

“The Dio Difference”
Social Class and Anglican Girls’ Secondary Schools in
Aotearoa New Zealand, 1877-1975

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Abstract

This study examines the histories of Anglican girls' secondary schools from 1877-1975, placing them within a social class setting. This thesis argues that these schools, despite the diversity of their location and the dates of their founding, existed largely to educate the daughters of Aotearoa New Zealand's ruling class. The ruling class can be defined as an active class made up of social elites, who were influential in society and possessed economic, social and cultural capital. This capital appears in the form of the ability to set an agenda in civic society, as membership in networks, and as the possession of a formal education. The Anglican girls' private schools were a means through which this class replicated itself. The Anglican church possessed many such influential members of society and was driven, on a diocesan level, to establish private schools for girls in defence of a curriculum which included religious education.

The schools in this study were all founded between 1878 and 1918 and remain in existence today. Over their lifetimes they have remained exclusively girls' schools, with a mix of day-students and boarders. The thesis uses data collected from school archives, libraries, and school histories as well as a wider literature on education and class theory in order to situate the schools firmly within a class analysis. The thesis makes particular use of admissions registers to analyse the demographic of students attending the schools, situating students within their geographical catchments. Further, admissions registers have been used to determine the social status of parental occupation of students and their relative social class position. Each of the schools engaged in discourses surrounding the purpose of an education for girls. Schools strived to offer students both an academic and a social education. These two goals often existed in tension. The schools grappled with the aim of educating their students to be young Anglican women of good character who were able to fulfil their roles as future wives and mothers in affluent households, whilst also offering an academic curriculum which promised rigour for those most able. As the role of women in the workplace and wider society evolved, so too did the pedagogy of the schools both in terms of curriculum and in the conveyance of symbolic capital through membership in elite ruling class networks. Throughout the time period under examination, 1877-1975, the schools consistently offered an alternative to state schools, an alternative that described the 'difference' that private schooling could offer. That 'difference', this thesis suggests, was one that signified superiority, locating the schools within the upper ranks of social class hierarchy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Introduction

Chilton Saint James School in Lower Hutt was opened on 20 February 1918. Its founder, Geraldine Fitzgerald, had a strong vision of establishing a unique school. Fitzgerald had, in the words of her biographer Anne Mulcock, “long been critical of the fashionable small private school of the day”¹ and therefore determined that her small private school was going to be different. Fitzgerald had an extensive background in girls’ education. In 1900, she taught in Christchurch at the school belonging to Annette Bowen, which was later sold and transformed into St Margaret’s Collegiate.² In 1916, Fitzgerald worked at Auckland Diocesan High School as a relieving teacher.³ The school most influential for Fitzgerald was Chilton House in Wellington, at which she taught for many years beginning in 1906. Chilton House was a pedagogical as well as a personal inspiration for the founding of Chilton Saint James.

Fitzgerald had, with the notable exception of Chilton House, been unimpressed by both the methods of teaching at these and other private schools, and by the character of the girls who attended them. In Chilton House she found “a private school whose aims were a high standard of scholarship, and careful training of character by industry, purposefulness and self-discipline. Such methods soon attracted the class of girls by whom such qualities were considered desirable.”⁴ Chilton Saint James was founded in the image of Chilton House; a school attracting a certain ‘class of girls.’ Chilton Saint James was similar to many other schools of the time, and later settled into its niche as one of many private Anglican girls’ schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. Chilton Saint James, although not formally an Anglican school belonging to the diocese, was founded nevertheless as a counterpoint to the secular state system through the adoption of an ethos of faith.

The Anglican Church was involved in education in Aotearoa New Zealand from the earliest Pākehā missionary’s arrival in 1814. The Church, on a diocesan level, became involved in the establishment of schools (including secondary schools) for girls in the early twentieth century, and had been involved in the late nineteenth century with schools in a more tangential way.

¹ Anne Mulcock, *A Quite Original Type of School: The Life and Work of Geraldine Fitzgerald, Founding Principal of Chilton Saint James* (Christchurch: Anne Mulcock, 1993), 7.

² Mulcock, *A Quite Original Type of School*, 19.

³ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

Private schools, founded by individuals or with the assistance of school boards, were motivated by the shared ideals of the importance of religious education for young people.

By the time Fitzgerald's school was founded in 1918, the 1877 Education Act had been in place for 41 years, and public state schools were well established and equipped to offer schooling to girls across the country. Primary schooling was free while secondary schooling was made more accessible following the introduction of free place schemes. Families were able, within the constraints of their own finances, to choose the schools and therefore models of education which best suited them and their children. There were many factors to be considered in the selection of a secondary school. The first question was: is secondary schooling even necessary? Should a family choose secular education, or denominational? A day school, or one with boarding facilities? When selecting a school for their children, families also considered gender. Should girls be sent to a school that demonstrated that its students could attain academic success, or one which focused more on accomplishments and the ability to successfully manage a home? Girls' education in 1918 was differentiated from that of boys' through physical separation and varied curricula. Girls and boys attended different secondary schools and studied different subjects. Schools such as Chilton Saint James were emphatic in offering a good education specifically for girls. What constituted a good education was crucial and was answered differently across Aotearoa New Zealand communities and over time. The central question which families were to consider when exploring options for their children's education was this: What is my child being educated for?

The question of the purpose of education is a complex one. The answer varies across time, between schools and according to individual family, students and teachers. The Anglican girls' schools of Aotearoa New Zealand, such as Chilton Saint James, existed to offer schooling according to a particular set of family values. The preferences of families which have selected these schools as the education providers for their children align largely with the values and practices of the Anglican Church, but also with values and practices of what can be defined as a ruling or elite social class. Fitzgerald may indeed have been critical of the small private schools which were popular at the turn of the twentieth century, but the founding of Chilton Saint James according to the principles of, and in close affiliation with, the Anglican Church of Aotearoa New Zealand, situated the school firmly within the domain of private education. Families sent their children to private denominational schools because they believed that these schools were best able to answer the question of purpose.

The Anglican girls' secondary schools of Aotearoa New Zealand shared many similarities. They were different from state schools through a combination of factors which combined gave them a special educational niche. The four most fundamental similarities were their single-sex admittance policies, their secondary curricula, their status as private schools to which families paid fees, and their affiliation with the Anglican Church of Aotearoa New Zealand. They share a further similarity, which is the sum of the previous, in that they historically existed largely to educate the daughters of Aotearoa New Zealand's ruling class. This thesis examines the similarities between the schools; the intersections of purpose and practise, the points of contrast between the schools, and the difference between them and the state schooling system.

The Ruling Class

Since this thesis suggests that Anglican girls' schools are vehicles that maintain and recruit a ruling class, that term must be defined. As Connell and Irving note, "arguing about classes is like going for a swim in a country dam. As soon as you put your foot in, you are up to your neck in mud."⁵ Defining a ruling class in the Aotearoa New Zealand context requires a certain amount of wading. The historiography of class in Aotearoa New Zealand has not come to definitive conclusions (although it is doubtful whether this would even be possible) regarding class structure, let alone its historicity or degrees of consciousness. The terms 'elite' or 'upper classes' may be interchangeable with ruling class, however ruling class as a term emphasises the relationships of power intrinsic to a class system. This is a class which actively rules and is not merely passive in its own privilege.

The ruling class rules through its significance and influence. Members of the ruling class make decisions which shape the society around them. These decisions can be economic, such as directing the production of goods, or cultural, through shaping norms and values. The ruling class exists to preserve the structures which keep it in power. Connell and Irving describe these processes as follows:

This preservation involves much more than purely economic power. For one thing, it involves political power. A ruling class exercises this by its members actually managing the affairs of government, by sponsoring politicians who will manage them in a way that does no damage to

⁵ R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, "Yes, Virginia, There is a Ruling Class," in Henry Mayer and Helen Nelson, eds., *Australian Politics: A Third Reader* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1973), 31.

the system of property, or by destroying political movements that do threaten damage. It is also likely to involve cultural power. A really well-established ruling class dominates the culture of its time.⁶

Connell and Irving are writing about white settler Australia. However, as they also note, the patterns of class relations in Australia are shared in many countries, because these countries have a common history – particularly, one which is linked to the economic and social developments which occurred in Britain and which generated systematic colonisation of countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand.⁷

To understand and define class, a definition and understanding of capital is also required. This thesis makes particular use of the work of Pierre Bourdieu, most notably his chapters on the forms of capital, and cultural and social reproduction. Within these works, Bourdieu argues that capital can present itself in three ways:

As *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations (“connections”), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility.⁸

The ruling class which rules through influence and is able to shape society around itself is able to do so due to its possession of economic, cultural and social capital. Symbolic power, which is based on the possession of symbolic capital (capital which is not economic), has the power to make groups.⁹ A class in possession of capital which includes symbolic capital is able to unite itself around such a possession of capital. Bourdieu in particular writes on the nature of education and its relation to class. These writings have been helpful in understanding the relationship that the private Anglican girls’ schools have to the ruling class. It is important to note however that Bourdieu’s work on education addresses the French education system, and a French formulation of the economic value of education. Richard Harker directs those who

⁶ Connell and Irving, “Yes, Virginia, There is a Ruling Class,” 33.

⁷ Ibid., 33.

⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital”, in J. Richardson, ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport: Greenwood, 1986), 242.

⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, “Social Space and Symbolic Power”, *Sociological Theory* 7, no.1 (1989): 23.

are using Bourdieu outside of the French context to utilise his work as a method of enquiry rather than as a model to be rigidly observed.¹⁰

The Ruling Class, Education and Occupation

The ruling class can be understood further through its relationship to occupation, as occupation and associated social status are one of the means through which the ruling class is historically identifiable. Cora Vellekoop Baldock argues that social class origin can be linked to education which further can be linked to occupation – social class both affects and is affected by occupational choice.¹¹ Vellekoop Baldock's analysis of occupational aspiration is useful as a starting point. She argues that class segregation in education impacts occupational choice, and therefore social mobility. Occupation can be described as one of the means through which the ruling class is able to rule. Members of the ruling class attain high levels of occupational status and are therefore leaders in the community. Politicians, medical professionals, owners of businesses and even religious leaders (in some instances) not only are educated to a high enough level to attain access into these professions but are then able to possess capital which can be generated from these professions, both economic and symbolic.

Notions of cultural capital, institutionalised as educational qualifications, and social capital, further defined as essentially being membership in a group (in this case, a group defined by attendance at a private school) are particularly useful as a method of enquiry for examining the reproductive power of private schools.¹² Bourdieu notes that the sociology of education is the science of the relationship between cultural and social reproduction, which occurs through determining, "the contribution made by the educational system to the reproduction of the structure of power relationships and symbolic relationships between classes, by contributing to the reproduction of the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among these classes."¹³ Bourdieu makes the argument that schools exist to reproduce ruling class ideologies, and that this reproduction is concealed in part by the very process of reproduction. As education becomes more accessible to a wider variety of people, so the dominant or ruling class must find

¹⁰ Richard Harker, "Bourdieu – Education and Reproduction," in Richard Harker, Cheleen Mahar, Chris Wilkes, eds. *An Introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu: The Practise of Theory* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 99.

¹¹ Cora Vellekoop Baldock, "Occupational Choice and Social Class in New Zealand", in David Pitt, ed., *Social Class in New Zealand* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1977) 78-98.

¹² Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 247.

¹³ Pierre Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," in Richard Brown, ed., *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change* (London: Tavistock, 1973), 71.

new ways to reproduce social divisions. One such way of doing this is the withdrawal to the private school; a snubbing of the public school system by families of the ruling class.¹⁴

Ruling Class Connections

The ruling class is not explicitly or exclusively tied to the Anglican Church, but they are closely related. Religion has not been a barrier to class mobility and wealth acquisition in Aotearoa New Zealand. The ruling class is not a monolith, and further it is not monolithically Anglican. The ruling class does however have many connections to the Anglican Church, and many members of the ruling class were in some way affiliated with it. This can be observed through the existence of the Anglican girls' private schools. For private schools to exist they must have a fee-paying clientele; as religious schools, those willing to pay the fees were predominantly Anglican families. Anglican bishops were high status people in society, and high ranking people in the Church were often also high ranking members of society. As an earlier example, the children and grandchildren of the first Anglican Bishop of Christchurch, H.J.C. Harper, populated Canterbury's mercantile, pastoral, and professional elite. Sir Paul Reeves, as a later example was an ordained Anglican cleric from a working-class background and Archbishop and Primate of Aotearoa New Zealand before becoming Governor-General in 1985 (his wife, Beverly, was a teacher at Diocesan School in Auckland). The Anglican Church possessed members across the entire class spectrum although, as Peter Lineham points out, "the many nominal working-class members of the church rarely graced it with their physical presence."¹⁵ Certain parishes were the domain of the elite members of the Church, for example the parish of Remuera. Remuera was full of wealthy and significant people, although it was a parish which, in 1882, had a churchgoing rate of 241 out of 3000 nominal members.¹⁶ Remuera, significantly, was also the area of Auckland chosen for the establishment of Diocesan School.

The ruling class is also gendered. For the period which this thesis covers (1877-1975), it was relatively rare for women of the ruling class to possess an occupation. The functionality of the colonial ruling class relied on a lifestyle mimicking the British middle- and upper-classes, in which the family model was crucial, and the roles of the parents were divided. Men would

¹⁴ Harker, "Bourdieu," 100.

¹⁵ Peter Lineham, *Sunday Best: How the Church Shaped New Zealand and how New Zealand Shaped the Church* (Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017), 353.

¹⁶ Lineham, *Sunday Best*, 340.

undertake paid work; women would run a household. This household model was not universal, particularly as the nineteenth century drew to a close. It cannot, however, be overstated that class experience was heavily informed by gender. Shelley Richardson's work on middle-class families in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand is useful as a microhistory examining specific people and places. Richardson emphasises how class was experienced differently by men and women. Helen Connon, the first woman in the British Empire to graduate with an Honours degree, later in life found herself unable to balance running a school with running a family, and therefore retreated to the traditional classed domain of the ruling class woman.¹⁷ The example of Helen Connon is useful for indicating the intersections of occupation, gender, education and class.

Sources

The Anglican girls' schools in Aotearoa New Zealand have all published school histories. These contribute to a diverse literature on the history of schooling. These histories are a principal source for information, as they are based predominantly on materials held in the archives of each of the given schools. They tend to focus largely on the founding and earlier decades of the schools, with less attention given to later decades of the twentieth century. This is due in part to the publication date – many of the histories were published for significant anniversaries of the schools. Some, such as Tosti Murray's history of Samuel Marsden Collegiate (published in 1967)¹⁸ or Muriel May's history of St Hilda's Collegiate (published in 1969)¹⁹ could be considered primary sources, as they were published within the time period. The histories of the schools do not claim to be objective sources – Murray and May's histories both glorify the schools, and histories such as Mary Varnham's (Woodford House, 1994)²⁰ and Helen Dashfield's (St Matthew's Collegiate, 1989)²¹ border on iconoclastic.

¹⁷ Shelley Richardson, *Family Experiments: Middle-class, Professional Families in Australia and New Zealand c. 1880-1920* (Acton: ANU Press, 2016).

¹⁸ Tosti Murray, *Marsden: The History of a New Zealand School for Girls* (Wellington: The Marsden Old Girls' Association, 1967).

¹⁹ Muriel May, *St Hilda's Collegiate School: The First Seventy Years, 1896-1966* (Dunedin: St Hilda's Collegiate School, 1969).

²⁰ Mary Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills: One Hundred Years of Woodford House* (Havelock North: Woodford House, 1994).

²¹ Helen Dashfield, *To the Stars: St Matthew's Collegiate School for Girls, 1914-1989* (Masterton: Trinity Schools Trust Board, 1989).

The school history serves a particular purpose, even when meticulously researched. Kirsty Carpenter's 2003 history of Samuel Marsden Collegiate seems to have been influenced by a desire to present the school in the most favourable light possible.²² She notes in the introduction that, "Marsden cannot be held accountable for the prejudices of colonial Aotearoa New Zealand society, albeit that it has played a part in defending them."²³ This statement implies that schools such as Marsden are innocent of perpetuating and reinforcing social class differences, and do not have any power beyond the defence of an unequal system of schooling. This is contentious. As this thesis will demonstrate, the private Anglican girls' schools existed to educate the daughters of the ruling class of Aotearoa New Zealand, which in turn enabled that class to replicate itself through the exclusivity of the cultural and social capital which the schools were able to bestow. The school is not a neutral party in this relationship; private schools in Aotearoa New Zealand are one of the means through which the ruling class shaped society.

Many of the broader works on educational history in Aotearoa New Zealand (such as Openshaw, Lee and Lee, or Cumming and Cumming)²⁴ devote little attention to private schools. State schools are commonly considered as being equalising. This is not necessarily true. State schools may improve equality of opportunity, but some state schools possess more endowments, resources and privileges than others. The degree to which education truly is equalising depends upon its capacity to equip individuals with the capital to transcend class boundaries. The existence of private schools' counters this equalising process by allowing for those already equipped with capital – members of the ruling class – to circumvent the equalisation of the public schools and retain their status exclusivity. Further, the decision by non-ruling-class families to send children to these schools in an attempt to achieve social mobility further emphasises an implicit social understanding that such progression is possible and cannot to the same degree occur in this way within the public school system. Capital possessed by the ruling class can be economic, demonstrated through the ability to pay fees, and symbolic, demonstrated through the ability to firstly invest time in extended schooling, and secondly through an inculcation of social capital invested by the family and the school. General histories of schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand speak little to the development and existence

²² Kirsty Carpenter, *Marsden Women and Their World: A History of Marsden School, 1878-2003* (Wellington: Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, 2003).

²³ Carpenter, *Marsden Women and their World*, 14.

²⁴ R. Openshaw, G. Lee, and H. Lee. *Challenging the Myths: Rethinking New Zealand's Educational History* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press Ltd., 1993); Ian Cumming and Alan Cumming, *History of State Education in New Zealand, 1840-1975* (Wellington: Pitman, 1978).

of private schools, and therefore are unable to accurately represent the concurrent egalitarianism and elitism which both exist in Aotearoa New Zealand's educational history.

Private schools in Aotearoa New Zealand are, with one or two exceptions, religious schools. Some works, such as those by Ian McLaren (1965)²⁵ and D.G.A Cassells (1947),²⁶ address both the existence of private schools and the significance of their status as denominational schools. Both of these works, however, are dated. Theses by Andrew Sangster (1984)²⁷ and Allen Grey (1958)²⁸ address Anglican responses to and engagement with educational policy within Aotearoa New Zealand, and are useful, but focus less on the minutiae of schooling. They also do not question the class connotations of denominational schooling. Angela J. Wilson's MA Thesis (1996) on schooling and class struggle is useful for its engagement with class concepts, but also focuses predominantly on state schools.²⁹ Works which focus specifically on girls' education such as those works by Ruth Fry and Sue Middleton, are more likely to deal with private schools, including the Anglican girls' schools.³⁰

Private schooling for girls has overlapped in many ways with schooling for girls in public schools. Private schools were to an extent able to set their own curriculum and pedagogy, but they are still subject to broader societal trends which dictate the desires of families and students. Ruth Fry's history of the curriculum of girls' schools incorporates private schools more thoroughly than histories which attempt to grapple with education in its entirety. Curriculum, she observes, was a problem in girls' schools, as girls were trained for home life and academic subjects. This tension surrounding the problems of curriculum had, at its core, social anxieties surrounding gender roles.³¹

²⁵ Ian A. McLaren, "Secondary Schools in the New Zealand Social Order, 1840-1903." PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1965.

²⁶ D.G.A. Cassells, "The Place of Private Schools in New Zealand", 1816-1947. PhD Thesis Otago University, 1947.

²⁷ Andrew Sangster, "The Anglican Reaction to the Secular Clause of the 1877 Education Act." MA Thesis, Massey University, 1984.

²⁸ Allen Grey, "The State Aid to Private Schools Issue in New Zealand Education: A History from 1877 to 1956." MA Thesis, Victoria University College, 1958

²⁹ Angela Jayne Wilson, "Shifting Terrains of Class Struggle: New Zealand Schooling: 1877 to 1988." MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996.

³⁰ Ruth Fry, *It's Different for Daughters: A History of the Curriculum for Girls in New Zealand Schools, 1900-1975* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1985); Sue Middleton, ed., *Women and Education in Aotearoa* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1998).

³¹ Fry, *It's Different for Daughters*.

Barbara Brookes' *A History of New Zealand Women* discusses the social progression of women through the early twentieth century, especially through the pursuit of education and career pathways. Her history also details how women's roles as mothers and homemakers were reinforced. Concern for the declining Pākehā birth rate and the zealousness of young women in pursuing opportunities outside of the home led to a series of attempts at schools and in wider society to return women to their 'natural roles' as wives and mothers. Domestic Science became compulsory in schools in 1917. This compulsion was relaxed in 1943, reflecting trends in the post-war society acknowledging the significance of women in the labour market (although women were still expected to maintain their primary place in the home well after the end of the Second World War).³² Further, the school leaving age was raised to fifteen in 1944, which acted as more of a guarantee on girls remaining in school than the age of fourteen had.³³

Schooling offered the opportunity for social advancement for girls. This occurred in part due to the passing of examinations which theoretically set them on an equal footing with boys regarding university entrance. For many years this equalising factor was more theoretical than observable in university admittance, where male students far outnumbered female. Private schooling enabled a different type of social mobility that was less linked to academic success. R.W. Connell has written extensively on the function of the private school in Australian society, in which the ruling class retains elitism through the process of sending its children to private schools, which offered more opportunities and had higher rates of admittance into university. Connell and Irving observe crucially that the ruling class marriage market begins in the girls' private schools.³⁴ Girls were sent to private schools to learn how to become ruling class wives.

Schooling as a function of this ruling class replication is influenced by many factors, but it exists predominantly to create young women who can enter into and maintain the active ruling class, through accomplishment and marriage. The value of a ruling class education for girls relies on social and cultural capital as well as economic capital. For much of the period under examination in this thesis, ruling class – or even middle-class – women were not expected to earn an income outside the home. Women were, however, more than capable of possessing capital and status which could be bestowed, acquired or maintained through marriage. The

³² Fry, *It's Different for Daughters*, 115.

³³ Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), 293.

³⁴ Connell and Irving, "Yes, Virginia, There is a Ruling Class," 41.

system of private schooling existed beyond the networks of state schools, whilst simultaneously remaining bound by the social and economic expectations of the outcomes of girls' schooling, and the maintenance of gender roles which they were expected to inculcate.

This thesis deals predominantly with the Pākehā Anglican girls' schools. There were three Anglican schools for Māori girls, with significant histories and legacies which existed throughout the period (Hukarere, Te Waipounamu and Queen Victoria). These schools also have a historiography which includes significant work done by Kuni Jenkins in both her PhD thesis and the history of Hukarere co-written with Kay Morris Matthews.³⁵ These histories have been consulted for this thesis, and the Māori girls' schools are a part of some of the same networks as the schools which have been examined. Their existence underlines the attentions of the Anglican church on education for girls. The Māori Anglican schools shared similarities with those schools established for Europeans and were capable of bestowing capital upon students who attended. There was a Māori Anglican elite who passed through schools such as Te Aute college (and its counterpart Hukarere).³⁶ The works by Jenkins, and Jenkins and Matthews also address the politics of Māori girls' schooling, particularly pertaining to the administration of Hukarere. As Jenkins and Matthew's note, "the education history in a specially designated environment for Māori girls has a wider canvas than just what happens within its walls. Such a history is inextricably bound to other forces: Cultural, social, political and economic."³⁷ The history of education more broadly is also bound to other forces, particularly cultural and economic – the Māori Anglican girls' schools however cannot be homogenised into a completely shared history in the way that the Anglican girls' schools established for the daughters of Pākehā elite can be. Therefore due to the constraints of space, there has been less room for an in-depth focus on these schools.

Research Goals

This research explores the ways in which the private Anglican girls' schools of Aotearoa New Zealand reflect and shape the ruling class of Aotearoa New Zealand. This class possesses economic, social and cultural forms of capital; such capital was consolidated and created

³⁵ Kuni Jenkins, "Haere Tahu Tāua: An Account of Aitanga in Māori Struggle for Schooling," PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2000; Kuni Jenkins and Kay Morris Matthews, *Hukarere and the Politics of Māori Girls Schooling, 1875-1995* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1995).

³⁶ Lineham, *Sunday Best*, 358.

³⁷ Jenkins and Matthews, *Hukarere*, 9.

through the private school network as a means of reproducing these forms of capital. This research aims to compare schools which are broadly similar in an attempt to a) begin the process of generating a more comprehensive history and understanding of the systems of private schools in Aotearoa New Zealand, and b) question what the histories of these schools in particular can indicate across an extended period of time (1877-1975) about the broader social context of Aotearoa New Zealand. This thesis will attempt to address the nature of the ruling class, the history of the private Anglican girls' schools, and the ways in which the schools interact with and are a part of the ruling class. Some of these questions have been easier to address than others, and this thesis has been structured predominantly to address class and schooling.

The primary sources accessed to address these questions come from the archives held by Diocesan School for Girls in Auckland, and Samuel Marsden Collegiate in Wellington, as well as those school materials which have been deposited into libraries, particularly the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, and the Hocken Library in Dunedin. School magazines, admissions registers, and prospectuses are the sources predominantly consulted, as well as published school histories which contain information from other school archives which I have not been able to consult. The research for this thesis was undertaken throughout 2020 and at times was impacted by COVID-19. As a result of this, travel was restricted. Libraries were not always accessible, and schools in particular were often operating under tight restrictions. Access to primary sources was therefore more challenging than it may have been had this thesis been undertaken in more certain times. It benefits greatly, however, from the opportunities to visit the archives of Diocesan and Marsden.

Structure

This work is divided into four chapters. The first chapter examines the historical context of the schools, and the broader context for the history of schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand. The chapter includes a brief history of each of the schools to the 1970s and the role of the Anglican Church and faith in the ethos of the schools. The chapter also discusses the Māori Anglican girls' schools. The second chapter is an in-depth analysis of the schools in their physical and social settings. The chapter analyses student populations, as well as the physical and social spaces of the schools in order to ascertain in what ways they are populated by the ruling class. Admissions data from St Hilda's Collegiate, Diocesan School for Girls, and Chilton Saint

James have been analysed to provide an illustration of the catchment area of the schools, as well as the social status of families who were choosing to enrol their daughters. This chapter also examines the ways in which the schools presented themselves through the use of prospectuses, the naming of buildings and the creating of an historical and social landscape, in order to solidify an image to families which reinforces conceptualisations of the schools as an elite location.

The third chapter extends the discussion to that of the purpose of education and examines the ways in which the Anglican girls' schools demonstrate their ability to bestow cultural capital upon students and families through the administration of qualifications, as well as the way this was shaped by gendered differentiation. The chapter examines what it is the schools were teaching, and how this reflected the ruling class. The fourth chapter turns toward more subtle ways in which schools reproduce ruling class identity – through social capital, or the entrance into and replication of networks. The chapter examines the notion of character as defined by the schools, and the practises of behaviour and authority which regulated the social setting of life within the school – how it is, precisely, that the schools create ruling class women.

Chapter One

“The Establishment of a School for Young Ladies”: Anglican Girls’ Schools in Context

This chapter situates the Anglican girls’ schools within their Aotearoa New Zealand context. The chapter will first define private schools and establish their historical origins in Britain, and then within Aotearoa New Zealand, before moving on to detailing the individual histories of the schools under specific investigation within the thesis. This chapter also discusses the position of Anglican Māori boarding schools.

Private schools

The history of Pākehā schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand begins with the history of schooling in Britain. Mission schooling began before 1840 and was central to the aims of missionaries. Schooling for Pākehā began to develop rapidly after systematic colonisation accelerated from the 1840s. Traditions, expectations and teachers were brought from Britain to the colony, which resulted in the implementation of British educational policy and pedagogy. The history of education in Britain was diverse, and stratified; the accessibility and quality of education and, indeed, the purpose of this education was highly variable, especially for girls. Secondary education was even more so; the ability of the secondary school to grant qualifications and to enable entrance into university (of which there were only two in England until 1830) was a crucial factor in the exclusivity of these schools.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries secondary schooling in England was largely limited to either private tutoring, or the public schools in the Victorian and Edwardian period. Mangan defines public schools as, “for the well-to-do, expensive, predominantly boarding, independent of the state but neither privately owned nor profit making.”¹ Mangan’s public schools are diverse, ranging from the Clarendon schools (so-named because they were the subject of the Clarendon Commission of 1861-1864, which was established to investigate the finances of a

¹ J.A Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 2.

handful of schools, including Eton and Westminster), to grammar schools, to entirely private proprietary schools.

Mangan's study of these public schools is well known and influential. He was writing on the unique cultures which developed in boys' schools; Victorian ideas of gender, empire and education were inculcated within these schools in order to reinforce a ruling class and raise the new middle-class. Mangan did not deal with girls' schools. Secondary schools for girls do not have a history which stretches back as far as some of the schools included in the Clarendon commission (Merchant Taylors, for example, was founded in 1581); many however were beginning to be established in the era on which Mangan is writing. The two schools considered to be the pioneer schools of modern girls' secondary education were North London Collegiate School (founded in 1850 by Frances Mary Buss), and Cheltenham Ladies' College (founded in 1853, and coming under the leadership of Dorothea Beale in 1858).

Frances Mary Buss and Dorothea Beale were considered both by contemporaries, and women educationalists who followed in later eras, to be at the heart of the development of secondary education for women. Sheila Fletcher attributes some of the agitation for girls' education to the existence of the Social Science Association as a platform for educated women to discuss issues which pertained to them. There were demands within the Association, Fletcher observes, for women to be allowed to receive an academic, classical education, rather than one with a superficial focus on accomplishments.² Although Buss and Beale were hardly beholden to the Social Science Association for their educational outlook, Fletcher's arguments are insightful for understanding the ideas which drove women to begin founding their own schools.

The schools for girls took inspiration from the boys' public schools but were not identical. Felicity Hunt argues that it was regarded as inappropriate for girls "to share either the curriculum or ethos of boys' schools because each sex had special needs in education which were associated with their gender."³ Public opinion on girls' schooling was divided. It was not presumed by all that working-class girls should be educated in the same way as upper class girls. Further, there was little consensus as to the value of accomplishments in a girl's

² Sheila Fletcher, *Feminists and Bureaucrats: A Study in the Development of Girls' Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 21.

³ Felicity Hunt, *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women 1850-1950* (Oxford: Basil Blackwood, 1987), 3.

education, or whether schools' girls ought to be allowed to become endowed through the acquisition of property in the same manner as schools for boys. This problem was epitomised by Buss when she attempted to convert her private school, North London Collegiate, into a trust. Fletcher observes that "the rich might be ready to pay through the nose to anyone prepared to teach their daughters accomplishments, but when it came to subscribing the endowment which would enable a serious girls' school offer scholarships and keep up its premises, they were not interested."⁴ The upper class in Britain were happy for their daughters to be educated, so long as this education included accomplishments. Upper class women were to be educated for polish, and this was something which had a hefty price tag. The conversion of schools into equitable grammar schools which could focus on academic achievement was not easy.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, schools for girls increased in number. Maria Grey's Girls' Public Day School Company opened thirty schools; the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 opened nearly a hundred.⁵ By 1900, questions about the purpose of education for girls were being asked. Public opinion where it existed was divided as to whether girls should be given a classical education, educated for accomplishments or taught skills for home life. The class of a girl was a significant factor in her educational outlook. As Hunt summarises, the "rewriting of femininity as domesticity and the sacrifice of the principle of a general education upon the altar of practical training for life at home heralded considerable changes in the girls' curriculum. No longer a 'dual' but a 'divided' aim underpinned girls schooling and the two aims were perceived as incompatible."⁶ This debate was taking place in tandem with the gradual process by which secondary schools for girls sought elite status. Schools which may have been founded philanthropically to educate lower class girls lost sight of that goal. As Fletcher observes, the girls' schools in England were not only being pushed from below, but also drawn up the social hierarchy by the influence of Girton (Cambridge) and other university colleges for women.⁷

The development of private education in Britain, especially but not exclusively in England, was highly influential in Aotearoa New Zealand. Many of the private schools which were established in the colony were modelled on these British schools. Influential figures in the early

⁴ Fletcher, *Feminists and Bureaucrats*, 53.

⁵ Ibid., 171.

⁶ Hunt, *Lessons for Life*, 20.

⁷ Fletcher, *Feminists and Bureaucrats*, 176.

histories of the schools considered themselves to be a continuation of these educational legacies, even given geographic distance. Fletcher points out that grammar school headmistresses of the late nineteenth century may well have begun teaching under Beale – and, indeed, many of the early female headmistresses of private schools in Aotearoa New Zealand had their origins in teaching in the exact same places.⁸

Private Schools in Aotearoa New Zealand

Until the Education Act 1877, there was no cohesive, national system for primary or secondary education in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Education Act did not deal exclusively with secondary schools. Its domain lay in the provision for and regulation of primary education, but it did specify that all state education would be secular. It is this secular clause that is crucial in the history of the development of private schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. This clause separated the schools which taught religious subjects from those that did not and rendered the former by necessity private schools, which were obliged to charge fees in order to operate. Schools were run by individuals, or else by churches that could secure the money to operate.

In 1903, the Secondary Schools Act created the free place system, in which public schools were obliged to offer free places to pupils who could demonstrate academic capability. This also contributed towards the establishment of private secondary schools; the public schools lost their elite status once they were obliged to accept a wider variety of people. Therefore, families seeking to gain or preserve status as well as an academic education turned towards private schools. Prior to this, secondary schools which were not private, but which were nevertheless ‘exclusive’ due to their ability to provide cultural capital through the bestowal of academic qualifications, had been able to maintain social status through this exclusivity. Private schools (which had always been exclusive due to the inherent financial barrier) were then able to further entrench their ability to bestow social status.

⁸ Fletcher, *Feminists and Bureaucrats*, 177.

Anglican Girls' Schools in Aotearoa New Zealand

Each of the Anglican girls' schools in this study form part of the milieu of education in Aotearoa New Zealand. Each independent of others, the schools have their own histories; founded in different years, with different staff, headmistresses, students and relationships with the Anglican Church and the wider communities in which they were situated. Each of the schools in this study has been selected because they fit the following criteria: private; predominantly for girls, at least in the secondary department; at least nominally affiliated with the Anglican Church; established between 1877 and 1920 and remaining open to the present day (2021). The last condition removes from this study Corran School, which was formerly in Auckland. Corran was only opened in 1947 and closed to integrate with Saint Kentigern in 2009. These conditions also eliminate from the study St John's Girls' School in Invercargill, which although founded in 1917 by the St John's Anglican Church, is no longer a secondary school.

The schools were all founded within fifty years of each other. This was a particularly tumultuous time in the history of schooling; although the Education Act of 1877 established secondary schools, and later acts contributed towards their distribution and the free place system, families were particularly concerned with the implications of the Act. State schooling was, according to the Act, secular. Churches had always been concerned with the spiritual development of youth, and the importance of religious education. Further, private schools allowed for a more selective environment (in terms of social class and also subjects taught) which was appealing to some families. The optional as well as the secular aspect of secondary education was of concern to families who possessed the resources and saw the value in higher education for their children, which is an explanation for why so many of the schools were founded in this period, when state secondary schools existed and were increasing in number.

Samuel Marsden Collegiate School (Wellington)

Samuel Marsden Collegiate School began its life as a private school run by Mary Anne Swainson, opened in 1869 on the corner of Woodward Street and Wellington Terrace.⁹ In 1878,

⁹ Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams, eds., *The Book of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991), 646.

Swainson purchased premises on Fitzherbert Terrace. The new school was officially named Fitzherbert Terrace School but was often simply referred to as ‘Mrs Swainson’s School’. In Swainson, according to Tosti Murray, prospective parents “looked for, and found, the English gentlewoman. They could desire their daughters to emulate her both in spoken language and decorous behaviour.”¹⁰ Mary Anne Swainson died in 1897, and the school was taken over by her daughter, Mary Jessy Swainson.¹¹ The school, in this era, was not officially affiliated with any particular church or denomination. The school did, however, have a close relationship with St Paul’s cathedral in an unofficial manner. Bishop Octavius Hadfield (Bishop of Wellington from 1870-1893, and Primate of Aotearoa New Zealand from 1890-1893) sent his daughter to the school, which was a further unofficial sign of the relationship between the school and the Anglican faith.¹²

In 1906, the school was sold to Esther Baber under whose leadership it became a Diocesan school. This purchase resulted in the establishment of a Board of Governors, the first of which included the Bishop of Wellington, Thomas Sprott. The school moved from Thorndon to Karori in 1926 having been gifted 10 acres of land from the Riddiford brothers (one of whom, Eric, was a member of the Board).¹³ In this same year the name was changed to Samuel Marsden Collegiate.¹⁴ In 1933, Baber retired and was replaced by Gladys Mayhew.¹⁵ It was in this era that Matriculation was replaced with School Certificate and University Entrance.¹⁶ The school has remained on the Karori site since 1926, and has had extensive additions, including the first swimming pool in 1933, and the second in 1958.¹⁷

¹⁰ Kirsty Carpenter, *Marsden Women and their World: A History of Samuel Marsden School, 1878-2003* (Wellington: Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, 2003), 35.

¹¹ Carpenter, *Marsden Women and their World*, 36.

¹² Tosti Murray, *Marsden: The History of a New Zealand School for Girls* (Wellington: The Marsden Old Girls’ Association, 1967), 61.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 121; Carpenter, *Marsden Women and their World*, 55.

¹⁴ Carpenter, *Marsden Women and their World*, 38.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 156.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 276.

Woodford House (Havelock North)

Mabel Hodge, founder of Woodford House, arrived in Hawke's Bay from England in 1893, and took over a school in Hastings which had formerly been run by two sisters named Edwards in 1893.¹⁸ The school was renamed Woodford House in 1894, and opened with eighteen day girls and four boarders.¹⁹ In the early days of the school, boys were also admitted. In 1909, the Woodford House Company was formed by Mason Chamber, Thomas Crosse, William Nelson and Winifred Beetham Nelson, who became directors and investors. The Woodford House Company took on financial responsibility for the school with the expectation that they would eventually be paid back for their investment through the generation of profits from the school. The Company funded the expansion and removal of the school to the Havelock hills.²⁰ Woodford, like Chilton Saint James, was not officially affiliated with the Anglican Church, but daily prayers were held, and regular churchgoing was insisted upon.²¹ Mabel Hodge died in October 1932.²² The next headmistress of the school was Mary Holland, the daughter of an Anglican clergyman, who had previously taught at Diocesan High School in Auckland.²³

In 1927, the Company was converted into a trust, thus transforming members into trustees.²⁴ The school chapel was completed the following year, in 1928.²⁵ The school was affiliated with the Anglican Church but did not have as close a relationship with it as other Anglican girls' schools. Services in the chapel were taken by the headmistress, or else by local clergy.²⁶ Woodford was devastated by the Napier earthquake in 1931. Fortunately for the school, it was not forced to relocate to Auckland as nearby Hukarere was.²⁷ The school was not entirely destroyed, but significant rebuilding and strengthening was required. Lucy Hogg, who was headmistress from 1948 until 1962, had attended St Margaret's in Christchurch as a girl and trained at Diocesan High School before taking up the position in charge of Woodford²⁸ – later, she became headmistress at Hukarere. Mary Varnham describes the Hogg era as being one of

¹⁸ Mary Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills: One Hundred Years of Woodford House* (Havelock North: Woodford House, 1994).

¹⁹ Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills*, 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

²² *Ibid.*, 30.

²³ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 141.

consolidation, in which the school did not engage in any particularly radical development but continued with the same educational ethos it had possessed for decades. In contrast Kay Bell, headmistress from 1962 until 1975, brought the school through an era of change. In the words of board member Jack Chambers, Bell “piloted the school through one of the most controversial and demanding periods in boarding school history, from the semi-monastic to the semi-liberated, in a manner which earned the board’s greatest admiration.”²⁹

St Hilda’s Collegiate School (Dunedin)

St Hilda’s Collegiate School was opened in 1896 with a roll of eleven. Bishop Samuel Nevill (Bishop of Dunedin from 1871, and Primate of Aotearoa New Zealand from 1904 until 1919), had perceived a need in the community for a church school for Anglican girls. In a speech at the dedication of the school in February 1896, Nevill reminded those assembled of his long-held desire to establish such a school:

The elder amongst you will perhaps remember that the establishment of such a work as this was that which was dearest to my heart. When I first undertook charge of this diocese, at one of the earliest meetings held in connection with it, I expressed my desire to promote just this kind of work – religious education – and, in particular, in the establishment of a school for young ladies.³⁰

Nevill had written to the Community of the Sisters of the Church in London, inviting them to Dunedin to found a school.³¹ The Community of the Sisters of the Church, better known as the Kilburn Sisters, had been founded as a religious Order in 1870 by Emily Ayckbawm. Two sisters were sent from London to gauge the need and then to establish the school in Dunedin. One of the founding Sisters, Sister Etheleen, was a niece of Bishop Nevill.³² The Sisters wished to call the school St Michael’s after their home parish but acquiesced to the desire of Nevill to name the school St Hilda’s.³³

The school was advertised by the sisters as being for the daughters of gentlemen.³⁴ Nevill may have perceived a need in the community for a school for Anglican girls, but it was not open to

²⁹ Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills*, 184.

³⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, 3 February 1896.

³¹ Judy Mason, *A Venture of Faith: The Story of St. Hilda’s Collegiate School, 1896-1996* (Dunedin: St. Hilda’s Board of Trustees, 1996), 22.

³² Mason, *A Venture of Faith*, 15.

³³ *Ibid.*, 25.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

everyone. By advertising as a school for the daughters of gentlemen, the Kilburn Sisters were signalling that their school was for the daughters of the well-to-do. In 1929, the Kilburn Sisters were withdrawn from Aotearoa New Zealand – Mother Emily, perhaps disappointed with the Order’s inability to persuade its students to join their ranks, felt that the sisters were of better use elsewhere.³⁵ The school was then purchased by the Diocese.

After the departure of the Sisters, D. G Blackmore was appointed headmistress. In her history of the school, Muriel May observes one of the ways this change impacted on the school: “Now the Sisters’ School was in the hands of a Principal who wore an academic gown instead of a habit, and who, nonchalantly stepping over a garden seat, showed not only ankle, but leg.”³⁶ The appointment of a ‘secular’ headmistress (a churchwoman, but not a Sister of the Church) set the tone for the next half-decade of the school history. No longer was St Hilda’s a ‘Church of England Convent School’.³⁷ The school remained throughout its history at the original site on Heriot Row, expanding with a new boarding house in 1962.³⁸

Diocesan School (Auckland)

Diocesan School opened in February 1904 in the Auckland suburb of Remuera. The school was the personal project of Bishop Moore Richard Neligan. Neligan was born in Dublin on 6 January 1863. He graduated from Trinity College Dublin and was ordained in 1886. He worked in Norfolk and London before being sent to Auckland, where he was Bishop from 1903 until 1910.³⁹ He was noted as being an excellent speaker, and came highly recommended to Aotearoa New Zealand.⁴⁰ Neligan arrived in Auckland in 1903 with the intention of founding an Anglican girls’ school, and immediately set about drumming up support. Neligan felt that an Anglican Church school for girls was needed in the community – or, at the very least, he felt that it would be beneficial to the community.

³⁵ Robyn Gossett, *From Boaters to Back-Packs: The School History and List of St. Margaret’s College, 1910-1985* (Christchurch: St. Margaret’s College Old Girls Association Incorporated, 1985), 14.

³⁶ Muriel May, *St. Hilda’s Collegiate School: The First Seventy Years, 1896-1966* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2002), 30.

³⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, 3 February 1896.

³⁸ Mason, *A Venture of Faith*, 134.

³⁹ *Times*, 27 November 1922.

⁴⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 November 1902.

At a speech to Synod in October 1903, he assured the churchmen that, in the weeks since his reception on 23 May, he had sought advice from the community, and collected some £300 worth of guarantees. He reassured them further:

Would not such a School, started under such auspices, hurt the Schools for Girls now being conducted by private people with, on the whole, good results to the community? No, it would not; unless the community in our country is quite unlike what it is at Home. There the private schools benefit ultimately through the public schools. I am fairly confident that a similar result would ensue here. We are numerically, small in population in this country; but we are numerically large enough to accomplish what similar populations do in the Old Country. I am confident that you may eliminate from your minds the perfectly natural thought of hurting other schools kept by private persons. If you adopt my scheme, you will, in the long run, benefit every Private School for Girls in this Diocese that ought to be benefitted.⁴¹

He also outlined his intentions for the school, stating that it should be a Diocesan High School for girls, open to both boarders and day girls, and that it should “aim more at the formation of the character, on a religious basis, of our girls attending it than at anything else: although there will be no examination in this country for which we shall not be capable of instructing girls.”⁴² He also assured Synod that he would also be able to find the right woman to lead the school - Mary Etheldred Pulling, whom Neligan had known when he was in Britain. Educated at Cheltenham and the University of London Pulling, along with her second mistress Beatrice Ward, arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in early 1904.⁴³

Pulling and Neligan had a clear vision for the school. Pulling had worked in England and studied the English model of education extensively – Diocesan School was to be run as the schools at Home were.⁴⁴ The school was to be modelled on English girls’ boarding schools such as St Mary’s College, London, and Cheltenham Ladies College, where Pulling and Ward had worked. The school opened in February 1904 with six boarders and a handful of day girls,⁴⁵ including the daughters of the Bishop (Elizabeth, aged nine, and Helen, aged eight).⁴⁶ The fees

⁴¹ *Primary Charge... Delivered at the Second Session of the Seventeenth Synod of the Diocese of Auckland, on the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, 1903*, The Pamphlet Collection of Sir Robert Stout: Volume 77, J.C Beaglehole Collection, Victoria University of Wellington Library, Wellington, 52-53.

⁴² *Primary Charge*, Pamphlet Collection of Sir Robert Stout, J.C Beaglehole Collection, 52.

⁴³ Margaret Hammer, *Follow Your Star: Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland, 1903-2003* (Auckland: Board of Governors, Diocesan School for Girls, 2003), 25.

⁴⁴ Hammer, *Follow Your Star*, 26.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁶ Enrolment Registers, Volume 1 & 2, 1904-1968, Series 204, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland; The oldest student at the school in the first semester was Gwendolyn Simons, aged fifteen, whose father, J.F Simons, Esq., gave his occupation as ‘H.M.B Consul’, and whose address was given as Glenalvon, possibly the former Admiralty House constructed in 1902

for tuition and boarding varied depending on the age of the students but sat between 18 to 21 guineas for boarding per term, inclusive of tuition.⁴⁷ The school had been established under the directive of the Church of England Diocesan Schools Association, a trust board which had been established by Synod in 1903. The purpose of the Association was organisational, tasked with beginning the fiscal and strategic processes of founding the school.⁴⁸ It was felt by the Diocesan council that the public schools of Aotearoa New Zealand had failed through not offering religious education, to the detriment of the young people of the colony, and that the establishment and maintenance of a church school would be a step towards correcting this absence.⁴⁹

The fees were raised in 1906 as they had initially been set too low for the school to break even.⁵⁰ Boarding was expensive even at the lower rate established in 1904 – most families could not afford it, and even the tuition was well beyond the means of ordinary people.⁵¹ Pulling retired in 1926, and was replaced by E.H Sandford who, like Pulling and Ward before her, had been born, educated and trained in teaching in England.⁵² The first Aotearoa New Zealand born headmistress was not appointed until 1932,⁵³ reflecting a preference amongst the members of the board of governors for maintaining the British educational practises on which the school had been founded.

Nga Tawa (Marton, Rangitikei)

Nga Tawa was founded by May Taylor in 1904. May was the daughter of William Waring Taylor (member of parliament from 1860-1870) and his wife Mary, née Knox, and was one of the earliest pupils of Fitzherbert Terrace School. Her aunt, Mary Taylor, was a friend and correspondent of Charlotte Brontë, and ran a shop on Cuba Street for many years. May's sister, Nellie Taylor, was involved as a staff member at Fitzherbert Terrace School until her retirement

⁴⁷ Prospectus 1904, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland; a guinea was equal to one pound and one shilling (21 shillings) and was often used to denote luxury purchases.

⁴⁸ Hammer, *Follow Your Star*, 33.

⁴⁹ Valeria Johnson and Honor Jensen, *A History of Diocesan High School for Girls, Auckland, 1903-1953* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1956), 10-11.

⁵⁰ Hammer, *Follow Your Star*, 30.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 29, 24.

⁵² Johnson and Jensen, *A History of Diocesan School for Girls*, 52.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 59.

to London with Mary Swainson in 1906. May Taylor also taught at Fitzherbert Terrace School before opening her own school in Shannon.⁵⁴

The school was opened initially on a farm in Shannon near Levin, which belonged to Taylor's brother. The farm was named Nga Tawa (meaning 'that particular group of Tawa trees') and this became the name of the school.⁵⁵ In 1907, the school was moved to its current site in Marton.⁵⁶ For most of the history of the school, girls were allowed to bring a pony to school - this gave Nga Tawa a particular and unique appeal.⁵⁷ In Judy Mason's history of St Hilda's, old girl Gwenda Birnie is noted as wishing she had been able to attend Nga Tawa for that exact reason.⁵⁸ This is similar to students who reminisce on their desire to attend Craighead due to its extensive grounds – the rural setting and extensive outdoor areas were appealing to families and daughters both, and were a significant factor in enrolments at the school.

Taylor sold the school in 1910, as she wished to travel abroad. The school was subsequently purchased by the Wellington Diocese, and control was passed over fully in 1912.⁵⁹ The Church was not able to buy the property outright – money was lent by a Board of Trustees which continued to be influential throughout later years of the school's history.⁶⁰ In 1921, Nga Tawa experimented with allowing day girls, but ultimately decided to remain a boarding school only, as it was felt that the boarders would be unsettled by the departure of day girls at the end of the day.⁶¹ The original school buildings were destroyed by a fire in 1924, and subsequently rebuilt and expanded.⁶² Whitmore's history of Nga Tawa emphasises the role of the Board of Trustees in overseeing the school, particularly with regards to the appointment of headmistresses.

⁵⁴ Michelle Whitmore, *Nga Tawa: A Centennial History* (Waikanae: The Heritage Press, 1991), 14.

⁵⁵ Whitmore, *Nga Tawa: A Centennial History*, 14.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁵⁸ Mason, *A Venture of Faith*, 80.

⁵⁹ Whitmore, *Nga Tawa: A Centennial History*, 23.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 67.

Waikato Diocesan (Hamilton)

Waikato Diocesan School for Girls, originally named Sonning School, was founded by May Whitehorn in Hamilton in 1909.⁶³ Sonning initially possessed no board of governors or trustees, and was entirely under the control of Whitehorn.⁶⁴ The school was named after the village of Sonning-on-Thames, from which the Whitehorn family had emigrated.⁶⁵ Whitehorn left her role as headmistress in 1925, although she retained ownership. The school was leased to Anna Drennan, a Scottish woman who brought many Gaelic traditions to the school, including Halloween.⁶⁶ When Drennan's lease of Sonning ended in 1927, the school was in turn leased to Board of Diocesan Schools,⁶⁷ becoming Waikato Diocesan School for the beginning of the school year in 1928. The Waikato Diocese, which had only separated from the Auckland Diocese in 1927, had been seeking to purchase a school, and were reputedly not happy with the conditions set by Whitehorn.⁶⁸ However, it was cheaper to lease the school than to purchase it outright.

When Waikato Diocesan opened on the Sonning premises, the roll stood at 13 boarders and 17 day girls.⁶⁹ The first headmistress of Waikato Diocesan under that name was Eva Necker, who had previously been acting headmistress of Nga Tawa and had left that school to take on the role in Hamilton.⁷⁰ The school in 1930 moved to its current site on River Road, which was then known as the Bankwood site.⁷¹ At that time, its position on the eastern bank of the Waikato river was substantially rural. In 1932, land on the bank was gifted to the school, allowing the school to dredge for the establishment of a school pool.⁷²

⁶³ Susan Mellsopp, *The Dio Difference: 100 Years of Sonning and Waikato Diocesan School for Girls* (Hamilton: Waikato Diocesan School for Girls, 2009), 2.

⁶⁴ Mellsopp, *The Dio Difference*, 2.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 23.

St Margaret's College (Christchurch)

Like St Hilda's, St Margaret's College in Christchurch was founded by the London-based Community of the Sisters of the Church. Bishop Churchill Julius (Bishop of Christchurch from 1890, and Primate and Archbishop of Aotearoa New Zealand from 1922-1925) had long been concerned with the education of girls and the establishment of a Church school, even going so far as to suggest the use of reserves on Cranmer Square for the establishment of such a school.⁷³ Synod established a commission to consider the establishment of such a school in 1906, but due to financial constraints found that they were unable to commit to funding the establishment of a school.⁷⁴ The Sisters, however, were willing to take on the financial burden and establish the school. The Sisters had purchased the site and goodwill of the school which had been run by Annette Bowen. Bowen in turn, had purchased the school of Johanne Lohse in 1890.⁷⁵ Bowen closed her school upon learning that the church was undertaking to educate girls, and the buildings were renovated and converted.⁷⁶

St Margaret's officially opened in 1910. The student population was drawn largely from families nearby who had been previously boarding at St Hilda's, or attending state schools or those of other denominations.⁷⁷ Until the Sisters withdrew in 1929, St Margaret's and St Hilda's were close sister schools. The Sisters themselves often swapped between the two schools, as did the students. When the Sisters departed in 1929, the Diocesan Board of Christchurch were able to purchase the school.⁷⁸ The new headmistress Stephanie Young, like the first headmistress after the departure of the Sisters at St Hilda's in Dunedin, was something of a culture shock for students who were used to the Sisters' education policy of "turning out young ladies socially able to maintain their position in society."⁷⁹ Young, despite being a devout churchwoman, was nevertheless a secular layperson with a background in education – a trained teacher, where the Sisters were not. A Board of Governors was formed in 1935, which was the means by which Diocese were able to financially administer the school.⁸⁰ In 1950, the

⁷³ Gosset, *From Boaters to Back-Packs*, 21.

⁷⁴ Jean Sharfe and Jane Teal, *We Kindle this Light: A History of St. Margaret's College* (Christchurch: St. Margaret's College, 2010), 22.

⁷⁵ Macdonald, Penfold and Williams, eds., *The Book of New Zealand Women*, 375.

⁷⁶ Gossett, *From Boaters to Back-Packs*, 23.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

Board of St Margaret's received from Synod permission to buy and sell land on behalf of the school.⁸¹

Craighead Diocesan School (Timaru)

Craighead Diocesan School was opened in May 1911, when Professor John Shand, chair of Natural Philosophy at the University of Otago, purchased the land in Timaru for his daughters to establish a school.⁸² The Shand sisters – Eleanor, Fanny, Elizabeth and Anna - were Presbyterian, but the school was established on non-denominational lines, and was not affiliated with any particular church.⁸³ It was noted in the first Prospectus, issued in 1910, that “The religious instruction will be strictly undenominational and arrangements will be made for the attendance of resident pupils at the Anglican or Presbyterian Church, according to the desire of parents.”⁸⁴ The school opened with six boarders and eleven day girls, under the guidance of the eldest of the Misses Shand (Eleanor) as headmistress. She married in 1913, and the position was filled by her sister Fanny.⁸⁵

The first full year, 1912, saw 24 boarders and as many daygirls. The roll continued to expand. In 1926 the sisters sold the school to the Diocesan Board.⁸⁶ This resulted in the formation of a Board of Trustees. The sisters felt that they were no longer able to fund the school. The money for the purchase was supplied by a group of South Canterbury businessmen, who formed the Board of Trustees.⁸⁷ The Diocese did not formally take over the school until 1953, when a bill was passed at Synod to officially transform Craighead into a Diocesan school.⁸⁸ The school at times struggled to keep its roll high enough to justify its continued existence, but the school history written by Patsy Mackenzie observes that the decision by the then-Governor-General Cyril Newall in the 1940s to send his daughter to the school was a great boost to the roll numbers.⁸⁹ In the early 1940s, the school purchased additional land to increase the size of its grounds and playing fields.⁹⁰

⁸¹ Gossett, *From Boaters to Back-Packs*, 64.

⁸² Patsy McKenzie, *Craighead, 1911-1986* (Timaru: Craighead Jubilee Committee, 1986), 1.

⁸³ McKenzie, *Craighead*, 3,6.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

St Mary's (Stratford)

St Mary's (known as Taranaki Diocesan from October 2018) was founded in the Taranaki town of Stratford in 1914. It began as the initiative of the Reverend C. W. Howard (a Home Mission priest in the Diocese of Auckland), who felt that, following the closure of the Central Taranaki Church School for Girls, there was need in the community to replace it.⁹¹ Taranaki at this time was still a part of the Diocese of Auckland, and therefore required permission from the Bishop of Auckland in order for the school to be established. Howard contacted the Bishop, who endorsed the idea of the school being established.⁹² Bishop Averill recommended Ella Allman-Marchant to head the new school. Allman-Marchant had been the head of Otago Girls High School but had resigned due to concerns about the lack of attention given to religious education.⁹³

St Mary's was established under the directive of a Board of Governors, who were responsible for establishing the school, as well as overseeing the strategic direction and finances of the school and holding the headmistress to account. The Board of Governors of St Mary's worked closely with the Church and the community to oversee the running of the school and included prominent men in the community. When St Mary's opened in 1915, it had ten day girls, two boarders, and also ten boys.⁹⁴ In 1917, the school expanded, acquiring more boarders and more land.⁹⁵ Marchant left the school in that same year and was replaced by Mary Fleming, who died in 1918.⁹⁶ The third headmistress of the school, Edith Stanford, took over for the school year beginning in 1919. Stanford had been running Chetwode, a private school in New Plymouth.

Land for the school had been purchased and donated by the Board of Governors and other friends of the school. In 1940, the Proprietors Board was established in order to buy out the last of the original purchasers of the land on which the school was situated, in order to incorporate and better regulate the finances of the school.⁹⁷ The school continued to develop in

⁹¹ R.F Robertshawe, *A History of St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls, Stratford: 90th Jubilee, 1914-2004* (Stratford: St Mary's Diocesan School for Girls, 2004), 1.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹⁶ *Stratford Evening Post*, 5 December 1918.

⁹⁷ Robertshawe, *A History of St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls*, 9.

other areas – new school buildings were erected as the roll gradually increased, including a chapel which was completed in 1956,⁹⁸ and a school pool in 1965.⁹⁹

St Matthew's Collegiate School for Girls (Masterton)

St Matthew's Collegiate was first opened in Masterton in 1914.¹⁰⁰ It had initially been founded as a proprietary school in 1904, when a woman named Ella Hampton purchased a school and established it with five pupils.¹⁰¹ Due to failing health, Hampton was forced to sell the school in 1913. Two women in the community, mesdames Dyer and Graham (whose first names are not given – they were wives of a bank manager and editor of one of the local newspapers, respectively), suggested to the Vicar, Reverend H. Watson, that an Anglican school be established through the purchase of Ella Hampton's school.¹⁰² The plan was to be that a Parish day school with moderate fees be established that could serve any church family.¹⁰³ The school committee (appointed with the task of establishing the school) was eager to open a boarding establishment in connection with the school.¹⁰⁴ In 1917, the Vicar was instructed to write to the Diocesan Church Schools Board for a grant to do so, but was declined. The Diocesan Church Schools Board felt that the current school did not have sufficient grounds.¹⁰⁵

St Matthew's is perhaps unique amongst the Anglican girls' school for the particularly cool relationship between its trust board and the Diocesan Board – the board never desired for St Matthew's to ever become a Diocesan school.¹⁰⁶ However, due to its affiliation with the Anglican church, negotiation between the Board of Trustees and the Diocesan Board was sometimes inevitable.

St Matthew's, like other schools, had a series of headmistresses who left their own impressions on the school and its board. M. Orr-Gilmore, headmistress from 1922-24, had a particularly difficult relationship with the Board of Trustees. The Board felt that she was dictating to them

⁹⁸ Robertshawe, *A History of St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls*, 15.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁰⁰ Helen Dashfield, *To the Stars: St. Matthew's Collegiate School for Girls, 1914-1989* (Masterton: Trinity Schools Trust Board, 1989), 13.

¹⁰¹ Dashfield, *To the Stars*, 5.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

in her efforts to improve the resources of the school, and that her ability to prepare students for examination was well below the standard required.¹⁰⁷ When she was replaced in 1924, the school was a “partly built, registered private primary co-educational day school with a roll of 47 day girls and boys and four boarders.”¹⁰⁸ The school cycled through several headmistresses over the following decades, most of whom had a more peaceful relationship with the board than Orr-Gilmore. Dashfield’s history of the school devotes much time to considering the board, and in turn the board’s frequent concerns about money and improvements to the school.

Chilton Saint James (Lower Hutt)

Chilton Saint James was opened in 1918.¹⁰⁹ It was founded by Geraldine Fitzgerald, eleventh child of James (the first Superintendent of Canterbury Province) and Fanny Fitzgerald.¹¹⁰ Fitzgerald wished to establish her own school without the financial responsibility of sole ownership. She therefore worked to establish the Hutt Girls School Company Limited, in order to better regulate the finances of the school.¹¹¹ The Company functioned as a Board of Trustees, although it had little power to influence what the headmistress did, at least in Fitzgerald’s era.

The school was founded as a Church of England school under direction of the Company - Board members were required to be members of the Church. However, Fitzgerald opposed the school officially becoming a Diocesan school.¹¹² The school was dedicated on 31 December 1917, and was named after Chilton House, and the parish of St James in which it was located.¹¹³ The school opened the next year with a roll of 39, roughly half boarders and half day girls.¹¹⁴ Half of these students, too, were senior girls in their final years of school.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁷ Dashfield, *To the Stars*, 49.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹⁰⁹ Jocelyn Kerslake, *Chilton Saint James: A Celebration of 75 Years* (Lower Hutt: Chilton Historical Trust of the Chilton Assn Inc., 1993), 8.

¹¹⁰ Kerslake, *Chilton Saint James*, 2.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹² Anne Mulcock, *A Quite Original Type of School: The Life and Work of Geraldine Fitzgerald, Founding Principal of Chilton Saint James* (Christchurch: Anne Mulcock, 1993), 51.

¹¹³ Mulcock, *A Quite Original Type of School*, 26.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹¹⁵ Reminiscences of old girls and ex-staff, 1918-1939, 2008. MS-Group-0478, MSX-8192, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Māori Anglican Girls' Schools

The Anglican girls' schools under examination in this thesis are not the only Anglican girls' schools that have, or do currently, exist in Aotearoa New Zealand. As well as Corran and St John's which were mentioned earlier in this chapter, the other Anglican girls' schools in Aotearoa New Zealand (of which there is only one remaining currently) are the Māori girls' schools. Hukarere, Te Waipounamu and Queen Victoria College were founded by the Anglican church with the intention of educating Māori girls. The Māori girls' schools, like all other schools in Aotearoa New Zealand, were confronted with the question of purpose. The Māori girls schools experienced the same fundamental difficulties as the other girls' secondary schools, in that the University-driven academic pathway was expected to be primarily the domain of men.

Further, the Māori girls' schools experienced boundaries imposed on them due to the ethnicity of their students. Hukarere (1875), Te Waipounamu (1909) and Queen Victoria (1901) were founded to educate Māori girls specifically. Initially they had all been founded as mission schools. Secondary schooling was uncommon even for Pākehā in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and for Māori it was even less accessible. This was in part due to ideas surrounding appropriate aspirations for Māori. Native schools were under separate administration from the other schools within the state system, and the curriculum for these schools at the turn of the twentieth century varied from that of state schools which were intended to be primarily for Pākehā. Openshaw, Lee and Lee note that it was not expected for Māori to proceed beyond Standard IV, and a secondary education would require attendance at denominational schools. Around this time, the Department of Education was concerned with the curriculum being taught at Native schools, including the denominational ones.¹¹⁶

Te Aute college for boys in particular was proud of its tradition of academic excellence. George Hogben, who was in charge of the Department of Education from 1899, was particularly concerned with returning the curriculum of the Māori schools to practical matters. Hogben ensured that Latin was removed from the curriculum at Hukarere, reinforcing a belief that it was a highly academic subject inappropriate for young Māori women, not only because they

¹¹⁶ Roger Openshaw, Greg Lee and Howard Lee, *Challenging the Myths: Rethinking New Zealand's Educational History* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1993), 47.

were young women, but because they were Māori.¹¹⁷ The state was unsure at times what to make of the denominational schools, and were concerned with the effect the schools were having. Kuni Jenkins argues that at this time the Education Department saw the Māori secondary schools as poaching from communities.¹¹⁸ By the 1930s, this attitude had shifted to be more in favour of the church schools. Chief Inspector of Schools William Bird noted his approval of the schools as they were a part of the civilising process.¹¹⁹

The Church schools (including those for boys such as Te Aute College) provided opportunities for Māori, and had a unique role in creating networks of educated Māori with connections to the Anglican church. The girls of Hukarere were insistent, for example, that Te Aute was their brother school, and the two schools shared a close bond.¹²⁰ Schools such as Hukarere occupied the same networks as some of the other Anglican girls's schools, but almost as outsiders – the 1964 Principals report in the *Chiltonian*, the school magazine of Chilton Saint James, includes a quote from the headmistress who observed to those assembled at speech day that her recommendation that the school begin sports exchanges with Huharere [sic] raised eyebrows amongst the community of the school.¹²¹ It is noted in the Diocesan School history that students took a keen interest in the welfare of the Hukarere girls when the school was relocated to Auckland following the Napier earthquake.¹²²

Māori girls' schools had relationships with the other girls' schools, but they were not necessarily of the same community. The other Anglican girls' schools also were not exclusively Pākehā. The schools could take anyone who could afford to pay, and some of the school histories proudly recall former Māori students, such as Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu (Piki Mahuta) at Waikato Diocesan. Kuni Jenkins notes that the Māori boarding schools were, “one of the few educational settings which offered Māori some continuation of their mana, and of the Pākehā promise to provide schooling for Māori. It was only through the survival of a few Māori boarding schools after the land disturbances of the mid-nineteenth century where access

¹¹⁷ Openshaw, Lee and Lee, *Challenging the Myths*, 53.

¹¹⁸ Kuni Jenkins, “Haere Tahi Taaua: An Account of Aitanga in Maori Struggle for Schooling,” PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 163.

¹¹⁹ Jenkins, “Haere Tahi Taaua,” 171.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 179.

¹²¹ *Chiltonian* 1964, Chilton Saint James, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹²² Hammer, *Follow Your Star*, 98.

to some form of advanced schooling for Maori was made possible.”¹²³ Jenkins also emphasises that Māori were sending their children:

to be educated at the boarding schools because they wanted something more than the village schools had or could offer. The boarding school environment was the opportunity to learn directly from Pākehā who had proven their ‘friendliness’ to Māori and who seemingly understood the way Māori learn best. Māori seemed to tolerate the close supervision and to cope with the punitive discipline that existed within the religious orders of the daily routines of the cloistered life. Many of the Māori women, who were ex-pupils of Hukarere School for Māori girls, for instance described the school as their ukaipo - Mother, place of nurture.¹²⁴

Jenkins’ work on the Māori girls boarding schools, particularly Hukarere, emphasises Māori values of an *aitanga* relationship in education; a partnership with valuable outcomes for both Māori and Pākehā.

Although the non-Māori Anglican girls’ schools in Aotearoa New Zealand sometimes considered the Māori girls’ schools their partners – nodes in the same network – much of the reproductive qualities of the schools relied on a particularly settler-colonial concept of ruling class identity. Occupational and economic status relied on opportunities afforded by an educational system which reproduced status. The curriculum and practises of Anglican girls’ schools which were overtly methods of social capital reproduction were also particularly European and relied on notions of ruling class womanhood and educational outcomes, which at times was not compatible with education policy for Māori schools.

The Anglican Church and its Schools

Each of the schools under examination in this thesis was at least nominally affiliated with the Anglican Church. For each school, this relationship looked different, and was experienced differently. Schools such as Chilton Saint James and St Matthew’s chafed against the yoke of the Diocese – they did not desire to come under the official control of Church authorities, preferring to embrace an Anglican ethos without shouldering the burden of exclusively Anglican identity. Dashfield, in her 1989 history of St Matthew’s, offers interesting insight into the way that Anglican identity was essential to the school:

¹²³ Kuni Jenkins, “Haere Tahi Taaua: An Account of Aitanga in Maori Struggle for Schooling,” PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 155.

¹²⁴ Jenkins, “Haere Tahi Taaua”, 165.

Few, if any pupils, then and now, can answer with any certainty the question ‘Why did you go to St Matthew’s?’ The reply has invariably been that it was because their parents wished them to go there. Middle-class fathers in responsible and influential positions in Masterton’s Anglican Church and society sent their daughters to St Matthew’s... However, if there was any other reason for the clubbing together of little women whose sole prospect in life was to become good wives it was religion. The faith as expounded by various denominations mattered. There was no fraternising with Solway College not only because of the boarder/day girl difference but because ‘they’ were Presbyterians and ‘we’ were Church of England.¹²⁵

The difference, however abstractly perceived by the students, was nevertheless felt. Further, board members of St Matthews, as at Chilton Saint James, were required to be members of the Church of England. The Church and faith *were* crucial to these schools, but so too was the separation from Diocese oversight. These schools were as much rooted in their local identities as in their broader identity as schools of faith.

The Anglican ethos is difficult to concretely define, as it was not necessarily codified at Synod nor was it a universal ideology held by all members of the Anglican Church. Many Anglicans were only nominal, and belonged to a wide stratum of social classes. There was however at least in the instances of the ruling class schools as unified perception of the duties of the Anglican faith. Bishop Neligan in 1903 spoke on the nature of the Anglican Church. He was a particularly high-church Anglican of the Oxford tradition, and brought to Auckland his vision of an Imperial Anglicanism: whilst the Māori and Melanesian missions were important, the success or failure of the British Empire and “that strong virile Anglo-Saxon race to whom God has given our Imperial greatness” relied on the religious success of the Anglican Church. The fact of this Imperial greatness “would colour men’s commercial dealings, their political dealings, and give them such a grip of the dignity, grandeur and splendour of humanity.”¹²⁶ The Anglican Church was many things to many people, but at least according to Neligan, its true ethos lay in its connections to empire and in the strength of British social traditions. Neligan’s great personal conviction was central to the establishment of Diocesan School and influenced much of its later history, as the school continued to function according to an ethos which valued the British Empire and an industriousness driven by faith.

¹²⁵ Dashfield, *To the Stars*, 18.

¹²⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 22 May 1903.

For schools which were established, or later came under, the control of the Diocese, the centralised nature of the Church came to deeply permeate their identities. Diocesan School clung to the figure of the Bishop as central to their school. In early prospectuses, the Bishop was included on the list of staff before the teachers, headmistress, and Board. This continued until at least the 1950's. At Marsden, too, the Bishop was the head of the School Board for the duration of its existence as a Diocesan school.¹²⁷ Throughout the histories of these schools, purchase by the Diocese was at times perhaps financially necessary and served the purposes of the Diocese. What dioceses were prioritising at different times varies.

The schools founded by the Kilburn sisters were purchased by the Diocese out of necessity. The dioceses of both Dunedin and Christchurch felt strongly that these schools were necessary for the community, and that they therefore were obligated to purchase them in order to retain their role. The Kilburn sisters themselves were peculiarly High Church – on the opening of St Hilda's, Bishop Nevill attempted to placate members of the community who were perhaps suspicious, saying that although the sisters wore habits and had a crucifix, they were still Anglican – these were just peculiarities.¹²⁸ Being based in Dunedin, this was particularly significant. The city was predominantly Presbyterian, and the sorts of families likely to be sending their children to St Hilda's were unlikely to be overly acquainted with the trappings of the High Church. The Anglican Church was one of theological variation – there were people at either end who were happy to cohabit with either Catholics or Wesleyans, finding common ground in faith and practice.¹²⁹

The purpose of highlighting the theological span of the Anglican Church and the schools which were affiliated with it is to broach the question of which communities these churches and schools were intended to serve. St Matthew's as a part of its foundation claimed that the fees were kept low in order for any church-going family to be able to attend. Diocesan School and St Hilda's were also ostensibly founded to serve the Anglican community, but the fees were fixed at such a point as to be inaccessible to many.

¹²⁷ In recent years, the Bishop has no longer been a member of the Marsden school board.

¹²⁸ May, *St. Hilda's Collegiate School*, 13.

¹²⁹ Andrew Sangster, "The Anglican Reaction to the Secular Clause of the 1877 Education Act," MA Thesis, Massey University, 1984, 1.

Denominational education after the Education Act of 1877 existed as a deliberate counterpoint to secular education. It was felt that secular education was not good enough – spiritual education ought to form just as much a part of the curriculum as physical or academic in the formation of children into young people. Education ought to be tripartite, addressing the spirit and body as well as the mind. This aspect of spiritual education was at the core of the denominational drive for education. Secularisation of schooling by definition did not account for the spirit; the appropriate education of young people in the faith therefore required a re-introduction of spiritual education through the ability of private schools to set their own curriculum. On this, the protestant churches which formed their own schools were in agreement with Catholics. Bishop Neligan, in his speech to Synod in 1903, stated that:

Education without Religion fails in completeness: man is a tripartite being. Education means ‘drawing forth’. Real education must draw forth all, and not only portions, of a man’s being. In order that the spiritual part of a child may be drawn forth and developed, it is absolutely essential that the religious teaching shall be quite as normal as the physical or the mental. The inculcation of Scriptural facts in a child’s mind is important; but Religious Education means more than the inculcation of bare facts: it means education given in a Religious way, i.e. allowing for the normal orderly development of the child, bodily, mentally and spiritually.¹³⁰

The Church and its members – or at least enough of them to desire the existence of denominational schools – felt that religious education was integral and not only that, that members of the Anglican Church should be able to have their children educated in the doctrine of the Anglican Church.

Divinity, or scripture, as a subject thus was a crucial aspect of these schools. Even those which were founded on a proprietary basis and were not directly affiliated with the Church incorporated religious education. Church attendance was mandatory – schools that did not have their own chapel (though many of them did) would walk to the local church. Craighead, for example, in the years of the Shand sisters before its purchase by the Diocese, made provisions for its pupils to attend either the Anglican or Presbyterian churches located nearby.¹³¹ At Craighead, the religious education in these years was nondenominational, in the manner that had been initially proposed before the inclusion of the secular clause.

¹³⁰ *Primary Charge*, The Pamphlet Collection of Sir Robert Stout, J.C Beaglehole Collection, 43.

¹³¹ McKenzie, *Craighead*, 3.

Conclusion

The private Anglican girls' schools of Aotearoa New Zealand were established in a continuation of English public school traditions, as a part of an elite schooling system which existed concurrently with the egalitarian public school provision. Each of the individual schools which fit the parameters of this study have unique histories which nevertheless share many similarities. The schools, founded between 1878 and 1918, were opened in an era of development for schooling. A progression of governmental acts beginning with the Education Act and continuing with acts such as the Manual and Technical Instruction Act 1900 and the Secondary Schools Act 1903, were passed throughout this period which resulted in relatively rapid progression and refinement of the state education system.

In the forty years between the founding of Samuel Marsden Collegiate in 1878 and Chilton Saint James in 1918, an entirely new generation of girls came of age to a shifting future. Opportunities for women's employment increased (albeit in a more limited capacity than that which would occur in later decades), creating an imperative for schools to consider the question of the purpose of an education for girls; the purpose indeed of an education for young ladies. From their founding until the mid-to-late twentieth century, each of the schools represented and embodied their identities and successfully reproduced it through inculcation of economic, cultural and social capital.

Chapter Two

“Suitable for the Daughters of Gentlemen”: The Anglican Girls’ Schools and their Ruling Class Clients

This chapter turns towards an examination of the schools’ position within the complex structure of social class in Aotearoa New Zealand. The pupils of the schools came largely (although not exclusively) from the ruling class, and this chapter examines how this has been determined through an analysis of student demographics and parental occupation, as well as considering the physical locations and settings of the schools.

Admissions Registers

Admissions registers are an excellent resource with which to gauge an understanding of the students of the schools and their families. The registers provide information about the students and through this give some indication of the social background of the students’ families. The admissions registers are an incredibly rich resource and are therefore among the most important pieces of evidence used in this thesis. Admissions registers of three for the Anglican girls’ schools have been consulted and analysed.

Diocesan School’s admissions registers were made available to me to access within the school archives. The admissions registers for Chilton Saint James and St Hilda’s Collegiate are held in the Alexander Turnbull and the Hocken Libraries, respectively. As a source, they contain information including the name, birthdate, and home address of students, as well as parental occupation, religious denomination, other schools attended, and what students did after they left. The detail and consistency of this data varies between schools and across decades. The Diocesan School registers were sampled by the selection of every student admitted in the fourth and fifth years of every decade from the 1900s until the 1970s. This resulted in a sample size of 1314 student records. The St Hilda’s Collegiate admissions registers were sampled similarly, with the third, fourth and fifth years of every decade sampled, with the exception of the 1890s, which was sampled for the years 1896, 1897, and 1898. This resulted in a total sample of 1149 student records. The Chilton Saint James admissions registers were not organised by year but by surname. I selected seven letters (A, D, J, M, P, S, W) and sampled every student admitted with a surname beginning with that letter. This resulted in a total sample of 929 student

records.¹ The letters were selected randomly, but with the intention of collecting enough data to be roughly equivalent to the sample size of the other two schools.

Address of Students

The most consistent data across all three schools, and across all decades, was that of the home address of students being enrolled. The availability of this information has enabled a mapping of student population across the world, and within Aotearoa New Zealand, down to the level of suburban areas within cities. Identifying the catchment areas of schools can in some cases be compared to other demographic data to ascertain the socioeconomic distribution of students attending the schools.

St Hilda's Collegiate (Dunedin)

From a total sample of 1149 admissions, which were taken between 1896 and 1975, 1119 students were admitted with a given address in Aotearoa New Zealand. Two were admitted with an address in Australia (admitted in 1913 and 1923), two England (both admitted in 1975), and three with an address in Malaysia (1973, 1974, and 1975). There were occasional entries where address was not given or was not possible to discern. This accounts for the numerical gap between the total sample size and the address total of 1126. From amongst the students whose address was given as Aotearoa New Zealand, 863 were from Otago, 133 from Southland, and 77 from Canterbury. The other regions of Aotearoa New Zealand documented fewer than 10 students across all time. From within Otago, the vast majority of St Hilda's students were admitted with an address in Dunedin (75.9%).

From within Dunedin, the great majority of students over time were admitted with an address in Dunedin Central (an affluent suburb). This was consistent with every decade of admissions, with the exceptions of the 1910s, and the 1970s. In the sample taken from the 1910s (1913-1915), the highest proportion of students came from North Dunedin (35.53%). In the 1970s (1973-1975), the highest proportion of students were admitted with an address in Roslyn (18.66%). The three suburbs which were given as the address for the highest proportion of students (Dunedin Central, North Dunedin, and Roslyn) are areas which are in close geographic

¹ Each record relates to a single student from the year of their first admission to the school, rather than every student attending the school in any given year.

proximity to the location of the school.² At St Hilda's, a bulk of students consistently over time can be classified as 'local' students. Dunedin Central, North Dunedin, Roslyn and Maori Hill were amongst Dunedin's more affluent suburbs. St Hilda's, for those students that could be termed local, was drawing on a population of students living in affluent areas. In order for this to occur, St Hilda's was established geographically within these areas.

Dorothy Page, Howard Lee and Tom Brooking, making observations on findings from the Caversham Project, noted that the public high schools in Dunedin were predominantly attended by students who lived close by.³ As can be seen from Table 1, this is also applicable to St Hilda's. St Hilda's, however, was not a public school and also drew many students from outside of the locality. Only 58% of the students within the sample gave their address as being located within Dunedin; 42% of students came from elsewhere in Otago or further afield.

These numbers (Table 1) take account of the entire sample from St Hilda's – a more direct comparison with the Caversham Project (i.e. using only the admissions from 1896-1935) indicates a higher proportion of St Hilda's students as being located in Dunedin. From the years 1896-1935, 68% of St Hilda's students were admitted to the school with an address located in Dunedin. The four suburbs which are, geographically, closest to the school on Heriot Row are Dunedin Central, Roslyn, Maori Hill and North Dunedin. 208 students were enrolled with an address in one of these four suburbs between 1896 and 1935. 47% of St Hilda's collegiate students, therefore, could be considered to live especially close by.

² Admission, Progress and Withdrawal Register, 1896-1979, AG-753, St Hilda's Collegiate School Records, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

³ Dorothy Page, Howard Lee and Tom Brooking, "Schooling for a Gendered Future: Gender, Education and Opportunity," in Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper, Robin Law, eds., *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), 106.

Table 1**Dunedin Address of St Hilda's Collegiate Students 1896-1975 ⁴**

Suburb	Number	%
Dunedin Central	200	31.6
North Dunedin	90	14.22
Roslyn	74	11.69
St Clair	39	6.7
Maori Hill	38	6
Musselburgh	22	3.48
Anderson's Bay	16	2.53
Mornington	15	2.37
Belleknowes	13	2.05
Wakari	13	2.05
Opoho	13	2.05
Caversham	9	1.42
North East Valley	9	1.42
Macandrew Bay	9	1.42
Port Chalmers	8	1.26
Ravensbourne	6	0.95
Kaikorai	6	0.95
Green Island	6	0.95
Abbotsford	5	0.79
South Dunedin	5	0.79
Sawyers Bay	5	0.79
St Leonards	3	0.47
Waverly	3	0.47
Pine Hill	3	0.47
St Kilda	3	0.47
Kew	3	0.47
Glenross	3	0.47
Burnside	2	0.32
The Glen	2	0.32
Dalmore	2	0.32
Fairfield	2	0.32
Evansdale	1	0.16
Concord	1	0.16
Kenmure	1	0.16
Broad Bay	1	0.16
Halfway Bush	1	0.16
Maryhill	1	0.16

⁴ Admission, Progress and Withdrawal Register, 1896-1979, AG-753, St Hilda's Collegiate School Records, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

St Hilda's, unlike the public schools elsewhere in Dunedin, cannot be said to be "overwhelmingly the domain of those who lived close to the school itself"⁵ as Page, Lee and Brooking put it, but they still form a significant proportion of the student population. Drawing comparisons to the Caversham Project is intended to illustrate the degree to which St Hilda's did not follow this general trend. This is a crucial point which emphasises St Hilda's difference from state schools, and from the trends of less affluent areas in Dunedin.

Diocesan School (Auckland)

From a total sample of 1314 student records, taken from 1904 to 1975, 1283 students gave their address at enrolment as being located in Aotearoa New Zealand. Beyond this, ten came from Fiji, three from Tonga, and otherwise a handful of other Pacific places from which only one or two students originated across the entire 70-year sample. The largest proportion of students who attended the school were from outside of Aotearoa New Zealand did so in the 1960s and 1970s, but a student was attending with a home address given in the Cook Islands in 1905, and students came from Fiji and Samoa in the other decades prior to the 1960s.

Across the decades, the largest proportion of students who attended Diocesan who were not from the Auckland region came from Waikato, with the exception of the 1950s, in which the largest regional minority was Bay of Plenty, and the 1970s, in which more students came from Northland (by a grand total of one).⁶ From within the Auckland region, a large proportion of addresses in the enrolment register were located within Auckland city. It should be noted that, over 70 years, the borders of Auckland shifted. Areas that began as rural, such as Howick, later became suburbanised. The suburb from which the largest proportion of students were enrolled was Remuera, which represented 26.38% of students from Auckland City, and 19.3% of all students from the sample. In every decade except for the 1900s (in which the highest was Parnell), Remuera was the suburb from which the largest amount of Auckland students enrolled.

⁵ Page, Lee and Brooking "Schooling for a Gendered Future," in Brookes, Cooper and Law, *Sites of Gender*, 106.

⁶ Enrolment Registers 1 & 2, 1904-2006, Series 204, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland.

Table 2**Address of Diocesan School (Auckland) Students – Global 1904-1975 ⁷**

Country	Number	%
New Zealand	1283	98.09
Fiji	10	0.76
Tonga	3	0.23
Western Samoa	2	0.15
Melanesia	2	0.15
Malaysia	2	0.15
Cook Islands	2	0.15
Samoa	1	0.08
USA	1	0.08
Vanuatu	1	0.08
New Caledonia	1	0.08
Australia	1	0.08

Table 3**Address of Diocesan School (Auckland) Students – Regional 1904-1975 ⁸**

Region	Number	%
Auckland	1074	84.17
Waikato	84	6.58
Northland	53	4.15
Bay of Plenty	30	2.35
Gisborne	12	0.94
Manawatū-Whanganui	9	0.7
Hawke's Bay	7	0.55
Taranaki	5	0.39
Marlborough	1	0.08
Wellington	1	0.08

⁷ Enrolment Registers 1 & 2, 1904-2006, Series 204, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland.⁸ Enrolment Registers 1 & 2, 1904-2006, Series 204, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland.

Similar to the findings from the St Hilda's enrolment records, a significant proportion of students at Diocesan School lived nearby. The closest suburbs to the location of Diocesan School on Mount St John Avenue are Remuera, Epsom, Newmarket and Mount Eden. The combined total of students who enrolled with an address in one of these suburbs is 470. Out of the students who gave an address in Auckland, 48.45% lived within an area which could be termed especially close by. When compared with the entire sample, this is reduced to 35.77%. As with St Hilda's, these suburbs were affluent areas of Auckland. Diocesan School was established deliberately in the affluent area of Remuera in part to cater to this local community, which was wealthy. Diocesan School reflected the general economic tone of the area.

Table 4

Auckland Address of Diocesan School Students 1904-1975 ⁹

Suburb	Number	%
Remuera	254	26.38
Epsom	120	12.46
Parnell	60	6.23
St Heliers	51	5.3
Mt Eden	36	3.73
Mt Albert	36	3.73
Howick	30	3.12
Papatoetoe	30	3.12
Takapuna	26	2.7
Mission Bay	22	2.28
Onehunga	21	2.18
Manurewa	21	2.18
City	21	2.18
Kohimarama	18	1.87
Devonport	18	1.87
Otahuhu	16	1.66
Papakura	15	1.56
Glendowie	14	1.45
Mangere	13	1.35
Orakei	12	1.25
Ponsonby	11	1.14
Ellerslie	10	1.04
Greenlane	10	1.04
Mt Roskill	8	0.83
Pukekohe	8	0.83

⁹ Enrolment Registers 1 & 2, 1904-2006, Series 204, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland.

Titirangi	8	0.83
One Tree Hill	7	0.73
Hillsborough	7	0.73
Milford	7	0.73
Pakuranga	6	0.62
Avondale	6	0.62
Helensville	5	0.52
Henderson	5	0.52
Herne Bay	5	0.52
Panmure	4	0.42
Birkenhead	4	0.42
Meadowbank	4	0.42
Mangere East	4	0.42
Westmere	4	0.42
New Lynn	3	0.31
Grey Lynn	3	0.31
Blockhouse Bay	3	0.31

Notes: Table does not include those suburbs (41) which were given as the address of only one or two students throughout the period.

Chilton Saint James (Lower Hutt)

Chilton Saint James follows the same trend as Diocesan School and St Hilda's. The overwhelming majority of students come from Aotearoa New Zealand - out of a sample of 929, taken from 1918 to 1973, 759 gave their address as being within Aotearoa New Zealand. The Chilton Saint James enrolment registers were the sparest with regards to information and were also more likely to *not* have an address given for students. Four students were admitted with an address in Australia, four in Fiji, and one each in the United Kingdom (1925), Ceylon (1958) and Japan (1972). This leaves a discrepancy of 159 whose addresses were not given and could not in any way be determined. Regionally, most students were from the Wellington region, with the largest minority being admitted with addresses in the Manawatū, and Hawke's Bay regions.¹⁰

¹⁰ Admissions register for Chilton Saint James School, Lower Hutt, 1918-1973, MS-Group-0478, MSY-2456. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Table 5**Address of Chilton Saint James Students – Global 1918-1973 ¹¹**

Country	Number	%
New Zealand	759	98.57
Australia	4	0.52
Fiji	4	0.52
Japan	1	0.13
United Kingdom	1	0.13
Ceylon	1	0.13

Table 6**Address of Chilton Saint James Students – Regional 1918-1973 ¹²**

Region	Number	%
Wellington	535	70.67
Manawatū-Whanganui	83	10.96
Hawke's Bay	44	5.81
Marlborough	17	2.25
Auckland	16	2.11
Waikato	13	1.72
Canterbury	11	1.45
Gisborne	9	1.19
Bay of Plenty	9	1.19
Taranaki	7	0.92
Nelson	5	0.66
Otago	4	0.53
Tasman	2	0.26
Northland	1	0.13
Chatham Islands	1	0.13

From within the Chilton Saint James enrolment register, the largest proportion of students from within the Wellington region gave their address in the admissions register as being located in Lower Hutt – 358, which is 66.79% of students from that region, and 38.53% of the total sample. Of the 358 students who enrolled with an address in Lower Hutt, only 102 gave an address which could be placed in a suburb. The distribution of student addresses is more diverse

¹¹ Admissions register for Chilton Saint James School, Lower Hutt, 1918-1973, MS-Group-0478, MSY-2456. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

¹² Admissions register for Chilton Saint James School, Lower Hutt, 1918-1973, MS-Group-0478, MSY-2456. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

than at St Hilda's and Diocesan School, but the dearth of specific detail makes analysis more challenging. Lower Hutt, however, is a relatively small locality and if the entire city is defined as an area close to the location of the school on Waterloo Road, then Chilton Saint James does by and large fit the pattern consistent with the other two schools, in which a significant proportion of students, but not the majority of them, live near-by.¹³

Table 7

Address of Chilton Saint James Students – Wellington Region 1918-1973¹⁴

City/Town	Number	%
Lower Hutt	358	66.79
Wellington	74	13.83
Upper Hutt	64	11.94
Ōtaki	15	2.79
Paraparaumu	9	1.68
Porirua	4	0.75
Featherston	3	0.56
Paremata	3	0.56
Waikanae	2	0.37
Paekākāriki	2	0.37
Gladstone	1	0.19
Greytown	1	0.19

Discussion

If one defines 'local' or 'close by' as being within the immediate urban or suburban area of the school, then 34.99% of St Hilda's, 35.77% of Diocesan, and 38.53% of Chilton Saint James students were local. Broadening this definition to include approximate city limits, then 58% of St Hilda's, 78.16% of Diocesan, and 53.34% of Chilton Saint James students were local. The narrower geographic definition of local is more useful for gauging whether these students lived close by. This is due primarily to the fact that, at different points throughout the histories of

¹³ Admissions register for Chilton Saint James School, Lower Hutt. 1918-1973. MS-Group-0478, MSY-2456. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

¹⁴ Admissions register for Chilton Saint James School, Lower Hutt. 1918-1973. MS-Group-0478, MSY-2456. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

each of the cities in which the school was located, time and ease of travel varied. For example, in the first two years of Diocesan School, there were no students who gave an address located in what is now the North Shore of Auckland, as that was then an awkward distance away on the other side of the harbour. ‘Local’ functions differently for private schools, which were not bound by the state schools to serve the immediate population, and indeed were not established to do so.

It cannot be assumed that, although many students attending these schools were local and did live close by, that these schools were intending to be schools exclusively for local students. All three schools all offered boarding facilities for the entire duration of the period under examination (until 1975). The existence of boarding facilities is a factor which drew many families to send their children to these schools.¹⁵ As the admissions registers for these schools do demonstrate, there were students at each who travelled quite long distances in order to attend. The admissions registers do not denote which students were boarders and which were day girls – it is quite possible that some students whose addresses are given as being relatively close to the schools were in fact attending as boarders. This conclusion is supported, in the case at least of St Hilda’s, by notes in the registers. A student whose address was given as Rattray Street in Dunedin Central was withdrawn from the school as the “Distance too great.”¹⁶

As previously noted, many students attending state schools in Dunedin were living close to the school. State schools were opened to serve the local community – private schools were not necessarily so. As demonstrated, a large proportion of local students did attend the private schools. As the schools were established in affluent areas, this is not surprising. There was a significant population of students at all of the schools who did not live locally, or even within the city limits. These rural students are not the only students who were boarders, but they were a significant target demographic for the schools, which had boarding facilities and relied on this aspect particularly throughout the period as a crucial aspect of the character of the school.

The religious aspect of the schools is significant here. The schools were founded to target people of a certain community – those who belonged to the Anglican Church. The fees of these

¹⁵ Tosti Murray, *Marsden: The History of a New Zealand School for Girls* (Wellington: The Marsden Old Girls’ Association, 1967), 44.

¹⁶ Admission, Progress and Withdrawal Register, 1896-1979, AG-753, St Hilda’s Collegiate School Records, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

private schools, however, were often high enough to restrict families below a certain economic threshold from accessing the schools, whether they were members of the Church or not. All of the schools also admitted students of other religious denominations. Although preference was given to Anglican girls, there was no official criteria to keep girls of other denominations from attending. Diocesan School, for example, as a part of Neligan's initial proposal, included a conscience clause which enabled non-Anglican students to attend.¹⁷ Craighead notes in its earliest prospectus that provision was made for Presbyterian students,¹⁸ although in its early years Craighead was a non-denominational school not formally affiliated with the Anglican church.

Diocesan School is the only one which registers information about religious affiliation in their admissions registers. 83.4% (1095) of all students in the sample from Diocesan were admitted with 'Church of England' given as their religious denomination. 3.7% were Presbyterian (49), 9.6% (126) had no religion given, and 1% had the religious denominations of both parents noted (in which one was almost always Anglican).¹⁹ It is possible that many families simply wrote 'Church of England' as a default answer, and were not particularly religious. As Lineham notes after all, in the 1880s Remuera had a particularly low churchgoing rate despite being an affluent suburb, and it is possible that this low rate continued into the period of Diocesan's existence.²⁰ In the St Hilda's registers, it is occasionally noted that students left the school due to being Presbyterian, but by and large the religious denomination of students was not recorded. This information demonstrates the subtleties of school selection for families. Religious denomination is significant, but it is not the sole reason which motivated families to select private Anglican schools for their children.

Parental Occupation and Status

Less consistent than address, but a valuable resource, are the lists of parental occupation included within the admissions registers. Both Diocesan School and St Hilda's recorded the occupation of the parent of the student being enrolled. In almost every enrolment, only one

¹⁷ *Primary Charge... Delivered at the Second Session of the Seventeenth Synod of the Diocese of Auckland, on the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, 1903*, The Pamphlet Collection of Sir Robert Stout: Volume 77, J.C Beaglehole Collection, Victoria University of Wellington Library, Wellington, 53.

¹⁸ Patsy Mackenzie, *Craighead, 1911-1986* (Timaru: Craighead Jubilee Committee, 1986), 3.

¹⁹ Enrolment Registers 1 & 2, 1904-2006, Series 204, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland.

²⁰ Peter Lineham, *Sunday Best: How the Church Shaped New Zealand and how New Zealand Shaped the Church* (Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017), 353.

single occupation was listed, that of the student's father. This data, like the addresses, varies in availability and consistency – there are entire decades where parental occupation has not been recorded. Data is not available for the 1970s and is only partially available for the 1920s and 1960s for St Hilda's. For the Diocesan admissions registers, it is the 1940s which are particularly sparse. The admissions registers for Chilton Saint James do not list parental occupation.

Information about occupation is very useful for the purposes of attempting to gauge the relative class position of students' families. Occupation can be an indicator of social class and status. The following tables (Table 8 and Table 9) include the most commonly occurring parental occupations of students at each of the two schools, such as Farmer and Company Director. The occupations have been aggregated into broader categories – for example, barristers, solicitors, and lawyers have been grouped into the 'legal' category.

Table 8

Parental Occupation of Students at St Hilda's Collegiate (Dunedin) 1896-1975 ²¹

Occupation	Number	%
Farmer	105	17.02
Manager	54	8.75
Religious	52	8.43
Proprietor/ Retailer	40	6.48
Medical	39	6.32
Bank/ Finance	38	6.16
Merchant	29	4.7
Legal	25	4.05
Director/ Company	21	3.4
Trades	20	3.24
Education	16	2.59
Genteelly	15	2.43
Unemployed	15	2.43
Engineer	15	2.43
Agent	13	2.1
Deceased	12	1.94
Dental	11	1.78

²¹ Admission, Progress and Withdrawal Register, 1896-1979, AG-753, St Hilda's Collegiate School Records, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

Table 9**Parental Occupation of Students at Diocesan School (Auckland) 1904-1975 ²²**

Occupation	Number	%
Company/ Director	137	13.31
Farmer	124	12.05
Manager	85	8.26
Medical	70	6.81
Legal	65	6.31
Merchant	57	5.53
Accountant	47	4.57
Bank/ Finance	45	4.37
Proprietor/ Retailer	43	4.18
Engineer	38	3.69
Religious	35	3.4
Dental	28	2.72
Education	23	2.23
Civil/ Public Servant	21	2.04
Genteelly Unemployed	19	1.84
Construction	17	1.65

The most commonly occurring occupation for parents of students at St Hilda's was farming, with 17.02% of all students within the sample enrolled with a farmer for a parent. This is interesting especially with regards to the data discussed in the previous section. The prevalence of farming as an occupation reinforces the observation that schools were not exclusively local. The high proportion of farmers overlaps with rurally located, boarding portion of the student population. The aggregation for this category incorporated the unspecific 'farmer' as well as the more specific 'sheep farmer', 'run holder' and 'station owner'. The latter two occur relatively frequently in the disaggregated data. Farmer is the second-most commonly occurring occupation found in the Diocesan records. The most commonly occurring is Company/Director, with 13.31%. Of the top sixteen most commonly occurring occupations, there is a remarkable overlap between the two schools. The same twelve aggregated occupational categories: Farmer, Manager, Religious, Proprietor/Retailer, Medical, Merchant, Legal, Director/Company, Education, Genteelly Unemployed, Dental, Bank/Finance, and

²² Enrolment Registers 1 & 2, 1904-2006, Series 204, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland.

Engineer account for 74.55% of all parental occupations in the admissions registers at St Hilda's, and 74.73% of all those in the Diocesan registers.

Some of these categorisations are problematic. 'Genteelly unemployed' is a category which has been aggregated to include gentlemen (a term indicating social approval and comfortable income rather than any particular occupation),²³ widows, housewives and retired people with no specified occupation. A large proportion is made up of self-titled 'gentlemen', upon which the status assignation is based. The inclusion of women in this category in part relies on an assumption of financial support from other sources. A mother's occupation given as 'widow' or 'housewife' implies that no other form of paid employment is being undertaken. 'Religious' is also a problematic category, as it contains the full spectrum of clergy from Bishops (very high status) to the less-high-status (and less clearly specified) 'clergymen' or 'priests.' Many of the schools offered reduced fees for the daughters of Anglican clergymen; the lack of a high income does not however mean that clergymen lower on the social ranking than Bishops did not possess status and influence in their communities.

Table 10 expands on Tables 8 and 9 to include the status of each of the top sixteen most commonly occurring parental occupations at both of the schools. Assigning relative status to each of the occupations is contextualising, linking occupation to social status; using parental occupation as a way of gauging the social class of the clientele of the schools requires a framework for understanding their significance. Each occupation has been assigned a status number firstly according to the Elley-Irving scale. The Elley-Irving Scale was first developed by W.B Elley and J.C Irving in 1972 as a means of categorising occupation:

Status level one - High status jobs, with extensive training necessary prior to work and high incomes when working e.g. doctors.

Status level two - Less skilled work than one, but still requiring extensive education and providing moderate incomes. e.g. Government employees.

Status level three - Dominated by farmers, but also including white collar workers with little formal training e.g. selling agents.

Status level four - Skilled tradesmen e.g. carpenters.

Status level five - Semi-skilled tradesmen e.g. woollen mill workers.

²³ Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago, 1840-1914*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2002, 21.

Status level six - Unskilled labourers and day workers.²⁴

The Elley-Irving scale is imperfect. Margaret Galt is particularly critical of the assignation of farmers to the third status level, noting that there is great diversity in the farming community economically, geographically and socially.²⁵ My own critique of the Elley-Irving scale lies in its simplicity – although it provides a framework for the assignation of occupation according to criteria, the parameters are broad and do not particularly account for diversity. The Elley-Irving scale is, however, useful for its historicity.

Table 10 also includes a status ranking according to the New Zealand Socio-Economic Index 2013 (NZSEI 2013). This scale has been devised by researchers to correct some of these flaws with the Elley-Irving scale, and to provide researchers with a modern occupational ranking for analysing demographic data. The NZSEI 2013 uses what is termed a ‘return to human capital’ model, which assumes that the relationship between human capital (education) and material rewards (income) is mediated by occupation.²⁶ This index calculates occupation status rankings between zero and 90, where 90 is the highest status, and zero the lowest.

With regards to analysing the occupation data from the admissions registers, the NZSEI 2013 is also imperfect. The NZSEI 2013 is very specific, where the Elley-Irving scale is broad. For example, the Elley-Irving scale has only a single occupation group per status level (i.e. Manager), where the NZSEI disaggregates occupation categories into subgroups (i.e. Manager is further disaggregated into Chief Executives, General Managers and Legislators; ICT Managers; Business Administration Managers etc.). This specificity ensures that the NZSEI 2013 is able to accurately classify a wide range of modern occupations. However, the occupations listed in the admissions registers are *not* modern occupations – the first occupations are listed in 1896, the last in 1975. Some of the earlier listed occupations are very difficult to classify according to the NZSEI 2013 as they are rare or non-existent occupations in modernity (such as, for example, the Government Balneologist found in the Diocesan School Admissions Registers in 1914).²⁷ The inverse of this is that the Elley-Irving scale does not account quite so well for more modern careers such as meter reading (the occupation of a single

²⁴ Margaret Galt, “Wealth and Income in New Zealand: c. 1870 to c. 1939.,” PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1985, 96.

²⁵ Galt, “Wealth and Income in New Zealand,” 45.

²⁶ Katie M. Fahy, A. Lee and B.J. Milne, *New Zealand socio-economic index 2013*, 2017, 12.

²⁷ The holder of this particular occupation was Dr. Arthur Wohlmann, expert on medicinal springs, appointed by the government to oversee the development of the baths at Rotorua. His daughter Violet-Eugenia, aged thirteen, was a student at Diocesan for that year only.

parent in the Diocesan sample in 1974). The NZSEI 2013 also has the same problem with the rank assignation of farmer as the Elley-Irving scale, in that it assumes a low social status ranking. This does not allow for the fact that farmers historically could be extremely wealthy and have been at times significant members of Aotearoa New Zealand's ruling class.

Using both the Elley-Irving scale and the NZSEI 2013 allows for a broader situating of the occupations listed in the admissions registers than using either one or the other. Table 10 demonstrates that the most commonly occurring occupations at both St Hilda's Collegiate and Diocesan School are classified as being high status. According to the Elley-Irving scale, five of the occupations are ranked as status level one, seven as status level two, three as status level four, and three as status level five. None of the occupations are ranked with status level six or seven. According to the NZSEI 2013, three of the occupations have a status within the 81-90 range, eight within the 61-80 range, three within the 41-60 range, and three within the 21-40 range. There are no occupations in Table 10 with a ranking of less than 21 – the lowest ranking number is 37, which is the problematic ranking of farmers. The second-lowest ranking is 40 (Trades).

Table 10

Parental Occupation and Status of Students at St Hilda's Collegiate and Diocesan School 1893-1975²⁸

Occupation	School	Number	%	Elley-Irving	NZSEI 2013
Farmer	St. Hilda's	105	17.02	3	37
	Diocesan	124	12.05		
Manager	St. Hilda's	54	8.75	2	52
	Diocesan	85	8.26		
Religious	St. Hilda's	52	8.43	2	70
	Diocesan	35	3.4		
Proprietor/ Retailer	St. Hilda's	40	6.48	4	64
	Diocesan	43	4.18		
Medical	St. Hilda's	39	6.32	1	90
	Diocesan	137	13.31		

²⁸ Admission, Progress and Withdrawal Register, 1896-1979, AG-753, St Hilda's Collegiate School Records, Hocken Library, Dunedin; Enrolment Registers 1 & 2, 1904-2006, Series 204, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland.

Bank/ Finance	St. Hilda's	38	6.16	3	65
	Diocesan	45	4.37		
Merchant	St. Hilda's	29	4.7	2	64
	Diocesan	57	5.53		
Legal	St. Hilda's	25	4.05	1	80
	Diocesan	65	6.31		
Director/ Company	St. Hilda's	21	3.4	2	70
	Diocesan	137	13.31		
Trades	St. Hilda's	20	3.24	4	40
	Diocesan	9	0.87		
Education	St. Hilda's	16	2.59	2	74
	Diocesan	23	2.23		
Genteelly Unemployed	St. Hilda's	15	2.43	1	-
	Diocesan	19	1.84		
Engineer	St. Hilda's	15	2.43	2	68
	Diocesan	38	3.69		
Agent	St. Hilda's	13	2.1	3	44
	Diocesan	15	1.46		
Deceased	St. Hilda's	12	1.94	-	-
	Diocesan	-	-		
Dental	St. Hilda's	11	1.78	1	90
	Diocesan	28	2.72		
Accountant	St. Hilda's	10	1.62	1	73
	Diocesan	47	4.57		
Civil/ Public Servant	St. Hilda's	8	1.23	2	47
	Diocesan	21	2.04		
Construction	St. Hilda's	1	0.16	4	53
	Diocesan	17	1.65		

Discussion

Occupation is only one method of measuring status, and it is a very fixed one. Social status according to occupation is only relevant so long as an individual is in that occupation; individuals often change occupation throughout the duration of their lives, and social status may therefore change accordingly. Neither occupation or social status necessarily indicates wealth, and wealth of an individual or household may, and usually does, vary over a lifetime. Further, there are external factors which can impact on occupation and social status, with broader implications for class positioning. Just because an individual is in a high-status occupation does not necessarily mean they are wealthy, or that their children are in possession

of the social and cultural expertise which are also indicative of membership in the ruling class. Alternatively, families may possess wealth without also possessing the accompanying social status.

The difference in perception of the status of occupations was also an observable phenomenon amongst the students themselves. Students sometimes noticed which families had higher social class status than others. An old girl of St Hilda's, Betty Drake, who attended from 1917-1926, observed to Mason that, "there was a gap amongst the boarding fraternity between those who had sheep stations and those that didn't; also, between those who were trade and those who weren't. You had to have professional or sheep station status. Snobbishness was there, no doubt about it!"²⁹ Helen Rotman, who was a Woodford pupil from 1949 to 1953 (not a school from which admissions register data is available, but one which is likely to have a very similar enrolment demographic to St Hilda's Collegiate and Diocesan School) observed to Mary Varnham that, "there was always a bit of one-up-manship – my mother went to so-and-so, my father does this and that...Some girls always spoke of how much their fathers earned. Of course, a lot of the fathers were big farmers, and big farmers in those days were really wealthy men."³⁰

The occupation listed in the admissions registers is presumed to be father's occupation. There are a few instances where the parental occupation listed is that of the mother – for example, in 1915 two sisters were admitted to St Hilda's Collegiate. The parental occupation given was 'Postmistresses'.³¹ In 1964, a student was admitted to Diocesan School where the occupations of both parents were noted – the mother was a doctor, and the father a landscape architect.³² Occasionally, a mother's name was given only in the parent column, or occupations such as 'mother' or 'widow' were given. Occupation status is largely calculated based on male professions, male rates of pay, and the ability of men to wield social status and capital. The class position of families depended economically on the male breadwinner wage. As evidenced, women did work, and women were not devoid of their own social and cultural capital. Work for women was restricted in ways that work for men was not. There were only

²⁹ Judy Mason, *A Venture of Faith: The Story of St. Hilda's Collegiate School, 1896-1996* (Dunedin: St. Hilda's Board of Trustees, 1996), 51.

³⁰ Mary Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills: One Hundred Years of Woodford House* (Havelock North: Woodford House, 1994), 147.

³¹ Admission, Progress and Withdrawal Register, 1896-1979, AG-753, St Hilda's Collegiate School Records, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

³² Enrolment Registers, Volume 1 & 2, 1969-2006, Series 204, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland.

so many socially acceptable occupations for women, and employment for married women remained at a very low rate throughout the early twentieth century. Those married women who were employed were not likely to be of the social classes sending their children to private school.

Brookes notes that by 1921, over 50 per cent of young women aged between 15 and 24 were in paid employment, compared to 39% in 1891, and by 1936, 29.7% of these women were working in ‘white blouse’ occupations such as office work. The rate of employment for married women in 1936 was 6%.³³ In 1956, married women made up 33% of the female workforce. In 1961, this number had risen to 38%, and in 1971 had risen again to 55.8%.³⁴ This increase in participation in the labour force is not matched by an increase in women’s presence in the occupation records – even if both parents of students were working, only one occupation is listed. Although women’s participation in the workforce, married or otherwise, increased exponentially throughout the period under examination, this does not mean that the mothers of children attending these schools were necessarily the demographic which were likely to be in the work force.

There are other students in the admissions registers whose parent’s occupation does not fit the general pattern of high status ranking. There is a wide stratum of other occupations recorded in the registers, to varying degrees of status according to these two indices. From the St Hilda’s admissions registers, for example, ‘Member of Parliament’ is listed as an occupation in 1905. Not every elected MP in Aotearoa New Zealand necessarily came from a high-status background or was a career politician. This particular MP, however, was Sir James Allen, who would later become the Minister of Defence during the First World War. His daughter was admitted to the school aged twelve. As a businessman and career politician who was educated at Cambridge University, Allen can be classified as an individual of high status.³⁵ In contrast, the St Hilda’s Admissions Registers also note the admittance of a student named Matilda, admitted in 1898, whose father was a railway shunter, a much more low-status occupation.³⁶ A caveat to the wide stratum of occupation data is that it can occasionally be deceptive. In 1975, the daughter of Sir Edmund Hillary was admitted to Diocesan. His occupation in the

³³ Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), 221-22.

³⁴ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 310.

³⁵ Similarly, the royal family of Tonga have historically sent their daughters to school at Diocesan.

³⁶ Admission, Progress and Withdrawal Register, 1896-1979, AG-753, St Hilda’s Collegiate School Records, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

registers is given as ‘Apiarist’.³⁷ By 1975, he was a fulltime adventurer, writer and philanthropist.

It is possible to claim that St Hilda’s Collegiate and Diocesan School were both schools who were catering largely to the children of high or moderately high occupational status, throughout the entire period of both samples, 1896-1975. It is also possible to suggest that those students whose parents were working in lower status occupations were sending their daughters to these schools out of a desire for intergenerational class mobility. It is evident that St Hilda’s Collegiate and Diocesan School were both sites in which the ruling class was being reproduced (consistency of high-status occupation over time supports this fact). Therefore, families who were not members of the ruling class could elevate their children’s social status by sending them to an upper-class school. Not every parental occupation in the registers can be classified as high status; although the schools catered largely to the ruling class, they were not able to do so exclusively. Families with less class status and even a lower income were able to attend due to careful financing, or scholarships.³⁸ Middle- and lower-class students were sometimes able to and did attend these schools.

Based on occupation alone, a division of social classes is evident; some occupations carry more earning power than others, relying on the acquisition of capital and educational experience for entry and generating further capital through possession of such an occupation.³⁹ The relationship of occupation to education is also evident; higher-status occupations are often those which require educational training. The acquisition of education relies not only on the means with which to pay for it, but also the time invested in extended education.⁴⁰ Bourdieu critiques the purely economic basis of the ascription of educational value. Taking account only of monetary investments (“or those directly convertible into money, such as the costs of schooling and the cash equivalent of time devoted to study”) fails to account for the ways in

³⁷ Enrolment Registers, Volume 1 & 2, 1969-2006, Series 204, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland; Belinda Hillary and her mother Louise, who was also a Diocesan old girl, were tragically killed in a plane crash that year.

³⁸ It has been observed that in current times (2021), grandparents are often paying the fees of students. It is not possible to ascertain this information historically, but it is likely that grandparents have also paid the fees of students at these schools within the time period examined within this thesis. This would not be reflected in the admissions registers or in parental occupation and raises questions about the fluidity of intergenerational class movement.

³⁹ Claire Toynbee, “Class and Social-Structure in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand,” *The New Zealand Journal of History* 13, no.1, (1979): 71.

⁴⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in J. Richardson ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport: Greenwood, 1986), 251.

which different social classes invest in cultural capital (disposition, cultural goods such as books or music, and the means by which to objectify and properly use and appreciate the former).⁴¹ The school reproduces the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among social classes.⁴²

A private school for girls goes further. Girls, at least before the mid-1940s, were largely not expected to generate an economic return on their education. The investment lay in other forms of capital; the cultural capital possessed by a well-educated girl was of great value. Social class is intrinsically tied to gender. Although some women were able to use their education for further study and entrance into professions (such as teaching and nursing), many did not. The professional benchmark as defined by occupation potential was less relevant for daughters. This is in part to do with employment opportunities offered to women, and in part due to a perception that it ought not to be necessary for a woman to work at all, let alone a woman of a certain social class. The cultural capital of girls from private schools was concentrated in their ability to participate in culture, which can be transmitted through the family as well as the school.⁴³ Women's social status was likely to be defined by that of their father or husband, rather any occupation status of their own.

Academic qualifications are a form of cultural capital and can therefore be converted into economic capital. The state school is just as capable of bestowing academic qualifications as the private school (more so, in some cases – many of the Anglican girls' schools delayed in their establishment of curricula which supported the passing of standardised examinations in order to gain such qualifications), so this is not the reason why the separate elite system in education persevered in tandem with an equalising educational system. Harker suggests that a withdrawal to private schools is one of the means in which the ruling class reinforces class distinctions which are otherwise threatened by the equalising forces of the public school.⁴⁴ The reinforcement of class-based distinctions in the private schools explains why both families with elite social status (demonstrated through occupation in Table 10) and families who have less elite social status but aspirations to gain it, would send their children to attend such schools.

⁴¹ Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 242.

⁴² Pierre Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," in Richard Brown (Ed.), *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change* (London: Tavistock, 1973), 71.

⁴³ Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," 77.

⁴⁴ Richard Harker, "Bourdieu – Education and Reproduction," in Richard Harker, Cheleen Mahar, Chris Wilkes, eds., *An Introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu: The Practise of Theory* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 100.

Schools and Physical Space

The schools were all physical locations; the environment and surroundings of the school were informed by their histories and in turn informed the external image of the school. Each of the schools charged fees, reinforcing the elite status of the school through barring families who could not afford to pay. The school was required therefore to attract those families who were able to pay the fees. The principal way in which this was done was through advertising in a prospectus. Schools would also advertise in other means (such as by lodging an advertisement in a newspaper, through word of mouth or reputation, and through the general public profile of the school) but these methods were less comprehensive, and often referred interested parties to the prospectus for detailed information about the school. The prospectus reassured the family that the school was capable of delivering whatever it was that the family was seeking in the education of their child. The aspects which were emphasised in prospectuses were those which justified the private school and its expense, pointing out the ways in which the school could reproduce ruling class sensibilities and forms of capital – although prospectuses often preferred to note this in terms of their ‘difference’.

The prospectus usually contained information such as a list of staff, a description of school facilities and curriculum, and the fees. Image 1 is an example of a very early prospectus from Fitzherbert Terrace School. This prospectus from approximately 1878 shows only the name of the school and the fees, as well as additional extra subjects and a note about the term dates. The fees for one year’s tuition and boarding, including books and laundry, was approximately £70.⁴⁵ Later prospectuses, from Marsden and other schools, contained a wider variety of information. The first prospectus from Diocesan school in 1904, for example, contains a large photograph of the school building, a list of school associates including Bishop Neligan as visitor to the school (in this instance meaning a person with the right or duty to occasionally inspect an academic institution – the Bishop’s role emphasises his significance in the governance of the school), members of the school board, and the headmistress. The following page contains a brief paragraph on the origin of the school, one on the school premises and

⁴⁵ Adjusted for inflation, this is the equivalent of approximately \$11,000.

education, religious instruction, school hours, information for admissions, fees, and arrangements for boarders.⁴⁶

Image 1

Mrs Swainson's Prospectus for Fitzherbert Terrace School⁴⁷

Fitzherbert Terrace,			
WELLINGTON.			
MRS. SWAINSON receives Young Ladies as Boarders and Day Pupils.			
PER TERM :			
			£ s. d.
Boarders	-	-	21 0 0
Day Pupils	-	-	4 4 0
Use of Books	-	-	0 10 0
Laundress	-	-	2 2 0
EXTRAS :			
Music Lessons	} Master	-	5 5 0
Singing Lessons, private lessons		-	5 5 0
Singing Lessons in class		-	1 1 0
Music Lessons, every day	} Mistress	-	4 4 0
do two lessons a week		-	3 3 0
Drawing Lessons	-	-	2 16 0
French Lessons	-	-	2 2 0
Dancing Lessons	-	-	2 2 0
Terms, payable in advance.			
A term's notice required or the equivalent in case of the removal of a pupil.			
The school year is divided into three terms of between thirteen and fourteen weeks, with three weeks' holiday in May, three in September, and six at Christmas.			

⁴⁶ Prospectus 1904, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland.

⁴⁷ Fitzherbert Terrace School Prospectus, Box 82: Old Prospectuses, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School Archives, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, Wellington.

The use of images was essential in prospectuses. The physical and social surroundings which the students experienced contributes, however subliminally, to a greater experience of education, and schools were eager to promote this feature. Further, many students would be living at the school. The homeliness of the boarding facilities was an important aspect for families to note. As a means of persuading fee-paying families, visual evidence of the resources which these particular schools could offer is more compelling than a description. The facilities which the schools possess were reflections of privilege. For example, the Diocesan prospectus of 1905 contains a picture of the drive of the school, with two girls riding ponies (Image 2).

Diocesan School is situated in Remuera, which at the time this prospectus was published, was moderately rural. The inclusion of an image showing girls arriving at school on ponies emphasises the location of the school, but also is a subtle reinforcement of the clientele to which the school is advertising. The image suggests that the students may be riding the ponies or own them for leisure, rather than out of the necessity of using them for transport to and from school. Although it is possible that the girls in this image are boarders, it is more likely that they are daygirls (boarders arriving at school would have more luggage, and otherwise students living at the school would have no need to use the drive). This image therefore demonstrates to families firstly the scenic beauty of the school, secondly that students have the opportunity for leisure, and thirdly that students come from families who own ponies. Horses/ponies are an indicator of status. A student from Woodford House from 1949-1953 observed that she felt left out when spending time with friends from school who lived in the country, as she did not own a horse.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills*, 147.

Image 2

The Drive at Diocesan School, 1905 ⁴⁹



⁴⁹ Prospectus 1905, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School Archives, Diocesan School, Auckland.

Beyond the photographs of the driveway, the Diocesan school prospectuses often show photographs of the exterior of the buildings. The original boarding house and school building, included on a full page in the 1904 prospectus was later known as School House, after the fact that it originally constituted the entire school.⁵⁰ New boarding houses, added as the school expanded in the early twentieth century, were called Selwyn, Old Bishops court (after the area in which Selwyn had lived in Parnell) and Cowie, another Bishop of Auckland.⁵¹ New House replaced Selwyn in 1929, and was later renamed Patteson, after John Patteson, the first Bishop of Melanesia.⁵² Pictures of these buildings are promoted in later prospectuses – the 1909 prospectus shows several buildings, including Selwyn.⁵³ The 1922 prospectus, used until 1926, includes a picture of the corner of Cowie house, which was built in 1920.⁵⁴ The 1939 prospectus included an aerial photograph of the entire school, showing both the extensive building and the extensive grounds.⁵⁵ In naming buildings and spaces after people of significance, the schools were structuring their own narrative history. The naming of buildings is an indicator of figures whom the school values and was used to signal the prestige of such associations.

The naming of school buildings and boarding houses after people who have been significant in the history of the schools is not limited to Diocesan. This was a way of honouring history, but it also reminded the students of the nature of the environment which they were in. Waikato Diocesan, for example, has several boarding houses which are named after Bishops of Waikato – Moxon, Holland, Johnson. The administrative building, which was formerly the entirety of the school built on the Bankwood site, was named Cherrington after the first Bishop of Waikato, who had a particularly close relationship with the school. The school has several buildings and facilities which are named after other people of significance, such as the Nancy Light Hall, after a former headmistress, and the Piki Mahuta Centre, named after Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, the Māori Queen, who was a student at the school. The naming of

⁵⁰ This building is now the administrative building at Diocesan.

⁵¹ Margaret Hammer, *Follow Your Star: Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland, 1903-2003* (Auckland: Board of Governors, Diocesan School for Girls, 2003), 46.

⁵² Hammer, *Follow Your Star*, 91.

⁵³ Prospectus 1909, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archives, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

⁵⁴ Prospectus 1922, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archives, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

⁵⁵ Prospectus 1933, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archives, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

buildings can carry the history of the school and of the diocese, signalling the longevity of connections to influential people.

The Diocesan School prospectuses in later years show many images of the exterior of school buildings, and children doing activities such as taking an art class. Often included are photographs of drill and gymnasium classes. These emphasise the holistic, all-around education which is offered at the school; the focus is on body and spirit as well as on mind through the pursuit of academic subjects. The swimming pool and interior of the chapel are also regularly occurring features. Swimming pools were expensive to build and maintain – the possession of one demonstrated the wealth of the school, or else the resources available to families who paid for it through fundraising efforts. A swimming pool was, like a gymnasium or a tennis court, a resource which students could use to remain fit and healthy. The possession of such resources and their demonstration in prospectuses thus reinforces to families the wealth of resources available to the school. Prospectuses from Marsden also follow these trends. The first prospectus from the Karori site in 1926 shows a two-page picture of the new school building resting in the otherwise bare grounds, in which trees and shrubbery have been staked. This shows the newly built school buildings to their best capacity and highlights how large and modern they are. The Marsden prospectus in 1933 includes a picture of the school swimming pool (Image 3). Diocesan School in particular includes pictures of its school swimming pool until at least 1955. It is replaced in later decades only by pictures of other facilities, such as the language laboratory in 1970.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Prospectus 1970, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

Image 3

Swimming Pool at Samuel Marsden Collegiate, 1933 ⁵⁷



Conclusion

The Anglican girls' schools in Aotearoa New Zealand share many similarities. The admissions registers of St Hilda's Collegiate, Diocesan School, and Chilton Saint James which have been examined in this chapter reveal many details about the demographics of the schools, which in turn confirms the nature of the schools as serving a ruling class clientele. Forty-two per cent of St Hilda's Collegiate students, 22% of Diocesan School students, and 47% of Chilton Saint James students lived outside of the urban area in which the schools were located. These students were likely boarders; the proportion of boarders was also likely higher than these percentages. Further, 34.99% of students at St Hilda's Collegiate lived nearby in immediate, affluent suburbs. At Diocesan, this number was 35.77%, and at Chilton Saint James, 38.33%. 74.55%

⁵⁷ Prospectus 1933, Box 82: Old Prospectuses, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School Archives, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, Wellington.

of the parental occupations taken from the sample at St Hilda's Collegiate can be classified as high status (and therefore likely ruling class), and 74.73% at Diocesan School. These demographics, combined with an understanding of the way the schools promote themselves to these families through emphasising their resources and their connections with the Anglican church as well as to other high status people, reinforces a conceptualisation of these schools as belong to, and contributing to the replication of, the ruling class.

Chapter Three

“To the Average Girl They Are Anathema”: Curriculum in Anglican Girls’ Secondary Schools

Through sending their daughters to be educated at these elite schools, families were passing into the hands of the school a key role in shaping the child in order to best fulfil her future role in life. This future role was dictated as much by gender expectations as class ones. The school was capable of bestowing cultural capital through the granting of qualifications. More than this, the school was also capable of inculcating students with an understanding of certain modes of behaviour and understanding; the means by which to understand and engage in wider culture.

This chapter will first discuss the question of the purpose of schooling for girls in Anglican schools. Purpose can be understood to mean intended outcome – schools were educating girls to look, act, sound and think a certain way, with certain values to the fore. Private schools for girls did not disregard the significance of an academic qualification and progressions from school into university was one pathway, but they were also focused on preparing young girls as future wives and mothers. The curriculum, or the means through which schools prepared girls for future outcomes, was influenced by these contrasting goals.

Purpose of Education

One way of ascertaining the purpose of education is to examine the desired end point. Inspector-General of Schools, George Hogben, noted in 1901 that he did not see the point in offering secondary education for all young people when they were not all going to go on to university – a university education being the capstone and a natural extension of secondary education.¹ It was felt by some that secondary education ought to exist for the purpose of preparation for university education, rather than as a site for learning which had value in and of itself. This conceptualisation of the purpose of education was embodied by the Matriculation examination introduced in 1879 by the University of New Zealand, which emphasised the idea that the highest possible conclusion of secondary education was synonymous with university

¹ R. Openshaw, G. Lee and H. Lee, *Challenging the Myths: Rethinking New Zealand’s Educational History* (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press, 1993), 103.

entrance. Matriculation, proficiency and other benchmarking examinations may not have been exclusively sought for the purpose of attaining entrance into university and professions, but the existence of examinations as a mark of progress and achievement suggest that education and schooling had both measuring and gatekeeping functions.

As well as progression into university and professions, schooling was conceptualised as preparation for home life. This was a particular focus for girls' schooling. Although the Anglican girls' schools did offer students the opportunity to sit examinations and the academic support with which to pass them, they also offered teaching with a different outcome in mind. Cecile Williams (student of Woodford House from 1918-1920) recalls that the founding headmistress Mabel Hodge was once asked what the graduates from her school would be expected to do. She replied by saying, "My girls don't do anything, except perhaps get married."² Chilton Saint James, too, had a founding headmistress who was under few illusions about the purpose of the education she was offering. In the 1930s, Fitzgerald observed "your business in life, if you do the best thing there is to do, is looking after a man and babies."³ Nora Ledingham, a former teacher of Craighead Diocesan, reflected to Patsy Mackenzie in the history of the school that, "in the early 1930s at any rate, few left with any thought of a training or paid career in mind, and very few went on to University. The idea that higher education for girls was a waste because they'd 'only go and get married' was still widely held."⁴ For the first fifty years of the existence of Anglican girls' schools across Aotearoa New Zealand, attitudes remained relatively consistent across the communities of the schools.

Such responses reflected trends in the wider society. From the turn of the twentieth century when the earliest of the schools (such as Woodford House) were founded until the Second World War, there was a great deal of concern over the preservation of Pākehā society, fuelled by concerns over the declining Pākehā birthrate and the accelerating trends towards women's employment. Debate in education reflected these concerns, emphasising differentiation in curriculum, the physical health of girls and their future role as mothers. Pursuit of academic goals (such as the passing of examinations and university entrance) was not regarded as being compatible with women's role as mothers of the nation. Up until at least the time of the

² Mary Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills: One Hundred Years of Woodford House* (Havelock North: Woodford House, 1994), 39.

³ Anne Mulcock, *A Quite Original Type of School: The Life and Work of Geraldine Fitzgerald, Founding Principal of Chilton Saint James* (Christchurch: Anne Mulcock, 1993), 49.

⁴ Patsy McKenzie, *Craighead, 1911-1986* (Timaru: Craighead Jubilee Committee, 1986), 14.

replacement of the Matriculation examination in 1946, the notion of secondary education for girls concluding with progression to caring for a family was expected and encouraged. Statements articulating these ideas from headmistresses and staff illustrate that secondary education for girls, in their view, was perceived as being about preparing for a non-academic life; at home caring for a family, or in society as an educated but perhaps not necessarily a working woman.

Such attitudes and ideas began to be challenged in the 1960s and 1970s, as young people found themselves challenging the expectations of earlier generations.⁵ The moral panic of the post-war years, which had seen a doubling down on women's traditional roles in the home (even as more and more women were present in the workforce) was being challenged even further by young people with different ideas about what they wanted for their own futures. All schools were faced with the challenge of how to respond to the liberalisation of young women. The Anglican girls' schools remained bastions of an older conservatism. The Marsden headmistress Margaret Ogle, who began her tenure in 1957, gave many speeches to committees such as the Wellington Secondary Schools' Principals' Association on the issue. Her speech of 9 October 1969 titled 'A Generation Gone to Pot?' noted that the authority of adults was being challenged – she concluded that the schools “should be a bastion in preventing if we can my somewhat cynical title becoming reality.”⁶ Ogle was relatively sympathetic towards the idealism of the young, but she was troubled by the decay in authority and the radical leanings of idealistic young people. Ogle was determined that Marsden in particular would be such a bastion against the radical social change which would accompany the challenging of authority.

Marsden Old Girl Sue Kedgley observed of that school in the 1960s that, “Marsden seemed to be a perfect product of its era – an elite private Anglican girls' school where girls could be sent to become well-mannered, well-bred, well-spoken and well-read young ladies. In short, perfectly equipped for the affluent lifestyles they were expected to lead.”⁷ In 1985 Kedgley wrote a book titled *The Sexual Wilderness: Men and Women in New Zealand*. Kedgley had been converted to feminism after leaving school at around the same time as Ogle had prepared

⁵ Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), 342.

⁶ Address to Wellington Secondary Schools' Principals' Association, 9th October, 1969, 9 October 1969, Folder 1, Box 117 (Speech Notes), Samuel Marsden Collegiate School Archives, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, Wellington.

⁷ Kirsty Carpenter, *Marsden Women and their World: A History of Marsden School, 1878-2003* (Wellington: Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, 2003), 54.

her speech of concern for the youth of the era.⁸ Kedgley's critique of Marsden was not unfounded – the school's commitment to conservative values and the production of well-bred young women was not compatible with the new feminism of the early 1970s. The affluent lifestyles expected of these girls did not require progression through the academic pipeline into the university, or even, indeed, any particular desire to have a career. Students leaving schools such as Marsden could be expected to leave with a kind of private-school polish which would enable them to become more eligible wives – the private Anglican girls' schools after all were the origins of the marriage market for upper class girls. The late 1960s and early 1970s were a time in which, in Aotearoa New Zealand, marriage rates were incredibly high and age at marriage was very low. Even women who intended to have a career after school were not likely to have one for very long before getting married but were nevertheless required to stay in school and achieve at least a partial secondary education.

Students who attended the Anglican girls' schools could perhaps be expected to utilise their school education through demonstration of their acquisition of cultural capital (that is, through engaging with and demonstrating their ability to decode markers of culture such as art) and social capital (the networks of social obligation into which the girls, upon leaving school, were able to enter). In the Woodford Headmistress's Report of 1964, Kay Bell elucidated on the kinds of girls Woodford hoped to turn out: "From Woodford House there should emerge a gracious, poised, lively person – someone with a vital interest in the world in which she lives and with an understanding that this world needs loving wives and mothers who are also women of dedication and integrity."⁹ Even after the introduction of University Entrance and School Certificate in 1946, the schools were preparing their students for alternative lifepaths which included as a core outcome the well-bred character of the girl, whose academic qualifications could be taken or left aside.¹⁰

Penny Summerfield, in her study of girls' secondary schooling in Lancashire, England, notes that in the early years of the twentieth century the academic results of private schools in the area were less significant than the social prestige which came from attending the school, in that

⁸ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 342.

⁹ *Woodford Chronicle* 1964, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹⁰ As late as the 21st century, this particular idea lingered at Woodford. An acquaintance of the author, reminiscing on her time at Iona College in Havelock North, remarked that the students of that school used to say that they were sent to Iona in order to become doctors – girls who were sent to Woodford had been sent there in order to marry doctors.

schools were regarded as being elite despite comparatively worse academic results. This changed towards the middle of the century when social prestige and academic results drew more in line with each other.¹¹ Summerfield made these observations about England; however, similar trends can be observed in Aotearoa New Zealand. Examination pass rates became a signifier of status for schools. The ability of schools to pass a large number of students through examination reflected the quality and resources of teaching. The Anglican girls' schools in the early twentieth century, as we have seen in recollections and from headmistresses' reports, were more than happy to focus on an education which did not perceive academic results and therefore admission to university as the be-all-end-all.

School Curriculum

The private schools were, to a certain extent, able to set their own curriculum. In the nineteenth century this was certainly the case – the schools were too small to have much competition with state or other schools, and few students were studying towards or passing Matriculation. As the twentieth century progressed, more and more of the schools applied to be inspected by the Education department. This was required in order to be accredited as a secondary school and, although the schools were still free to largely do as they pleased, upon applying for inspection they were bound to teach certain subjects a certain number of hours per week. St Hilda's, for example, was first inspected in 1902,¹² Nga Tawa in 1921.¹³ Diocesan School was registered as a secondary school in 1916;¹⁴ Chilton Saint James was not registered until 1954.¹⁵

The prospectuses from Diocesan School provide an example of the curriculum subjects which were offered at the Anglican girls' schools, as well as an insight into the way in which the schools prioritised certain aspects of the curriculum. The 1904 prospectus describes the curriculum as follows:

¹¹ Penny Summerfield, "Cultural Reproduction in the Education of Girls' Secondary Schooling in Two Lancashire Towns, 1900-1950," in Felicity Hunt, ed., *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950* (Oxford: Basil Blackwood, 1987), 153.

¹² Muriel May, *St Hilda's Collegiate School: The First Seventy Years, 1896-1966* (Dunedin: St Hilda's Collegiate School, 1969), 25.

¹³ Michelle Whitmore, *Nga Tawa: A Centennial History* (Waikanae: The Heritage Press Ltd., 1991), 68.

¹⁴ Margaret Hammer, *Follow Your Star: Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland, 1903-2003* (Auckland: Board of Governors, Diocesan School for Girls, 2003), 64.

¹⁵ Jocelyn Kerslake, *Chilton Saint James: A Celebration of 75 Years* (Lower Hutt: Chilton Historical Trust of the Chilton Association, 1993), 63.

The object of the School is to combine a thorough Religious Education with the best Scholarship. The first consideration throughout its work and organization is sound training of character; the second is the formation, as one factor in such training, of scholarly habits of thought and work, and the maintenance of a high intellectual and artistic standard. This combination is made possible by a very carefully organized School Course, in which the subjects (limited to such a number as can be studied without undue haste or pressure) are chosen for their educational value, and treated in accordance with the best educational methods. The ordinary course includes Religious Knowledge, History, Literature, Geography, Arithmetic, Reading and Recitation, Writing and Composition, Science (Natural and Domestic), Art, French or German, and Latin... Other branches of Mathematics and Science may be added in the Higher forms, should time allow. The standard in these Forms will be fully equal to that required by the University Examinations; but only such examinations can be prepared for, and under such conditions, as are found to be consistent with the working out of the principles stated above.¹⁶

The listing of Religious Knowledge first in the range of subjects, as well as the emphasis placed upon it in the very first sentence is a reinforcement of the school's foundational ideology, i.e. that of the Anglican church, and the necessity of educating children according to the doctrines of that faith. The emphasis on the formation of character is in line with the conviction that a secondary education (for those who can afford it) ought to have an end goal of shaping the child into a person of good character – but preparation for examinations is offered also, as noted in the final two sentences.

The 1905 prospectus expands on this ideal of building character – the first consideration is character “in such ways as shall make wholesome and efficient women in domestic, social, or professional life. Hence great stress is laid on the way in which work is done, rather than on the amount of information acquired.”¹⁷ By 1922 the prospectus was more specific and went into more detail about the purposes of individual subjects. The Secondary School, it is noted, “prepares girls from 13 to 18 for examinations leading to the University and professional work, or by a more humanistic course for home and society life.”¹⁸ Matriculation leads to University (the more traditional path of a secondary school) and includes a more rigorous course. The

¹⁶ Prospectus 1904, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

¹⁷ Prospectus 1905, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

¹⁸ Prospectus 1922, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

‘humanistic’ course is intended to prepare girls for the other end goals of secondary education, which is a home life and a position in society. The choice between courses relies “on whether girls will need such a certificate, or whether they are preparing for home life only.”¹⁹

The 1930 Prospectus expands on the domestic science and handcraft subjects offered. Instruction in Domestic Science, at this time, was taught by a fully qualified mistress, with special attention given to needlework and dressmaking. Handcraft subjects such as Leatherwork were offered “for training girls for the employment of their leisure time.”²⁰ In 1933, streaming is described in the prospectus – the students were divided into an academic course, and a non-academic course, in which mathematics was replaced with arithmetic and home science.²¹ The descriptions of subjects then changed very minimally over the next two decades. In the 1970 prospectus, streaming had evolved significantly. The fifth form was divided into four streams based on anticipated post-school trajectory and/or student capability. The Professional stream offered English, French, Mathematics, Latin/Geography, Chemistry/History, and Biology/German. The academic streams offered English, French, Geography, General Science/Biology, and Mathematics/History. The Modern course offered English, French, Geography, General Science, and History/Commercial Practise/Art. The General course offered English, Human Biology, Geography, Clothing/Art, and History/Commercial Practise. Students in all streams were also obliged to take Divinity, Physical Education and Music.²²

In the early part of the twentieth century, the school emphasised the pace of the course as being not too strenuous, the centrality of religious education, and the building of the character of students. The strenuousness of a course was of particular concern to some people; Frederic Truby King espoused on the evils of cram. Girls who studied too hard were believed to experience a negative effect on the reproductive system.²³ Woodford House, in its early decades, offered coaching to girls wishing to pursue Matriculation so that they would be able

¹⁹ Prospectus 1922, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

²⁰ Prospectus 1930, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

²¹ Prospectus 1933, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

²² Prospectus 1970, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

²³ Alison Clarke, *Otago: 150 Years of New Zealand's First University* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2018), 166.

to pass without excessive studying and pressure.²⁴ Seventy years later, the existence of streams reflected a shift in social expectations surrounding schooling. The academic courses remained, as they always had, open to those who were capable. Brookes notes, however, that academic streams at all schools were still leaning more towards preparing students for careers in teaching and nursing. Sciences such as physics were not well supported by the schools, and truly rigorous academic pathways were not easy to achieve.²⁵

Commercial and domestic streams encouraged students to remain in school to learn other skills which would be useful in the home, or else in the workplace. By 1970 it was far more expected for girls to be passing into the workplace at the conclusion of their schooling, at least for a brief period of time before marriage. Barbara Brookes notes that the introduction of commercial courses at technical colleges was encouraged by parents.²⁶ Equivalent commercial courses at private schools were intended in part to compete with technical colleges, and in part to offer support to the inevitable. It was becoming increasingly likely that girls would devote at least some time to the workforce after leaving school – particularly upper class girls, as working-class girls had been leaving school to the workforce for decades. Girls who were studying commercial courses at the Anglican girls' schools however were not necessarily intending to take the same sorts of jobs as their middle or working-class counterparts. Many students mentioned in the *Woodford Chronicle*, for example, were working as private secretaries for doctors or professors.²⁷

Teaching commercial courses enabled schools to remain competitive. The introduction of streaming allowed schools to wield their dual aims of educating for academics (University Entrance) and family life, as well as introducing the wider and more accepted educational outcome of careers. The Anglican girls' schools were not the only schools which had to balance these dual agendas, but they are more likely to take into consideration factors which required, or replicated, higher social status. The subjects offered on the curriculum at the schools reflect the times and the clientele of the school.

²⁴ Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills*, 24.

²⁵ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 316.

²⁶ Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women*, 225.

²⁷ *Woodford Chronicle*, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Mathematics

The study of Mathematics was contingent not only on the demands of the private school structure, but also on gendered expectations around the capabilities of girls. As revealed in the Diocesan prospectuses, mathematics (as opposed to the simpler arithmetic) was a subject which was not offered to students attempting less academic streams – as late as 1970, no form of mathematics or arithmetic was offered to students doing the modern or general course in fifth form or later years.

In the early twentieth century, arguments abounded both in Aotearoa New Zealand and abroad that girls were less capable at mathematics. Curriculum differentiation arguments operated on the assumption that, as Hunt notes, “boys were more independent, girls more amenable, boys reasoned and analysed where girls were more intuitive and ‘emotional’.”²⁸ This is the reasoning, too, behind a statement made by Esther Baber in the Fitzherbert Terrace School Headmistress’s Report of 1919: “Again take the unfairness of first allowing women to enter the University and then at the door putting what to the majority is an insuperable barrier. The average boy revels in Mathematics; to the average girl they are anathema.”²⁹ This statement reinforces the perception of a lack of faith in the average girl’s ability to succeed academically.

Sara A. Burstal, in a 1907 guide called *English High Schools for Girls*, recommended that Mathematics be kept at a minimum for girls, because:

It does not underlie their industries as it does so many of the activities of men – engineering, building, the art of war, finance, manufactures. It is needed for training only; an excess of it, the subject being useless to them and disconnected with their life, has a hardening effect on the nature of women.³⁰

Burstal here is emphasising the unfeminine nature of mathematics – her argument is less that girls are inherently incapable, and more that an academic focus on such subjects is unfeminising. Burstal is addressing standard pedagogy in the English high schools of the time, but in this period schools in Aotearoa New Zealand and schools in England maintained particularly close relationships, especially the private schools which regularly exchanged ideas and staff. Burstal’s comment is, further, a remarkable insight into important ideas surrounding

²⁸ Felicity Hunt, “Divided Aims: The Education Implications of Opposing Ideologies in Girls’ Secondary Schooling, 1850-1940,” in Hunt, ed., 13.

²⁹ *Te Kura*, 1909, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School Archives, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, Wellington.

³⁰ Sara A. Burstal, *English High Schools for Girls* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907), 110.

gender roles within the wider British empire. Mathematics underlies the industries of men, including ‘the art of war’; it does not underlie the industries of women, which lay in the home. As Mangan points out, educational practises in the private schools which he examined echoed these very sentiments, with their focus on the education of boys to embody the active processes of maintaining the British empire.³¹

There were growing concerns within Aotearoa New Zealand in the early twentieth century related to ideas of nationhood – race suicide, the declining Pākehā birth rate, and the determined conceptualisations of many that placed Britain as home and Aotearoa New Zealand as a colony subordinate to the superiorities of empire. It was, in fact, in the best interests of colony and empire to keep girls away from the study of mathematics, as it was believed that academic challenges were detrimental to reproduction, and therefore to the maintenance of empire. This perception did not go unchallenged. In contrast to Burstal, Emily Davies (founder of Girton College, Cambridge), stated in 1910 that “Women are expected to learn something of arithmetical science, and who should say at what point they are to stop? Why should simple equations brighten their intellects, and quadratic equations drive them into the lunatic asylum?”³² In Aotearoa New Zealand, successful professional women such as Dr Agnes Bennett and Dr Emily Siedeberg challenged the belief that women were not capable of rigorous academia, arguing against King and Batchelor and their provisions for the potential for women’s work in 1913.³³ Both women however were less willing to challenge the fundamental differentiation of the world of work. Siedeberg clearly did not find mathematics to be an anathema to her success in entering the medical profession, but she, like others of her generation, believed that there were some types of work which were the domain of women, and some which were not.

Domestic Science

The integration of domestic science into the curriculum was a part of the differentiated education which was a core part of schooling in the early- to mid-twentieth century. Differentiated curriculum reinforced gender expectations. Mathematics is one side of the coin;

³¹ J.A Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 9.

³² Ruth Fry, “The Curriculum and Girls’ Secondary Schooling 1890-1925,” in Sue Middleton, ed., *Women and Education in Aotearoa* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1988), 33.

³³ Fry, “The Curriculum and Girls’ Secondary Schooling 1890-1925,” 36.

domestic science is the other. The curriculum in state schools was set by the government. Private schools were freer to choose the curriculum they would follow, although they were bound by the requirements for teaching towards standardised examinations. The choice of the Anglican girls' schools to offer domestic science on the curriculum, when they did so and the emphasis which they chose to place on its teaching reflects the expectations of individual schools with regards to the outcomes of ruling class womanhood.

Domestic science and mathematics both were divisive subjects in the discussion of differentiation. In 1909, Dr F.C Batchelor and Dr Frederic Truby King gave an address at a meeting of the Society for the Promotion of the Health of Women and Children, in which Batchelor argued that a school programme for girls ought to focus on domestic management and economy. He posited that domestic science as a curriculum subject was a wholesome preparation for marriage, at odds with the generally practised education system which enabled a focus on more academic subjects.³⁴ King asserted that the education of girls and boys according to the same curriculum was "one of the most preposterous farces ever perpetrated," and that teaching subjects like mathematics to girls was a waste of time "which might be better employed in learning those things and understanding those principles which underlie the making of happy homes."³⁵ Alexander Wilson, rector of Otago Girls High School from 1885-1896, is an example of an educationalist who spoke against King's rhetoric, arguing that limiting girls from studying mathematics "on the grounds that geometry and algebra might not be much use in cookery and dressmaking" was perhaps the more preposterous perpetration.³⁶

Mary Varnham in her history of Woodford House argues that, for the opponents of equal education, the solution was to professionalise women's work: "Girls were to be taught how to run households efficiently, organise charities cheerfully and impart moral values in their children."³⁷ This is an outcome of domestic science education. Through offering pathways in which girls could become skilled at homecraft, schools could ensure that their students remained in school longer and did not leave at fourteen or fifteen without any sort of qualification or leaving certificate (even if it was not one officially granted or recognised by

³⁴ Fry, "The Curriculum and Girls' Secondary Schooling 1890-1925," 35-6.

³⁵ Margaret Tennant, "Natural Directions: The New Zealand Movement for Sexual Differentiation in Education During the Early Twentieth Century," in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant, eds., *Women in History: Essays on European Women in New Zealand* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1986), 90.

³⁶ Fry, "The Curriculum and Girls' Secondary Schooling 1890-1925," 33.

³⁷ Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills*, 5.

the Universities). The issue of domestic science is particularly interesting in the case of the private schools. Not only were students paying fees, it was possible that girls on a course or in a stream that was less academic were paying to attend school with no academic path at the conclusion. This demonstrates the value of a private school education as having social value as well as academic. Girls could be trained to be better wives and mothers at these schools, thus entering into the ruling-class marriage market, which Connell and Irving note is one of the functions of the ruling class private school.³⁸

Domestic science courses in the Anglican girls' schools were met with mixed success. In the first instance, schools were unsure of the appropriateness of teaching home science. Some schools were concerned that teaching domestic science as a part of the core curriculum encroached upon the role of the mother to teach such things to her children. Esther Baber of Fitzherbert Terrace School in 1917 addressed this anxiety by writing off the teaching of domestic science to all pupils as being a waste of time – "All must learn science, particularly Home Science, and spend thereon long hours, whether or not they have a bent that way...in the Primary School, consider the absurdity of a clever pupil spending one day out of five learning cooking, which her mother could teach her in half an hour!"³⁹ Baber, it seems, felt clearly that the purpose of the school was to teach students that which could *not* be taught in the home. Baber goes on to further criticise the inclusion of domestic science in the Matriculation examination: "In the higher walks of education, the University is blindly following the foolish lead, and proposing to add to a girls' trials in Matriculation, a test in Home Science; this is again handicapping the serious-minded student."⁴⁰

Domestic science and the academic paths to success within the secondary school system were at awkward odds with each other. The Free Place regulations of 1917 made domestic science compulsory in state schools, and/or those private schools which were accredited and therefore had to comply with inspection.⁴¹ This was met with not a small amount of consternation from the staff and headmistresses of the Anglican girls' schools, as evidenced by Esther Baber. Able students were expected to be able to pursue academic paths towards examination passes

³⁸ R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, "Yes, Virginia, There is a Ruling Class," in Henry Mayer and Helen Nelson, eds., *Australian Politics: A Third Reader* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1973), 41.

³⁹ Tosti Murray, *Marsden: The History of a New Zealand School for Girls* (Wellington: The Marsden Old Girls' Association, 1967), 145.

⁴⁰ Murray, *Marsden*, 145.

⁴¹ Openshaw, Lee, and Lee, *Challenging the Myths*, 134.

without the constraints of gendered, non-academic subjects being mandated by the state. In 1917, the Wellington Women Teachers Association and the Headmistresses of Non-Departmental Schools both criticised the decision to make compulsory the teaching of domestic science.⁴² The Headmistresses of Non-Departmental Schools argued that the arbitrary demand for domestic science placed an unfair burden on girls preparing for university. Both groups, including the Wellington Women's Teachers Association, argued that, "with compulsory domestic instruction, girls' general education would be imperilled; that instruction should be based primarily upon ability and special aptitude and not gender; and that young women ought not to be heavily burdened with additional compulsory studies if they were busy preparing for public examination."⁴³ Tennant notes that, at least in the case of the Non-Departmental headmistresses, the criticism was more levelled against the unfairness of demanding academic 'elite' be subject to enforced domestic science.⁴⁴

Domestic Science as a subject for Matriculation arguably trivialised the high status of the university entrance examinations. Domestic Science was not seen to be a rigorous academic subject, which other subjects studied for university entrance were intended to be. There were however options to further the path of Domestic Science after leaving school. As Varnham observes, the solution to anxieties surrounding women in the workforce was to professionalise their gendered work.⁴⁵ The school of Domestic Science opened at Otago University in 1911, offering women the opportunity to pursue academic qualifications in housecraft, which also enabled the furthering of careers for women in this area. Professor Shand (whose daughters would go on to found Craighead the same year in which the school of Domestic Science opened) critiqued the decision to offer courses, remarking that Domestic Science belonged in the technical colleges, not the university, as it was not an academic subject.⁴⁶ There is here a certain degree of class awareness – Craighead, the school which his daughters would found, was a school intended to educate young women whose families could pay; the technical colleges were state schools for those who could, according to Shand it seems, do no better. King and Batchelor both unsurprisingly spoke out in favour of the opening of the school, as it reinforced the professionalism of domestic work for women and would encourage a higher standard of housecraft, a noble goal for a state which was concerned with declining family

⁴² Tennant, "Natural Directions," 96.

⁴³ Openshaw, Lee, and Lee, *Challenging the Myths*, 134.

⁴⁴ Tennant, "Natural Directions," 96.

⁴⁵ Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills*, 4-5.

⁴⁶ Clarke, *Otago*, 166.

size.⁴⁷ Enrolment increased with the introduction in 1917 of compulsory domestic science in girls' public schools (although the private schools were not obliged to do so, if they were desirous of inspection and accreditation, they complied).⁴⁸

Summerfield also argues that there were class connotations to the academic objectives of domestic science. It was a subject not only for less able girls, but also for girls from lower social groups.⁴⁹ This could explain the anxiety schools suffered with regards to compulsory domestic science education – schools perceived their elite social status very acutely, and emphasised often their ability to offer a curriculum which was not prescribed by the state. This does, however, raise interesting questions about status between the schools. St Mary's in Stratford advertised itself from its earliest prospectus from 1914 as offering an education which was intended "to raise the ideals of home life and women's work by teaching the principles of Domestic Science."⁵⁰ The inclusion of domestic science as a foundational principle within the prospectus is at odds with that of Diocesan School, and even the foundational prospectuses of other schools, such as Mrs Swainson's Fitzherbert Terrace School.

In the 1920s, Fry notes, there was particular resistance towards domestic science in schools, not only private ones – girls of school age were expected to contribute more of their time to home life than boys, as well as maintain academic standards.⁵¹ The value of domestic science as a non-academic subject was suggested by schools as an alternative to academic paths; that it was at times expected of all students caused the Anglican girls' schools to chafe. Hogben in 1914, in his report on Fitzherbert Terrace School, suggested that "the science of home-life can call forth as high powers as the science of the professions or manufacturers, and that Home Science might in the conflict of studies with advantage take the place of less practical subjects without any risk whatever to mental culture."⁵² Here, domestic science is presented to girls as a conciliatory subject – no less academic or valuable, whilst simultaneously being far less rigorous.

⁴⁷ Clarke, *Otago*, 166.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁴⁹ Summerfield, "Cultural Reproduction in the Education of Girls' Secondary Schooling in Two Lancashire Towns, 1900-1950," 157.

⁵⁰ R.F Robertshawe, *A History of St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls, Stratford: 90th Jubilee, 1914-2004* (Stratford: St. Mary's Diocesan School, 2004), 3.

⁵¹ Ruth Fry, *It's Different for Daughters: A History of the Curriculum for Girls in New Zealand Schools, 1900-1975* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1985), 111.

⁵² Murray, *Marsden*, 100.

Around this time at Woodford House, ‘domestic economy’ was viewed as a very serious subject. Examinations included questions regarding the proper management of servants.⁵³ This is a very different sort of domestic science to that of homecraft and cooking, and betrays some of the class difference between Woodford and other schools (particularly state schools). Whereas, as mentioned in the St Mary’s prospectus, girls of all classes would be prepared for a life after school in which they may be expected to do work at home, the students at Woodford were being prepared for a home life in which others would be doing some of the housework for them.

As the century progressed, so too did the tussle with domestic science. Kay Bell, headmistress of Woodford House in 1964, reassured parents that taking a domestic science course would be, “of immense value to those girls who would not benefit from a futile struggle with the University Entrance requirements and yet who are too young to leave school.” Woodford by this time had a specialised domestic science course known as Hodge House, which had been constructed specially to fit into a home-science focused curriculum. Hodge House functioned in much the same way as the non-academic stream at Diocesan. Graduates could not hope to achieve University Entrance but would be “much better ready to make homes later.”⁵⁴

Similarly at St Margaret’s in Christchurch, a specialised domestic course for sixth formers was being developed in the 1960s which would prepare them for flatting life as a sort of stepping stone to marriage – courses were arranged with lessons on meal planning, calorie counting, and interior decorating.⁵⁵ This is indicative of the changing times – there was now expected to be a transitional period between school and marriage, where students may live and work for a time on their own or with others. In the 1960s and 1970s, there was less strongly mandated emphasis on a domestic science curriculum. There was, however, still a certain degree of expectation at the Anglican girls’ schools that many students’ lives would still follow remarkably similar paths after schooling to those which girls had walked in decades prior.

⁵³ Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills*, 26.

⁵⁴ *Woodford Chronicle* 1963, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁵⁵ Robyn Gossett, *From Boaters to Back-Packs: The School History and List of St. Margaret’s College, 1910-1985* (Christchurch: St. Margaret’s College Old Girls Association Incorporated, 1985), 86.

Latin

Anglican girls' schools grappled with Latin as a symbol of status. It was perceived as being a hard subject and was to be found only in the more academic streams. Latin was an essential part of the Matriculation examination, and later University Entrance. The difficulty of Latin as a subject sometimes concerned the schools – when the standard of passing for Latin was raised the Sisters at St Hilda's Collegiate were concerned that this would render it impossible to pass for many of their students.⁵⁶ Latin was necessary for academic success. Schools such as St Hilda's were concerned at the prospects of less able girls who would struggle with the subject. This did not mean that Latin was entirely the exclusive domain of the highly competent academics – headmistresses, particularly from the 1940s onwards, were critical of students who dropped it as too difficult without even trying.⁵⁷

Latin as a subject is also exemplary of the home/school tensions surrounding aspiration, and one which the schools found particularly difficult to juggle. Latin as a school subject has its roots in the English public schools, and in particular in the 'classical' curriculum, so called because of its focus on Greek and Latin. A Royal Commission in 1880 deemed Greek too difficult a subject for girls in Aotearoa New Zealand to study, but thought that Latin was reasonable.⁵⁸ The study of Latin had symbolic as well as academic value. Schools in later decades diversified their curriculum, but the academic streams which offered Latin were, due to the more rigorous academic standard, perceived as offering a course of higher value. Families of students had different priorities. Some prioritised academics, as evidenced by the careful assertion of headmistresses in their reports that academic pathways were available to able students. These families understood the value of a Matriculation certificate or, later, University Entrance. Not only were such certificates a passage into University (and therefore one of the main purposes of secondary education) but they also conferred cultural capital. Families aspired for their daughters to gain such qualifications and, indeed, girls harboured these aspirations themselves – which required the necessary studying of Latin.

⁵⁶ Gossett, *From Boaters to Back-Packs*, 29.

⁵⁷ *St. Hilda's Chronicle* 1952, St. Hilda's Collegiate School, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁵⁸ Fry, "The Curriculum and Girls' Secondary Schooling 1890-1925," 33.

Physical Education

In 1902, the Physical Drill in Public and Native Schools Act amended the 1877 act to include compulsory military drill for boys in both public and native schools.⁵⁹ Technically, girls could also participate in military drill until age fourteen although rarely did. Physical education for girls in these early days focused on eurythmics or gymnastics as part of a core curriculum. In particular, there was a focus on the scientific aspect of constructing a routine of physical exercise. Diocesan notes in its earliest prospectus that physical education was being offered on “scientific principles.”⁶⁰ By 1919, it was advertising “thorough and efficient Physical Culture and Swedish Drill in all Forms several times a week. The exercises used are scientific and gentle, and are adapted to the temperature, and to the strength of each girl.”⁶¹ That same prospectus includes an image of three rows of young girls all neatly turned out in the school gym in the middle of a drill class.

Gendered differentiation included physical education – not only was it perhaps less natural for girls to be doing drill, but their physical activity should be performed for a purpose. On the one hand, training girls’ bodies to be fit and healthy prepared them physically to be mothers, their natural role. On the other, exercise alleviated the strain of studying, to which girls were apparently susceptible. Girls’ bodies were not believed to be capable of exercising to the same degree as boys. According to a 1930s syllabus written by Dr J. Renfrew White, girls were prone to the detrimental curvature of the spine, and therefore their physical education ought to have an orthopaedic bias.⁶² The popular misconception that it was dangerous for girls to exercise whilst menstruating remained significant throughout the early to mid-twentieth century.⁶³ Training in deportment, as emphasised by White and reinforced by schools which hired staff to teach it, was intended to rectify what Fry calls the ‘hoydenish’ tendencies of the colony – exercise with the intent of reinforcing ladylike behaviour.⁶⁴ Girls educated at these schools

⁵⁹ Fry, *It’s Different for Daughters*, 103.

⁶⁰ Prospectus 1904, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

⁶¹ Prospectus 1919, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

⁶² Fry, “Don’t Let Down the Side: Physical Education in the Curriculum for the New Zealand Schoolgirls, 1900-1945,” in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald, Margaret Tennant, eds., *Women in History: Essays on European Women in New Zealand* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 105.

⁶³ Mulcock, *A Quite Original Type of School*, 37.

⁶⁴ Fry, “Don’t Let Down the Side: Physical Education in the Curriculum for the New Zealand Schoolgirls, 1900-1945,” 106.

should be young ladies, as pointed out by Bishop Nevill at the founding of St Hilda's Collegiate. They ought to look, sound, think and walk in a certain way. In a similar vein, too much or too enthusiastic an involvement in sport was frowned upon. An early student of Chilton Saint James, Grace Jollands, recalls that her sister Marjorie (1921-22) played sport outside of school, which the headmistress Fitzgerald disapproved of. Chilton Saint James was a particularly cloistered school, at the very least in regard to interschool competition.

The sportsmanship and character-building aspect of physical education did not evade the schools, although sport looked different at girls' school than it did at schools for boys. Beyond the generic stipulations for eurythmic education, schools also offered team sports and games. Ostensibly, these were also intended for the building of character, but certain gendered constraints operated upon the extent to which these sports could be played and enjoyed. Excessive competitiveness was not encouraged. Schools offered sports such as hockey, basketball, and tennis, and encouraged swimming. Playing games were for the building of skill and training – the 1919 Diocesan prospectus notes that although games were not compulsory, it was hoped that those who were physically fit would be encouraged to participate.⁶⁵ Success in games and sports eventually evolved into a badge of distinction for the schools. Those who competed in inter-school competitions (initially usually against one or two other local Anglican girls' schools – later, the private schools began participating in broader formal interschool competitions) found it contributed to building school identity and loyalty amongst the students. School magazines proudly discuss their sports results and critique the lazy students who did not like to play.⁶⁶ The *Woodford Chronicle* regularly devoted sections to critiquing the sporting development of individual members of the school teams, sometimes quite savagely. No doubt healthy critique of one's hockey skills by one's peers was seen as an essential character-building process.

Matriculation and Other Examinations

The setting of standard examinations as markers of achievement created a division between people who were successful in passing them, and people who were not. Further, the passing of higher examination was – and is – a form of social currency. Examination passes were a

⁶⁵ Prospectus 1919, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

⁶⁶ *S. Hilda's Chronicle* 1952, St. Hilda's Collegiate School, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

discernible measure of intellectual attainment, but they also served as a prerequisite to university and as a basis of entry into many professions. Examination success was tied to occupational opportunities which was further linked to social class. High class professions – or occupations with high social status, such as doctors and lawyers – required high levels of academic and examination success in order to gain entry. The Free Place regulations of 1917, implemented to allow capable students to pass through the secondary system without significant financial burden, was an attempt to at least partially dissolve the class barrier.

The question of subjects and examinations caused Anglican girls' schools no small amount of anxiety. Examination success, or indeed even the existence and value of examinations at all, was a constant point of tension within the schools. The gender of the students was essential to this tension, as the ability of girls to exert themselves academically was frequently questioned and the opportunities for any useful application of an academic education were extremely limited. As the twentieth century progressed and opportunities for women to enter employment or pursue alternative life paths increased, the schools too began to see academic achievement as more viable and were therefore more likely to encourage students to pursue paths towards examinations awarding university and career entrance. Schools understood that having high pass rates was a mark of prestige, and examination preparation was crucial to the schools from their foundation – Neligan, after all, noted this to Synod in 1903 when he was first proposing the establishment of Diocesan School.

Until the phasing out of the examination, students passing Matriculation was a cause for celebration at the Anglican girls' schools. The first students from Woodford House matriculated in 1903 – in acknowledgement of the times, the school offered private coaching for girls from the upper years so that they could pass without excessive studying and pressure.⁶⁷ Matriculation at Nga Tawa was only offered from 1912,⁶⁸ and Craighead did not enter pupils for the Higher Leaving Certificate until 1916.⁶⁹ The first students from St Hilda's matriculated in 1905,⁷⁰ and the first Matriculation from Diocesan did not come until 1910.⁷¹ After the introduction of School Certificate in 1946, schools and their headmistresses continued to have anxieties – the 1965 Headmistress' Report from Chilton Saint James expresses the

⁶⁷ Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills*, 2, 24.

⁶⁸ Michelle Whitmore, *Nga Tawa*, 22.

⁶⁹ McKenzie, *Craighead*, 4.

⁷⁰ Muriel May, *St. Hilda's Collegiate School*, 25.

⁷¹ Margaret Hammer, *Follow Your Star*, 58.

headmistress J. W. Clark's concerns that School Certificate did not extend the brightest students, nor provide incentive to the "duller pupils."⁷² Later, in 1969, she goes further, professing to the audience of her report that "I would like to see us have the courage to bypass School Certificate with our good average and above average pupils and enter all of those pupils into our Sixth Form on the results of our own internal examinations."⁷³

Related to examination is the practise of streaming, which divided students based on perceived capability, and determined whether or not they would be able to sit proficiency examinations. This was practised in various forms across all of the schools. Streaming was one of the ways in which schools provided a less, or differently paced academic curriculum for students who were not deemed intelligent enough to pass Matriculation or later higher leaving certificates. This also enabled schools to encourage a broader focus of education which de-emphasised the academic. Streaming occupies the same axis of tension as examination – that of purpose. Streaming more clearly allowed for the dual focus of academic and non-academic students to obtain an end-point to their education. Academic students pursued academic subjects, and less able students receive mental and social development in ways which still enabled them to capitalise on the social capital bestowed upon them by the school.

St Margaret's began streaming in 1912, with one academic path offering Latin and mathematics, and the other with a focus on literature.⁷⁴ Later, streaming was broadened to include 'modern' and 'commercial' courses. St Margaret's also began IQ testing students in the third form in 1955, in order to ensure that the "few places [at the school] available would be filled by pupils most likely to benefit from the opportunities offered."⁷⁵ Places would be offered to those who tested highly. Streaming began at Samuel Marsden Collegiate in 1947, with students divided into 'x' and 'y' streams.⁷⁶ Streaming, Carpenter notes, had essentially existed at the school since the days of Matriculation, where girls were divided into those who were studying towards it, and those who were not. In the 1950s however the streaming at Marsden was finetuned, dividing academically capable girls from their peers, with the result being that girls in the 'y' stream, "acquired a distinct sense of being the 'dummies' or the

⁷² *The Chiltonian*, 1965, Chilton Saint James, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁷³ *The Chiltonian*, 1969, Chilton Saint James, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁷⁴ Gossett, *From Boaters to Back-Packs*, 79.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁷⁶ Carpenter, *Marsden Women and Their World*, 163.

‘darling goofs’.”⁷⁷ Streaming was eventually phased out by the 1970s, which Carpenter notes was not a trend followed by other private schools.⁷⁸

Indeed, the Diocesan prospectuses are particularly insightful for determining trends towards streaming. The 1970 prospectus as discussed earlier in the chapter reveals secondary courses divided into four streams – professional, academic, modern and general, where the differences lie in the teaching of Latin and science, as well as in the pace of teaching. The general and modern courses include commercial practise as a subject and were intended to equip those girls with some sort of basic employment training. In other schools, shell forms were sometimes introduced. These forms, similar to the ‘y’ form at Marsden, more closely resembled a course or stream than an alternative version of fifth or sixth form. The shell form had a similar goal to the less academic streams at Diocesan. Shell forms were classes for students who were not seen as being academically capable, who could instead focus their attention on domestic and commercial subjects instead of anything particularly mentally taxing, whilst remaining in school. The shell form was introduced at St Hilda’s in the 1930s, but it did not last very long as it was felt by students to be inferior and had very little value – again attesting to the social aspect of an academic education.⁷⁹

Conclusion

This chapter examined the ways in which the schools practised education and explored questions of the purpose of schooling. Through curriculum and engagements with the wider discussions and debates about education for girls which occurred in wider society in Aotearoa New Zealand the schools tried to provide families with an answer to the question of the purpose of secondary education. Acquiring academic qualifications was one outcome of schooling and gaining leaving certificates such as Matriculation and school certificate could bestow pupils with the ability to continue to university, or else bestow at least the cultural capital inherent with the gaining of such a qualification. Private schools had the ability to withdraw from the system of state schools through possessing the ability to educate beyond the curriculum. It was possible for the private Anglican girls’ schools to pay attention – indeed, to advertise as a

⁷⁷ Carpenter, *Marsden Women and Their World*, 164.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁷⁹ Muriel May, *St. Hilda’s Collegiate School*, 31; Judy Mason, *A Venture of Faith: The Story of St. Hilda’s Collegiate School, 1896-1996* (Dunedin: St. Hilda’s Board of Trustees, 1996), 72.

crucial and central element of what they offer – to factors of an all-around education, such as the spiritual well-being of the student, and the cultivation of character with the implication that the character of a student emerging from one of these schools would be better and more well cultivated than what would be possible within the state school system.

Chapter Four

“The First Consideration... Is Sound Training of Character”: The Culture of the Ruling Class in Anglican Girls’ Secondary Schools

Education for character and citizenship was a focus of the broader school system throughout the period being examined in this thesis, particularly in the early twentieth century when young people and the future of the nation were of great concern to policymakers and wider society. State schools were also focused on the cultivation of character, but they did not have the financial resources nor the freedom that the private schools had to concentrate on this aspect to such a degree. The cultivation of character served a secondary purpose in schools for girls, where it enabled schools to mould their students into young ladies who could be expected to talk, look, think and behave in a certain way. Girls were to be educated less for the purpose of academic achievement and more to fit into the prescribed role of wife and mother. In state schools, it was far more likely for girls to be entering the work force immediately after leaving school. Education was for entry into society – at private schools, education was followed by entry into a different sort of society.

The schools emphasised their difference from other schools through promoting the concept of the education for character. This notion of difference greatly shaped the character of the schools, as it can be understood to mean that difference meant superiority. The private Anglican girls’ schools of Aotearoa New Zealand saw themselves as standing apart from other schools. This was manifest through the well-bred, Anglican ruling class character of the girls which would be expected to emerge from the schools.

Character and the Ruling Class Culture

The educational system contributed to the reproduction of the structure of power relationships between classes through reproducing the structure of the distribution of cultural capital.¹ Cultural capital is defined by Bourdieu as existing in three forms: in the embodied state, which

¹ Pierre Bourdieu, “Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction,” in Richard Brown, ed., *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change* (London: Tavistock, 1973), 71.

is long-lasting dispositions of mind and body; in the objectified state, which is in the form of cultural goods such as books and machines, and in the institutionalised state, which is a form of objectification which confers original properties on cultural capital.² Education in Aotearoa New Zealand was unequal through the existence of both a state system and a separate, elitist private school system which privileged those who, having passed through the private system, possessed more cultural and social capital.

Social capital is defined by Bourdieu as “the aggregate of the actual of potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or, in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various sense of the word.”³ The private school system as a separate elite system exists within a network of privilege. Connell and Irving, writing on Australia, note that the earliest schools were intended “for the children of the moneyed and genteel.”⁴ This same trend has occurred in Aotearoa New Zealand – private schools here, as in Australia, retained their separate elite networks.

As public schools gained the ability to bestow cultural capital (through the granting of qualifications and the support of an academic curriculum), the private schools began to withdraw from that network, and emphasising their difference from the state schools. As the number of public schools and free places increased, and the percentage pass rate in standardised examinations was raised, so the private schools began to view and promote as a core aspect of their identity the symbolic capital which they offered. Waikato Diocesan School’s 2009 history *The Dio Difference* is so-titled in an attempt to emphasise the factors which separated Waikato Diocesan from other schools. This difference could be argued to be the role of the Anglican Church and the single-sex environment just as much as it could be the elitism and the targeted appeal to ruling class families that the school was an ideal place to send their children. This subtle elitism through a focus on difference can be read as an emphasis on the school’s ability to bestow symbolic capital upon children who are educated there. It is crucial that in this context difference is understood to mean superior. Schools emphasised their difference through

² Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in J. Richardson, ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport: Greenwood, 1986), 243.

³ Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” 247.

⁴ R. W. Connell and T. H. Irving, “Yes, Virginia, There is a Ruling Class,” in Henry Mayer and Helen Nelson, eds., *Australian Politics: A Third Reader* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1973), 41.

highlighting the resources which they possessed (as discussed in previous chapters, school prospectuses emphasise well-appointed premises, connections to high-status members of the general public, the extra classes which they are able to offer, and the focus on spiritual and character education), the opportunities and experiences which could be offered through attendance at the school, and the networks which connected the schools to prestigious circles and places.

The Anglican girls' schools promoted their difference in multiple ways. The historical development of the secondary school in Aotearoa New Zealand emphasises the qualification aspect of schooling. The Free Place scheme of 1917, as well as the raising of the minimum leaving age first to fourteen and then to fifteen in 1944 were measures introduced with the intention of keeping children at school for long enough that they would be able to gain a qualification, or at the very least to remain in school and continue their learning for longer than in prior eras. A qualification such as Matriculation required the passing of examinations in set subjects. These subjects, set by the Education Department, required any school that wished to enter students in the examination to teach these subjects.

The private schools were obliged to teach an academic curriculum for this purpose, but they had the freedom to experiment with their own supplementary curriculum and teaching style. C. E. Beeby, Director of Education (1942-1960), noted to the Marsden Parents' Association and the Association of Heads of Independent Schools that the experimental nature of the independent schools was valuable as a form of innovative competition to the state schools.⁵ In a similar vein, H. G. R. Mason (Minister of Education) wrote in 1944 that independent schools created diversity – their greatest contribution to education in Aotearoa New Zealand was in their ability to develop a strong character of their own.⁶ These comments were perhaps slightly tongue-in-cheek – neither figure was particularly devoted to the cause of the private schools, and were not particularly inclined towards helping them justify themselves. The private schools, including the Anglican girls' schools, were however more than willing to believe and further to promote the notion that they had the flexibility to emphasise an alternative sort of secondary education.

⁵ Tosti Murray, *Marsden: The History of a New Zealand School for Girls* (Wellington: The Marsden Old Girls' Association, 1967), 195.

⁶ Murray, *Marsden*, 195-6.

The private schools possessed the financial ability and the freedom to support and educate for alternative outcomes (in the case of the Anglican girls' schools, for students to pursue non-academic paths after school, such as marriage and high position in society), which often took on the form of educating for character. Education for character and the development of individual school ethos' were not exclusive to Anglican girls' schools, nor indeed to private schools in general, but they were uniquely structured by the factors which contributed to the perceived need for such schools. In the case of the Anglican girls' schools, the character of an emerging student would be informed by the Anglican Church, and by the ruling class. These two communities in overlap constituted the social setting of the schools. The social setting, in the case of the schools, means the ruling class society from and into which students moved. After 1975, when many of the schools integrated, they did so on the ground of special character, which is generally taken to mean the religious nature of the schools. The schools' religious identities within the time period of this thesis were also central to the character of the school, and of its students; girls passing through the school were educated to have a character which would reflect these spiritual values of the religious character of the school.

The setting of a school ethos – defining how the school runs and the values which it is desirous of inculcating in its students – was the domain of the school boards. As noted in the first chapter, all of the schools possessed some sort of board of governors or trustees. Even those schools which did not initially possess a school board when they were founded (such as Waikato Diocesan, or Marsden) acquired them in later years. Members of the school board were often high-ranking members of the local community (both members of the Church of England, and those of significant class standing). The 1904 prospectus of Diocesan School lists the board members: the Bishop of Auckland, Moore Neligan; The Rev. Harold Anson, M.A.; The Rev. W. Beattie, M.A; Mr E. Robertson, M.D., Ed.⁷ These were men with tertiary qualifications – educated and privileged with a high position of leadership in the community. At both Chilton Saint James and St Matthew's Collegiate, it was a requirement for members of the board to be members of the Church of England.⁸

⁷ Prospectus 1904, Series 135: Prospectuses, Diocesan School for Girls Archive, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

⁸ Anne Mulcock, *A Quite Original Type of School: The Life and Work of Geraldine Fitzgerald, Founding Principal of Chilton Saint James* (Christchurch: Anne Mulcock, 1991), 51; Helen Dashfield, *To the Stars: St Matthew's Collegiate School for Girls, 1914-1989* (Masterton: Trinity Schools Trust Board, 1989), 36.

The emphasis of the schools on character was an attempt to reinforce the instillation of Anglican, ruling class cultural norms and values into new and subsequent generations of young women. These norms and values are informed not only by the religious, moral and cultural values of the Anglican Church and the ruling class, but also broader cultural expectations such as the position of women in society. As discussed in chapter three, ideas on the acceptability of appropriate subjects for girls were able to significantly impact the curriculum of the private Anglican girls' schools. As well as this, ideas on the acceptable outcome for a girl's education significantly impacted on the curriculum of the private Anglican girls' schools, and it was this which was more instrumental in shaping the social aspects of the school and its ability to inculcate symbolic capital.

Bourdieu argues that those who possess economic power (in context this can be understood to mean individuals or families with a high-status occupation and/or high-income or wealth) are more likely to also possess cultural capital. Not only this, those in possession of economic power are more easily able to do without cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications.⁹ Students from ruling class families who attended the schools are by default holders of economic power due to their family background, and according to Bourdieu are less likely to require cultural capital in the form of an academic qualification. This offers some explanation for the tendency of Anglican girls' schools to stress non-academic paths and the acceptability of a post-school trajectory focused around the home and an affluent lifestyle. Although academic qualifications are a valuable capital, girls are equipped through a focus on character with alternative means of replicating the ruling class through cultural and social capital as bestowed by the school.

The focus on the character enabled schools to fulfil their role as a node in the "upper-class marriage market."¹⁰ As evidenced in previous chapters, the schools were conscious of their role in creating ruling class wives. Comments from Fitzgerald at Chilton Saint James in the 1930s and Kay Bell in the 1960s demonstrate the breadth of this explicit understanding of the purpose and function of the schools. The girls at the private Anglican girls' schools were not being educated to be like working-class women and wives; it was expected that the students of these schools would marry well to men in similar high-status occupations as their fathers. Where this

⁹ Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," 109.

¹⁰ Connell and Irving, "Yes, Virginia, There Is a Ruling Class," 41.

was not the case, the girls, having passed through the schools, possessed cultural capital which could be leveraged for class mobility through marriage. The character being cultivated by the schools, the shaping of young girls into genteel, well-educated and well-spoken young ladies who adhered to the Anglican faith, was one which was optimised for the upper class.

Hierarchy and Authority

In order for the schools to fulfil their function of replicating the ruling class through the creation of the 'right' kind of girl – or, to put it differently, in order for schools to exercise their difference – the private Anglican girls' schools relied on a system of authority and hierarchy which regulated behaviour of students and staff, as well as families involved in the wider networks of the schools. The Anglican girls' schools had many rules which relied on conformity and submission to hierarchy in order to function. Girls were expected not only to behave themselves, but to behave themselves in a certain way which denoted their class – they were to be young ladies.

Within the day-to-day functioning of the school, the headmistress was the highest authority. The degree of authority which the head of the school possessed was varied. Proprietary schools in the nineteenth century such as Fitzherbert Terrace School were under the absolute authority of the headmistresses, in the form of first Mary Anne and then Mary Jessy Swainson, followed by Esther Baber. At Waikato Diocesan, May Whitehorn had absolute control until she leased the school first to Anna Drennan, then to the Waikato Diocese. The women in charge of these schools were answerable to the parents of students and naturally had a duty of care to the children, but there was no higher or centralised authority to which they were obligated to respond. Once Fitzherbert Terrace School was purchased by the Diocese and became Marsden, a board and a formal relationship with the Church created a degree of accountability which had not previously existed; the same was true of Waikato Diocesan.

The duty of the board to oversee the externally perceived character of the school at times resulted in tensions with the headmistress. The reputation of the school was essential to encouraging prospective pupils, and to justify to families the cost of the fees. It was this external face of the school which the boards attended to. They were responsible for the funding of governance, as well as the physical and financial maintenance of buildings, grounds and other

assets. The boards had little direct interaction with the students, with a few exceptions, and therefore relied on the headmistress to be the intermediary responsible for the direct implementation of the board policies. This is not to say that school boards were the only, or even the ultimate authority. The significance of headmistresses in controlling and directing the school and its social and educational output is not to be downplayed.

The boards did, however, have authority over the hiring of headmistresses, and the duty to enforce standards. Varnham's history of Woodford House offers a key illustration of a tense relationship between the board and a headmistress. Kathleen Moseley, headmistress of the school from 1942 until 1947, was asked by the board to resign following a car accident. Moseley had been the subject of a minor scandal due to her public and somewhat irregular relationship with a British airman seconded to Aotearoa New Zealand. This relationship appeared to impact on her ability to teach and lead the school. Varnham writes very sympathetically of the affair, including a quote from later headmistress Kay Bell, who did not consider Moseley's dismissal to be particularly just – these observations were however made from the 1990s, and do not necessarily take into consideration the conservative family values of that particular time.¹¹

Similarly, Dashfield in her history of St Matthew's describes the dismissal of headmistress M. Orr-Gilmore, who was in charge of the school from 1922-1923. The board felt that she was ill-preparing girls for examinations, and that students from St Matthew's would be unable to pass the Matriculation and proficiency examinations. Dashfield remarks rather pointedly that "the Board had for some time had the uneasy feeling that it was being dictated to by this woman. It was they who controlled the school – not the Principal."¹² Alternatively, there is an incident discussed in Mellsopp's history of Waikato Diocesan in which the headmistress Agnes Satchell resigned from the school after the Board dismissed staff without consulting her, which she felt was "most un-British."¹³ The relationship between the school board and the headmistress, then, could be tense – the school board was outward looking, focused on the perception of the school. Although the heads of the schools were not unconcerned by these factors, their focus was inward, on the day-to-day functioning of the school and the acts of teaching and schooling the

¹¹ Mary Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills: One Hundred Years of Woodford House* (Havelock North: Woodford House, 1994), 132.

¹² Dashfield, *To the Stars*, 49.

¹³ Susan Mellsopp, *The Dio Difference: 100 Years of Sonning and Waikato Diocesan School for Girls* (Hamilton: Waikato Diocesan School for Girls, 2009), 38.

students. Both the school boards and the headmistresses remained concerned about the school's capacity to produce upper-class young women.

Within the closed system of the school the headmistress usually retained absolute authority. The degree to which headmistresses exercised this authority, and the nature of their relationships with students, was highly variable, and largely dependent on the personality and will of any given headmistress. The recollections of staff and former students are particularly useful for gauging the extent to which individual headmistresses exercised their authority and influence within the school. Murray includes an interview with a former teacher, a Mrs Bryn-Jones, who taught at Fitzherbert Terrace School in the era of Esther Baber, who recollects that "[Marsden] really was a *First Class School* – with no grounds, very poor classrooms, and indeed *none* of the frills. Yet to me the fact remains, that the school was, of course, *Miss Baber*."¹⁴ Diocesan School, too, seemed to have been defined by its early headmistress. Johnson and Jensen, authors of the 1969 history of that school, observe that younger students who started after the retirement of the founding headmistress Mary Pulling found the devotion of older students strange. To those older students, the school was inseparable from the headmistress.¹⁵ Chilton Saint James, too, was very much the school of its foundress in the eyes of its earliest students. Many of the recollections in the reminiscences of old girls and staff discuss memories of Fitzgerald. Memories of the school are, inexorably, memories of her.¹⁶

As the decades progressed and schools became less familial spaces for the students, the authority of headmistresses changed. In earlier decades, with a small student body, headmistresses were able to cultivate a more personal relationship with students that allowed them to better embody their position as the intermediary between the school board and the students. In later years, the hierarchy became more rigid, supplemented by the devolution of power to other staff members and prefects. Staff always had a position of authority over the school as teachers, but the transferral to students of the power to enforce rules and conformity formalised a hierarchical structure between students. The implementation of prefect systems and their success has something to do with the size of the school. One of the allures of the private school was its small size. Initially the schools had maybe a dozen students; the size of

¹⁴ Murray, *Marsden*, 98.

¹⁵ Valeria Johnson and Honor Jensen, *A History of Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland, 1903-1953* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1956), 48.

¹⁶ Reminiscences of old girls and ex-staff, 1918-1939, 2008, MS-Group-0478, MSX-8192, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

the schools later increased to a few hundred. Comparatively, this is still small. State schools, particularly after the leaving age was raised, often had larger student populations. The headmistress of Chilton Saint James in 1969 observed that “in the large state school the pupil tends to lose her identity – she is just another name on the roll and it is all too easy to attend classes and do nothing else. In the small independent school this should not happen for all are encouraged to take part in many activities.”¹⁷ The school believed that it was important for the girls to be a part of a community.

The hierarchical system could not be exercised from the top down without a structure in place to uphold it. Prefect systems were introduced in the schools early on as a way to encourage students to regulate each other. Prefects are a feature of the imported British school, and although many public schools also would come to utilise the prefect system, as a feature of the private Anglican girls’ schools they served to underline the purpose of class-based character education through conformity. The purpose of having prefects is to offer students an opportunity for leadership, incentivise responsibility, and to decentralise the regulation of students’ behaviour by handing off some of that responsibility onto older students. It is less likely, therefore, for very small schools to have prefects, as that decentralisation is not required. St Hilda’s, for example, operated for six years before prefects were introduced in 1902.¹⁸ The prefect system operated as both a carrot and a stick for students. Although being made a prefect and gaining prestige and responsibility/power was partially an incentive for girls to stay into the sixth and upper sixth/seventh forms, prefectship was also a way for students to repay the school through service. This relied on a system of loyalty and honour in which students consider themselves indebted to the school for the experience of education; indeed, for the shaping of the character of the student.

The prefect system worked best when loyalty was unquestioned; much like the cult of personality of the early headmistresses, the authority of prefects also begins to decay over time as students asserted their independence in the middle of the century. As social changes began to be felt after the Second World War, the effects were felt in the girls’ schools. Students began to question the requirement for their conformity. Some students became less willing to comply with the rigid authority of the schools which had existed in previous years. Prefects also began

¹⁷ *Chiltonian* 1969, Chilton Saint James, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹⁸ Judy Mason, *A Venture of Faith: The Story of St. Hilda’s Collegiate School, 1896-1996* (Dunedin: St. Hilda’s Trust Board, 1996), 18.

to question the rules they were upholding. An example is found in Varnham's history of Woodford in the recollections of former student Danna Glendining, who was a student from 1956 until 1961. Prefects were required to stand on the steps of the chapel, and supervise the girls to make sure they did not take two steps at a time:

If they did, they had to come down and go up again. One time the offender was Juliet Lyttleton, the Governor-General's daughter, who was in my class, and it suddenly dawned on me that this was a very stupid rule because the steps were very small for somebody such as Juliet, who could take quite large steps. I suppose that started me thinking I didn't want to be enforcing rules which I didn't agree with and had had no input into.¹⁹

In the early histories of the schools, guilt and loyalty were used successfully to enforce behaviour. When a student transgressed, it was the betrayal of the school which was emphasised. The girls had let themselves down but, more importantly, they had let the school down. This, too, began to lose its weight in the mid-to-late twentieth century as the girls began to question the role of the school in their lives and the notion of loyalty. A student like Danna was not likely to feel blind loyalty to the school merely because it was the school when she was questioning the validity of the steps rule; earlier students were far less (although not entirely un-) likely to have been willing to criticise such institutions as a school's rules.

The prefect system was not the only method through which schools encouraged and regulated behaviour and conformity. Diocesan School utilised reward systems liberally. One such practise for which Diocesan School was a particular trailblazer (at least within Aotearoa New Zealand) was the adoption of the red girdle system. This had been first adopted at St Margaret's School in England and was used as a reward for hard work.²⁰ The awarding of girdles was further adopted at Waikato Diocesan and St Mary's. Initially, the red girdle was a literal uniform item – later, it lived on as more of an accolade in certificate form, at least at Waikato Diocesan. Some schools also utilised shields. Chilton Saint James and St Margaret's awarded shields to students which were decorated with heraldry according to specific achievements, such as the passing of Matriculation, or a full year with no absences. The determination to maintain shields could border on slight fanaticism. In order to maintain her perfect attendance, a Chilton Saint James student named Trish Critchton refused to accompany her mother to Wellington to welcome her father's return on a hospital ship during the Second World War.

¹⁹ Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills*, 162.

²⁰ Margaret Hammer, *Follow Your Star: Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland, 1903-2003* (Auckland: Diocesan Board of Governors, Diocesan School for Girls, 2003), 44.

she suspected that her mother never forgave her for it.²¹ Another Chilton Saint James student did end up sacrificing her perfect attendance in order to be a bridesmaid and was furious at the impact which this had on her shield.²² These examples demonstrate the clash between family and school loyalty and obligations, which at times existed at odds with each other.

The School and the Home

The school and the home have always existed in tension with each other, particularly with regards to private schools. Families investing in private schooling through the sending of their children feel that their economic investment must be met with a discernible output. Ruling or middle-class families sent their children to private schools in order for the student to be developed and offered opportunities according to certain elite ideals – they were expected to emerge from the schools as young ladies, thus justifying the expense of the school. The schools, on the other hand, required a certain amount of input and adherence from families in order to fulfil their aims of perfectly sculpting the ideal student. As well as this, one of the fundamental aims of a school is to provide an education which was, for whatever reason, not available within the home. The school was able to provide an academic and practical education – students were sent there to obtain qualifications. The Anglican girls' schools had a further purpose in attempting to create girls who demonstrated the desired character: a certain kind of better young woman; a woman who could demonstrate that her education was different.

Reflecting on the difficulty of balancing the goals of the school with the goals of the family, Helen Dashfield writes the following of St Matthew's Collegiate:

In the late 1940s and early 50s, praise was unforthcoming from both parents and staff. Many girls strove to do better and better, dancing as fast as they could, like frantic dervishes, unconscious of the fact that they wanted to elicit some favourable commendation from someone. But it was not given. There was no such word in their vocabulary as self esteem, no authority saying 'this is good - you can go further'. They were never taught to take a subject because it was difficult...To be seen striving academically was to invite the ridicule of one's peers, in fact it wasn't quite 'nice' to do well and, in the absence of encouragement and inspiration, you played it down.²³

²¹ Mulcock, *A Quite Original Type of School*, 44.

²² Louise Balfour, CSJ-9, *Reminiscences of old girls and ex-staff, 1918-1939*, 2008, MS-Group-0478, MSX-8192, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

²³ Dashfield, *To the Stars*, 158.

Girls in the middle of the century were experiencing acute anxiety at balancing the expectations of both school and family. Academic success was expected – girls were striving to do better and better. But at the same time, to be seen striving to do well is reflective of some fundamental flaw of character; it was not ‘nice’. Further, girls in this era (at least in this era, and according to Dashfield’s account) sought the ‘unforthcoming’ approval of both their home and their school, indicating the continued existence of a home/school tension.

Headmistresses’ reports from this era support the presence of this tension. In 1955, the headmistress of Woodford House, Lucy Hogg, said the following:

I am very grateful for the confidence and co-operation of parents. Woodford is a happy school and we hope that the education we are giving your daughters will fit them for the life that lies ahead of them. In recent years this life has grown much more difficult for young people. There is so much freedom and there are such varying standards and so many occupations and amusements with which all the time there is can be filled, that more than ever a girl needs self control and a sense of proportion. We try to give them this - but I wish parents sometimes could see that very full holidays are not kind but unwise. In a number of cases there are too many dances or too many late nights or too many permissions to do what grown-ups do, and the girls here are young. It is not that I am disturbed because some girls come back at the beginning of term wanting a rest, but I think that by giving them so much you are in danger of spoiling them, and you leave them too little to look forward to. I wish Woodford parents would make a stand for simple and fewer amusements at least until a girl’s last year.²⁴

Here, Hogg is reassuring the families of students that Woodford is capable of educating their children for the changing future, but also chastising families who do not make the effort to continue the educational practises of the school within the home. Simultaneously, she is reassuring them that Woodford still maintains traditional values, through warning against the amusements of the modern era in girls who are too young. She reiterates this idea in her 1958 headmistress’s report:

What are the reasons for our plan of education? It is not to turn out girls who will be capable of earning their living, but to send out girls who can successfully face the challenge of this changing world... Girls who leave school now for any sphere have to be prepared to meet and overcome the critics of all the old values which many centuries have proved will be the enduring values.²⁵

²⁴ *Woodford Chronicle* 1955, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

²⁵ *Woodford Chronicle* 1958, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Hogg noted explicitly that the purpose of an education at Woodford was *not* to turn out girls who were capable of earning a living. Woodford is not producing the sorts of young women who are guaranteed to enter the workforce en masse. Woodford was producing young women who can maintain ruling class values as they enter into an envisaged affluent lifestyle. They were expected to maintain the values of a conservative society being challenged by social liberation. Woodford House, like all other Anglican girls' schools, sits on the intersection of the Anglican community, and the ruling class community. The maintenance of the values of both such communities was the goal of the school in this era; the ability of students to balance academic success and who would in fact be capable of earning a living almost seems to be an afterthought.

Hogg's speeches to the families are also an attempt to soothe some of the latent tension between the school and the home as sites of education for children. Dorothea Beale, pioneer of schooling for girls in Britain, in 1898 wrote a tract discussing the relationship of school to home, sensing that parents sometimes felt the school was something of an impregnable institution to which they were not invited. She encouraged schools to be more inclusive of parents and families, whilst at the same time encouraging parents to enforce school rules at home so as not to disrupt the overall educational goals of the school – remarkably similar to the messages being conveyed by Hogg at Woodford seventy years later.²⁶ Even in the late 1960s, the relationship of school and home and how this relationship is interplayed throughout structures of hierarchy and authority is being spoken about by school headmistresses. Margaret Ogle, in a speech to the Wellington Secondary Schools' Principals' Association in 1969, addressing fellow educationalists, noted that "the authority of the Head and the School is being constantly challenged."²⁷ Here, Ogle is referring to students who were more likely to speak their mind and disagree with their parents than those in other eras. In 1966, the headmistress of Chilton Saint James noted to the students that "education in an independent school will help you to stand firm in the rather loose moral world into which you are now going; that you will have that solid background that will help you build a life worthy of your school and of your home."²⁸ The school and the family are here revealed to be of seemingly equal significance; in the future,

²⁶ Dorothea Beale, *Relation of School to Home*, from *Work and Play in Girls' Schools*, in Marie Mulvey Roberts and Tamae Mizuta (Eds.), *The Educators: Female Education*, London: Routledge, 1995.

²⁷ Address to Wellington Secondary Schools' Principals' Association, 9th October, 1969, 9 October 1969, Folder 1, Box 117: Speech Notes, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School Archives, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, Wellington.

²⁸ *Chiltonian* 1966, Chilton Saint James, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

students leaving the schools would consider themselves well-equipped by their private education to represent the private school, and the families from which they had come or were going to create.

Networks

Bourdieu emphasises the importance of networks to social capital as a form of social currency. Further, he argues, “the network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term.”²⁹ Institutions such as select schools bring together homogenous individuals in order to carry out this reproduction.³⁰ The Anglican girls’ schools were deeply rooted in their situational networks. As Anglican Church schools, single-sex schools, and schools for the social elite, the Anglican girls’ schools individually and as a collective actively operated networks which function as collective investment strategies, allowing them to reproduce the ruling class of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The first evidence for this was examined in chapter two, in which occupation and corresponding social status of the families sending their students to the schools is discussed. The occupational data is consistent over time, which demonstrates that the school successfully reproduces its elite status over generations. A further way in which this occurs is through the tendency of former students to send their children to the schools which they had attended. Woodford has a particularly high rate of intergenerational continuity – in 1954, the headmistresses report noted that nearly half the school had old girls for mothers, and in 1960 there were 20 granddaughters of old girls (whose mothers had, presumably, also attended).³¹ The admissions registers of St Hilda’s and Diocesan School both note when a new admission is the child of a former student. The school lists, published in the back of some school histories, document whether students had relatives who have attended the school. For example, in the St Matthew’s school list, a student named Mary Buchanan (student number Z11) was admitted in 1915. Her daughter, Catherine Perry (484), was a student of the school from 1939 until 1945.³² The school list for St Margaret’s in Christchurch also details multiple generations of students

²⁹ Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” 248.

³⁰ Ibid., 248.

³¹ *Woodford Chronicle* 1960, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

³² Dashfield, *To the Stars*.

from the same family. One of the earliest admitted students from the school, admitted in 1910, was one Muriel Wallace (43). Her daughter, Noeline Clemens (1388), was admitted in 1936. Her two daughters, Rosemary Burn (5418) and Penelope Burn (5824) were admitted in 1974 and 1977, respectively.³³

Connell, Ashenden, Kessler and Dowsett argue that the secondary school is ‘possessed’ by ruling class families³⁴ – that it exists within the networks of privilege that have been created to hold it up. Once again, Woodford is a particularly good example of this pattern – ‘ruling’ families of Havelock (such as the Chambers family which owned a large amount of land and had a large degree of social and political influence) were involved with the founding and establishment of the school from the original Company.³⁵ Significant families are a part of the histories of almost all of the Anglican girls’ schools – even outside of the context of ruling class ‘possession’, these families created a receptive network of patronage. St Matthew’s was founded as a Church school at the suggestion of two women from significant families in the area, the Dyers and Grahams.³⁶ Students with the surname Dyer and Graham both turn up in the list of early students at the school.

The idea of the family as being an essential node in the ruling class network is related to the transmission of symbolic capital. The education system which is reproducing the ruling class is able to do so more effectively on students who have already received some manner of inculcation in their families. Bourdieu argues that “what is measured by means of the level of education is nothing other than the accumulation of the effects of training acquired within the family.”³⁷ Connell is writing about the schooling system in Australia, but the fundamental concept of the family as being the initial site of reproduction is observable in the girls’ schools. Sue Kedgley’s observation about the affluent lifestyles of Marsden girls, and even Kay Bell’s extended statement in the headmistress’s report of Woodford in 1964 asks families to consider the nature and character of the girl graduating from the school.³⁸

³³ Robyn Gossett, *From Boaters to Back-Packs: The School History and List of St. Margaret’s College, 1910-1985* (Christchurch: St. Margaret’s College Old Girls Association Incorporated, 1985).

³⁴ R.W Connell, D.J Ashenden, S. Kessler and G.W. Dowsett, *Making the Difference: Schools, Families and Social Division* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1982), 147.

³⁵ Varnham, *Beyond Blue Hills*, 20.

³⁶ Dashfield, *To the Stars*, 7.

³⁷ Bourdieu “Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction,” 247.

³⁸ *Woodford Chronicle* 1964, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Many of these outcomes are to do with an academic education – but more than that, the desire of the school to inculcate in the students a character which makes the child a “more intellectual companion” who “understands her obligations to her neighbour and to Society”. The child emerging from Woodford is cultured, possessed of a “cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture.”³⁹

Social Capital and the Old Girls’ Networks

Old girls’ networks were particularly significant in the development of the schools. Connell, Ashenden, Kessler, and Dowsett point out that “the old-boy and old-girl networks, for instance, don’t just function to the benefit of the old scholars. They are actively cultivated, and made to function, for the benefit of the school.”⁴⁰ Indeed, the old girls were responsible for the bulk of the research on the schools – their organisations arranged for histories to be written, occasionally bequeath endowments (for example, an old girl of Marsden left money to the school to be used specifically in the maintenance of the archives) and contributed to the cultivation of the legacy of the school through maintaining themselves as a group, and through their utilisation of school magazines. Indeed, many of the Anglican girls’ school chronicles contain very significant old girls’ sections and are ostensibly created to keep old girls abreast of news at their former school.

The old girls could constitute formidable organisations, taking on financial responsibility for fundraising, maintaining links to headmistresses, and being actively involved in school affairs. Joining the old girls’ association was not always a given – members could select which students they deemed appropriate for admittance, and some students were rejected for membership. The old girls’ networks were very much typical of a network of mutual acquaintance and recognition. The power of the old girls to control the passage of contemporary students into society (through debutante balls) or into the school (through the awarding of scholarships) allowed for the old girls to successfully recreate cultural values in later generations of school students.

³⁹ Bourdieu, “Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction,” 248.

⁴⁰ Connell, Ashenden, Kessler, and Dowsett, *Making the Difference*, 147.

Old girls' organisations were established relatively early in the histories of each of the schools. At Nga Tawa, for example, the Old Girls Association was established in 1916;⁴¹ at Craighead in 1924;⁴² at St Mary's in 1922;⁴³ at Waikato Diocesan in 1921.⁴⁴ Sometimes they began less as formal institutions and more as the result of (or in order to organise) reunions. At Waikato Diocesan for example, it was noted that old girls were travelling from as far away as Te Kuiti and Te Aroha for a gathering to reminisce on their time at school.⁴⁵ At St Hilda's, it was noted that in the earlier decades old girls would regularly drop by and visit the school, which delighted the sisters and students alike. May presents a fictionalised example of how a student at the school may have perceived a recent graduate: "She has left School and is now attending lectures at the University. She has put up her hair and appears a very grown-up person indeed. Her former companions gaze upon her with admiration and envy when she visits the school."⁴⁶ This is revealing of the more personal relationships students had with their former school, not only in that they feel comfortable coming in to visit old staff and students, but that such casual visits are acceptable and even encouraged. The school and its inhabitants develop relationships which extended beyond the physical space, and former students are considered still to be a part of the school. In the early years the formal associations met with the headmistress as the head of the association, in order to reinforce the living link with the school.

Former students were eager to maintain this living relationship with the school, donating money and time to improving the school. Old girls were not always in a position to donate large amounts of money – women did not always have financial independence and were also more likely to bequeath money to family members. Old Girls' Associations were often responsible for fundraising, rather than directly donating money to their former schools. As well as this, school magazines established a way for old girls to remain in dialogue with the school and with each other. For this reason, they were often full of news from old girls. The *Woodford Chronicle*, for example, contained a substantial section following general news of the year – sports results and the like – which began with a statement of the accounts of the Old Girls' Association and then proceeded to list, often for several pages, births, marriages, and general

⁴¹ Michelle Whitmore, *Nga Tawa: A Centennial History* (Waikanae: The Heritage Press, 1991), 51.

⁴² Patsy McKenzie, *Craighead, 1911-1986* (Timaru: Craighead Jubilee Committee, 1986), 85.

⁴³ R.F Robertshawe, *A History of St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls, Stratford: 90th Jubilee 1914-2004* (Stratford: St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls, 2004), 3.

⁴⁴ Mellsopp, *The Dio Difference*, 5-6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

⁴⁶ Muriel May, *St Hilda's Collegiate School: The First Seventy Years, 1896-1966* (Dunedin: St. Hilda's Collegiate School, 1969), 22.

news of former students. The 1954 *Chronicle* contained three pages discussing the achievements of assorted students – one, for example, was teaching in France; another had returned from England via Kenya; another was doing nursing training in Hastings. Following this ‘general news’ section was another page at least of recent university graduates, as well as marriages and the births of children.⁴⁷

As organisations close to the school, Old Girls’ Associations also possessed a certain degree of entitlement. They expected to be – and often were – consulted on important school matters, and although their influence on concrete organisational matters was limited (they could not, for instance, counteract Board decisions) their organisations were still respected by those that had decision making power. For example, in 1958, the headmistress of Marsden, Margaret Ogle, proposed to raise the entry age at the school from five years of age to nine. Although this proposal was intended for the Board (and eventually rejected) a copy was sent to the old girls for their consideration.⁴⁸ The consideration and opinion of the old girls on such things mattered, and this is one aspect of a more traditional school culture which did not necessarily weaken over time. It is possible to observe a decrease in old girl content in school magazines throughout the 1960s and 1970s, but that many school histories were organised, funded and written by old girls of the schools as late as the twenty-first century does indicate that old girls retain an active presence in the networks of the school, and that this is a legacy which has endured for decades.

This also demonstrates a great concern amongst former students with looking both backwards and outwards. Old girls’ organisations are, by definition, groups concerned with the past; the history of the schools is, to them, highly relevant as it is a shared history. The old girls are also concerned with how the school appears to others, as the outward appearance of the school keeps enrolments coming in and therefore allows the school to continue into the future, and also reflects on the old girls themselves. A school which is highly regarded allows the former students to feel a sense of pride in its legacy. Old girls have at times had a direct control of this legacy, by selecting which current students are of an acceptable standard. They do this both by controlling entrance into their own organisations, and also through debutante balls. Not every Anglican girls’ school engaged in this practise, but some did – for example, St Margaret’s in

⁴⁷ *Woodford Chronicle* 1954, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁴⁸ Extract from the Minutes of the Samuel Marsden Collegiate School Trust Board held at the School at 4pm on Monday 10th November, 1958, 10 November 1958, Folder 1, Box 117: Speech Notes, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School Archives, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School, Wellington.

Christchurch had an old girls' debutante ball in which debutantes were selected by the old girls.⁴⁹ Marsden began to hold debutante balls in the 1930s, and Waikato Diocesan was particularly enthusiastic about them.⁵⁰

The highly involved old girls' networks are not unique to Anglican girls' schools – most, if not all, secondary schools have or have had some type of former students' association. However, the old girls' networks in this instance are significant because, as emphasised previously, the networks are made to function for the benefit of the school. In the case of the Anglican girls' schools, the cultivation and exercise of authority of the old girl networks serves the purpose of maintaining certain behaviours and hierarchies. Old girls could dictate behaviour of students – such as at St Margaret's, where not every student was considered appropriate to debut. The old girls' networks also contribute to the feedback loop of families sending their children to the schools – many old girls chose to send their daughters to the former schools, thus retaining the elitism of the network.

Old girls who are the focus of news in the school magazines are often highlighted as doing activities which are traditional for upper class women, such as being the wives of politicians. For example, in the 1960 *Woodford Chronicle* it was announced that Diana MacIntyre's husband had been elected Member of Parliament for Hastings, and Yvonne Riddiford's husband had been elected Member of Parliament for Wellington Central, both for the National Party⁵¹ (it is noted in Hammer's history of Diocesan School that it was only in 1943, due to the pressing needs of the home front during the Second World War that the canteen service run by Old Girls at the National Party rooms was ceased. Woodford House was not the only school to have proud links to that political party).⁵² In the 1961 *Woodford Chronicle* it was announced that Julie Wilding had been Lady in Waiting to Her Excellency Viscountess Cobham.⁵³ However, in any given year of the *Woodford Chronicle*, the 'General Notes' page of the old girls section will contain any number of old girls who have entered the nursing or teaching professions, the traditional career paths for upper class women and the professions which academic streams at schools were more focused on educating for.⁵⁴ Many old girls posted

⁴⁹ Gossett, *From Boaters to Back-Packs*, 153.

⁵⁰ Peter Lineham, *Sunday Best: How the Church Shaped New Zealand and how New Zealand Shaped the Church* (Auckland: Massey University Press, 2017), 352.

⁵¹ *Woodford Chronicle* 1960, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁵² Hammer, *Follow Your Star*, 132.

⁵³ *Woodford Chronicle* 1961, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁵⁴ Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), 316.

notices informing the reader of the *Chronicle* that they had spent the year travelling. Births and marriages were focused on, as well as high-achieving academic results at University – a demarcation both of status and of the successes of the school from which the student received her Matriculation or University Entrance. Certain other activities are also highlighted which reinforce a class hierarchy – for example, one student, living in London, who breathlessly recounts her experience in attendance at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.⁵⁵

Beyond the more direct networks of former students, in which the school was a nexus, the Anglican girls' school was also situated as a node in the greater network of the Anglican Church and, more specifically, in the network of Anglican Church schools which begins in the United Kingdom. As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, the schools adopted certain habits and methods of socialisation from schools in England. Diocesan School's red girdles were an import from St Margaret's school in England; from Cheltenham, the school rule of silence in corridors and dressing rooms; from the Alice Ottley School, precise dressing room rules about using a red bag for brush and comb, and a blue bag for shoes.⁵⁶ Each of these schools had been studied by Pulling prior to her departure for Aotearoa New Zealand to run the school; it was her intention to run her school as the schools in England, and therefore understanding and absorption of their practises was central to the development of the personality of the school. Many of these British school traditions would later trickle down to other Anglican girls' schools in Aotearoa New Zealand – including the aforementioned red girdle. Diocesan School also maintained active relationships with these schools in the first few years after its founding. In the 1909 *Diocesan High School Chronicle*, the girls thank other schools for sending them their own school magazines in an exchange of relationships between them – among these schools are Godolphin School in Salisbury, King's College in Auckland, and Diocesan School in Grahamstown, South Africa.⁵⁷

Wider School Networks

Another key feature in the network relationship between schools in Aotearoa New Zealand and in Britain was the movement of staff. Headmistresses in particular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were recruited from England specifically – in part for their

⁵⁵ *Woodford Chronicle* 1954, Woodford House, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁵⁶ Johnson & Jensen, *A History of Diocesan School for Girls*, 44.

⁵⁷ *Diocesan School Chronicle* 1909, Diocesan School for Girls Archives, Diocesan School for Girls, Auckland.

Englishness and in part for their experiences working in schools such as Godolphin. Connection to England and English schools was also a mark of status – it was felt by many schools that hiring Aotearoa New Zealand born and/or trained headmistresses and teachers was the inferior option, and there were some schools which continued to hire exclusively from England where possible until well into the twentieth century.

Staff also moved between the schools. Many headmistresses worked at several of the Anglican girls' schools. Waikato Diocesan provides several examples – its first headmistress as Waikato Diocesan, Eva Necker, had previously been the acting headmistress at Nga Tawa.⁵⁸ Eliza Edwards, the next headmistress, after her stint at Waikato Diocesan moved on to become headmistress at Diocesan in Auckland.⁵⁹ To further the example beyond Waikato Diocesan, Elizabeth Robertson attended Diocesan School as a child, before going on to become headmistress at St Hilda's, and eventually taking over Diocesan School herself.

This network also extended internationally beyond just Britain and Aotearoa New Zealand – Frances McCall, second headmistress of Nga Tawa, had previously been employed as headmistress of Diocesan School in Grahamstown, South Africa. This is an example of the wider imperial networks at play and helps to situate the schools within the context of the British empire. Although each of these schools were situated in Aotearoa New Zealand, and were uniquely *Aotearoa New Zealand* schools, they relied at least in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on their links to a greater imperial network to leverage status. As the twentieth century progressed, the schools became gradually more comfortable with their Aotearoa New Zealand identity – hiring staff and headmistresses who had been born and educated in Aotearoa New Zealand and focusing less on eradicating colonial identities.

As well as ideas and staff, students also moved between the schools. Although students also sometimes transferred to Presbyterian or state schools, many would shift between schools in the Anglican network, particularly to conclude their studies. It is noted in the histories of Chilton Saint James, St Matthew's and Woodford House that students from each of the three schools would often leave in the last few years of school to finish their education at one of the others. Even in the early days of St Matthew's, students were noted as leaving to attend Miss

⁵⁸ Mellsopp, *The Dio Difference*, 13.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

Baber's school – Marsden – in Wellington.⁶⁰ St Hilda's, too, experienced a flow of students to St Margaret's and Craighead. For example, the school list of St Margaret's notes the student Elizabeth Nancarrow (407) as being admitted to the school in 1917.⁶¹ In 1923, Elizabeth Nancarrow appears in the admissions registers of St Hilda's (952).⁶² Interestingly, Elizabeth Nancarrow's sister, listed in the St Margaret's list as 407, did not transfer to St Hilda's, graduating from St Margaret's and later going on to gain an OBE in 1963.⁶³ Another example from St Hilda's is that of Ngaire McLaren, admitted to St, Matthew's in 1922 (978).⁶⁴ In 1923, her name appears on the St Hilda's admissions registers (950).⁶⁵

The transfer of students between schools, especially in the latter years of secondary schooling, is likely due to what each individual school was able to offer. Families were keeping their children at an Anglican girls' school, but the movement from one school to another enabled students and families to attempt to get the best of all resources. Some of this flow of students was to do with the preferences of the child. Mason presents a recollection of a St Hilda's old girl who enjoyed her time at the school, but decided to leave to go to Craighead for the last two years of her education because all of her friends were going there.⁶⁶

Within their network, schools interacted with each other in both formal and informal ways. Formally, schools would have exchanges with each other, mostly for sports. More informally, the networks of transference creating bonds between the schools, and this extended further out to boys' school as well through the families of students. This was not exclusively an Anglican school network, although the schools appear more likely to have a relationship of exchange with other Anglican schools. Some schools were more reticent to enter into sporting exchanges than others – Chilton Saint James had something of an isolationist policy, preferring to keep to itself for sport until 1940, with the exception of Chilton House. Nesta Mason introduced hockey matches against Marsden, and basketball against Queen Margaret College. These exchanges

⁶⁰ Dashfield, *To the Stars*, 27.

⁶¹ Dashfield, *To the Stars*.

⁶² Admission, Progress and Withdrawal Register, 1896-1979, AG-753, St Hilda's Collegiate School Records, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

⁶³ Dashfield, *To the Stars*.

⁶⁴ Dashfield, *To the Stars*.

⁶⁵ Admission, Progress and Withdrawal Register, 1896-1979, AG-753, St Hilda's Collegiate School Records, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

⁶⁶ Mason, *A Venture of Faith*, 40-1.

were still limited – and only with other private girls’ schools.⁶⁷ This attitude evolved rapidly – in the 1960s, Chilton was engaging with St Oran’s and Sacred Heart colleges (Presbyterian and Catholic, respectively) which were located nearby, in order to bolster teaching in the Sixth Form.⁶⁸

Conclusion

The Anglican girls’ schools of Aotearoa New Zealand shared a common ethos in that they focused on the cultivation of character. Girls sent to these schools would be educated to be proper young ladies, inculcated with the values of the Anglican Church. In many ways the values of the Anglican Church coincided with the values of the ruling class. This was demonstrated through the ways in which the schools emphasised their difference. When advertising their difference from other schools, the Anglican girls’ schools subtly pointed out to families that they were superior; difference was in fact to be read as a self-awareness of the school’s own elite status, and therefore as the ability to inculcate symbolic capital in students who attended. The ability of the school to do this made the school appealing both to families who were already of the ruling class, and families who wished to purchase social capital through sending their daughters to these schools.

This difference was sometimes expressed through the ability of schools to be free from curriculum set by the state schools. The private schools were able to devote more time to focusing on the cultivation of character through an emphasis on religious values. The defining of the ethos, or difference, of the schools was dictated by the boards of the schools (at times when the schools had boards) and by the headmistresses. Board members were often influential people in society. Schools were also part of networks, elite forms of social capital, which students passed through. The schools remained aloof from state systems through the retention of social capital; that is, through the maintenance of networks. These networks included old girls, other schools, and influential members of society. These connections to the ruling class were epitomised by the degree to which the networks possessed power; members of society such as bishops and politicians who had connections to the schools were able to influence

⁶⁷ Jocelyn Kerslake, *Chilton Saint James: A Celebration of 75 Years* (Lower Hutt: Chilton Historical Trust of the Chilton Association, 1993), 59.

⁶⁸ *Chiltonian* 1965, Chilton Saint James, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

society, and therefore supported the system which enabled the schools to maintain their 'difference', or their privilege.

Conclusion

The Anglican girls' schools which have been discussed in this thesis share a history, even as each is unique. All were founded in the forty-year period between 1878 and 1918, and all of the schools continue to exist today. Families have been selecting these schools for over a century – the reasons for which have been explored within this thesis. The establishment of the earlier schools occurred concurrently with the Education Act in 1877 and the subsequent establishment and consolidation of a state education system. The education provided by the state underwent many developments throughout the period examined, but it was principally one which was secular. All of the schools in this thesis are united by their affiliation with the Anglican Church and thus sits at odds, fundamentally, with a system of education which de-emphasised religion as a core aspect of the development and education of children. The Anglican girls' schools were neither secular nor bound completely by the constraints of the state-assigned curriculum. The schools were able to ignore, or place less focus on, the value of a standardised qualification; they were able to successfully emphasise and value alternative aspects of education.

The Anglican girls' schools of Aotearoa New Zealand are proud of their difference. Throughout the time period examined in this study, each of the schools sculpted its unique identity. The schools asked themselves – and the families who sent their children to attend them – what it was that they could offer which demarcated them as separate from the state system. That they charged fees and offered boarding was crucial, as was their teaching of religion. Crucial too was the cultivation of character, and the intended outcomes of the girls' lives. The schools did not exist to educate for the sake of qualifications, but to address a tripartite mind, body and soul which would shape the girls to emerge as young women of good character and especially as young ladies. Other schools, however, were also focused on education for character and citizenship. Other private schools, too, were denominational or non-secular. The notion of difference with regards to the Anglican girls' schools is not only pedagogical. The difference which is at the core of the private Anglican girls' schools in Aotearoa New Zealand was one of social class.

The purpose of this thesis has been not to explore the existence of a ruling class, but rather to show how the Anglican girls' schools existed as a facet of this ruling class within Aotearoa

New Zealand. The ruling class in Aotearoa New Zealand is an active one – there is class division in this society, throughout the period of study. The ruling class consists of those who not only possess economic capital, but social and cultural power. Further, the ruling class was one which was able to exercise significance and influence in shaping society. The schools educated the daughters of the ruling class, people who were capable of bestowing social and cultural capital through this education, and who, through their position in networks of elites, were able to remain aloof from the public school system. They were able, in their own words, to be different. Private schools were one of the principal means through which the ruling class demonstrated and replicated itself. The school was possessed by the ruling class; it formed a crucial node in a network of relationships through which the ruling class was able to rule. The Anglican girls' schools of Aotearoa New Zealand were possessed by this ruling class and are a part of it.

Another crucial aspect of this thesis has been the notion of gender. The thesis is a study of Anglican schools for girls specifically. The thesis has examined education for girls as distinct from education for boys, and in particular the specificity of education for girls of the ruling class. Connell and Irving emphasise that the ruling class was one which was able to dominate a culture; it was, in essence, able to create and embody that culture in such a way that other social classes do not see the formation of society as being separate from the societal ideas of the ruling class.¹ Education for girls has therefore been subject to societal ideas which impact all classes. State schools for girls were obliged to follow a set curriculum. Private schools were not obliged to follow this same curriculum. They were independent. Many schools did follow the state curriculum at least in part, as in order for students to pass examinations (if that was the path a particular student was following) they had to demonstrate capability in a standardised test. Private schools were just as subject to the differentiation of curriculum as state schools – and were in no hurry to challenge the strictures of a differentiated curriculum which benefitted them. Girls at private Anglican girls' schools were being educated not only in a way which reinforced gendered differences throughout the period of this thesis, but in a way which reinforced and perpetuated gendered class difference. The girls emerging from the Anglican girls' schools in Aotearoa New Zealand were emerging as young ladies of the ruling class,

¹ R.W Connell and T.H Irving, "Yes, Virginia, There is a Ruling Class," in Henry Mayer and Helen Nelson, eds., *Australia Politics: A Third Reader* (Melbourne: Cheshire, 1973), 33.

educated with the purpose of becoming ruling class wives or else engaging in other, class-appropriate life paths.

The thesis examined a broad period of time – a century – in order to ascertain and explore broad trends and general patterns. The thesis attempted to ascertain firstly whether the schools could be said to belong to the ruling class, and secondly to see whether this remained consistently true over a long period of time. The admissions register data which was collected from St Hilda's Collegiate (Dunedin), Diocesan School (Auckland) and Chilton Saint James (Lower Hutt) and which covered the entire period demonstrated the engagement of the ruling class with these schools. The schools served a wide geographic catchment which drew largely from local affluent suburbs, or else from rural areas from which children were being sent to board. The majority of students had parents whose occupations could be classified as high status. The schools therefore have been demonstrated to have drawn their student populations from among the ruling class of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Anglican girls' schools thrived on their ability to offer a specialised education which was different to that which was offered at state schools. Although they did often teach a similar curriculum, the schools were focused on education for character, in particular, on an education which would shape daughters into young ladies through schooling which focused on not only academic but also a spiritual education, through engaging with the teachings of the Anglican Church. The schools sought to find the balance between an academic curriculum which supported pathways through university and into the workplace, and one which would turn out nice young women who would go on to be nice young wives. The young ladies leaving the Anglican girls' schools were leaving in possession of social capital bestowed through attendance at the school. Whether or not the girls had attained matriculation or university entrance, the value of attendance at the school was perceived through social prestige, a well-groomed polish, and often also entrance into elite networks. These networks, such as Old Girls' Associations, often functioned as a way for the ruling class to replicate itself – girls were leaving the schools with powerful connections.

As state education developed throughout the time period under examination, as the role of women in society and in the workforce expanded and evolved, so too did the Anglican girls' schools. Many things remained consistent throughout the time span, particularly the ruling class demographic on which the school drew, and the emphasis which the school placed on its

difference. The schools remained separate from the state system. They remained as a separate, elite system of education which existed concurrently with the state system which attempted to be egalitarian through its equality of opportunity. That the schools continued to exist throughout this time period, evolving in order to remain relevant with both the times and the shifting nature of class boundaries, demonstrates that a ruling class continued to exist, and that this ruling class was at least nominally linked to the Anglican Church and ethos within Aotearoa New Zealand.

There are questions surrounding the nature of the Anglican Church as a facet of the ruling class which remain underexplored within this thesis. The Anglican Church is the means through which these schools were able to exist and demarcate their difference on a surface level, and the value of religious conviction and education remained at the core of the schools up until at least the end of the Second World War. The history of the ruling class as an Anglican establishment is not explored here, due to the focus on education. A further aspect which is essential to the histories of these schools in particular is their largely Pākehā identity. The Māori Anglican girls' schools also embodied Anglican values and were important sites for the education of women, but they did not exist to replicate the ruling class in the same manner as the private schools which have been discussed in more detail within this thesis. The Māori schools, along with the nature of the church in constructing society in Aotearoa New Zealand, are research questions which have been addressed less fully in this thesis, in order to allow room for a focus on the more general trends.

There are exceptions to these general trends. Not every school at every point in time was the same as the others; shifting economies and demographics had an impact on the class makeup of the schools, as well as the rising and falling prosperity of certain areas of Aotearoa New Zealand. Although there has been remarkable consistency over time, there have also been inconsistencies. The schools under certain leadership have preferred an academic focus, or attempted to reject some of the inherent elitism. At all times, also, the ruling class has not existed as a monolith. There have always been students of lower classes, students whose class background were not consistent. There have always been students who attempted to break the mould of the well-bred young lady, and those who challenged the norms of the schools and the class which they were representing.

The Anglican girls' schools of Aotearoa New Zealand existed largely to educate the daughters of the ruling class. These schools prided themselves on their difference; their ethos' and histories were pervaded by a notion of their own uniqueness, their own special capability to educate the daughters of gentlemen. They saw themselves as special schools, which were independent of the demands of the state and able to uniquely shape the character of the girls sent to them. They promoted themselves as, and believed firmly that they were, able to provide better opportunities and a more specialised education. In every way, the schools felt that they were able to produce 'better' young women than those attending schools of other denominations, or those attending state schools. This difference was central to the schools from their inception. Emphasising 'The Dio Difference' allowed Anglican girls' schools to communicate to families that they were superior, and that what made them special was in fact a difference of class.

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