpose very well. There was encouragement for the elder girls to get married and provide a home environment that was essentially based on those Pākehā values that had been extolled in their schooling. The included the need to ensure ‘correct’ behaviour and the gathering around them of ‘European

74 William Bird and John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 10th February 1914 in AJHR 1914 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington:12
75 William Bird to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 31st March 1908 in AJHR 1908 E-2, Government Printer, Wellington:8
76 Spencer Von Sturmer to the Hon, the Native Minister, Hokiana 22 May 1875 in AJHR Vol. II G-2A, Government Printer, Wellington:2
comforts' and appearances.77 Becoming used to European' comforts' was as important for the boys as it was for Māori girls. In commenting on the lack of sheets at St Stephen's, Pope notes that it is necessary for the boys to become familiar with Pākehā comforts in order that they may view these as necessities in the future.78

A further problematic in the nuclear family structure is construction of the gendered division of labour. Within the nuclear family women are, on the whole, positioned as the nurturer, primary caregiver, housekeeper and whose work is on the whole considered to be in the private sphere of the home. Domestic labour is defined as being of inferior status to wage labour on the basis of lack of profit generated, the locating of women in the domestic labour force thereby places women within what is considered an inferior position. Domestic labour is essential in order to achieve reproduction of the labour force, therefore within a capitalist ideology it is necessary to characterise women's position as 'home-makers, housewives' as being a natural and just order, which in turn justifies a construction of the nuclear family which serves to marginalise Māori women in the domestic sphere of the home. In reports on Hukarere and Turakina Girls schools, William Bird highlighted the need for the Native Schools to influence the domestic situation of Māori in order to bring about wider societal change.

The girls receive instruction in laundry-work and in cooking, the latter both in the school as part of the ordinary domestic duties and in the Napier Manual Training classes... of the manner of the girls and of their habits of neatness and orderliness and general deportment we can speak only in terms of the highest praise. Further, we are of opinion that in producing these results, and in affording at the same time a thoroughly practical training in all branches of domestic duties, the school is doing excellent work, and should prove a considerable factor in advancing the Maori race.79

In one way the influence of these colleges is of the utmost importance, especially to the girls. Here they are accustomed for at least two years to a regular civilised way of living – sleeping in proper beds, dressing and undressing themselves daily, washing and tidying themselves regularly, eating three meals a day, and generally leading a regular and orderly life. This experience comes at the age of early adolescence when the social instincts are strong and their minds are most susceptible to the religious and moral influences that are brought to bear upon them by the men, and especially the women, in whose care they are placed. Here they have practical experience of a standard of living and comfort which is lacking in many of their homes, and they will form habits which they should have the desire to continue after they leave college... In the case of the girls it would probably be more effective if, instead of their being all housed and fed in one large building, they were placed in groups of four or five in small cottages where each girl in turn could take charge and run the cottage as if it were a home. They could thus get more valuable experiences for later life, especially if they were trained to buy economically and plan meals, and

77 Spencer Von Sturmer to the Under Secretary, Native Department, Hokianga 14th January 1878 in AJHR 1878 Vol. 2 G-7, Government Printer, Wellington:13
79 William Bird to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 31st March 1908 in AJHR 1908 E-2, Government Printer, Wellington: 7
otherwise manage their little households.\textsuperscript{80}

The location of Māori women within such divisions of labour are complex. Māori women can not be located solely within gender relations, but our position must be read within the complexities of the interrelationship of gender, ethnicity and class considerations.\textsuperscript{81} The positioning of Māori women as 'other' (than what was considered to be normal), has involved the subsuming of Māori women within dominant ideologies concerning gender roles. Colonial ideologies surrounding the role of women in society were used as a means by which to silence or marginalise Māori women. Missionaries, colonial and crown representatives frequently disregarded the position of Māori women as rangatira in their whānau, hapū or iwi, based solely upon their own androcentric and eurocentric beliefs\textsuperscript{82}. Thereby, ensuring that Māori women would come to know their 'natural' place within a nuclear family model became an integral part of the civilising agenda. For Māori boy and men the focus was also on the construction of particular roles as determined by what constituted the colonial, heterosexual, nuclear family model.

The marginalisation of Māori girls and women operates within a number of spheres, that is gender, race and class positionings. The following extract was given by William Bird (Inspector of Schools) to the Te Aute enquiry and highlights the colonial perceptions of the expected roles of Māori girls and the impact of the intersection of ideologies of gender and race.

\dots the girls at Hukarere get a good education in English and a practical instruction in all those arts which make up the qualities of good wives and mothers...

\dots Māori girls should be trained as nurses for work amongst the Maoris, and the Department in approaching the hospitals has made it clear that these girls should be trained for Māori work. It the hospital people had an idea that the girl afterwards was intended for European work they would refuse her admission.\textsuperscript{83}

This excerpt illustrates a number of colonial assumptions and beliefs in regard to race, gender and. Firstly, the assumption that a primary role which Māori girls were expected to fulfill was that of wife and mother, as constructed within dominant gender constructions and in line with traditional conservative roles of mother, housewife and nurturer. Secondly, it examples a construction of Māori girls as racially inferior and therefore any intention to work outside the Māori community being considered undesirable. Thirdly, the desired position in the market is that of service and rather than of professions. The imposition of colonial ideologies has culminated in the construction of inequalities within the education system that mitigate against the interests of Māori. This was facilitated through the development of curriculum that served the needs of the colonising settlers.

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\textsuperscript{80} William Bird to Director of Education in \textit{AJHR 1930 E-3}, Government Printer, Wellington: 7
\textsuperscript{81} Awatere, D. 1984 \textit{Māori Sovereignty}, Boadsheet, Auckland
\textsuperscript{82} Orange, C., 1987 op.cit.
\textsuperscript{83} Te Aute Enquiry \textit{AJHR 1906 G-5}, Government Printer, Wellington :96
Curriculum as colonial Ideology

The first schools established by the missionaries focused upon two key agendas, that of civilising and christianising Māori people.\textsuperscript{84} Integral to those agendas was the intention to ensure the domestification of Māori girls. This, Linda Tuhiiwai Smith argues was achieved through teaching Māori girls to be ashamed of their bodies, clothing them in ways that restricted their movements, renaming with English names and focusing on domestic curriculum that reinforced the notion that it was their role to tend to their fathers, brothers and husbands.\textsuperscript{85} The intention to 'domesticate' Māori girls is highlighted throughout much of the documentation in relation to the ways in which the education system has been constructed.\textsuperscript{86} It was argued that industrial training was of the ‘highest importance’ for the ‘well-being’ of Māori.\textsuperscript{87} The importance of the domestic curriculum is highlighted in the inspectors reports of the Native Schools and those who fell short in this regard were regularly reminded.\textsuperscript{88} For those who doubted the necessity of such an approach there was the reminder that there was considered to be few options for Māori. Such sentiments are expressed by William Bird who stated;

Much has been said in support of giving Maori youths such education as will fit them for the higher walks in life; unfortunately, however, these walks the great majority are destined never to read — in our opinion Maori boys and girls would be better occupied in learning something of the dignity of labour.\textsuperscript{89}

The ‘dignity of labour’ is a term that embellishes the overall objective of Native schooling in a way that almost appears plausible. The idea of labour is presented as a dignified and important part of society, however this conceals the hierarchical nature through which labour is defined, a hierarchy which located Māori in the forms of labour that limited life chances and opportunities. It placed Māori boys in manual labour and Māori girls in the home or in service.

Kay Matthews argues the primary emphasis of the education of Pākehā girls was that of the "good and wellbeing of the family", which was reinforced through a curriculum that focussed upon their preparation for a lifetime of domestic labour.\textsuperscript{90} This was also clearly the intention for Māori girls, however the

\textsuperscript{85} Smith, L.T., 1992 op.cit.
\textsuperscript{87} James W. Stack to the Hon. the Native Minister, Christchurch 27\textsuperscript{th} May 1875 in AJHR Vol. II G-2, Government Printer, Wellington:12
\textsuperscript{88} for example refer H.W. Brabant to the Hon. the Native Minister, Opotiki 1\textsuperscript{st} March 1875 in AJHR Vol. II G-2, Government Printer, Wellington:5
\textsuperscript{89} William Bird to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 22nd March 1909 in AJHR 1909 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 9
\textsuperscript{90} Matthews, K. 1988 op.cit.:29
racialisation of Māori girls education meant that where Pākehā girls were being taught to maintain their homes, Māori girls were being taught to maintain a home environment that was to be subservient to Pākehā. William Bird noted in 1906 that move had been made to including teaching ‘plain cooking’ in line with what were considered the ‘commonest conditions’ of a Māori home. In the same year in the Te Aute Enquiry it was also considered that Māori girls only required to be taught the basics.

[Chair] Do your opinions with respect to Te Aute [i.e. labouring] apply with equal force to Hukareere as regards the teaching of household duties &c to the girls? - Yes; mutatis mutandis, my views with respect to Te Aute apply to Hukareere. [Chair] Nursing? - Yes; at any rate, the simpler means to be taken in case of sickness.

[Chair] Cooking, housekeeping and the care of children?

Yes, undoubtedly cooking. But, in regard to cooking, I do not think it is necessary to teach them up-to-date gas-range or even up-to-date kitchen-range methods. I think the girls should be taught simple cookery - even camp-oven cookery. I do not think cookery is a very important subject to teach the Māori girls because my experience has been that the Māoris are generally good cooks. I think that what is wanted in that direction is the teaching of cleanliness in cooking.

The ideologies underpinning the above statements reflect Rosemary Novitz’s argument that colonial attitudes toward women brought to Aotearoa were based fundamentally upon a belief system of the domestication of women. She states that early in our colonial experience the ‘cult’ of domesticity was fully entrenched within this country. This ‘cult’ emphasised the domestic, private sphere as the primary location for women. Kay Matthews argues the primary emphasis of the education of Pākehā girls was that of the well-being of the family which was reinforced through a curriculum that focussed upon their preparation for a lifetime of domestic labour. In colonial thinking then education was differentiated by sex. Girls were to be schooled in domestic economy while boys were taught agriculture. Kay notes that the future roles for girls were those of wife, mother and domestic servant. In the 1906 Report on Turakina notes William Bird writes in regard to the domestic curriculum

Domestic instruction is various branches taught practically, the girls doing the washing, ironing, and starching for the household. I consider that in the training of these girls the school is doing excellent work, and is exercising a most healthy influence on them. I shall be surprised if the decidedly practical training which the girls receive does not produce most beneficial results.

In the same report reference to Te Aute Bird notes that a training in industrial areas such as woodwork and agriculture would be more beneficial than many of the other subjects being taught.

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In order to provide ‘practice’ opportunities the idea of Model was introduced by Ball in 1935. This represented a further step in the determining of gender roles within the Māori community. Just as the initial thrust was one of providing domestic models and experiences in the teachers’ homes or in the daily operations of the Boarding Schools this was further emphasised with the development of the model cottages.

Encouraged by the revised curriculum, a few teachers have, with local assistance, raised funds for the erection in the school-grounds of model two-roomed homes. These homes are fitted with modern drainage and sanitary conveniences, and offer scope for excellent practice in house-craft and home-management. Each day two senior girls devote the whole of their time to cooking their own meals, making beds, laundry work, and to care of two or three primer children. Practical contact is thus made with every type of difficulty that might be experienced in the home.97

Domestic continues for girls and for boys there is an emphasis on agriculture due to the ‘land-settlement policy’. In one school a model dairy-farm, model pig-farm and model poultry-farm was developed.98 With these constructions there also existed the notion that Māori boys needed to be schooled to become ‘men’. The construction of what constituted a ‘real’ man had been defined in colonial terms. It involved being the ‘head of the house’, the breadwinner and decisionmaker. It also determined the type of education that was deemed appropriate for Māori boys. From this grew the idea the Māori boys should be provided with apprentices and places to stay in order for their years at Native Schools to be put to good use and so they wouldn’t return to their ‘former habits’. Geo Kelly commented that Māori boys are ‘naturally clever’ and would make good mechanics.99 The gender divide was developed through all aspects of Native schooling. Requesting sports equipment Von Sturmer notes that for the boys was croquet and cricket gear and for the girls skipping ropes.100

... what is required in order to complete our system of Native education is some sort of arrangement under which all boys that have finished their school education sall have an opportunity of learning a trade, and of mixing with Europeans for a considerable period. It is hardly necessary to do anything in this way for girls seeing that all Fourth Standard pupils are offered scholarships at Hukarere or St. Joseph's Providence, where they are carefully taught all kinds of household work and needlework; it is for the boys that something must be done, either in the way of making them skilled artisans or of enabling them to become thoroughly acquainted with European methods of farming and stock raising.101

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97 D.G. Ball to Director of Education in AJHR 1935 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 3
98 D.G. Ball to Director of Education in AJHR 1938 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 2
99 Geo. Kelly, Interpreter to the Under Secretary, Native Department, Mongonui 4th July 1879, in AJHR 1879, Session II G-2, Government Printer, Wellington: 3
100 Spencer Von Sturmer to the Under Secretary, Native Department Hokianga 7th January 1875 in AJHR Vol. II G-2, Government Printer, Wellington: 4
This is contrary to other reports where the accomplishments of Māori girls is noted.\textsuperscript{102} Often Māori girls achievements were down-played or her knowledge deemed as lesser to that of Māori boys. Having established this however James Pope goes on to comment that although her composition and arithmetic may not be ‘quite equal’ to that of Māori boys she will however “be able to do all kinds of ordinary sewing very neatly, to darn stockings, and to knit”.\textsuperscript{103} One of the most absurd statements in this regard comes again from James Pope in his report of 1901 where he states that the number of boys attending Native Schools was greater than girls, although he partly negates this himself in also noting that there are ‘many’ exceptions to this, he writes;

This fact is probably partly an exemplification of the empirical law that in a declining, stationary, or only slightly increasing population more boys than girls are born, but partly it depends on the wide-reaching Māori belief that it is much more important that boys should be educated than that girls should.\textsuperscript{104}

The absurdity of this statement lies in the fact that there is no evidence or statement within the documentation that even vaguely indicates that this was a belief held by Māori. All evidence points to the encouragement of all children. The continued commitment of Māori to the girls boarding schools is in itself an indication of the desire for Māori girls to access schooling. However, what we see in Popes statement is the articulation of a belief that diminishes the status of Māori girls and women to being lesser than that of Māori boys and men. This ideology became deeply entrenched in the schooling system through the curriculum. In relation to Te Aute, Pope notes that the drill is excellent and that the boys could in an emergency “\textit{take the battle-field and behave there like men}”.\textsuperscript{105}

William Bird questions the benefit of placing Māori children into higher training noting that on the whole this dissuades them from returning to their own communities. As such he writes that the Government must take care not to make the mistake of “giving higher education to too many”.\textsuperscript{106}

Having made that point Bird goes on to assert the importance of industrial training.

The extension of manual training in our village schools, especially in carpentry, and perhaps in time agriculture, must be of great benefit to the boys, and for the majority of them such training – the training how to work – would be sufficient. This would leave room for those who are specially gifted and desire to take up some profession. For the girls domestic economy in all its branches would be of the greatest utility; and for those who are best qualified a training as nurses

\textsuperscript{102} For example it is reported that Rachel Rori, daughter of Haora Piharo of Kaikoura had made the ‘greatest progress’ in all areas ibid.:17. The accomplishments of individual Māori children were rarely mentioned in the Inspectors reports however there are a number of examples such as this in regard to Māori girls.


\textsuperscript{104} James H. Pope to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 1st February 1901 in \textit{AJHR 1901 E-2}, Government Printer, Wellington: 16

\textsuperscript{105} James H. Pope to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 31st March 1902 in \textit{AJHR 1902 E-2}, Government Printer, Wellington: 11

\textsuperscript{106} William Bird to the Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 31st March 1904 in \textit{AJHR 1904 E-2}, Government Printer, Wellington: 25
or as pupil-teachers in our own village schools seems to me to afford the best means of enabling them to be of service to themselves and their race. Only, in their cases, and those of the boys who are assisted by the Government to study one of the professions, it should be clearly understood that the assistance is given only upon the condition that the knowledge and skill they acquire will be used among and for the benefit of their own people.¹⁰⁷

In 1905 Bird again argues that higher education should only be for those with the highest qualifications and that there is often little benefit to the communities. In his opinion the way to improve the system was to establish a ‘continuation’ school for the teaching of industrial and domestic training, the boys to undertake carpentry and agriculture and the girls to the domestic economy and ‘housewifery’.¹⁰⁸

There was it appears more flexibility in regard to some subjects provided for Māori girls. In reference to Queen Victoria School William Bird writes that he considers it a mistake to teach Latin and Euclid in the school, being that the girls are already learning one foreign language, English, and that time should be dedicated to that. However in the same report he notes that at Te Aute both Latin and Euclid are also being taught and how ‘excellent’ the progress was in those areas. Likewise, where Pope argues for prioritising English over Latin in the girls school a similar argument is not made in the boys school.¹⁰⁹

... it is desirable that greater effort shall be made in the direction of manual training in the schools. Especially does this seem necessary in the case of Māori girls, many of whom do not care to leave the kainga for the secondary school, but would benefit immensely from a training in plain cookery and domestic economy.¹¹⁰

The Department is beginning to find that where boys and girls can obtain practical training of some kind at home, their parents do not wish them to attend a secondary school. It may be seen from these facts that the system of handwork and manual instruction in Native Schools is now beginning to bear fruit, and an extension of the scheme is to be looked for as a natural result. For boys, instruction in elementary agriculture is probably the direction in which extension of technical work is desirable, while for girls needlework, cookery, and domestic economy may be further developed.¹¹¹

However, the flexibility highlighted in the Te Aute example was also curbed to come more in line with colonial intentions for Māori. This came in the shape of the Te Aute Enquiry. The 1906 Te Aute Enquiry was established to make an inquiry into the conditions of the Te Aute and Wanganui School

¹¹⁰ Extract from the Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Minister of Education in AJHR 1905 E-2, Government Printer, Wellington:2
¹¹¹ Extract from the Twenty-Ninth Report of the Minister of Education in AJHR 1905 E-2, Government Printer, Wellington. 2

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Trusts and to make recommendations in regard to the administration and control of the schools. One focus within the enquiry became a question of the type of education being offered to Māori boys at Te Aute under the principalship of John Thornton. Much comment was made in relation to the curriculum content of Māori girls schools, in particular Hukarere, and the roles and expectations of Māori girls in society. The following excerpts highlight the perceptions of many Pākehā who were the controlling force in terms of the curriculum content of Native Schools and illustrate clearly the extent to which ideologies of assimilation, social control, sexism and racism permeated Pākehā schooling by that time.

At the time of the examination [at Hukarere], however, I said ‘What is the use of teaching these girls Latin? They have already learnt one foreign language [Māori]. Would it not be better that the time spent in Latin - in teaching the pupils another foreign language - were spent in teaching them practical work? They agreed to that, and since then I believe no Latin has been taught there. The effect has not been not to diminish the quantity or the intellectual quality or value of the work done. The education those girls receive allows time for practical work which may also be used as an educational instrument...What you want to do is to give the material for thought that will put them in the most living connection with their future life...if you are going to get the Māori to live with the English, she is only one essential subject as a means of thought—that is, the English language. There are other subjects that are needed to bring them into contact with their outer life, and among those are the subject of manual instruction. G. Hogben, Inspector.\textsuperscript{112}

In 1907 William Bird notes in regard to Te Aute that the instruction now adhered to a more traditional line, with the more ‘occasional bright students’ being able to undertake matriculation. This was however clearly an exception. The ‘natural genius of the Māori’ he writes is in the area of manual skill.\textsuperscript{113} In 1908 two years after the Te Aute Enquiry William Bird noted, with some obvious satisfaction, the change in the curriculum focus noting:

The establishment of a workshop and the reduction of the amount of time devoting to teaching Latin are notable changes in the curriculum of this institution, whose value will, I feel sure, be enhanced thereby.\textsuperscript{114}

The racial and gendered emphasis of the curriculum for Māori children had significant impact on employment possibilities for Māori girls. It was clearly asserted that there were the opportunities for employment for Māori girls were as teachers, nurses or servants. Māori girls were actively denied access to other possibilities. In 1912 William Bird wrote that Māori girls should not be encouraged to undertake the Civil Service Junior Examination as he notes;

... we are not greatly in favour of training Maori girls with a view to their entering the Civil Service, and hope that they will not be encouraged to do so.... The girls receive instruction in the various branches of domestic duties that should go far to make them useful wives and mothers, while the boys engage in branches of manual training calculated to direct their energies and

\textsuperscript{112} G. Hogben, Inspector in Te Aute Enquiry AJHR 1906 G-5, Government Printer, Wellington
\textsuperscript{113} William Bird to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 31\textsuperscript{st} March 1907 in AJHR 1907 E-2, Government Printer, Wellington:7
\textsuperscript{114} William Bird to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 31\textsuperscript{st} March 1908 in AJHR 1908 E-2, Government Printer, Wellington:12
inclinations towards industrial pursuits.\footnote{115}

It was stated that ‘promising’ Māori boys in Government service although the positions are limited, and to encourage Māori girls in domestic service, tailoring, dressmaking. The ideal however was that Māori girls would return home so the knowledge they have has ‘an uplifting influence’ in the community.\footnote{116} In fact in 1910 Bird writes that beyond nursing Māori girls have few prospects.\footnote{117} Such a situation can be seen as a direct outcome of the decision to not provide Māori girls with access to higher education. This was not a hidden fact, but was explicitly stated throughout Inspectors reports, for example;

As a matter of fact – in none of the secondary Māori 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.\footnote{118}

For those Māori girls who did move into employment this was often located in teaching or nursing. It was stated in 1907 that unless a Māori girl was to become a teacher or nurse then she should only study those things that are directly relevant to her running a home, in order to ‘possess’ the skills needed by a woman to make a ‘comfortable’ home.\footnote{119} In terms of teaching the majority of junior assistants in Native Schools are Māori women and they are expected to also seek qualifications to be a “a greater service to their own race”.\footnote{120} However in the early 1900s it becomes clear that those Māori girls and women who wished to train as nurses it was difficult to get nursing scholarships. In 1909 it is noted that only Napier and Auckland would provide nursing scholarships for Māori girls and those were minimal.\footnote{121} The potential for such a situation had been highlighted in the Te Aute Enquiry where it was asserted that Māori girls were to work with their own and not with Pākehā.

[The Chairman] I understand you are educating Maori boys and girls for the Maori people only, and not to mingle with Europeans and compete with Europeans in trades and commerce? That is my opinion. I may say that these were the principles approved by the late Hon. Mr Rolleston when Minister of Education in drawing up the conditions under which Maoris should

\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{115} William Bird and John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 27th May 1912 in AJHR 1912 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington:9
  \item \footnote{116} William Bird and John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 27th May 1912 in AJHR 1912 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington:10
  \item \footnote{117} William Bird and John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 22nd April 1910 in AJHR 1910 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington:7
  \item \footnote{118} William Bird and John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 19th February 1913 in AJHR 1913 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington:9
  \item \footnote{119} William Bird to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 31st March 1907 in AJHR 1907 E-2, Government Printer, Wellington:12
  \item \footnote{120} D.G. Ball to Director of Education in AJHR 1938 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington:4
  \item \footnote{121} William Bird to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 22nd March 1909 in AJHR 1909 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington:10
\end{itemize}
be admitted into these secondary institutions such as Hukarere... As to the Māori girls, you cannot appreciate a girls to a trade, and the only openings we could find for Maori girls are, first, as assistant teachers in our Native schools and second as nurses. The Department, I must say, has consistently refused to recommend any girl for a position as a probationer nurse, unless it has first satisfied itself that that girl intends to practise amongst Maoris, and not amongst Europeans... Maori girls should be trained as nurses for work amongst the Maoris, and the Department in approaching the hospitals has made it clear that these girls should be trained for Maori work. If hospital people had an idea that the girls afterwards was intended for European work they would refuse her admission.

In both 1909 and 1910 comments are made in regard to the difficulty of getting Māori girls scholarships in hospitals. William Bird's 1910 report highlights that for Māori girls there were no vacancies in hospitals. What we can gauge from the Te Aute Enquiry material and subsequent Inspectors reports is that Māori nurses were not considered appropriate for non-Māori communities and that made it extremely difficult to access the necessary scholarships in that time.

The domestication agenda continued throughout the life of the Native Schools and example upon example is noted in the Appendices. In reports from John Porteous in the 1920s it was noted that more domestic skills were needed. In three consecutive reports Porteous calls for the need for more in the areaa of domestic and practical training, noting in his 1920 report that the importance of industrial training could not be overstressed. Education for Māori must, he notes, prepare the children for the communities to which they will return if it is to be of any benefit to them or the Māori 'race'.

What is considered beneficial for Māori is also defined by the dominant group. It is assumed that Māori will ultimately benefit from become more like Pākehā. Assimilation is precisely about making colonised peoples mirror images of their colonisers, however in this context it was not exactly a mirror image but rather the objective was one of creating a 'likeness' that was similar but different. Māori were never destined to be exactly like Pākehā, rather our destinies have been to be positioned in the lower classes of Pākehā society, and if we venture into the 'higher' parts of society then we must of course act as Pākehā and be 'good' Māori. Porteous notes that where the range of industrial skills could be increased through Native Schools this will not necessarily mean that Māori boys will take on employment. The Māori have, he states, "a natural indolence" that is a consequence of limited need.

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123 William Bird and John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington 31st March 1911 in AJHR 1911 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 11
124 John Porteous to the Director of Education in AJHR 1924 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 7
125 John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington n/d AJHR 1920 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 10 Refer also to; John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington in AJHR 1921 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington; John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington in AJHR 1922 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington.
126 John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington n/d AJHR 1920 E-3, Government Printer,
and a view of the world that Porteous deems a “limited outlook”. What is needed, he argues, is for Māori to experience more economic need so as to require employment. What Porteous is saying is that Māori people were too content with living within their needs and therefore needed to be further assimilated into Pākehā greed and wants and as a consequence become dependent upon employment for survival in a commodity and market economic environment. There is little doubt that such a drive has been highly successful and that discourses that locate Māori as ‘lazy’ have clear historical origins that are related to a monocultural world-view on what constituted need and therefore work.¹²⁷

In regard to Boarding Schools Porteous reiterates these intentions;

In these schools the practical aspect of the education is stressed, and the aim of the authorities is to enable the scholars to become useful members of the community, and assist in the general progress and uplift of the race. During their period of residence in these schools these Māori scholars are subjected to European influences which mould their characters and prepare them for contact with European civilization.¹²⁸

By this time Māori parliamentarians were active in the colonial government and MP Apirana Ngata, was also stressing the importance of schooling for Māori and in order to get “a greater share of the benefits of civilization”.¹²⁹ Such comments indicated the level to which many Māori had come to accept the colonial situation and indicates the strength of the ideologies of the time and their hegemonic affect on Māori as a colonised people. As a part of that process came shifts in the wider curriculum focus for Māori and by 1931 we begin to see William Bird advocating a need to remove the limitation that were place on Māori education, his focus was however on the Māori Boys schools St Stephens and Te Aute. In discussion of Secondary Education he writes that “there must be leaders” and as such the “civilised man” can no longer limited the educational opportunities of others. His statements are however contradictory in that in discussion of the syllabus he highlights again the need for English and manual instruction to take precedence noting there was no need for all the subjects in public schools to be taught in Native Schools. The focus must, he notes, remain on ‘vocational’ and ‘practical’ courses with academic courses being available for about 10% of the children. In terms of the removal of past limitations this is noted as being necessary only in the boys schools and there is no specific mention of such a need at schools such as St. Josephs, Hukarere, Queen Victoria or Turakina. Leaders are, by inference male and hence the focus on increasing opportunities for such in the boys schools.¹³⁰

Even as curriculum changes occurred the underpinning assimilatory agenda remained. According to Ball,

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¹²⁷ John Porteous to Inspector-General of Schools Wellington AJHR 1922 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 11
¹²⁸ John Porteous to the Director of Education in AJHR 1928 Vol. II E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 5
¹²⁹ John Porteous to the Director of Education in AJHR 1928 Vol. II E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 7
¹³⁰ William Bird to Director of Education in AJHR 1931 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 4
changes in the curriculum in 1935 encompassed in the following principles:

That all instruction be practical and related to the actual needs and interest of the Maori:
That, in the case of girls, a practical knowledge of housecraft, including plain sewing, cooking, washing and care of clothes, home cleaning and beautifying, mending, and nursing be considered essential:
That the social aspect be given full attention. The adult community must be interested, if not actively participating in some of the activities:
That the vocational aspect of the training be emphasized: Agriculture and Woodwork closely correlated and in touch with the requirements of the district:
That the school be definitely interested in one or more of the Maori crafts or studies.\(^{131}\)

Furthermore in 1939 he wrote that Senior girls should also be trained in at least one of the following areas; First aid, mother-craft or infant welfare.\(^{132}\) From the 1940s onward discussion of industrial training remained. However, a restructuring of the ways in which reports related to Māori Schooling were presented meant that discussion specific to gender became marginal in the records.

Summary

From the development of Missionary and Native Schooling there have been clearly articulated ideas in regard to the education of Māori children. Policies of assimilation were woven both in terms of legislation and curriculum content. Legislation developed in regard to both the Missionary and Native schooling systems were premised upon the dominant belief that decision-making was the domain of men. That was the belief promulgated by colonial imperialism around that world and was the belief upon which the colonial settler government established formal schooling for Māori. It was white men that controlled the overall organisation of schooling and it was their decision that Māori men should provide the decision making processes at the whānau, hapū and iwi level. This did not mean that Māori women did not in fact participate, however it is an indicator of the strength of the imported colonial gender beliefs and the power of the settler immigrants to establish their own illegal governing system as a mechanism of entrenching such beliefs.

Curriculum developments in the period discussed provided the basis for schooling since that time. The intersection of race, gender and class ideologies is clearly evidenced in the construction of the curriculum and in the espoused intended outcomes. Domestication of Māori people was the key objective. Māori were to become instruments of manual labour, to be the servants of the colonisers. Native schooling was to model nuclear family values in a move to breakdown the fundamental building blocks of Māori society, that being the whānau. A direct attack was waged on the whānau as a means of destroying the base upon which all Māori structures depended. This was not just a side-effect of

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\(^{131}\) D.G. Ball to Director of Education in AJHR 1935 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington:2
some colonial drug, the whānau was directly and seriously targeted to be eliminated. The records of the Native schooling system from 1840-1960 indicate the many levels at which Māori society was being systematically attacked. In the attack on the whānau so too was there an attack on the roles and status of Māori women and men, which has had dramatic implications for the ways in which we see ourselves and each other. This too was deliberate.

Domestication agendas for Māori children were made explicit within the curriculum of Native Schools. For Māori girls domestication operated both in terms of race and gender, furthermore an expectation of a particular class positioning is evident in the service focus determined for Māori children. An examination of the positioning of Māori girls Native Schooling from 1840 to 1940 gives an indication of how dominant discourses of race and gender intersected in particular ways to inform schooling options and form. What this chapter provides is another example of the intersection of race and gender in a particular educational site, the aim being to illustrate that in order to understand Māori girls and women's experiences of schooling it is important to bring to the analysis an understanding of the constructions of race and gender, and the ways in which their intersection have constructed roles in line with colonial assumptions and beliefs regarding the role of Māori women. Native Schools documentation provides clear examples of the thrust of assimilatory, domestic agendas in regard to Māori girls and women. The importance of this chapter to the overall thesis is that it indicates ways in which the ideological importations of race, gender and class, within early schooling interrupted and disturbed Māori relations and structures in ways that perpetuated the marginalisation of Māori women. In my view, this alone raises sufficient need for the articulation of Māori women's theories.

122 D.G. Ball to Director of Education in AJHR 1939 E-3, Government Printer, Wellington: 2