

W. H. Pearson

Wanganui
Oct 10th 97

Dear Tom

You won't be surprised to hear that we are more than full up of this place and can stand the business no longer. We'll be up early next month. Tell you all my news and compose notes then. I'll stay in town if I get anything, if not, and it's safe, I'll run for a day. I'm getting orders for a new bag and I'll be in for a new one. But we can't you in a letter after this interval will take unfur. from our small cottage if "stay in town". I'll admit see the fun of staying for Australian prices and living at "headquarters" notes". Give my love to the folks and love from me.

Harry

MAORIS

Henry Lawson's writings on Australia, town and bush, which helped to create the Australian legends of mateship and toughness are well known. Less is known of his experiences in New Zealand. A story 'A Daughter of Maoriland' is based on his experiences teaching at a school in Mangamaunu on one of his three visits to that country. The story shows a failure in his relations with the Maori community, in particular with one of his pupils—a girl he named August in the story.

This book is a study of the reasons for Lawson's failure with the Maoris. The author's research led him into many avenues—Lawson's life and personality, the Australian tradition he represented, the local history of the Maori community, New Zealand policy on Maori education in the 1890s, and the effect which Lawson's experiences in Mangamaunu had on his later writing.

Book after book has appeared about Lawson—this is the only one so far to deal specifically with his New Zealand experiences.

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Henry Lawson Among Maoris

By the same author
Coal Flat, 1963

Henry Lawson Among Maoris

W. H. PEARSON

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Ki āku hoa tūturu a Pita rāua ko Aroha

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Canberra
September 1967

W.H.P.

Note on Texts

In Lawson's and other letters and manuscripts I have retained the original spelling and punctuation because it is often revealing, and emended only where there might be difficulty in understanding the meaning. Such emendations are indicated by square brackets or footnotes.

In Maori language texts I have followed the advice of Dr P. W. Hohepa. Manuscript idiosyncrasies in word separation and punctuation are not indicated. Otherwise any emendation is indicated by square brackets or footnotes.

For quotations from printed stories or poems I have preferred, when I have been able to locate it, to use the text of the first published version, usually in a journal, rather than the sometimes editorially revised text of a subsequent collected volume. Unfortunately this study was completed too early for more than occasional use to be made of Colin Roderick's edition of Lawson's *Collected Verse*, vol. i, 1885-1900 (Angus and Robertson, 1967). Some discrepancies between the text as Professor Roderick gives it and that given in this book can be found where I have relied solely on a manuscript or on a single printed version.

References to poems, stories, or essays by Henry Lawson are, wherever possible, to their first published version, but if they have been subsequently collected in either *Poetical Works* (1925, 3rd ed., 1951) or *The Stories of Henry Lawson*, ed. Cecil Mann (1964), a second reference is given.

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Introduction

To one who had lightly accepted the legend of Henry Lawson as an exponent of human brotherhood, having affinities with Burns, it was a shock to read 'A Daughter of Maoriland'. Not that other contemporary writing about Maoris (mostly by New Zealanders) was free of the assumption that Lawson makes—that a people of different culture and history are to be judged in terms of the values of the people who have dispossessed them, but that one had expected better of Henry Lawson.

The story is of an altruistic new teacher at a Maori school who takes pity on a lonely and apparently ill-treated pupil and finds that his kindness has been systematically exploited by the pupil and her relatives. He gives up his altruism and at last is respected.

Not only does the sequence of events convey hostility; so does the language: the girl is called a 'savage', she is likened to a cow, a pig, and a dog; she brings 'a native smell' into the teacher's house; she is 'fat, and lazy, and dirty'. Twice the adjective 'Maori' has connotations of contempt:

[She] had not touched a dish-cloth or broom. She had slept, as she always did, like a pig, all night; while her sister lay in agony; in the morning she ate everything there was to eat in the house (which, it seemed, was the Maori way of showing sympathy in sickness and trouble), after which she brooded by the fire till the children, running out of school, announced the teacher's lunch hour.¹

She went, per off-hand Maori arrangement, as 'house-keeper' in a hut of a labourer at a neighbouring sawmill.²

The moral of the story is that it is useless to extend mateship to a people who don't recognise the code; the brotherhood of man is a closed shop, no Maoris need apply. The story is, to

this extent, a demonstration of failure, not only in Lawson but also in the philosophy he propagated.

The teacher who was a writer was forced by recognition of malign reality to abandon his plan to use the girl as the subject of a 'romance'. The story represents a movement, not only in the teacher's but in Lawson's mind, from 'romance' to 'realism', an artistic crisis described in his poem 'The Writer's Dream'.

The story is so uncompassionate and partisan that one leaves it with the dissatisfied impression that other interpretations of the events are possible but have been ignored or excluded by the author. Some years ago I decided to find out what I could about what went wrong, to see the events from the point of view of the Maori community, and to explain why a man of such broad sympathies should have failed in his relations with Maoris.

The story is clearly based on Lawson's experience teaching for a few months in 1897 at Mangamaunu on the Kaikoura coast. Lawson mentioned the girl in a letter to Hugh MacCallum, and his wife says that the actual model for the pupil was a girl called Mary. From Education Department records it is possible to identify her as Mary (or Mere) Jacob. In the light of these records and other inquiry into the history of the people of Mangamaunu, I propose to examine the misunderstanding that followed the contact between Lawson, with the Australian tradition he represented, and the Ngai-tahu of Mangamaunu with their experience of Pakehas, of the Education Department and the teachers who preceded Lawson; to give an account of as much as I have been able to discover about Lawson's experience at Mangamaunu, and to consider the effect of the experience on Lawson's subsequent writing. The inquiry is both biographical and critical and it has involved entering fields more familiar to the historian and ethno-historian than to the literary commentator. In order to understand the complexities behind this contact of cultures (and behind the writing that came out of this experience) it has been necessary to consider such questions as Lawson's attitudes to coloured people, racial attitudes in Australian unionism in Lawson's time, the Australian bushman's code of honour, and the idiosyncrasies of Lawson's personality; the history of the Kaikoura Maoris, New Zealand Native School

policy, and the impact made by the teachers before Lawson and against whom he was measured.

It may be asked whether one story—and not a good one at that—justifies so long a study. There is perhaps some justification in the fact that not every critic thinks so poorly of the story as I do: it has been included by two prominent Australian editors (Colin Roderick and Cecil Mann) in personal selections of Lawson's stories. The study is interesting in itself but it has wider reference, in particular in the light it throws on Lawson's life and in the resolution of some of the complexities and contradictions in his other writing. And in these times of international readjustment of older racial attitudes, including a re-examination of Australian immigration policy, there is point in examining the failure of an intelligent and sensitive Australian writer, once he moved outside his own colour and culture, to practise what he preached.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used for editions of published volumes used in this study:

- AJHR* *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, New Zealand.
- AJLC* *Appendices to the Journal of the Legislative Council*, New Zealand.
- CB* *Children of the Bush*, Methuen, London, 1902.
- CV* *Collected Verse*, vol. i, 1885-1900, edited by Colin Roderick, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1967.
- DWW* *In the Days when the World was Wide and Other Verses*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1896.
- JWM* *Joe Wilson and his Mates*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1902.
- OS* *Over the Sliprails*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1900.
- OT* *On the Track*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1900.
- PW* *The Poetical Works of Henry Lawson*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 3rd ed., 1951.
- SHL* *The Stories of Henry Lawson*, ed. Cecil Mann, 3 vols., Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1964.
- SR* *The Skyline Riders and Other Verses*, Fergusson Ltd, Sydney, [1910].
- T & S* *On the Track and Over the Sliprails*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1900.
- TL* *Triangles of Life and Other Stories*, Lothian Book Publishing Co., Melbourne, [1916].
- VPH* *Verses Popular and Humorous*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1900.
- WIK* *When I was King and Other Verses*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1905.

I

'They Call That Man a "White Man"'

I

It should not of course have been surprising to find racism in Lawson. Even in the 'real' name he gives to August—Sarah Moses instead of Mary Jacob (or as he called her Jacobs) there is sardonic amusement that Polynesians should adopt Jewish names, which he held in contempt, as is shown in this passage from a story published three years before Lawson arrived at Mangamaunu:

There was a jeweller on board, of course, and his name was Moses or Cohen. If it wasn't it should have been—or Isaacs. His Christian name was probably Benjamin. We called him Jacobs.¹

Lawson's hostility to Chinese is well known. One of its factors was his belief, as a child, that his brother Peter had been paid for with money from his money-box, bought from a 'Chinaman'.²

We weren't found under cabbages when I was a child. We were bought from Chinese hawkers—not the vegetable variety, but those who went round with boxes of drapery, fancy goods, cotton, needles, tape, &c, slung to the ends of their poles. I hated and dreaded the sight of a Chinese hawker, for I firmly believed that he hawked babies under the top shelves of his boxes.³

The hostility appears early in his verse. In 'The Cambaroora Star' (1891) he celebrates an editor who incited miners to evict 'the Chinkies . . . the Chows' from the diggings.⁴ In 'A Word

to 'Texas Jack' (1890) he boasts of Australian proficiency in 'hoistin' out the Chow', which he values equally with 'stickin' up for labour's rights'.⁵ In 'After the War' (1896) a soldier who had been a member of a Sydney 'push' recalls an incident when he was 'held up by the traps for stoushin' a bleedin' Chow' only as an occasion of loyalty from fellow-members of the gang, a loyalty he repays in battle.⁶

As well known is Lawson's yellow peril jingoism. In 1896 when 'After the War' appeared Australia had never had a foreign war. Yet in 'The Star of Australasia', which was originally part of the same poem as 'After the War', an enemy invader is predicted.⁷ If the invader is unnamed in this poem and in two other poems published in 1904,⁸ he is clearly identified in later volumes as the coloured races. In *The Elder Son* (1905) Russia, involved in war with Japan, is seen as 'the vanguard/Of the West against the East'⁹ and the war itself as

. . . the first round of the struggle of the East against the
West
Of the fearful war of races. . .¹⁰

In 'The Good Samaritan' Lawson anticipates the time

When colour rules and whites are slaves
And savages again.¹¹

In 1899, though he had opposed Australian participation in the Boer War, he farewelled the Australian contingent with a sardonic warning against Africans:

If you come across any niggers, learn to sleep calmly, notwithstanding a fact that a big, greasy buck nigger (a perfect stranger to you) is more than likely to crawl in, without knocking, through a slit in the tent, any minute during the small hours, rip out your innards with a nasty knife, and leave without explaining.¹²

In 1899 he praised solitary self-reliant adventurers who 'rule' 'unconquered tribes' by the 'lone hand and revolver', administrators in colonial outposts:

Thin brown men in pyjamas—
The thin brown wiry men!—
The helmet and revolver
That lie beside the pen.¹³

In 1902, writing of his journey to England, he said, quoting Kipling's *'The White Man's Burden'* (1899): 'At Aden and Colombo and Port Natal I got an idea of how England manages her niggers—not half "silent, sullen peoples" by the way—and why the Empire is great'.¹⁴

In his later verse the fear of Asia justifies terror as an instrument of domestic policy in Australia:

And in *some* form or other, *we* shall have to use the knout,
If we wish to build a nation—else we'll have to do without,
And be wretched slaves and exiles, homeless in the Southern
Sea,

When an Asiatic nation hath 'rough hewn' our destiny.¹⁵

His fear of Asian domination includes a horror at miscegenation of European women and coloured men:

I see the brown and yellow rule
The Southern lands and southern waves,
White children in the heathen school,
And black and white together slaves;
I see the colour-line so drawn
(I see it plain and speak I must),
That our brown masters of the dawn,
Might, aye, have fair girls for their lusts.¹⁶

It is only too easy to exhibit such statements and it would be hardly worth doing if Lawson's attitudes were not complicated by contradictions and it is these I wish to explore: the contradictions implicit in a man who expressed strong racial prejudices who nevertheless was attracted to the prospect of living among Maoris and was 'disillusioned'.

For example against the last verse quotation and the celebration of the 'thin brown men in pyjamas' one could place these stanzas:

I'm sick of the sight of the Single White in the islands far
away,
Who is jabbed with a poisoned spear by night, and who pots
the tribe next day,
A club-man dead to the world he knew, and long by his
love forgot—
And the innocent swim with the Lithe Brown Limbs, and—
the rest of the Thomas Rot.

He's mostly a thin brown man in drill and specs (for his
 sight is dim),
 And a score of niggers to work his will, and Ah Soon to
 cook for him,
 With the steamer in sight (and a drunken white) and the
 rest of the world within hail,
 A wife—or the pick of the native girls—and his fairly
 regular mail.¹⁷

If in this passage (directed against a cliché of a sub-genre of popular fiction) the 'single white' is without heroism the attitude to the indigenes is not the more favourable. In another passage, where he wrote that Western Australian station owners had to treat their Chinese cooks courteously out of fear for the safety of their wives left alone all day with the cook and his carving-knife, it is his unionist antipathy to owners that makes him appear to side with the Chinese, and there has been no adjustment of prejudice.¹⁸

Yet there are poems in which Lawson declares for racial equality: in the same volume as he sees himself upholding standards 'in spite of all Asia'¹⁹ he writes this:

The world is full of kindness—
 But not the white alone;
 The heathen in his blindness
 Bows down to wood and stone;
 But *all* men are his brothers,
 In spite of all the "Powers",
 And the things he does for others
 Shew whiter souls than ours.²⁰
 And though he may be brown or black,
 Or wrong man there or right man,
 The man that's honest to his mates
 They call that man a 'white man'!²¹

If this is posture it is no more so than most of Lawson's other verse. And while it is true that there is an implicit sense of racial superiority in the use of 'white' to mean 'honourable, fair-dealing', a usage common to British and American frontiersmen in several parts of the world in the nineteenth century, nevertheless there is in these poems a recognition of the common dignity of all peoples. There is a similar mixture of sympathy and preconception in two short stories. In one there is a sympathetic portrait of a 'small, slight-featured negro',

probably a West Indian, who had lost his wife, and his two boys with 'small well-featured dark faces', who had a 'dark little soul'.²² In another a Chinese is a subject of sympathy: 'His Chinese mother died—perhaps of a Chinese woman's broken heart—shortly after the death of his father.'²³ In each case there is the suggestion of a qualitative difference in a soul for being 'dark' and in a woman's broken heart for being Chinese. It is noticeable that sympathy comes more readily when the character is the victim of bereavement, is seen in a comparatively powerless situation.

Denton Prout cites 'Ah Soon' as unusually 'genial' towards a Chinese.²⁴ It is a story of kindness to one Chinese repaid by another. Yet its tone is patronising in that Lawson is conscious of favouring Ah See, who repaid the kindness.

I don't know whether a story about a Chinaman would be popular or acceptable here and now; and, for the matter of that, I don't care. I am anti-Chinese as far as Australia is concerned; in fact I am all for a White Australia. But one may dislike, or even hate, a nation without hating or disliking an individual of the nation. One may be on friendly terms; even pals in a way. I had a good deal of experience with the Chinese in the old years, and I never knew or heard of a Chinaman who neglected to pay his debts, who did a dishonest action, or who forgot a kindness to him or his, or was not charitable when he had the opportunity.²⁵

Such a defence might have been necessary in the racist *Lone Hand*, but the defence is in terms of the values of an Australian code. And it is clear that such friendship, as Lawson sees it, is tentative and precarious: 'one may be on friendly terms; *even pals in a way*'. And the last sentence implies that the Chinese is obliged to work his passage for the goodwill of white Australians.

In the fourth article of a series in the *Albany Observer* in 1890, though Lawson rhetorically foresees trade unionism as a new religion that will include all, 'the black, the white', he makes it plain that it will exclude Chinese.

Of course, we all know that there is one great flaw in the theory of universal brotherhood. It is where the Chinaman comes in. . . . The Chinese nation is an unnatural and as far as we know, an unprecedented growth on the history of the world, and in all schemes for the furtherance of the

universal brotherhood we must leave the Chinaman out of the question altogether; or at least until we understand him better. . . .

For my part I think a time will come eventually when the Chinaman will have to be either killed or cured—probably the former—but it would be advisable for the world to wait further (Chinese) developments before taking decisive action in the matter.²⁶

Universal brotherhood might eventually be possible for a human race, winnowed by natural selection of those peoples ineligible for it:

There will be no difficulty in including the progressive "Jap" in the scheme, and the American negro is already a man and brother. The American Indian, the African and South Sea savage, and the aboriginals of Australia will soon in the course of civilization become extinct, and so relieve the preachers of universal brotherhood of all anxiety on their account.²⁷

Attempts have been made to demonstrate Lawson's freedom from intolerance, but some of the attempts themselves carry racist assumptions. John Le Gay Brereton for example cites Lawson's remark about his friend Jack Moses (whose name he gave to Sarah in 'A Daughter of Maoriland'): 'My best friend was a Yid'.²⁸ Jim Gordon says Lawson accepted Chinese hospitality, drinking cups of strong black tea at a laundryman's²⁹ and in 'A Double Buggy at Lahey's Creek' there is a kindly Chinese storekeeper who is a better exponent of the bush code than some of the native-born,³⁰ but it is clear that Lawson is unable to forget the ethnic origin of a non-white. Fr Michael Tansey told this story:

On one occasion Henry was unsteadily lighting his pipe, and a Chinese fruiterer, standing by, held a match in his cupped hands for him. 'Ah', said Henry, looking up at him with soft, beaming eyes, 'The light of Asia'.³¹

And of Ah See, Lawson's narrator said: 'I always called him Asia to his face'.³²

Yet without abandoning any of these sentiments, Lawson could adopt a literary pose logically incompatible with them:

I'm wearied of the formal lands of parson and of priest,

Of dollars and of fashions, and I'm drifting towards the East;

I'm tired of cant and cackle, and of sordid jobbery—
The mystery of the East hath cast its glamour over me.³³

Lawson's attitude to aboriginal Australians ranges from hostility to kindly patronage. Both are present in his earliest memories of them:

[At New Pipeclay] First recollection connected with the last tribe of blacks round there—kindly recollection.³⁴

I used to go to Grannie's and get coffee. I liked coffee. One day she told me that the blacks had come and drank up all the coffee and I didn't like the blacks after that.³⁵

There is a sort of wounded proprietorial pride in his complaint that the geography book used at Eurunderee School described the Aborigines as 'amongst the lowest and most degraded to be found on the surface of the earth'.³⁶ It is possibly the same pride that moves him to assure Texas Jack that Aborigines can be as formidable antagonists as American Indians,³⁷ and there is a tone of grudging admiration for Aboriginal dexterity with spear and boomerang. But in another place he refuses to allow the Aboriginal credit for even these skills:

The blackfellow is a fraud. A white man *can* learn to throw the boomerang as well as an aborigine—even better. A blackfellow is *not* to be depended on with regard to direction, distance or weather. A blackfellow once offered to take us to a better water than that at which we were camping. He said it was only half-a-mile. We rolled up our swags and followed him and his gin five miles through the scrub to a mud-hole with a dead bullock in it. Also, he said that it would rain that night; and it didn't rain there for six months. Moreover, he threw a boomerang at a rabbit and lamed one of his dogs—of which he had about 150.³⁸

There is a peculiar ambiguity in the lines, in a poem on drovers in the outback, in which black-trackers are employed to exterminate Aborigines. The poem was written at Mangaunu in September 1897; Lawson's manuscript reads:

No, you needn't fear the blacks on the Never Never tracks—
For the myal in his freedom's an uncommon sight to see.

Oh we do not live for trifles*—and the trackers sneak their
rifles;—
And go strolling in the gloaming while the sergeant's yarn-
ing free;—
Round the myalls creep the trackers—theres a sound like
firing crackers—
And—the blacks are getting scarcer in the Dry Countree.
(Goes an unprotected maiden 'cross the clearing carrion
laden—
Oh they ride 'em down on horseback in the Dry Countree)³⁹

There are two possible defences of this passage. First that since it is Aboriginal killing Aboriginal, Lawson is absolved; he is recording a truth without comment. But the *we* of the third line clearly involves at least the drovers as approving the slaughter. The second possible defence is that Lawson's tone is one of black irony, recording a truth of which he disapproves. But the tone of the poem is celebration of the heroism and hardship of the life of the drovers. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that there is a wry satisfaction in the extermination. Yet in a poem written seven years before this, Lawson praises a tracker who pretends to lose the track when he is seeking a man who had once saved his life.

But, ah! there beat a white man's heart
Beneath his old, black wrinkled hide.⁴⁰

The difference is that in this case an Aboriginal's behaviour coincides with part of the bushman's code of honour.

If it was the destiny of the Aborigines, as was commonly assumed at the time, to die out, at least once Lawson sentimentalised it. Jim Gordon recalled that on Lawson's outback trip in 1892, he saw for the first time, at Goombalie between Bourke and Hungerford, Aborigines in a 'half-wild state', living on game and fish. Lawson visited their camp and said 'almost hysterically': 'They're a dying race, Jim and they know it—I can read it in their eyes. I was suckled on a black breast'.⁴¹ Gordon did not believe the last statement and it reminds one of Lawson's false claim to gipsy ancestry, which according to his brother Peter's wife scandalised his mother.⁴² But P. J. Cowan recalled him saying: 'An abo. takes me back

* Oh we do not live for trifles] Oh! we do not stick at trifles *Bulletin*, WIK.

to the old days. I suckled [*sic*] a black breast when I was a baby'.⁴³ It is possibly true. Lawson was ill as a baby and his mother was too ill to feed him; he was taken for a while by his grandmother Harriet Albury; some nurse would have been needed and it might have been an Aboriginal.⁴⁴ In two stories it is a mark of favour in partly acculturated Aboriginal women that they have acted as midwife or nurse to European babies. The drover's wife is helped in childbirth by Black Mary, and the bush publican gives as his reason for being 'allers soft on the blacks', whom he otherwise sees as wheedling and whining and contemptibly dispossessed, the fact that he had been suckled by an Aboriginal nurse.⁴⁵

In his series of Western Australian reminiscences 'The Golden Nineties' Lawson recalls an Aboriginal 'tribe' of King George Sound who sometimes arrayed themselves in traditional clothing, adornment, and implements; his explanation is that they wanted to frighten new-chums and tourists, and in this situation (where their attitudes to newcomers seem to coincide with his) he sides with the Aborigines against the visitors, but in the main he sees them as cadging, shrewd, ridiculous in their dignities, and calls them by names like 'Old Sally' and 'Dirty Dick' and (this, one infers, is even more ridiculous) 'Mrs Williams'. The head man he calls 'King Billy': 'the lowest and most degraded, most cheerful, humorous, and by me at least, and least of his subjects, most kindly-thought-of monarchs'.⁴⁶ In justification of his indulgence he says that when he was living in a lonely bush hut, 'King Billy' had brought him letters and newspapers from ten miles away.⁴⁷

P. J. Cowan recalls a weekend with Lawson, taking with him at Lawson's request an educated Aboriginal called Douglas Grant: 'Henry Lawson always had a soft spot for the blacks'.⁴⁸ The degree of acculturation must have helped. Grant was a draughtsman and a returned soldier; he had been adopted by a Scot whose name he took.⁴⁹ They spent much of the evening sharing war stories.

Norman Lindsay tells an amusing story; in Lawson's actions he sees an 'outburst of nostalgic lyricism'. One might perhaps more aptly describe the performance in a number of ways but in none of them could one speak of dignity or equality in the relationship:

I have one last visual memory of Lawson to record, and it is a pleasing one. I came on it in George Street, and it presented him in the company of a very old Abo and his lubra. Henry was indulging in an extravagant display of affection for them, shaking hands with them, patting them, giving them largesse from his pocket, and standing off to admire them, only to dart back and repeat the performance. He was also trying to talk with them, bending his ear to catch what words they may have uttered. I doubt he got much of those; the Abos would not know that only loud sounds could penetrate Henry's defective ear-drums. They appeared to be rather bewildered by his ardent benevolence. He could not have enough of them. When he left them, it was only to turn in his tracks and dart back for another performance of handshaking and patting.⁵⁰

In his story most sympathetic to Aborigines Lawson adopts the viewpoint of a child. A child does not have to answer to common opinion and by this means Lawson is free to express greater sympathy. 'Black Joe' is based on a boyhood visit of Lawson's to his aunt and uncle, Gertrude and Job Falconer, at Lahey's Creek near Cobbora.⁵¹ The model for Black Joe was an Aboriginal boy of the same age as Lawson, who was raised by the Falconers and later became a police black-tracker.⁵² In this story, if Black Joe is lazy, occasionally cheeky, if he is a liar and always getting the teller into trouble, his faults are excused and the teller admires him. Yet one wonders if the regard is facilitated because in the story Joe dies, whether the sympathy for Joe's father is not connected with the fact that he is 'the last of his tribe'⁵³ and further with the fact that Joe's parents are complaisant towards European institutions. Joe's father Jimmie is 'a gentle, good-humoured, easygoing old fellow with a pleasant smile', and Lawson adds that this is true of 'most old blackfellows in civilization'. Joe's mother Mary is 'the cleanest gin in the district', respected by squatters' wives; she believes in Christian baptism and weddings, and is keen that her children should receive a European education. The republican Lawson, as he had done with 'King Billy', follows the practice, common among contemporary frontier settlers, of conferring royal title on both parents.

The same characters, or their components, are used in 'The Drover's Wife', which according to Lawson's sister Gertrude O'Connor originated in the same visit to the Falconers at

Lahey's Creek.⁵⁴ Black Mary is still 'the "whitest" gin in all the land' and King Jimmy is cheerful and helpful.⁵⁵ But a trick that was excusable, even admirable, in 'Black Joe', setting up a wood-heap that is hollow inside, is in 'The Drover's Wife' an inexcusable deception and an unwitting persecution of the drover's wife, even if the perpetrator is 'the last of his tribe and a King'.

The most revealing juxtaposition is that of 'A Bush Undertaker', where an eccentric bush hermit rifles an Aboriginal grave and carries the bones away in a bag, and then finding the corpse of a European mate, exerts himself to give it a decent burial.⁵⁶ There would be powerful irony if the emphases were balanced, but in fact they are not and the irony of the situation seems even to have escaped the author's notice. The most memorable impression of the story is the bush undertaker's pathetic and dignified attempt to provide a fitting ritual for the burial of his mate; by this time the bag of Aboriginal's bones has been forgotten and the undertaker's purpose in digging them up is neither explained nor hinted at. The artistic function of the incident seems to be to point to the conclusion that the bush is 'the nurse and tutor of eccentric minds, the home of the weird'. It makes little difference that, according to Gertrude O'Connor, the undertaker is based on Lawson's grandfather Henry Albury who dug up human remains and kept a skeleton under his bed for safety.⁵⁷

Sympathetic, in a disdainful way, is the story of Billy, instructed to destroy pests, who mistakes a Chinese for a strange animal and shoots him. Though Lawson himself had said, thirteen years earlier, that Aborigines 'do not always talk the gibberish with which they are credited by story writers',⁵⁸ Billy explains his mistake: 'Tail like it yarramin [horse]. Talk it like a plurry cockatoo. Bin killit sheep, mine think it'.

And the narrator continues: 'I suppose they buried the Chow—and the boss carefully gave Billy an elementary lesson on the Races of Man before another blew out of China'.⁵⁹

The Aboriginal is excused and almost admired for his over-zealousness in a European cause.

Some consistency, I think, can be found in the apparent contradictions in Lawson's attitudes to coloured people, in that he never departs from his bushman's system of values. Chinese are generally hated but an occasional individual who

behaves in terms of the bushman's code can be accepted as an honorary white. Unacculturated Aborigines are pests, but the partly acculturated individual, if he has been helpful to a bushman, can be indulged and even loved. The one or two assertions of a universal brotherhood comprehending all colours can be dismissed as high-minded posture.

II

Lawson of course was not exceptional in his intolerance. It surrounded him from his childhood. It was the silly lies of his mother and grandmother that had given him his first remembered dislike for Chinese and Aborigines. Grandmother Harriet Albury, according to Gertrude O'Connor, used to frighten away Aborigines at Mudgee by making mime of a hanging or prodding them with the live end of a fire-stick.⁶⁰ The idea of Australia as an exclusively European colony had been formulated by workers as far back as the 1840s.⁶¹

Intolerance of non-Europeans was a mainplank of Australian nationalism and of the trade unionism of the eighties and nineties with which Lawson identified himself. A resolution against Chinese immigration was passed at the first Inter-Colonial Trade Union Congress at Sydney in 1879 and repeated at subsequent congresses until the last in 1898.⁶² If the economic aim was to remove the threat of cheap labour, it was not long before the exponents of white Australia developed a *herrenvolk* mystique.⁶³ The platform of the Melbourne Trades and Labour Council in 1889 included a 'Bill to prevent the introduction of criminal, pauper or Asiatic labour'.⁶⁴ The unanimously passed resolution at the fourth Inter-Colonial Trade Union Congress at Adelaide in 1886 supplied as its second reason the argument that 'the presence of Chinese in large numbers in any community has a very bad moral tendency'.⁶⁵ The *Bulletin* was anti-Chinese from its founding in 1880; in 1887, after praising the Australians as egalitarians emancipated from the tyrannies of Europe, it declared: 'No nigger, no Chinaman, no lascar, no Kanaka, no purveyor of cheap coloured labour is an Australian.'⁶⁶ It was even held against the Chinese by the anti-clerical *Bulletin* that they were not Christians. The Chinese, the paper said, would 'surely taint the comparatively pure blood of the Caucasian race and

fill Australia with an effete, semi-Oriental nation', a fate forestalled only by a healthy 'sentiment of personal loathing which does so much to keep the races apart'.⁶⁷ One partisan accused the Chinese in Australia of being dirty in their minds and in their housekeeping and unresponsive to the claims of mateship. Even the absence of organised resistance to white persecution is held against them. 'John Chinaman will leave his comrade to die in a ditch, or cast him upon the tender mercies of the whites.'⁶⁸ On the one hand the *Bulletin* argued that the Chinese were a vigorous cultured people and all the more dangerous for not being barbarian; on the other it could say: 'Let him go back to his Middle Kingdom and turn himself into a monkey, and work slowly up the Darwinian scale as the white man himself had to do. Then let him come back to Australia a million years hence and try again.'⁶⁹ The *Bulletin* was for more than thirty years Lawson's most frequent publisher; the *Boomerang* and the *Lone Hand*, to which he contributed, were racist in policy. The *Boomerang* in 1888 ran William Lane's serial *White or Yellow*, foreseeing a rising of Queenslanders against a dictatorship of Chinese immigrants; a story in its issue of 13 December 1890 told of Aborigines trying to cure a sick man by sitting on his chest to keep the cough down and so killing him; it accompanied Lawson's poem 'The Cambaroora Star' with an illustration showing miners armed with whips evicting Chinese from a goldfield. At the Japanese defeat of Russia in 1905, the *Bulletin* and the *Lone Hand* saw Australia as threatened by the 'Asiatic menace'. Thomson foresaw Australia attaining national maturity by means of resisting a Chinese invasion.⁷⁰

The political results of this movement and the strong passions that promoted it were the restriction on Chinese immigration by 1888,⁷¹ the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1901 and the adoption, as part of the Labour Party's federal platform in 1905, of 'the cultivation of an Australian sentiment based upon the maintenance of racial purity'.

There was also the opposition to indentured labourers in Queensland. In 1890 the Amalgamated Shearers' Union passed a by-law refusing admission not only to Chinese but to South Sea Islanders.⁷² In the following year the General Labourers' Union, meeting in Adelaide, imposed the same restriction.⁷³ The opposition to South Sea Island labour which culminated

in the repatriation of most of the labourers by the end of 1906⁷⁴ was without the moral opprobrium attached to the Chinese, since it was known there were abuses in the recruitment of the labour, and the labourers were seen as the ignorant dupes of the planters. The provenance of these labourers is important to my purpose and it is not clarified by the freedom with which contemporary partisans indiscriminately called them black, Polynesian, Kanaka, and Pacific Islander. Most of them were Melanesian: returns for the years 1868-76 cited by C. M. H. Clark give their sources as the Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides, Banks Islands (in the New Hebrides), and the Solomons. Only from the Banks Islands and some parts of the New Hebrides and one or two small outliers of the Solomons might there have been Polynesians.⁷⁵ O. W. Parnaby, giving Queensland sources for 1863-1905, lists fewer than a hundred labourers from Polynesia proper (Rotuma, Samoa, Tonga) and the greatest proportion from the Solomons and New Hebrides.⁷⁶ The number of Polynesians amongst the indentured labourers must have been small.

But if the Amalgamated Shearers' Union in 1890 would not admit Chinese and South Sea Islanders to future membership, it did allow eight of them who were already members to continue in the union⁷⁷ and three years later the same union, extended and renamed the Australian Workers' Union, made specific exceptions to its restriction: 'No Chinese, Japanese, Kanakas or Afghans or coloured aliens other than Maoris, American negroes, or children of mixed parentage born in Australia shall be admitted to membership'.⁷⁸

The exceptions are interesting. What is common to all of these groups is their knowledge of English—in contrast to the indentured Melanesians⁷⁹—and their familiarity with, or adaptability to, a European society divided into classes with opposed economic interests. Maoris and American negroes were frequently employed on Pacific ships; in the early years of the century there were two cases of negroes in Australia being popular with white settlers.⁸⁰ There is an interesting parallel in a serial story in the *Sydney Worker* in 1894 in which some Australian itinerant labourers have as mates on the tramp first an American negro and later some Maoris.⁸¹ The teller's attitude is slightly patronising, it is true, since the negro is called 'a big American nigger', and 'Maori Ben' is admired for

his prowess in pub fights and his expertise in catching and killing pigs; but they were accepted. That the acceptance of Maoris was due in part to experience of them as trade unionists is apparent from Spence's account of his efforts to recruit members for the Amalgamated Shearers' Union in 1887:

Near the end of shearing I sent the three organizers to New Zealand, and they organized the shearers in that colony also. We had the rules translated and printed in Maori. We enrolled a considerable number of that race and found them staunch unionists.⁸²

Spence's memoir contains an 'Honor List of Union Prisoners' imprisoned in New South Wales between 1891 and 1894 for unionist activity: one name is Polynesian, probably Maori, Paul Pahae.⁸³ The *Bulletin* in a paragraph in its feature 'Aboriginalities' on 30 October 1897 notes with a mixture of amusement and approval that Maori shearers on Chatham Island had struck for higher pay. On the other hand, the *Bulletin* thought it a waste of time educating or even christianising Aborigines: 'Christianity was never intended for blackfellows. Its higher doctrines they are incapable of understanding.'⁸⁴ It regretted that Aborigines had been so far corrupted by European vices that they were beyond reform; it deplored, but contemplated with equanimity, the current slaughter by settlers of Aborigines in Queensland and concluded: 'The aboriginal race is moribund. All we can do now is to give an opiate to the dying man, and when he expires bury him decently'.⁸⁵

The basis then of the trades unions' hostility to Chinese and indentured Melanesians and Afghans was economic; so too was the sympathy for Maoris. The unionist attitudes, obscured as they are by racist and jingoist accretions, are parallel with those of Lawson. The Aborigines were no serious economic threat to workers, but they were unlikely to be economic allies, and it did not matter whether they were ignored or hated or occasionally indulged. There was a positive readiness to accept Maoris.

The Reluctant Bushman

I

The bushman's code* in terms of which Lawson judged non-Australians took time to develop; the attitudes and assumptions underlying it were determined by events and pressures over many years.¹ Much of the code Lawson would have absorbed during his childhood and adolescence at New Pipeclay (later renamed Eurunderee) near Mudgee in New South Wales. His most dramatic exposure to it was his brief spell on the Darling in 1892-3, when J. F. Archibald, editor of the *Bulletin*, gave him £5 and a railway ticket to Bourke.² It was a season of severe drought and of depression and smouldering industrial dispute between shearers and sheep-owners. Lawson spent some time in Bourke where he found a job painting, then joined a mate Jim Gordon and headed west to a shearing shed at Toorale where they found a job picking up. From Toorale they walked to Queensland, through Goombalie to Hungerford. After a few months' casual work and tramping they returned to Bourke where they got a drovers' pass and took sheep by rail either to Homebush or Flemington on the western outskirts of Sydney.³ The jobs he took were always those of lower status in the outback scale of values: he was never a shearer but with his mates worked as wool-picker, wool-roller, wool-scourer, and rouseabout; sheep-droving, Russell Ward says, was much less esteemed than bullock-droving.⁴

* In this book I use *bush* in its Australian sense of 'rural hinterland', not in the New Zealand sense of 'rain-forest', and *bushman* to mean a rural dweller or worker and not an axeman or timber worker.

Lawson was always, as H. M. Green says, pedestrian, not equestrian.⁵ He had spent four to five months on the shearing boards of the Darling and the time of a train journey returning with the sheep to Sydney. A. J. Coombes has said, 'This brief sojourn formed practically the whole of Lawson's Australian bush experience between the time that he left Eurunderie [*sic*] and his death.'⁶ Arthur Jose wrote of Lawson's later 'knowledge that he could subsist indefinitely on the product of his one year's [*sic*] backblocks experience between Bourke and Hungerford'.⁷ But this ignores Lawson's sixteen years of less dramatic hardship at Eurunderee and Gulgong and his briefer spells at Lahey's Creek, Wallerawang, and Mount Victoria. The old and, one hopes, superannuated argument that at various times has involved Banjo Paterson (however genuinely), A. G. Stephens, Jose, H. M. Green, and more recently Cecil Mann, whether Lawson's representation of the outback was pessimistic, whether he 'understood' the bush, is not only irrelevant to his quality as an artist, it overlooks the intensity of his exposure to the physical and economic privations of the Darling country in 1892. If Paterson conceded that where he himself prospected on horseback and had his meals prepared for him, Lawson walked and had to cook for himself, he did not appreciate that Lawson was prospecting for employment and at times had no food to cook. Lawson's letters to Aunt Emma show what he suffered:

I am now camped on the Queensland side of the border—a beaten man. . . . No work and very little to eat; we lived mostly on johnny cakes and cadged a bit of meat here and there at the miserable stations. Have been three days without sugar. Once in Bourke I'll find means of getting back to Sydney—never to face the bush again. . . . You can have no idea of the horrors of the country out here. Men tramp and beg like dogs. It is two months since I slept in what you can call a bed. We walk as far as we can—according to the water—and then lay down and roll ourselves in our blankets. The flies start at daylight and we fight them all day till dark—then mosquitos start. I'm writing on an old tin and my legs ache too much to let me sit any longer. I've always tried to write cheerful letters so you'll excuse this one. . . .⁸

After tramping the 140 miles to Bourke he wrote: 'My boots were worn out and I was in rags when I arrived here. . . . I find

that I've tramped more than 300 miles since I left here last. That's all I ever intend to do with a swag. It's too hot to write any more'.⁹

The situation in which Lawson found himself that summer was one in which nomadic workers were entirely dependent on the controlling forces—the sheep-owners and the climate; and those forces were malign. It was a situation in which the individual could not survive except in combination and mutual aid. The need was answered in political terms by the new unionism; in personal terms by the code of mateship, of which Lawson became the most articulate exponent. It was a partnership of two, or of three, men in unquestioning mutual loyalty for mutual protection and interest, and it carried a deep reserve of emotion, mutually recognised and respected, but seldom revealed or referred to. In Lawson's work indeed there are features of the same universe that one finds in a line of literature in English that includes Arnold and Hardy and Sargeson and Beckett, in which with variety of emphasis the universe is desolate or hostile or indifferent and the only consolation of the lonely or struggling human soul is the affection of others. In Lawson, the desolation is implied, and seldom stated except in terms of landscape or climate, and the emphasis is on the consolations and the comedy of comradeship. At a time when the code survives mainly in the outback or in such specialised male communities as the armed services, one of Lawson's several descriptions might be needed as illustration:

The Australian Bushman is born with a mate who sticks to him through life—like a mole. They may be hundreds of miles apart sometimes, and separated for years, yet they are mates for life. A Bushman may have many mates in his roving, but there is always one *his* mate, 'my mate'; and it is common to hear a Bushman, who is, in every way, a true mate to the man he happens to be travelling with, speak of *his mate's mate*—'Jack's mate'—who might be in Klondyke or South Africa. A Bushman has always a mate to comfort him and argue with him and work and tramp and drink with him, and lend him quids when he's hard up, and call him a b—— fool, and fight him sometimes; to abuse him to his face and defend his name behind his back; to bear false witness and perjure his soul for his sake; to lie to the girl for him if he's single, and to his wife if he's married; to secure a 'pen' for him at a shed where he isn't on the spot, or, if

the mate is away in New Zealand or South Africa, to write and tell him if it's any good coming over this way. And each would take the word of the other against all the world, and each believes that the other is the straightest chap that ever lived—'a white man!' And next best to your old mate is the man you're tramping, riding, working or drinking with.¹⁰

Mateship had an unspoken protocol of which Lawson was a passionate champion. Jim Gordon tells this of their tramping on the Darling:

After leaving Gumbalie, we made across to the Hungerford road, which in a few miles brought us to a Government tank. . . . The day was warm, the water-bag empty, and we were tired and thirsty, so we stopped some distance back at the tank that was filled by an oil-engine pump, to keep the troughs supplied. Our other mate was in the lead, and he clambered up and filled a billy and handed it down to us. We both had a long pull. Then he said: 'Come up and have a look.' There was a carpet-snake about six feet long floating, dead and swollen! Henry's eyes flashed as he said: 'He's a blanker of a mate. Come on, we'll leave him.' As we lifted our drums to move on the man said, 'Where yer goin'? Ain't we goin' to camp here?' Lawson dropped his swag hurriedly and made a step or two towards him, and answered: 'We are going on, but you are staying here.' He stayed and I never saw him after. Thinking over the incident now I do not fancy that he saw the snake till after we drank the water, and on the spur of the moment invited us to look. Still it may have been his idea of humor.¹¹

For reasons that will appear later in this study I want to concentrate on the recurring motif in Lawson of two symbolic bushmen Bill and Jim. They show up in a good number of poems and stories; Bill as Boozing Bill and Corny Bill, a mate and a rover, Boko Bill who stole some cases from a cart; and Jim as Jimmy Nowlett the bullock-drover, Jimmy Noland 'the stranger's friend', Jim Duggan and Jim Barnes, shearer and jealous mate, and Tambaroora Jim, the soft-hearted publican.¹² He appears as Flash Jim, the breaker, and Jim the Ringer.¹³ Jim is likely in the heat of a quarrel to say things he does not mean, as when he quarrels with Bill and says he 'hoped the coloured races would in time wipe out the white'.¹⁴ As Jim Duggan he hates greed and injustice; he fights the boss-over-

the-board and is beaten, but when the boss-over-the-board does not sack him, Jim raises three cheers for him.¹⁵ When Bill-o'-th'-Bush dies, Jim and his mates bury him and Jim 'blubbers and is unashamed', then takes round the hat for Bill's widow and children.¹⁶

Bill and Jim quarrel, but they can count on each other's help in danger: 'with faces grim' they ride out to meet a bush fire.¹⁷ They are comrades in fights in peace and war: in a war Jim recalls the time when he was held by the police for assaulting a Chinese and Bill rescued him by laying out three policemen. Bill is hit by a piece of shell and dies, and Jim sticks to 'what's left of Bill'. Bill says, as Jim reminisces,

You needn't mag, for I knowed, old chum, I knowed, old
pal, you'd stick.¹⁸

Lawson elevates them into type figures, if not symbols, of the Australian bushman. Jimmy Noland, the stranger's friend is likened to the Good Samaritan and seen as a model of Christ, and Bill is raised to an eternal figure:

He shall live to the end of this mad old world, he has lived
since the world began,
He has never done any good for himself, but was good to
every man.
He has never done any good for himself, and I'm sure that
he never will,
He drinks and he swears and he fights at times, and his name
is mostly Bill.¹⁹

According to the *Bulletin*, Lawson named (or more accurately nicknamed) his son Jim 'in memory of the many unknown heroes of that name who have been buried under the mulga trees in the Never Never'.²⁰ He planned, if Bertha bore twins, to call them Bill and Jim.²¹

But it was characteristic of Lawson to attack the very convention he was to develop: 'Half the bushmen are *not* called "Bill", nor the other half "Jim". We knew a shearer whose name was Reginald! Jim doesn't tell pathetic yarns in bad doggerel in a shearer's hut—if he did, the men would tap their heads and wink'.²²

He later claimed to differentiate between them as characters: Bill was steady and easy-going, hard-working but liked an occasional spree; Jim had good intentions but was independ-

able and broke out when drunk but in the last resort he could be depended upon to enlist in a war, and to be loyal to his mate.²³ He once conflated them into a joint figure Biljim, and then protested against the conflation. 'In the first place, there isn't, and never was any "Biljim". He's a monster that was invented by some alleged writer who never knew either Bill or Jim, and is equally unknown to them. Their natures are as far apart as poles are.'²⁴ But if the invention was not his own he had used it in the previous year, when 'a certain man from anywhere, call him Biljim, journeying out to Hungerford, leaves a sick mate at the Half-way Pub'.²⁵ In this story Biljim, who is likened to the Good Samaritan, gives the publican a couple of quid to look after his mate and promises to pay anything extra after shearing. And in 1917 Lawson again used 'Biljim' as a type-name for a bushman.²⁶

Bill, Jim, and Biljim were seen as types of what Russel Ward has called the Noble Bushman; though there is some awareness that they are figures of the past. As early as 1905 Lawson is nostalgic:

Where are Bill and Jim and Mary and the Songs They
used to Sing.²⁷

The *Bulletin's* competition for an epitaph for Biljim in 1918 may be seen as the burial of a literary figure who had long ceased to exist in reality.²⁸ But to Lawson, Bill and Jim typify his experience for a total of seventeen or eighteen years of two or three areas of New South Wales at a time in the country's history that he came to see as its most significant and by which he came to judge all other ways of living. The further he grew from that experience the more sentimental his exposition of the bushmen's code becomes. In the main, and in his verse, Bill and Jim typify the Darling experience rather than Eurunderee. It is 'the Bourke of Ninety-one and two' that Lawson sees as a lost Eden; the 'west' is 'the land of Bills and Jims'.²⁹ It is the men of the West, of the Dry Countree, of the Never Never, who are the Men who made Australia, who were the first to enlist in the country's wars, real and imaginary, who will save Australia in the Storm that is to Come. The noble bushman is also white supremacist:

He has 'stood 'em off' while others escaped, when the niggers
rushed from the hill.³⁰

In contrast the rising generation of urban Australians were contemptible:

And who will hold the invader back when the shells tear up
the ground—

The weeds that yelp by the cycling track while a nigger
scorches round?⁸¹

His antipathy to urban behaviour appears in an undated clipping from the *Worker*: 'Put aside the bosh about Australia and what remains? The remnant of a dying race of men who *were* men, though somewhat small-minded, and a rising race of "dudes" and larrikins. What a land for swindlers!'⁸² And in the *Worker* in 1893 he said: 'The average Australian youth is a weedy individual with a weak, dirty and contemptible vocabulary, and a cramped mind devoted to sport; his god is a two-legged brute with unnaturally developed muscles and no brains'.⁸³ In an undated typescript on the 'Sydney street crowd' he sardonically proposes mass extermination: 'In view of the utter failure of a Universal Decentralization policy, I am in favour of the establishment of commodious lethal chambers, with large crematoriums attached on all City and Suburban centres, and judicious Selection'.⁸⁴

Lawson judged his society in terms of the bushman's code and increasingly he found himself out of sympathy with it. Australia discarded the values of the outback and Lawson in his latter years in Sydney disdained the new values of a commercial and partly industrial metropolis. In his later writing he looks backwards, and he hankered for the time when his writing had been in key with the national consciousness, or at least of the Bills and Jims whom he thought of as his readers. 'And so we go, with the motor car dust in our faces and the giggle and laugh in our ears; but the day shall come when the Sydney people shall remember Faces in the Street, as I remember the boy who wrote it.'⁸⁵

II

But there is a polarity in Lawson's attitude to the bushmen, reflecting the difference in the *mores*, on the one hand, of the diggers and the nomadic workers, and on the other, of settled families on selections and in small bush townships. It is this difference, I imagine, that underlies the symbols, noted by

Cecil Mann and Dorothy Green, of the Tent and the Tree.³⁶ There is in Lawson's stories of the nomadic labourers a bias towards comedy or optimism and genial irony or sentimentality about human nature, and in his stories of selectors and bush wives a bias towards pathos and a pessimistic or darkly sardonic view, not so much of human nature as of life.

To explore this polarity it is necessary to sketch something of Lawson's personality and of the more immediate agents that determined it. Various images of Lawson have been cultivated by interested parties, and each of them has some truth. For some years after his death the nationalists presented him almost as the Noble Bushman himself; Marxists have promoted him as the exponent of the most healthy Australian traditions, the champion of the underdog and fearless spokesman against tyranny and injustice; his mates insisted on 'the real Henry'—a gentle, sensitive man with brown, searching eyes. There is plenty of witness to his geniality and amicability, and there is some to his moroseness. An inquiry like this that keeps in mind his misunderstanding in Mangamaunu must look for weaknesses and limitations, and result in a view of his personality that is incomplete. But in the main it is not necessary to go beyond Lawson's own view of himself.

His autobiography is invaluable to an understanding of him, and the tone of self-pity in the last passage quoted is characteristic of it. Yet, at least in the main, and best-known, part of the autobiography the self-pity is not offensive, and that part is curiously (to use Cecil Mann's word) 'satisfying', probably because the pity extends to everyone who comes into it, even those who hurt him.³⁷

From the 'Fragment of an Autobiography' it is plain that Lawson's childhood was a pretty miserable one. Even his birth was attended by mishap. I prefer to disregard the melodramatics of the account given no fewer than six times by his younger sister Gertrude O'Connor,³⁸ not only because she wasn't there, but because her aunt Emma Brooks,* who was present within an hour of Lawson's birth, discounted Mrs O'Connor's 'very untruthfull rubbish.'³⁹ But even without the sensational details it was a singularly unpropitious entry into the world. 'I saw him first an houre old or less a poor thin ill

* I use the spelling Mrs Brooks used signing a letter in 1924.

baby . . . I did not expect him to live', Mrs Brooks wrote.⁴⁰ One digger recalled the baby as 'the crossest child on the field[;] all the adjoining digger[s] had to shift their tents to get sleep at night'.⁴¹ Louisa Lawson's mother Harriet Albury took the baby home and reported him 'very sick'. When he was taken back to his parents he was, according to Emma Brooks, 'very ill and dreadfully neglected' till taken over by a neighbouring digger's wife.⁴²

Lawson's childhood, as his 'Fragment of an Autobiography' describes it, was at times as lonely and loveless as would seem possible for a boy to bear. Such attention as he received from his mother, who intermittently neglected the home and the children for her intellectual pursuits, was inadequate. His father, sturdy and affectionate enough, was taciturn. He formed no friendships with other children or warm attachments to his brothers and sisters, except, as Prout claims, for his young sister Annette who died before she was nine months old.⁴³ Lawson's own words are eloquent:

The strange child (for I was little more), who had been misunderstood, mocked, and tormented at school the few months he went there until it* was a very hell he seldom cared to look back to—until he'd say while yet a child himself that he 'thought boys were very brutal and heartless', whereat his ignorant elders would consider him, to be if not as mad as his schoolma[s]ter said he was, at least very 'queer' and idiotic.⁴⁴

Home was no more than a relief from school:

and then the craving for love, affection, even consideration where the[re] was none, the ~~worship~~ sympathy, love, even worship, wasted in a quarter where there was ~~usu~~ none.⁴⁵

Home life was unspeakably wretched. . . . I remember, as a child, slipping round in the dark behind the pig-stye, or anywhere, to cry my heart out, and Old Pedro, the dog would come round with sympathetic nose and tail, and I'd put my arms round his neck and bury my face in his rough hair, and have my cry out . . . Yes, Pipeclay was a miserable little hell to me to the† bitter end, and a trip to Grannie's at Wallerawang, was the only glimpse of heaven my childhood ever knew. . . . But such a trip left me worse and more hopelessly in my own little hell afterwards.⁴⁶

* it] the time *written above*, MS.

† the] be MS.

Gertrude O'Connor recalled: 'At times the whole responsibility of farm and family would fall upon his young shoulders when mother would develop one of those strange fits of abstraction in which she would seem to vegetate for days, taking heed of nothing and eating nothing.'⁴⁷ It is one of these moods of Louisa's that Lawson uses in his story 'A Child in the Dark', described by Mrs O'Connor, perhaps with some exaggeration, as 'a wonderfully realistic picture of his home life upon the farm'.⁴⁸ Lawson was pushing a plough before he was ten.⁴⁹ His younger brother Peter remembered him as 'impatient, irritable, irascible, impossible—pitching his mother's writing material into a shaft in her absense', and again as 'quick-tempered, hasty and not always kind in judgment'.⁵⁰ Of the *Lone Hand* version of the 'Fragment of an Autobiography' Gertrude said it could not be improved on, but Peter dismissed it as 'his reprisals against the maternal taunts'.⁵¹ Emma Brooks, the member of the family who knew him best, said, 'He was not a bad-tempered man but very irritable & dissatisfied'.⁵²

He was further isolated by his partial deafness which began when he was nine. When he left school and was painting schools with his father he continued to fear the schoolboys 'and avoided them on every possible occasion'.⁵³ Emma Brooks described him as 'very bushy and bashful'.⁵⁴ Lawson recalled that as a youth he was 'bushy, shy, different from other boys', and in the Sydney railway-carriage workshops his mother sent him to, he was the victim of gang torment.⁵⁵ Writing his later autobiography he shed 'a hot burst of tears' for the 'delicate, shabby, soul-starved and totally uneducated Bush Boy of eighteen or nineteen, drought born and drought bred, who lived and suffered as I has discribed in a previous section of this series, and slaved in a factory amongst Sydney larkins...'.⁵⁶

It is not surprising that he grew up with a deep sense of isolation, even of desolation. The desolation he objectified in his 'western' landscapes. The isolation was artistically less tractable. In a sense, he never felt that he belonged.

In a letter to Ernest Watt, a soldier friend recovering from wounds in an English hospital, Lawson confessed this in a tone that veers between seriousness and playfulness:

Now I'll tell you this, Benno, old chap, and you can tell the nurse if you like: married or single "happy home" or not—*there's such a thing as home home sickness* as well as the foriegn kind or brand; and when the hero-welcome—or prodigal-son welcome—it doesn't matter which—is over, you'll feel in you[r] bowels that awful, sinking, world-emptiness which is infinitely worse than any home-sickness abroad, because it is born of [the] hoary Grand-father of all disallusions—(or imagined disallusions—its all the same—its all hallucinations*) and is, or will seem to be the End—the Limit. Its [a] mighty, omnipotent Rea[c]tion, of course—the same as on the first night in a Promised Land, like this; after a long voyage or a long trip, but to know that beforehand doesn't help it. It comes sudden and unexpected like a bullet in a hail of shrapnel or anywhere. I've felt *that* kind of home-sickness for the last place I came from, or for anywhere, and so, I suppose have most of the other oldsters here. Then, for a space, you'd be ready to hug the first stray Turk you came across and drop a tear over his shoulder for the sake of the good old—(they'll seem old *then*) the good old times you had with him. . . .† Perhaps, after all the chaps are happiest who went home in Gallipoli for the last time and are burried side by side with their brave and dearly beloved enemies. Allah is great—and Christ was very weary, and must have suffered both kinds of home-sickness more than once. I suppose Allah got the hump often enough too.⁵⁷

The passage is notable for a number of points. It shows the relation, in Lawson's philosophy, between the consolation of human affection and despair; the Promised Land is a let-down; even the chaos of Gallipoli can seem 'home' to a soldier who has known it and left it, and the only release from this kind of home-sickness is death, presumably the last (and first) 'home'. But even more notably, Lawson saw no point in distinguishing between real and imagined disillusions, saw both as hallucination, disillusion as only another illusion.

His first more prolonged experience of affectionate human contact was when he left Sydney in 1888 to work with his father. Frank Sargeson has commented on the depth of Lawson's feeling for his father, and James Vance Marshall tells of

* hallucinations] hallicalusions MS.

† Punctuation as in the MS.

Lawson being visibly moved at the memory of his father's death thirty years afterwards. P. J. Lawson claimed that Lawson had quarrelled with his father shortly before he died, and Lawson in later life used to dream of reconciliation with him.⁵⁸ His 'Fragment of an Autobiography' effectively stops at his father's death. While working with Peter Lawson at Mount Victoria, Lawson discovered the camaraderie of the pub. Bertha recalled:

He told me that he had never had a drink until he was doing contract work with his father, and met some wild young spirits from the bush—workmates on his painting jobs. He found friendship and companionship in their recreations. He forgot the secretiveness and nervous diffident shyness that so oppressed him, forgot that he was deaf or tired or lonely or defeated. He felt confident and exhilarated, able to do anything, and to face the world.⁵⁹

The comradeship, so unfamiliar, must have been as exciting as the drink; it is easy to understand why he found it so hard to give up the pub. He said: 'there was between us that sympathy which in our times and conditions is the strongest and perhaps the truest of all human qualities, the sympathy of drink. We were drinking mates together'.⁶⁰ The mateship and union solidarity he found on the Darling in 1892-3 were an extension or confirmation of his first revelation of camaraderie; but more than this, he was participating in national events and felt the excitement of identification with a communal spirit and purpose. For artistic confidence he needed, and often drew on, a consciousness of spokesmanship and of having a distinct and sympathetic readership, 'the chaps who bar-racked for me . . . the men who had faith in me! . . . the men who believe in me'.⁶¹ There is in the Mutch papers a letter from a union secretary asking Lawson's permission to use lines from his verse on the tombstone erected for a shearer killed in one of the strikes of the 1890s, and on it Lawson wrote that this request made him 'prouder than anything'. In his latter years, the consciousness of being out of harmony with contemporary Australian aspirations is one of the sources of his sense of defeat, his self-engrossment, and self-pity.

But it must be recognised that Lawson was a bushman not by choice but by birth, and he was always a reluctant one. He remained true to his vow never to go on the swag again, and

if he inveighed against the 'towneys' of Sydney he was content to live most of his last twenty years among them. He came to the bushmen's camaraderie comparatively late in life, when he was twenty, and to the men of 'the west' when he was twenty-five; and his advocacy of their code is correspondingly superficial and sentimental. It was not so deeply assimilated as to eliminate the moodiness and the deep suspicion of others in which Eurunderee had trained him. His more memorable stories of the nomadic labourers are comic; his serious and pathetic stories are concerned not with mates but with the courage or persistence, in the face of hardship, of those who are stuck in the bush and not likely to get out of it.

It was not only the younger generation of his middle and later years that he was out of sympathy with. John Le Gay Brereton remembered a remark Lawson made in 1894:

'Now listen', he said. 'I know what I'm talking about. I couldn't say it in public because my living depends partly on what I'm writing for the *Worker*: but you can take it from me, Jack, the Australian worker is a brute and nothing else.'⁶²

He was unfair to himself because he had, in the previous year and in the *Worker*, written contemptuously of workers, both urban and rural. And in 1894, again in the *Worker*, he attacked the very sentiment of which he was to become the chief apostle:

That egotistic word 'mateship'—which was born of New Australian imagination, and gushed about to a sickening extent—implied a state of things which never existed any more than the glorious old unionism which was going to bear us on to freedom on one wave. The one was too glorious, and the other too angelic to exist amongst mortals. We mus[t] look at the nasty side of the truth, as well as the other, conceited side.⁶³

Lawson was aware that the bushmen in his writing were idealised. In his 'Fragment of an Autobiography' this passage is cancelled and statted: '(My diggers are idealised or drawn from a few better class diggers as [the shearers *cancelled*] my Bushmen are sketched from better class Bushmen').⁶⁴ It is true that in a letter to George Robertson in 1917, he remembered 'the splendid type of shearer with which I was in contact in

Bourke in those days'.⁶⁵ But nearer in time to his Bourke trip he wrote:

The average Australian bushman is too selfish, narrow-minded, and fond of the booze to liberate his country. The average shearer thinks that he is the only wronged individual, and that the squatter is the only tyrant on the face of the earth. Also, the shearer is too often a god-almighty in his own estimation; and it would be good for him to know that Australia might worry along if there wasn't a sheep in all the land.⁶⁶

The poetical bushman does not exist; the majority of the men out-back now are from the cities. The real native out-back bushman is narrow-minded, densely ignorant, invulnerably thick-headed. How could he be otherwise?⁶⁷

His own cult of the bushman's code was a rather shallow overlay on the bitterness of his childhood in New Pipeclay and his self-conscious youth in Sydney: 'It was torture through the invulnerable ignorance and mad unreasoning and absolutely unnecessary selfishness of others . . .'.⁶⁸ He refers to those who remained on the abandoned goldfields as 'the most unspeakably dreary narrow and paltry minded of all communities'.⁶⁹ He remembered 'the usual narrow-minded, senseless and purposeless little local fueds and quarrels'.⁷⁰ Such petty quarrelling is what he meant by 'localism'; and 'ignorance'—a word he uses repeatedly—seems to mean lack of appreciation of another point of view, inconsiderateness, selfishness, intolerance. One imagines it was a word Lawson's mother might have used in the stinging taunts P. J. Lawson spoke of.

The situation of the noble soul, sensitive and generous, misunderstood by a crass populace, recurs in his writing. It is abstracted in his description of London as 'a great city . . . of ignorant selfishness, cultured or brutish, and of noble and heroic endeavours frowned down or callously neglected . . .'.⁷¹ It occurs in 'To the Advanced Idealist' where democracy spurns the Idealist's 'Eyes of Truth' and his exhortations to 'Trust each other!' and accuses him of 'Axe to grind'.⁷² It occurs in 'Pigeon Toes' where the girl teacher in the bush school is also accused of having an axe to grind, and, as Lawson the boy had been in New Pipeclay, is called 'mad'. Dreariness and petty squabbling are the features of 'The Little World Left Behind' in which the only resident admired is the

leather-faced woman who 'looked her narrow, ignorant world in the face'.⁷³

In a late poem he faces the contradiction in his attitude to bushmen, but the resolution is sentimental. In 'The Local Spirit', the 'local spirit' is equated with the 'envious tongue' that murders 'local truth', with 'paltry private interests / And local mean ambitions' to which 'General Good' is 'sacrificed'; it kills 'manhood'.

But, though they may be very few,
And poor as autumn stubble.
The local friends are leal and true
Whenever one's in trouble.
They make a man hold up his head
And face the world and dare it!
And that's—when all is done and said—
The *other* Local Spirit.⁷⁴

Lawson did not explore conflict between an individual and a community, though the situation occurs occasionally in his writing, with the author championing one side or the other. For example the situation of the Advanced Idealist is identical with that of the Dying Anarchist, in which Lawson sides with the community. The anarchist finds his soul by recognising that in hating the world he is to blame for his loss of faith:

I lost faith in human nature! . . . Even when people were kind to me, and the world seemed treating me well, I grew suspicious. 'Axes to grind—axes to grind!' I cried, even when there were no axes to grind. . . . Ah, my brothers, [t]rust each other! Trust each other! Be true if you can—but *trust each other!* Have faith to the end.⁷⁵

That this passage has autobiographical reference is indicated by the anarchist's memory of his servitude at Grinder Brothers, the fictional name Lawson used for the Hudson Bros. railway-carriage workshops. But more often Lawson's sympathy is with the individual at odds with society. There is a small number of poems, most of them unpublished, in which there is relation between an exceptionally just or gifted man and an unindivuated crowd. What varies is whether the exceptional man's goodness or leadership is recognised by the crowd. 'The Good Samaritan' is

A man whose kinsmen never yet
Appreciated him.⁷⁶

In 'Cromwell' the English populace revile their leader when he is dead and go whoring after the Stuarts. In 'The Crucifixion' Christ is the Good Leader spurned and persecuted.⁷⁷ 'The Universal Brothers' is a variation of the Ugly Duckling myth: three unvalued geniuses reach belated recognition, the fool of the family as an inventor, the coward as a military hero, and the school dunce as a great poet.⁷⁸ The leadership of 'The Man Ahead' is recognised but his followers are an ungrateful and disloyal herd, too ready to listen to doubters, who need authoritarian control:

Choke the cowards! and choke 'em quick
For the sake of the man to be next ahead.⁷⁹

Only in 'The Drunken Leader' do the followers recognise the leader's charisma but they are no less herd-like in their reverently tending him through his drunken sleep, apparently unable to lead themselves until he recovers.⁸⁰

Beneath the professed cult of the itinerant bushman's code, there is in Lawson the permanent outlook of the boy who suffered for sixteen years in New Pipeclay, who pitied himself and came to pity others who had suffered or stood up to the hardships of the bush or the ostracisms of its settlements. This aspect in him was in artistic control and is the impulse of some of his best prose. But one part of his personality that he never came to terms with in his writing is the relation of the outcast boy to society. The boy who had at times been neglected, undervalued, overworked, and mocked, continued to assert himself in Lawson's mind in self-comforting poses of genius rejected or of leadership, messianic or dictatorial. It is a part of Lawson that fortunately affects only some of his verse, and hardly at all affects his prose, which he himself valued more highly than his verse.⁸¹ But it was present, if then only latent, in the man who came to Mangamaunu in 1897.

The Ngai-tahu of Kaikoura

I

The Maoris of the Kaikoura district in Lawson's time were predominantly Ngai-tahu. Other Maoris of Marlborough province, north of the White Bluffs, and especially around the Sounds, were Rangitane and Ngati-toa. A tradition of the earliest settlement of the district is that a canoe Uruao brought a people calling themselves Waitaha direct from Hawaiki to the Kaikoura coast.¹ According to later traditions the coast was subject to three invasions from the North Island tribes. In the mid-sixteenth century the Ngati-mamoe destroyed or eventually absorbed the Waitaha.² In the mid-seventeenth century there was an invasion by the Ngai-tahu, who by the end of the century had occupied the Marlborough Coast from the Awatere to the Conway.³ The Ngati-mamoe were driven further south as the Ngai-tahu occupied the whole eastern coast of the South Island.⁴ There were about 2,000 Ngai-tahu in the Kaikoura district in 1829 when there was a further invasion, this time by the Ngati-toa under Te Rauparaha, dispossessed of their own ancestral land by the Waikato tribes. In the raid on Kaikoura 1,400 Ngai-tahu were killed. The inhabitants of Omihi, about fifteen miles further south, were defeated and those not killed or taken prisoner fled to the mountains or south to another Ngai-tahu settlement Kaia-pohia (Kaiapoi). Two of the survivors of the Omihi raid, Paratene Wahaaruhe and Ihaia Wahaaruhe, boys at the time and half-brothers, were in Lawson's time elders at Manga-maunu, both of them early members of the school committee,

and one of them Mary Jacob's grandfather. For fear of retaliation by the Ngai-tahu in other parts of the South Island Te Rauparaha did not attempt to hold Kaikoura.⁵ He was defeated by the Ngai-tahu under Tuhawaiki at Oraumoa (Fighting Bay) near Port Underwood in 1835, and a formal peace was made which ratified his conquest of the Pelorus and Wairau districts, where colonies of Ngati-toa had settled.⁶ These districts were not Ngai-tahu territory but occupied by the Ngati-kuia hapu of the Rangitane tribe, who had come from the North Island after the Ngati-mamoe. It is to a garbled version of these events that Bertha Lawson refers when she said: 'Our Maoris . . . had originally been North Islanders, but had been defeated in war and were said to have been kept as slaves'.⁷ Henry Lawson's reference is derived from the same incomplete account:

And the last that were born of a noble race—when the page
of the South was fair—
The sons of the conquered dwelt in peace with the sons of
of the victors there.⁸

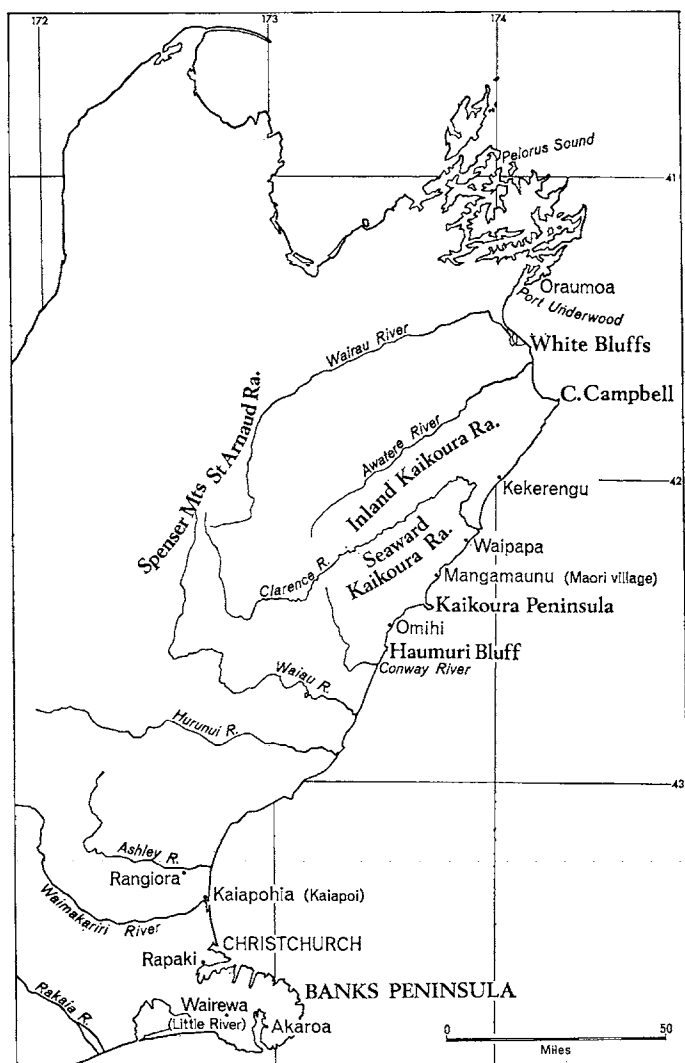
Refugees from the raid on Kaikoura were massacred in the Puhipuhi Valley behind Mangamaunu but there is no evidence of slaughter at Mangamaunu.⁹ By the 1840s the Ngai-tahu were again in occupation of the Kaikoura district in very small numbers; in 1849 J. W. Hamilton, a government land-buyer, reported the population from the Clarence to the Conway to be no more than sixty.

It did not rise greatly through the century; in 1858 Hamilton reported eighty people in Kaikoura county, living in seven settlements; in 1878, sixty-seven; in 1881 the figure is eighty-four; in 1896, the year before Lawson's arrival, seventy-seven.¹⁰ Of these forty-nine were Ngai-tahu and six half-castes, so that twenty-two must have been from other districts. Even if one allows for the inaccuracy of census-taking among a population semi-literate and seasonally migrant, the rate of natural increase was low: in 1878 Alexander Mackay, Crown Commissioner, counted only twenty-one children under 15 out of a total Ngai-tahu population of sixty-seven; in 1896, in a figure that includes Maoris other than Ngai-tahu, the number of children under 15 was only twenty-seven.¹¹ In the six years preceding 1874, Maori births for the whole of Marlborough

province, in a population of 452, exceeded deaths by only thirteen.¹²

The peace with Te Rauparaha had resulted in the recognition of Ngai-tahu ownership over land south of the White Bluffs (between the Wairau and Awatere rivers), and the Kaikoura Maoris claimed special ownership of land from the White Bluffs south to the Waiau river, and extending inland to the Spenser mountains, a claim recognised by the Ngai-tahu of Kaiapohia and Rapaki in Canterbury province. Hamilton estimated the size of their lands as being between a million acres and a million and a half. Yet though, Hamilton said, the whole of the country had by this time (1858) 'long been occupied by [European] sheep-owners', no payment had been made to the owners of the land.¹³ Government land-buyers had assumed the land belonged to the Ngati-toa and had already made two purchases from them; £3,000 had been paid between 1847 and 1851 for the Wairau and neighbouring district, and at Wellington in 1853 the Ngati-toa sold all their claims in the South Island for £5,000.

In the government view the Wairau block extended inland as far as the Wairau River and south to a straight line running from the source of the Wairau to Kaiapoi: it included most of the land claimed by the Kaikoura Maoris. Naturally they did not recognise either the Ngati-toa claim to have won the land by conquest or the government purchase based on this claim, and in 1852 they had refused access to a government surveyor.¹⁴ The Kaikoura spokesman Whakatau in 1856 offered the lands for £150 provided that certain small areas were reserved for his people. But in the three years before the sale was made, Whakatau learned more of the value of his land; he at first asked for £5,000, but Mackay, the buyer, beat him down to £300 subject to 5,565 acres being reserved for Whakatau's people.¹⁵ This, the Kaikoura purchase, was signed in March 1859. The area sold lay between the White Bluffs and the Hurunui River, and extended inland to the Spenser and St Arnaud mountains: its area was two and a half million acres.¹⁶ The reserve land was coastal, and the Mangamaunu block was the largest—a strip of coast about 12 miles long and hardly a mile deep. At the Mangamaunu end it consisted of a beach of boulders and blacksand, a strip of flat with fern and flax and manuka backed by an abrupt 50-foot terrace on



Marlborough and North Canterbury, showing sites of some nineteenth century Maori villages and places mentioned in the text

which the old village (known earlier as Hapenui and Haunui) stood at the base of the foothills of a coastal range rising to 3,000 feet. For 12 miles north, almost as far as the Clarence mouth, it consisted of cliffs, beaches, rocky shores, hills and the lower seaward faces of the range with stretches of scrub and timber on the flanks and in the gullies. Mackay considered the block to be 'of the most useless and worthless description' and doubted that it would meet the economic needs of the Maoris. Yet it was, in its provision of food or access to food—fish, shell-fish, crayfish, birds, karaka berries—vital to the Maoris' existence and infinitely more valuable than the foodless acres of tussock hills the Pakeha wanted to buy.¹⁷ Whakatau's raising of the price possibly reflects an awareness of the potential value of the land, but without sheep, credit, or capital his people could not have made use of it.

Hamilton's statement that the whole country had 'long been occupied' by sheep-owners must be an exaggeration. Mr J. M. Sherrard tells me that the first European sheep-runs at Kaikoura were established at the end of the fifties. Buick dates the first settler, who took possession of a run in the district, at February 1860; it had been offered him by a leaseholder who held the land under licence from the Nelson government but had not stocked it.^{18*} Elvy mentions cattle-runs established by 1859.¹⁹ Sales to leaseholders had apparently begun by 1856, but large sales did not begin till after the Kaikoura purchase, when in the latter half of 1860, 63,741 acres of rural land were sold.²⁰ By the end of 1866, 468,916 acres of country land had been sold at an average price of 6s. 8d. an acre.²¹ Some of the runs were large: returns for Kaikoura county in 1897 when Lawson was in Mangamaunu show sixteen run-holders with estates of over 1,000 acres, nine with holdings of more than 5,000 acres, and four, including a bank, with holdings of more than 10,000 acres.²² It was not until between 1898 and 1900 that under Liberal legislation, the big holdings were divided into farm sections and small grazing runs.²³ For example, an estate of 18,000 acres at Puhipuhi, directly inland from Mangamaunu, was resumed by the Crown in 1898 and subsequently redivided for sale, rent, or lease in perpetuity to a

* A few depasturage licences had been issued in the early fifties by the Nelson government before Marlborough had separated from Nelson province.

number of settlers.²⁴ There was a big influx of European settlers and by 1900 European children outnumbered Maoris at Mangamaunu School.²⁵

A shore whaling-station was established at Waiopuka (on Kaikoura Peninsula) and was operating by the winter of 1843.²⁶ Buick says there were eventually three stations, employing eighty men.²⁷ By 1859 Kaikoura had become a regular port of call for trading, and in 1861 a first survey of town and rural sections was made in the Kaikoura district.²⁸ Kaikoura was port and whaling-station, the only sizeable centre on the east coast between Blenheim and Rangiora, a stopover for mailmen and travellers who used the bridle-track which was the only means of going north by land, the goal of sailors, shearers, and station-hands with money to spend. By Lawson's time there were two sawmills and a co-operative dairy factory. The town population was about four hundred. A rough coach road between Kaikoura and the Clarence River was opened in 1890, and by 1891 there was a coach service to Blenheim.²⁹

Two descriptions of Kaikoura in the late nineteenth century are apposite; the first is by W. J. Elvy, a local historian, the second from a *Bulletin* correspondent in 1897:

The Town of Kaikoura was always alluded to as "The Band" in my youthful days. I was told this was short for "Band of Hope"; so called from the number of spongers that hung about the pubs hoping that a shearer or station hand would happen along with a cheque to "knock up." They were only too willing to help him spend it.³⁰

Kaikoura is the town of the glorious "bender"—and the regular inhabitants only smile tolerantly with a used-to aspect, when they see a beer-emburdened shepherd working-up imaginary sheep with the aid of a pained and wondering sheep-dog.³¹

It is apposite to note, at this point, that, presumably in reaction to the general tone of drunkenness, a small temperance group was formed in 1879, the Ray of Hope Tent of the Independent Order of Rechabites.³²

By the 1870s Kaikoura Maoris had become an enclave of the dispossessed in an economy that would eventually absorb them. They had little contact with the runholders. I quote J. M. Sherrard:

The Maoris are said to have been a generous hearted people who had scarcely any contact with—for want of a better term—the respectable white settlers. . . . The white men they saw were the mailmen, the station musterers and fencers, and remittance men and deadbeats. . . . They were the men who gave them the new pattern of life when tribal authority faded. Some of these 'poor whites' were left-overs from the early whaling stations. The better class of whaler took up farming or labouring work on the stations or in and near Kaikoura Peninsula. The rest lived close to the Maori pa, spending easy days and going on the spree whenever they had the chance. Among them were at least one Australian aborigine and one negro. Some of the young bloods of Kaikoura would resort to Mangamaunu when they wanted some prostitution on the cheap or a booze-up on the sly.

With these examples as their guide the younger Ngaitahu steadily dropped their standards. The white community began to look more and more askance at anyone who consorted with the Mangamaunu Maoris.³³

Although the land reserved under the 1859 deed of purchase gave the Kaikoura Maoris an average of roughly 59 acres per head, it was not long before they found it insufficient to support them. Mackay reported in 1872 that Maoris of Nelson, Marlborough, and the West Coast were finding their reserves too small for hunting and fishing.³⁴ They continued to harvest karaka berries—the school was given permission to close for a fortnight in May 1882, so that the children could be with their parents during the harvest.³⁵ But they had to turn increasingly for support to the new economy. Men were engaged quite early by the whaling-stations. J. M. Sherrard writes: 'I have no record of any being in the gang for the 1843 season, but am sure that during the next year or two quite a number of Maoris were engaged. Certainly by the 1850s many Maoris worked in the whaleboats as well as at the try-works. By 1880 the majority of whalers were Maori or half-caste.'

They engaged in agriculture only to meet their needs and Mackay reported that they owned a few horses, cattle, and pigs, but that each animal was 'a source of anxiety, lest it involve them in trouble with their European neighbours'.³⁶ A 10-acre pig paddock had been fenced by the government by 1888.³⁷ Sometimes they let their land, but according to Mackay they

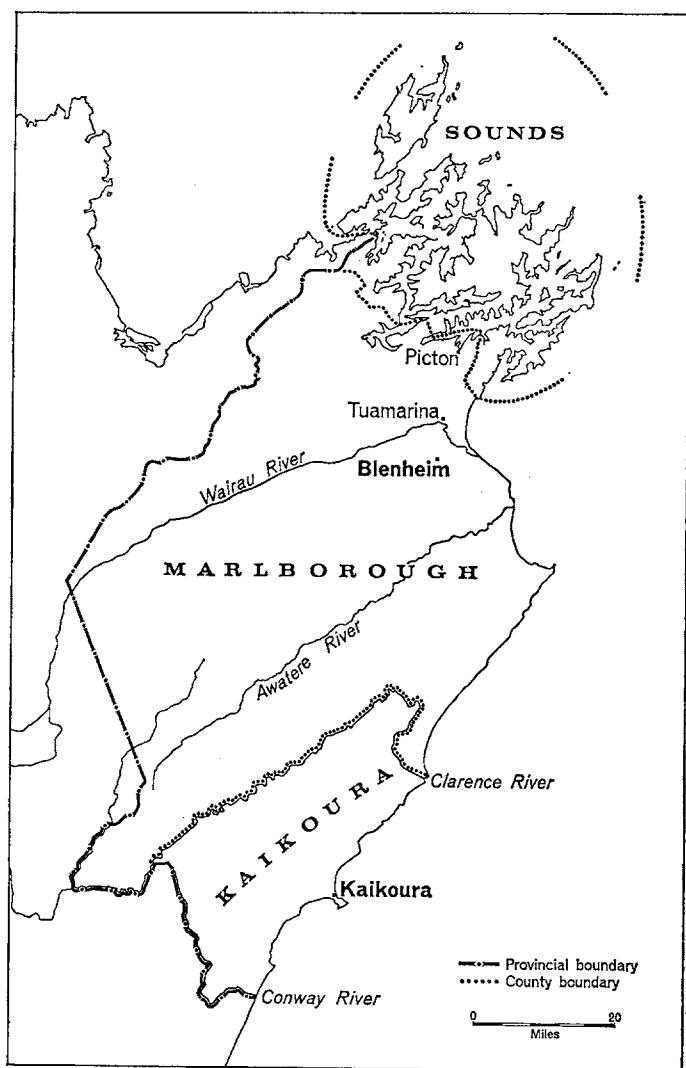
were finding it hard to maintain a new and more expensive way of life.³⁸

When Denton Prout says they were 'not averse to "knocking off" a sheep or two from a white man's run when the owner wasn't looking', I suspect that he is predisposed to see the Maoris in terms of the Australian myth of Waltzing Matilda and the jolly swagman.³⁹ The only evidence for his statement is in any case from fellow-Australians: Henry Lawson's dropping of quotes around 'wild sheep' in a letter to Hugh MacCallum, and Bertha's statement:

I asked the children where the wild sheep lived, and they said out in the hills. They were sheep with long tails. We did not inquire too closely into this, but I'm afraid that any lamb that missed tailing or mustering was counted as wild sheep.⁴⁰

Bertha at least noticed that the wild sheep had tails or hadn't been mustered. Henry's suspicions may have been right, but there *were* wild sheep in the hills, the descendants of sheep that had escaped through broken fences. Twelve years before the Lawsons, and with no hint of suspicion, Robert Bedford, a medical officer, had reported their hunting of wild sheep and pigs. Wild sheep diseased with 'scab' were so great a plague in the Kaikoura district from the 1870s to the early 1890s that parties of hunters were employed to destroy them.⁴¹

Bedford noted that food was scarce in the winter; after a wild sheep or pig, he said, the settlement through 'want of powder, leisure, or inclination', would go without meat for a long time and live on potatoes, Indian corn, and pauas. In that year (1885) he noted that even potatoes were scarce and little corn was grown; the people were often short of flour. Besides paua, fish and wildfowl the other source of protein was rabbits, which were abundant. The trend of such Maori farming as existed, was towards pasturage and sheep. The 1886 census shows a total of 9 acres of potatoes, maize, and other crops, 10 of sown grasses, 31 cattle and 53 pigs but no sheep.⁴² The 1896 census showed slightly less cultivation, but a big increase in stock: 3 acres of potatoes, 4 of maize, one of other crops, and 200 of sown grasses—presumably for the 1,020 sheep, 40 cattle and 2 pigs held by the Kaikoura Maoris.⁴³ No land was held in common by members of the hapu,⁴⁴ but



Marlborough Province, with 1897 county boundaries

if some men appeared to own more than others, land and stock belonging to several members of an extended family were probably, for convenience, entered in the returns in the name of the senior man of the family. Of the 1,020 sheep, half were registered in the name of two men, 385 in the name of Paratene Wahaaruhe, Native Assessor and an elder of the hapu, and 261 in the name of Pene Tahui who was chairman of the school committee in Lawson's time.⁴⁵ These sheep were presumably kept for wool.

It was the contrast with North Island Maoris that made Mackay's report on Nelson, Marlborough, and West Coast Maoris so favourable. Comparatively unaffected by the King movement and not at all affected by Hau Hau, they showed, he said, a disposition towards Europeans that was 'uniformly good'. Their social conditions he found satisfactory, their clothing not inferior to that of European labouring classes; their houses were wooden, with doors and windows and chimneys.⁴⁶ But such evaluations are relative. There is no gainsaying the detailed sanitary report on Mangamaunu by Robert Bedford, Native Medical Officer, who visited the village in 1885 after the building of the new settlement on the flat to accommodate families with children going to the school.⁴⁷ The houses at the pa, he reported, were no more than huts with sunken clay floors. Walls were of 'interlaced saplings, plastered with clay; the roofs of manuka bark and rushes, either tied or weighted down . . . and a short cobbled chimney carries off the smoke'. There was only a quarter of the minimum air-space he considered necessary for health (200 cubic feet for each occupant). Old people and young children were insufficiently clad and huddled indoors round the fire. The huts being so small, it was only in warm weather that windows and doors could be opened, and it was excessively humid inside. There was an inadequate supply of good water in the summer; when the creeks were dry, the inhabitants used a water-hole shared by pigs, cattle, and horses. Cooking utensils were not properly washed and slops were thrown within reach of doors. There was a general neglect of personal hygiene, though Bedford noted some improvement among the children attending the school.

The effects on health of such living conditions were obvious:

Catarrhal consumption was common and almost all the middle-aged and elderly had bronchitis.⁴⁸ Mackay had noted in the provinces he visited the commonness of rheumatism and of diseases of the chest and abdomen. The women were generally infertile; and Mackay blamed in-breeding.

J. W. Stack in 1877 had been struck by the large number of children in Mangamaunu in comparison with other Maori villages of similar size, and as well by their healthy appearance, which he attributed to the abundance of rabbits.⁴⁹ As far as numbers go, early figures bear him out and point to a subsequent decline. Stack reported twenty-nine children of school age; at the end of 1896 there were only thirteen on the school roll.⁵⁰ Mackay's figures in the 1881 census show 40 per cent of the population under 15 years (thirty-four out of eighty-four);⁵¹ the 1896 census shows 35 per cent (twenty-seven out of seventy-seven).⁵² Whereas the 1886 census shows thirteen children under 5,⁵³ the 1896 census shows that only three of them had remained or survived. Admittedly such figures are of only rough reliability since there was no registration of Maori births, and parents' memory of children's ages might not have been accurate. But the decline is striking and is consistent with the fact that there was a typhus epidemic among Marlborough Maoris in 1891.⁵⁴ Of the fifteen Maori children under 5 in Kaikoura country in 1896, only nine were Ngai-tahu, that is locally-born, and of the twelve between ages 5 and 15, only three of them, all males, were Ngai-tahu. But even these twenty-seven were not all to survive. The census was taken on 12 April; on 28 October, J. H. Pope, inspecting the school, noted that two children and several babies had died; he attributed this to bad water supply and connected it with his opinion that the 'intermarriage principle has been carried unusually far here.' It is probably these same deaths, or these and some subsequent ones that Henry Lawson meant on his arrival in the following May when he noted that several children had died recently.⁵⁵ In fact most of the fifteen under-5's of the 1896 census had moved from the district or died by the time Lawson arrived, because in September 1897 he said that none of the infants in the pa would be old enough to attend school for three or four years.⁵⁶

Yet between Bedford's visit in 1885 and Henry Lawson's stay in 1897 there had been some improvement, if not in

health itself. Pope in 1894 reports 'a considerable advance' since his last visit ten years before.⁵⁷ In 1895 he said: 'The Maoris have made their principal settlement very pretty, and quite a striking feature of the landscape.'⁵⁸ He visited the two settlements into which the village was divided and 'was surprised to see the advance made . . . in respect to sanitary laws, as shown by the general condition of their kaingas and the whares composing them.'⁵⁹ Bertha Lawson describes the pa as 'a group of small weatherboard homes, scrupulously clean, with pretty flower gardens.' She adds, 'They took great pride in these and there was much friendly rivalry'.⁶⁰ But it was not till 1899 that the school inspector, this time H. B. Kirk, reported signs of recovery: 'there are several babies in the settlement'.⁶¹

Throughout the last thirty years of the century South Island Maoris numbered around 2,000.⁶² It is hardly surprising that traditional customs died more rapidly than in the North Island. In 1880 J. W. Stack noted that one consequence of the younger Ngai-tahu of Canterbury adopting the European way of living was that old people without near relatives would be allowed to die of starvation: one old man had been left without food by his neighbours for thirty hours. In Mangamaunu, not recovered from the Ngati-toa slaughter before the European infiltration, the traditions disintegrated quickly. Though the runanga was meeting as late as 1885, it had, according to J. M. Sherrard, ceased to operate by 1900. Aylmer Kenny who conducted the 1896 census among Maoris of the Marlborough and Sounds counties, north of Kaikoura county, reported:

I was much surprised to find that a large proportion of the younger Maoris were unable to distinguish between the "iwi" and the "hapu". In many cases they did not know to what iwi they belonged, and it was only in rare instances that they knew their hapu; this was often the case with the older people, many of whom had to refer to other Maoris for the information, and I found that in some cases the members of the same iwi pronounced the name of it quite differently.⁶³

H. W. Bishop of Christchurch, who took the census of the Ngai-tahu Maoris, felt constrained to point out to the devisers of the census that they no longer lived as members of tribes.⁶⁴

But if they had lost the traditions of their grandfathers, the Marlborough Maoris that Kenny dealt with were nevertheless distrustful of Europeans, at least of those who were suspected as representing the government in its predatory aspects. Kenny says:

I have also to note that in many cases the Maoris showed a strong disinclination to give me the necessary information; and in some cases, indeed, I was met by an absolute refusal, although in every instance I was able to overcome the objection raised, one of the chief of which was the fear that information was required for taxation purposes. In some cases the Maoris were willing to give the information, but wished to be paid for it.⁶⁵

W. J. Elvy tells a story of calling at Mangamaunu in 1898 to take wages to a Maori employed with a survey party, who had been involved in a pub fight the day before:

I was riding a fine, upstanding horse, with a new saddle and bridle, white tether rope neatly coiled hanging from its neck. Dressed in a blue coat with cord riding pants and leggings, I must have looked like a mounted constable, and to complete things, there was the blue voucher stuck in my breastcoat pocket, looking suspiciously like a 'blue peter'. Reaching the pa, I accosted a Maori. 'Where is Rangi? Tell him I want to see him.' He looked me up and down and said: 'Rangi, I don't know him, no one of that name about here.' 'You must know him, this is where he lives,' I said. 'No, I don't know anything about him,' said he. By this time others had come out of the tents and I asked a woman: 'You know Rangi, he works for Smith, the surveyor?' 'Oh, he hasn't lived here a long time,' she said. 'I think he lives at Kaiapoi.' 'Do you know Rangi?' she asked a young girl. 'I think he very ill a long time; he go to hospital in Christchurch,' said the girl. 'Well, he was all right yesterday,' I said. 'He knocked a man out at Kaikoura, nearly killed him.' 'Oh, no no, he don't live here,' they cried. 'Well,' said I, 'I have a lot of money for him. They told me he was here and I was to give him his wages. But he can't get it until he signs this paper,' touching the blue voucher. 'Oh,' they said, 'you got his wages? Rangi!' they yelled. 'Come out, it is only the man with the wages'.⁶⁶

Another contemporary glimpse (September 1891), if a hostile one, is from an English lady tourist:

A short distance from Kaikoura lies the Maori pah (village) called Maunga Mauna, a miserable collection of dilapidated huts, or "whares", as the natives name them; but the settlement seemed by no means adequate to contain the very numerous inhabitants who turned out to watch us pass—the advent of the weekly coach being, no doubt, a great excitement in their eventless lives.⁶⁷

Bertha Lawson is both right and wrong when she says that the Mangamaunu people had been twice christianised, once Catholic, the second time Presbyterian.⁶⁸ Henry in fact knew them to be Catholic.⁶⁹ They had been baptised first in the Anglican Church and then in the Catholic.⁷⁰ They were first converted by a son of the Ngai-toa invader, Tamihana te Rauparaha who called at Kaikoura on his missionary tour of the east coast of the South Island in 1843. I quote J. M. Sherrard:

The first Kaikoura church was built by the Maoris on the Mangamaunu bank of the Hapuku river near its mouth. It may have dated from the visit of Tamihana. It was there when the white settlers established sheep runs at Kaikoura at the end of the fifties. It was burned to the ground in the seventies or eighties. No white missionaries were stationed at or near Kaikoura then. The Maoris had their own preachers.⁷¹

It was probably during their first conversion that local Maoris took their Biblical baptismal names—Ihaia, Rawiri, Hohepa, and Jacob. But Mackay's report for Nelson, Marlborough, and the West Coast in 1872 found Maoris 'perhaps less observant of religious worship than formerly'.⁷² And at the trial of Ratima Jacob in 1883, Ihaia te Awanui, one of the elders of the village, said from the witness-box: 'The Maoris at the pah have been taught about the Bible but they do not take interest in it. . . . There is a person there who pretends to be a missionary, but no one goes to him'.⁷³

In 1875, a French Marist priest, Francis Yardin, began to work the Kaikoura district from Lower Hutt,⁷⁴ and it is probably he who spoke to William Rolleston, Minister of Education, about Mangamaunu school in 1881. Fr John Lampila took over the work between 1880 and 1883, and at least one convert was made in 1882, a 30-year-old woman. Kaikoura became a parish in 1883 and Fr Lampila took over, residing

there and serving the Pakeha parishioners of Kaikoura as well as the Maoris of Mangamaunu. He was 75 and had worked for about forty years among Maoris in several North Island districts.⁷⁵ He stayed for five years before returning to France, when secular priests took over the parish. Fr Francis Melu paid occasional visits from the Otaki Maori Mission. In 1885 Paratene Wahaaruhe (one of the boys who survived Te Rauparaha's raid on Omihi) was converted, aged 75, and in the following year Mary Jacob herself and a sister of hers. Her grandfather Ihaia Wahaaruhe (another survivor of Omihi, and half-brother to Paratene) followed in 1887, aged, according to the baptismal record, 70; he and his brother Wi Poharama (aged 62) were baptised on the same day. Apparently 1887 was the crucial year because in that year Keepa te Hina offered his resignation as chairman of the school committee and gave as his reason that all the men and children and the women too had become Catholic.⁷⁶ The 'pretty little Catholic church' of St Francis that Pope referred to in 1895 was consecrated by Archbishop Redwood in 1890, and Fr Melu, assisted by Paratene who became the church catechist, had campaigned for it for a year or so.

II

South Island Maoris early recognised that their best hope of survival lay in education. Before establishing this claim it is necessary to dispose of definite assertions to the contrary made by J. W. Stack, Inspector of Native Schools in the South Island for the Native Affairs Department. Though Stack's part in the founding of Mangamaunu school was brief and initial, he had some effect on aspects of subsequent Native School policy, and I shall quote him at length because he represents one end of a spectrum of attitudes of those who claimed a desire for Maori advancement:

it must be borne in mind that the education of the Native children is being carried on against the determined opposition of a large portion of the adult population. . . . It is hardly possible for those who have not experienced the senseless opposition offered by many of the Natives to the attempts made to educate their children to understand how people usually so intelligent can refuse to avail themselves

of those institutions which alone can restore their race to a position of influence in the State. The absence of schools supplies the Maoris with a good cry that they are neglected; when they are provided with them they either do not send their children, or if they do, they seem at pains to hinder their advancement in learning. Only in a few solitary instances do the parents render hearty assistance to the teacher and encourage him in his arduous work. It is hopeless to expect any improvement as long as the Maoris believe that by letting their children grow up in ignorance they are strengthening their claims to compensation for their lands.⁷⁷

Stack reported prejudice against the school among parents at Motueka and passive resistance from the children.⁷⁸ Mackay in 1868 reported difficulty in persuading Kaiapoi parents to pay their proportion of fees: 'they seem to be entirely imbued with the idea that the Government ought to provide schools for them free of cost in fulfilment of promises made to them in former years'.⁷⁹ Stack reported opposition to schools at Wairau, Arowhenua, and Moeraki and related it to 'claims for unfulfilled promises'.⁸⁰

Stack's mixture of dedication and impatience shows him to be one of those aggressive cultural mediators who became angry and frustrated when the people of the minority they work among prefer to follow their own counsel. There are several cases of his wishing to impose on Maoris the values of his own culture. In 1874 both he and Mackay commended the military type of discipline enforced by the master at Kaiapoi school, but in 1879 (after the school had been closed and reopened) he complained that the parents were apathetic and ungrateful.⁸¹ He complained of Maori children's dislike of restraint and of the inability of parents to force them to attend school; he regretted the Maori habit of holding meetings and taking their children with them.⁸² He even recommended that children should be taken away from parents opposed to education. He objected to parents having any say in school matters and was shocked that at Waikouaiti the school committee had the power to decide (with the master) whether or not European children should be admitted.⁸³ He recommended that school committees should not be allowed to interfere with teachers and he thought the best teachers were those who knew no Maori.⁸⁴ His model for a future Maori society was in

fact a replica of a three-class European society: an upper class of hereditary land-owning rangatira; a middle class of small land-holders with the opportunity of moving, by dint of thrift and industry, into the upper class; a landless class of workers.⁸⁵ Yet he knew enough to have been more charitable:

Then the colonisation of the country, and the entire change of his position from being lord of the soil to a tolerated occupier of a very small portion, appears to have bewildered and paralyzed the faculties of the Maori. Look where he will, he is hemmed in by customs and laws he does not clearly understand. He feels a stranger and a foreigner in his own land. He can no longer fish and shoot and hunt without permission. . . . Everywhere law confronts him and casts a shadow on his path. . . . The future offers no hope! He cannot look forward to his children entering upon some honourable career now closed to him, for they precede him to the grave. Under such circumstances can we wonder at Maoris moping about their huts and feeling disinclined to work, content to make spasmodic efforts occasionally to supply their absolute wants.⁸⁶

Stack knew the reason for the opposition to schools in much of the South Island. It was, as he acknowledges in two places, that the Ngai-tahu feared that by accepting education from the government they might compromise their claims for more equitable compensation for their land.⁸⁷ Some account of this is necessary, though it is only indirectly relevant to the Ngai-tahu of Mangamaunu.

More than four South Island blocks of land were involved in the unsettled claims for compensation, but the main block in dispute among the Ngai-tahu was the block known as 'Kemp's purchase' or 'the Ngai-tahu block', covering the whole of the east of the South Island from Kaiapoi to the Otago Heads, and purchased by Kemp in 1848, a purchase attended, according to the Ngai-tahu, by threats and by promises that had not been fulfilled. They claimed that Mantell who had completed the purchase had promised them schools and hospitals.⁸⁸ The reserves set aside were insufficient for living off, and they had assumed that though they sold their land they would still have the right to gather wild food from it.⁸⁹ An assembly of Ngai-tahu at Kaiapoi in 1874 agreed to petition the government for compensation, but apart from a generally favourable

report on the petition in 1876, nothing was done till a joint committee of both houses, sitting three times between 1888 and 1890, set apart areas of land to provide for individuals of the Ngai-tahu who were found to be landless or insufficiently provided for.⁹⁰ The relevance of this claim* to Mangamaunu Maoris is that though they had no interests in Kemp's block, they had received a share of the initial payment from kinsmen in villages further south, and that fifteen Kaikoura Maoris (including Mary Jacob) were given land out of the 13,000 acres set aside for Marlborough Maoris after the joint committee's recommendation.⁹² Its broader relevance is to the question of the keenness of South Island Maoris for education. There are several witnesses to this, including Stack himself who said that among Maori parents 'schools are regarded as one of the chief civilizing agencies', and acknowledged in more than one place Maoris who valued education.⁹³ In 1872 Mackay reported in Nelson, Marlborough, and the West Coast, a strong desire for schools and for instruction in the English language.⁹⁴ In the same year, A. H. Russell, Inspector of Schools, reported to the Native Minister that the desire for instruction in English was as strong in the South Island as in the North.⁹⁵

III

On 29 December 1875, Henry Lawson's father Peter and two other citizens of New Pipeclay applied, mainly at the instigation of Louisa Lawson, for a new school at Eurunderree.⁹⁶ The school was opened in October 1876 and provided Henry Lawson with two-and-a-half of his three years' schooling.⁹⁷ Less than two years after Peter Lawson's petition, K. Wiremu Kerei of Oaro, twenty miles south of Kaikoura, and forty-eight others, who had already petitioned for a doctor, petitioned for a school for Maori children to be built at Kaikoura, and offered to provide the land on which the teacher would live. R. J. Gill, Secretary for Native Schools, asked J. W. Stack to investigate. Stack went to the pa at Kaikoura and finding that the men were absent shearing he went

* That a later government thought there had been injustice is clear from the Ngai-tahu Claims Settlement Act, 1944, when the payment, over thirty years, was authorised of £300,000 in settlement of all outstanding Ngai-tahu claims.⁹¹

to Mangamaunu and spoke to Ihaia and other elders. 'All expressed the greatest desire for the establishment of a school'.⁹⁸ They hoped that the government would arrange matters as it had done for the people of Wairewa, where a school had opened in the previous year: the parents would provide the site but the government would provide buildings and the teacher's salary, and education would be free. They objected to the proposal to site the school at Kaikoura and to Wiremu Kerei's forwardness in making the proposal without consulting them. There were only three children at Kaikoura itself and between Kaikoura and Haumuri Bluff there were not more than a dozen Maoris residing. The obvious site was Mangamaunu, the biggest settlement and the home of most of the children. Stack found that there were twenty-nine children likely to attend, and recommended immediate erection. He estimated that the school would cost about £400 but the Native Minister would allow only £300.

Throughout the history of the dealings of the Mangamaunu parents with the government, one can see on their side a scrupulous concern to honour their contract, and an anxiety that the government on its side should fulfil its promises to the last detail. They were not slow to remind the government when it seemed to have forgotten its obligations. The first of a series of petitions is dated 6 March 1878 and these are worth quoting extensively since they are our only access to their thinking. This one is addressed to H. T. Clarke, Under-Secretary of the Native Department.

Ki a te Karaka

E hoa tena koe. E ui atu ana matou ki a koe mo te wharekura mo nga tamariki maori o tenei takiwa-mehemea he aha te take i roa ai taua kupa a te kawanatanga. Kei te hiahia matou kia tere mai taua kura notemea kua tae mai a te Taka Minita ki a matou. Kua kite ia i te nui o nga tamariki o konei. Ko te take tena o tena tono atu notemea kua roa rawa te take o te Taka ara taua kura mo tenei takiwa. No te hokinga mai o te Taka i Poneke na i tae mai ia ki Kaikoura nei i runga i ta matou tono atu ki a koutou. Whakaturia mai te Take i roa ai ki a mohio ai matou.

Heoi ano.

Kia tere te utu mai i nga ra o tenei wiki e haere ake nei.

Na Ihaia Whakatau
Matene Rawiri
Taki Eparaima
Poharama

Otira na te iwi katoa.

Me tuku atu e koe he reta whakaatu ki Otautahi ki a te Taka kua tae atu ta matou tono ki a koe, kia mohio ai a te Taka.⁹⁹

To Mr Clarke,

Friend, greetings. We are seeking to know the reason for the delay in word from the Government on the school for the Maori children of this district. We want the school erected quickly because Rev. Mr Stack has seen us and seen the large numbers of children here. That is the reason for this inquiry, because the business of Stack, that is, the school for this district, has been delayed too long. When Stack came back from Wellington he came to Kaikoura because of our request [for a school]. Inform us of the reason for the delay that we may know. That is all.

Be quick with your reply in the days of this coming week.

From Ihaia Whakatau . . . [etc.]

and also from all the people.

Send a letter to Christchurch to Stack [telling him] that our request has reached you, so that Stack may know.

If there was a reply to this letter, there is no copy on the files. But by November the department authorised expenditure of £460 for building, fencing, and fittings. The files show payment of £90 in May and £289 in October—whether the difference between the amount paid and the estimated expenditure means that parents contributed to the cost cannot be settled, but it is unlikely since it was before the Native Schools Code which made such contributions a condition of starting the schools, and since, according to Stack's letter of 19 December 1877, the terms were to be as with the Wairewa Maoris—buildings and teachers' salary provided by the government.¹ The building was supervised by a local runholder, Harry Ingles of the Puhipuhi estate, and presumably was complete at the time of payment in October. The finished work was described by Stack in December as a schoolroom 20ft x 16ft and a house of four rooms each about 10ft square. No school committee had been legally appointed. Stack recommended that the self-appointed committee should not be recognised in any other capacity than as persons friendly to the school. 'To

give them any share in the administration would be to render the position of the teacher intolerable.' But since a committee would have to be formed, and committee powers were very limited in any case, there wasn't much point in not recognising them, and the old committee, headed by Ihaia te Awanui, was unofficially recognised.

A teacher was appointed, Thomas Danaher, employed at the time of his application as a clerk in the Native Department. He had taught for ten years, both privately and in a school in Ireland and his application was supported by high testimonials from Irish ecclesiastics. The Secretary for Education, Dr John Hislop made an odd memo: 'for Kaikoura I concur with Mr Habens in considering Mr Danaher likely to be suitable. Mr Danaher is (I believe) a Roman Catholic but Mr Habens sees no objection to this.' Danaher was engaged 'on trial', the appointment terminable on three months' notice from either side. When the Native Schools Code came into operation he was graded as 4th class certificated teacher. His salary was to be £120, with £20 to his wife as sewing mistress.

Danaher began teaching at Mangamaunu on 25 January 1880 with twelve pupils. Hislop suggested that there be a formal opening in February 'with a view to giving éclat to the proceedings.' He asked the teacher to let him know the cost of fencing half-an-acre for a garden and an acre for a paddock. The Maori men were away shearing and 'boating wool'; they planned an opening when they returned in February, with a feast and ceremony; they had already put up a post-and-rail fence enclosing the whole site. In March Maoris from Kaikoura and other settlements began building houses on the flat near the school, so that their children would be able to attend. Ihaia te Awanui applied to J. Bryce, Native Minister, for a grant to supplement the £3 already collected towards the opening. Bryce referred the letter to William Rolleston, Minister of Education who commented, 'We find no feasts'. The month's delay in replying to this request and the need to raise the further funds locally must have caused the postponement of the opening to 25 May. Stack was unable to attend and had no further contact with the school. Harry Ingles, the runholder who had supervised some of the building and other of 'the "well-to-do" people' were present. The school now had twenty-seven pupils.

‘Missionaries of Civilisation’

I

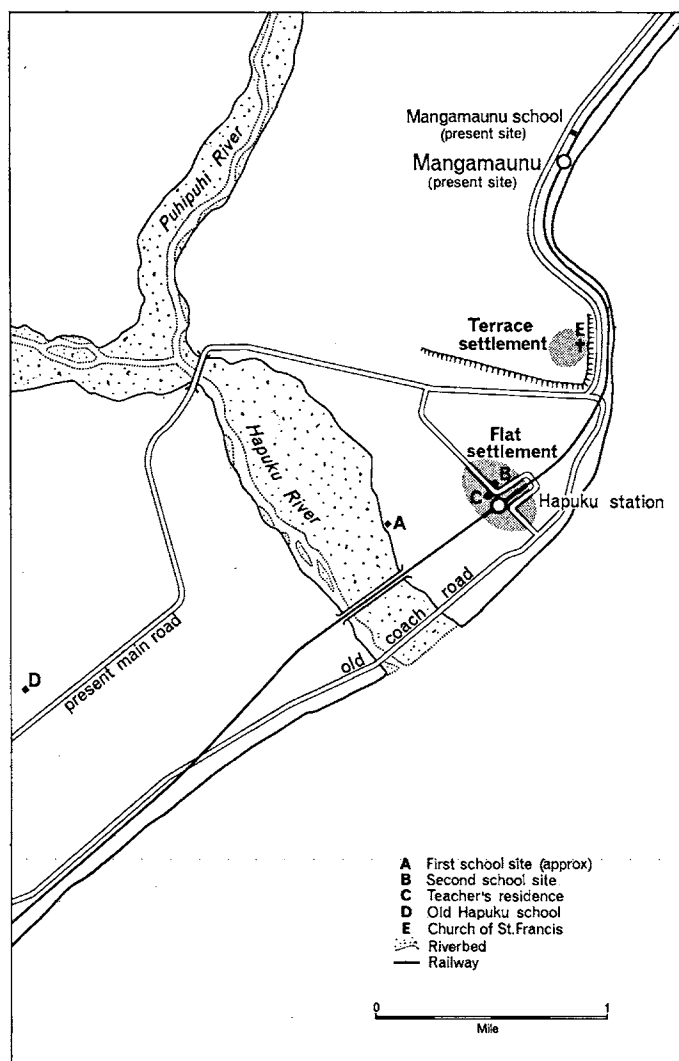
In 1879 the Native Affairs Department which had administered Maori schools since 1867 handed their management to the Education Department, created by the Education Act of 1877. There were fifty-seven Native Schools with 1,336 pupils.¹ The Native Schools Code of 1880 provided for the operation of these schools and the establishment of new ones. The department would open a school on receipt of a petition from ten Maoris in a locality, offering 2 acres and proper title, promising to contribute towards the cost of the school building, and guaranteeing an average attendance of thirty. The department would provide a schoolhouse and a teacher's residence, fence the site and picket-fence an inner quarter-acre for a teacher's garden.² The Maoris were to elect a school committee of five whose sole function would be to provide firewood, arrange the cleaning of the school, and maintain attendance. Textbooks and cleaning materials would be supplied, and the school would provide for four hours a day, five days a week and forty-five weeks a year, instruction in English (reading, writing, spelling), the rudiments of arithmetic and geography, and, for the girls, sewing. There would be four standards of achievement, and in the upper standards there might be English composition, singing, drawing, and physical drill. Uncertified teachers would be accepted, and certified teachers would be ranked in four classes. The teacher's wife would act as sewing mistress, and basic salaries would be £80 for the teacher and £20 for his wife, with increments

for rank and seniority, for high attendance and high pass rates, with the possibility of, in time, earning £225.

From the start there was this element of payment by results, and it was strengthened in 1886 when salaries were made more dependent on average attendance, and in 1893, when under the stress of a depression and government retrenchment, the basic salary was reduced to £60 and increments were tied more closely to attendance and examination marks.³

The first appointee to the new post of Inspector of Native Schools was J. H. Pope who took office on 21 January 1880 and held it till December 1903 and was the architect of a policy that continued, with only administrative modifications, till 1931. Pope had been a master at Otago Boys' High School and Inspector to the Taranaki Education Board. A. G. Butchers, eulogistic historian of New Zealand education, describes him as 'characterised by conspicuous honesty and honour, and by a simple and kindly nature that eminently fitted him to work among the Maoris, whose confidence and affection he very soon gained'.⁴ Reweti T. Kohere recalled him: 'He was of a lovable nature and so perfectly transparent that he won your respect and confidence at first meeting. He was a big man and I never cease to wonder how much he managed to travel all over New Zealand and much of it on horseback when the roads were so bad and many rivers unbridged'.⁵ Until the appointment in 1893 of H. B. Kirk as his assistant, Pope travelled the length of the country, visiting each Maori school twice a year; the number of the schools fluctuating in that period between sixty-three and eighty-three. He 'rapidly' learned Maori; he wrote two Native School Readers, a textbook on civics, and another on hygiene which was voluntarily distributed by Apirana Ngata and a friend in their Christmas holidays in 1891.

From the outset the department's policy was paternalistic, but in a kindlier way than Stack's authoritarian kind of paternalism. In his instructions to Pope, the Rev. W. J. Habens, Inspector-General, said: 'In the work you are about to undertake you will have a splendid opportunity of doing good to the Maori race—an opportunity which I feel assured you will value very highly, and use with enthusiasm as well as with tact and ability'.⁶ All these expectations Pope fulfilled; no less paternalistic than Habens, he was dedicated, fair-dealing, and



Hapuku-Mangamaunu district; some of the features (the Hapuku school, the Hapuku bridges, the railway and railway station, the present main road, and the present Mangamaunu school) were constructed after 1897

sympathetic, and there is evidence of the respect in which he was held in Maori communities. He approached his work with a sense of mission which was no less than to save Maoris from extinction. Schools were to be 'the means provided for preventing their race from being wiped out before the advancing pakeha'.⁷ The evils which threatened the Maori people were insanitariness, improvidence, suspicion of the government, home indiscipline, land litigation, drunkenness, and living on credit from storekeepers.⁸ They could not resist these evils unless they were schooled in the English lower-middle-class virtues of cleanliness, thrift and foresight, self-discipline, sobriety and living within their means. The problem was urgent:

It is quite certain, too, that whatever good is to be done to the Maori in the way of educating him must be done soon. In a few years it will be too late to give him any effective help. . . . There will be no Maoris left to educate in districts where there have been no schools.⁹

The schools were to be missions of Pope's variant of European culture. In retrospect, Pope said:

It should be remembered that the problem to be dealt with was almost entirely new: it was to bring an untutored but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with our civilisation, and to do this, to a large extent, by instructing them in the use of our language, and by placing in Maori settlements European school-buildings, and European families to serve as teachers and especially as exemplars of a new and more desirable mode of life.¹⁰

Butchers gives retrospective blessing to the policy:

In the school [Maoris] were to be prepared for successful contact with the foreign social organisation which was clearly destined in a very large measure, if not wholly, to supplant their own. It was indeed, foreseen that only in proportion as the Maoris were enabled to effect a more or less successful adaptation to the new civilisation could they be expected to regain and maintain their original pride of race. Should their self-respect become irrevocably lost all hope of social and political equality with the invading pakeha would be at an end.¹¹

Teachers were 'missionaries of civilisation generally'.¹² 'The entire village was their school, their hours of duty were the whole day long'.¹³ These instructions to teachers, signed by John Hislop, Secretary of Education, were probably drawn up by Pope:

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

. . . [I]t is extremely advisable that teachers should always keep the houses and gardens neat and tidy. In this matter the natives are, as a rule, very careless. It is highly necessary that teachers should be on their guard against allowing their own habits to degenerate under the influence of surrounding negligence. They ought rather to exert a steady influence tending to the elevation of the people among whom they live.¹⁴

Teachers were cautioned against taking sides in Maori disputes and against themselves quarrelling with Maoris. 'Maoris have as good an idea as most people of what is just and fair, and in the long run they nearly always take the right side. It would seem, then, that a teacher who cannot get on amicably with the Natives, should try to earn a living in some other way'.¹⁵ Teachers were forbidden to trade with Maoris or to 'endeavour to gain pecuniary advantage' from them.¹⁶

Pope's program of acculturation included some unusual extra-curricular ventures. In 1883 he suggested that, to counteract the economic need which took Maoris away on seasonal or temporary work like gum-digging, shearing, and whaling, the department should send seeds, plants, and grain for systematic cultivation or for the production of silk and oil.¹⁷ But this suggestion got no further than the sending in the following year of mulberry, fruit, and ornamental trees to all Native Schools. Mangamaunu school received one mulberry, four peach, two apple, and two cherry trees.¹⁸ In 1884 he sent the teacher at Mangamaunu a packet of high-class tobacco seed: 'of course it would be very advantageous to them if this indus-

try could be established in their district'.¹⁹ English and American periodicals—the *Illustrated London News*, the *Graphic* and *Harper's Weekly*—were circulated to the schools and later lent to the parents. The Minister for Education, W. P. Reeves, in 1893, personally provided five magic lanterns.²⁰

A central feature of the system was that the medium of instruction should be the English language, which in Pope's words, was 'the *raison d'être* of Native Schools'.²¹ Although teachers were encouraged to learn Maori and if they wished to be more highly classified, were examined in elementary Maori, it was specifically stated that ignorance of the language need be no barrier to appointment. Maori might be used in junior classes to explain the meaning of an English word, but it was to be dispensed with as soon as possible.²²

Discipline was to be 'mild and firm'.²³ Pope repeated in 1900 what he had said in 1881: 'Maori children, if properly dealt with, are very easy to manage. They take great interest in their work when they are taught intelligently; they are seldom disposed to be either sullen or disorderly'.²⁴ Teachers were advised to avoid corporal punishment since 'native children appear to resent such punishment in a way European children have no conception of'.²⁵

The system stood or fell by the quality of its teachers. W. W. Bird, who succeeded Pope at the end of 1903, made this observation towards the end of his own career: '... the principal factor in the attendance was the personality of the teacher. Nothing would prevent a Maori child from going to school if he felt it was worth going to'.²⁶ Conversely Pope said: 'If the pupils have once lost their respect for and their confidence in the master, the school cannot go on at all. The children simply leave the school, and it is useless to attempt to get them to attend it'.²⁷ Butchers endorses this: 'In normal villages there was no need to compel the children to attend a good Native School; rather they came to resent the holidays when it was closed'.²⁸

Attendance, in the case of a poor teacher, was often a problem, and placed the adults in a difficult position, since on the one hand (as Pope said) 'Maori parents, as a rule, exercise but little control over their children, and let them do pretty much as they like',²⁹ and on the other it was one of the duties of the school committee to see that attendance was maintained.

Although in 1894, the Schools Attendance Act, which already made attendance at public schools compulsory, was applied to Native Schools, Pope had little faith in prosecutions as a deterrent: 'on the whole, the permanent success of the Native Schools must depend on the amount of enthusiasm that can be aroused in connection with them through the teaching and other training of children and their parents, rather than on any external coercion that can be brought to bear by means of legislation'.³⁰

Obviously the Native Schools policy made high demands on a staff of whom Habens told Pope on his appointment: 'many of the teachers have no knowledge of the technicalities of teaching and school-management beyond that which they have acquired in the course of their experience in the positions they now occupy'.³¹ As early as 1882 Pope was recommending means of getting rid of unsuccessful teachers, and in the following two years he comments on the bad effects of poor and 'listless' teachers.³² Yet in 1883 he said there was no longer difficulty in getting suitable teachers.³³ It is no doubt due in part to Pope's energy and dedication and the inspiration of his twice-yearly visits that the system worked as well as it did. Sir E. O. Gibbes, Secretary of Education from 1905 to 1916, in a letter to Butchers, thought it was the attraction of Maoris themselves. There is in any case no doubt of the zeal of many of the teachers. Gibbes wrote:

There is much that is attractive in the Maori character, and to this may be ascribed the fact that a more devoted body of workers than these teachers is not to be found. During epidemics of sickness or shortage of food many of them have sacrificed themselves beyond knowledge or belief. The calls on them are multifarious, and they seem to be like Euclid's definition of a boarding-house keeper—'equal to anything.' One finds a teacher, either with some knowledge of carpentry or teaching himself as he goes along, first instructing a class of boys, and then with their aid and co-operation of the adults replacing the communal whares with good wooden houses.³⁴

The schools were praised by Maori members of parliament, and by a conference of Maori leaders in Wellington in 1908.³⁵

The system extended to secondary education. Promising pupils who had passed the fourth standard were selected for

free places in boarding-schools in the North Island, St Stephen's and Te Aute for boys, and Hukarere and St Joseph's for girls. Butchers retrospectively explains the principle of this: the boarding schools

took the brigh[t]est Maori children right out of their native environment and put them down in one wholly civilised, where for seven days and nights in the week they lived and ate and slept like Europeans. The system was costly, four times as great per scholar as the village school system, but the numbers were comparatively small and the ideal worth pursuing. This was that boarding school trainees, on completing their course, would return to their *haingas* or villages as the Maori youths had done from the first Missionary schools, missionaries themselves of the new way of living—a leaven of civilisation within the tribe.³⁶

The scheme was costly, and as Table B shows, the expenditure per head on Maori pupils between 1880 and 1900 was roughly twice that on Board school pupils. Pope more than once had to defend his policy against those who said it was a waste of money or complained at 'pampering of the natives'.³⁷ He had the added difficulty of promoting his scheme during a period of economic depression, and though in 1888, the year after an election from which the new government was committed to retrenchment, there is a noticeable drop in the amount spent on each pupil, it is amazing that Pope was able to keep his teachers' salaries untouched till 1893. In that year he said that the cost per pupil could never again rise above that for public schools of the same size and character.³⁸ He had also to contend with those who wanted the Native Schools transferred to the administration of the Education Boards.³⁹ He argued that for Maori children differential treatment was needed, and that at Board schools with predominantly Pakeha rolls, Maori children would be treated with disrespect and would lose interest. He was opposed to too rapid an acculturation.⁴⁰ But he claimed frequently to see the good results of his system flowering before his eyes. He attributed the improvement in Mangamaunu settlement between 1884 and 1894 to the influence of the school (though it had, in fact, been closed half of this time); and in his retrospect in 1900, he claimed that the schools were 'effecting considerable improve-

ments in the mental, moral and physical condition of our Maori fellow-subjects'.⁴¹

It is probable that Pope's was the best policy possible in his society and his time: there is a great difference between his understanding of Maoris and Stack's impatience. He had to carry through his scheme against the hostility or indifference of a great number of Pakehas who couldn't have cared if Maoris had died out, so long as it didn't add to their taxes. Yet the scheme was open to some criticism. Pope saw the Maori in a civic context, as a future citizen or 'fellow-subject', but—apart from his concern at their dependence on seasonal or migratory employment—not in an economic one. Pope does say once that his aim is to make Maori boys 'skilled artisans' and to acquaint them with European methods of farming and stock-raising; but (though the curriculum had been extended since 1880) the rudimentary education of the four standards was not adequate to do this.⁴² It was a criticism made at the time that there was no provision of scholarships to technical schools and universities. The student returning from boarding-school to the village received no further assistance and might well despair of reforming local manners. There was no provision for training Maori pupils as teachers or Maori girls as nurses or for the setting up of cottage hospitals in the villages.⁴³ That there were in fact a few ex-pupils of Native Schools serving apprenticeships on industrial scholarships (the highest figure is fourteen in 1896), two nurse trainees in 1898, and one Maori and less than a dozen part-Maoris teaching in native schools and Maori boarding-schools, does not alter the criticism that there were not enough.⁴⁴

From the hindsight of the sixties it is possible to question two assumptions on which the policy was based: that assimilation of the minority culture by the dominant culture would be most beneficial for the minority people, and that the Maori people, as was so confidently predicted at the time, were likely to die out. The exclusive use of English as a teaching medium did not result in Maoris becoming conversant with the full range of spoken English constructions and vocabulary. Since the policy came in later years to be executed by teachers who punished children for using their language at school, it impeded the use and transmission of Maori, with a consequent

loss in the self-respect the policy was designed to promote. In time generations grew up in some districts without a language in which they could adequately express their most complex thoughts or most intimate feelings. The successes of the system were exceptional—the ex-Te Aute boys who formed the Young Maori Party in the 1890s, for example. The schools and their teachers were often the foci of communal interest and activity, but these were unable to counteract the other social forces that were working towards Maori inferiority in health, housing, and educational attainment, which needed measures stronger than Pope's attempt to induce Maoris personally to discipline themselves in an English lower-middle-class morality. But to criticise the inadequacies of Pope's policy is to criticise New Zealand Pakeha society of the late nineteenth century. The wonder is that Pope achieved as much as he did.

It is in the light of Pope's Native School policy that one should judge the efforts of the first teachers at Mangamaunu school and measure Henry Lawson's performance.

II

In Thomas Danaher, Hislop and Pope had an ideal executor of the new policy. The initial situation at Mangamaunu was of an avuncular department, an enthusiastic teacher, and willing parents and pupils. Hislop had advised Danaher to learn Maori, and within three weeks of his arrival, both he and his wife were learning the language and he reported that 'we have thoroughly ingratiated ourselves with the old people here'.⁴⁵ The committee had asked him to take night classes for men, and, until the shearing season, ten elders were learning arithmetic and reading three nights a week; more would have attended if there had been enough books. Pope, inspecting in June, recommended that Danaher be paid extra for this service. For the children Danaher gave extra classes in singing and he wrote for the scores of the National Anthem and the Christy minstrel songs. There is excitement in a letter written six weeks after opening, when he reports that some of the older girls had already made dresses for the younger ones: 'I do not know if all Maoris are quick but these children appear to have a facility for learning and also a desire to understand what they do learn.' Pope reported in June: 'Mr and Mrs Danaher are *well qualified* [as] Native School Teachers. . . .

They both work with a will. . . . The Natives have a high opinion of both teachers. . . . The children . . . are fond of the school.' The committee offered to save the department the expense of fencing off the garden and paddock if the money could be used to build a veranda to keep the rain from beating in the windows and door of Danaher's house, and for a bell to call the children in the morning, and a clock for the school. The department accepted the offer. Danaher invited the editor of the *Kaikoura Star* to visit the school.

But the harmony had an interruption. On 1 December 1880 this letter was written to the department:

Ki te timuaki

Kai whakahaere a te takina mo nga kura Maori e hoa tena koe. E whakaatu tena na matou na te Komiti ki a koe i te he o te kaiwhakaako o nga tamariki o Mangamaunu nei. E rua nga taima i haere ai taua kaiwhakaako ki Kaikoura, a, kai ana i te waipiro no te hokinga mai, ka taka ki raro i te hoiho. Me i kore nga tangata, kua mate taua kaiwhakaako. No te 19 o nga ra o noema nei i haere ai ano taua kaiwhakaako ki Kaikoura, a, kai ano i te waipiro. No te hokinga mai ka taka ki te whenua ka tata te mate. Kaore ia i whakaako i nga tamariki i tau ana i te paraire i te moe ia i tona haurangi.

Heoi ano,

Na o hoa pono, ana na te Komiti.

Danaher's own tuition had probably gone into a translation in a different hand but on the same sort of foolscap, which accompanied the original.

To the Inspector of the Native School,

Dear Sir

I sualute you and wish you good health. Also I and the Committee inform you that we find faults with our School master of the Mangamaunu School. He went to Kaikoura twice. got on drinking spirits. on his way returning home, he fell off his horse if it wasn't for one of our tribe he had been dead.. on the .19. of Nov. he went down again to Kaikoura he got on drinking again. he was on the point of death this time. He never school the children on Friday, he sleep all day, with his drunkenness.

Your respectfully Ser^{vt}.

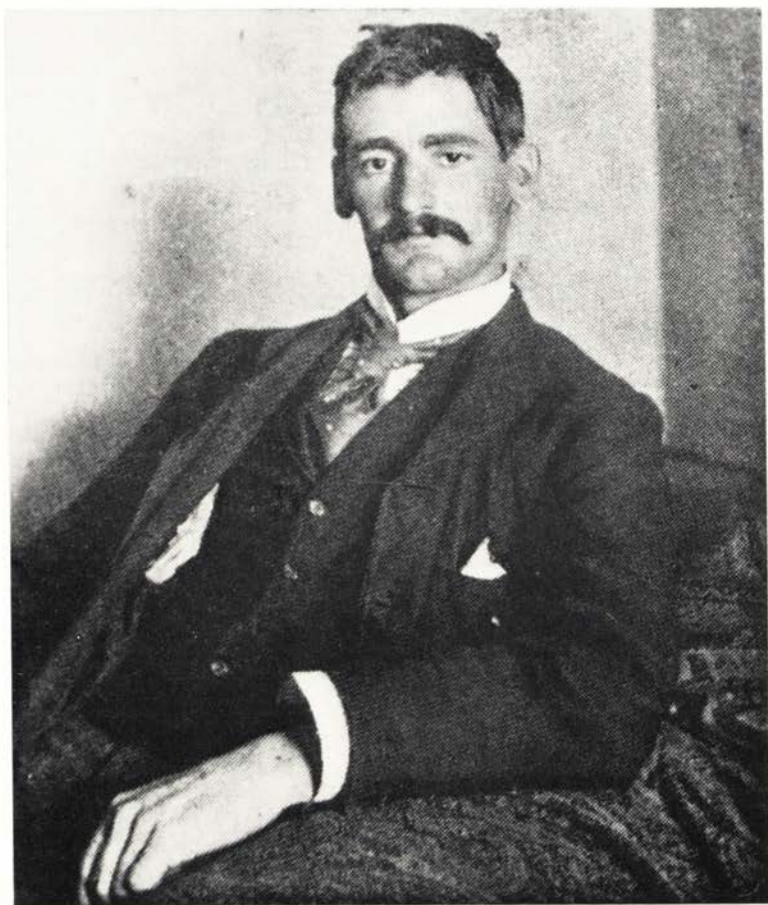
the Committee.

[A true translation of the original ends: 'That is all. From your true friends, from the Committee'].

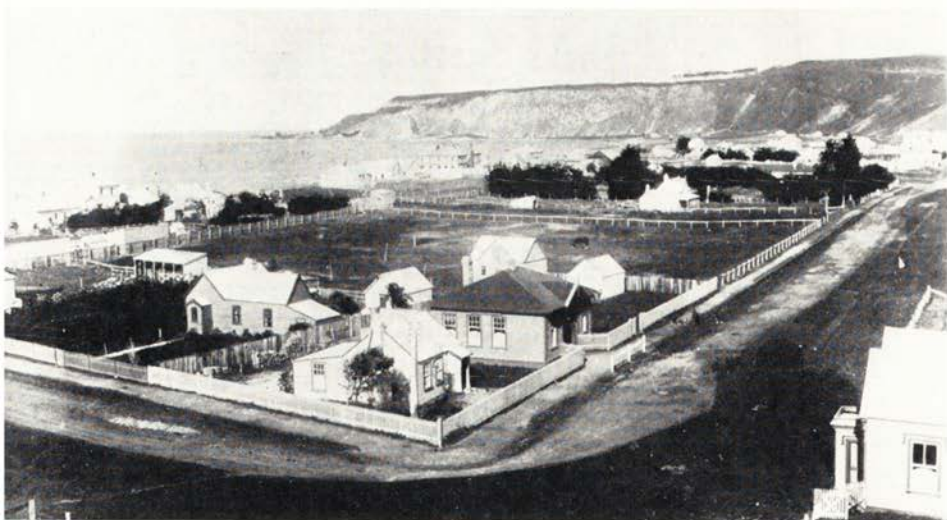
The letter was signed by Matene Rawiri, chairman of the new committee chosen during Pope's visit, and four others, only three of whom were members, Ihaia Waruhe (or Wahaa-ruhe), Renate Waruhe, Paratene Waruhe and Ratima Ihaia. Ihaia Waruhe, incidentally, was Mary Jacob's grandfather, and Ratima Ihaia her father.

Danaher, supposing that the committee were asking to have him replaced, asked the department for an inquiry. 'I am at a loss to know the reason of this, as I have always acted in an open and straight-forward manner with the Natives, and I believe I am popular with them. (The Children I know like me and attend school regularly.)' Hislop conducted an inquiry in the schoolhouse in January in the presence of the committee and twenty-six Maori men and women. Danaher admitted going to Kaikoura on business on three occasions; he attributed his falls to unbroken horses and his insensibility to the falls themselves. He admitted once staying at billiards till 2 a.m. The committee said they would not have reported him till the third occasion when his appearance compelled them: his clothes were saturated in castor oil and brandy. They emphasised that they did not want him removed; they only wanted him to stop going to Kaikoura and getting drunk. Hislop reported: 'He ought not to have been in a hotel shouting drinks for anyone much less a Maori', and William Rolleston, Minister for Education, reading the report, commented on 'the unquestionable impropriety of being worse for liquor and giving countenance to the drinking habits—shouting Etc—of the country. Ask the Catholic priest who spoke to me about this school to read this report and use his influence.' Danaher was asked for and gave a 'solemn assurance' to refrain from future imprudence. He joined the Rechabite Tent at Kaikoura and for the rest of his stay at Mangamaunu there was no complaint. Pope hoped that his example would benefit the Maoris.

But the department was to have trouble with this school for a number of years. In his retrospect of 1900 Pope said: 'In the old times, there is reason to believe, the authorities considered any building that would keep out most of the rain, and give more or less complete shelter from the wind and sun, a tolerably



Henry Lawson in Wellington in 1893 (*photograph taken by John Baillie at the Cuba Street bookshop of his brother Herbert Baillie; reproduced by the Alexander Turnbull Library*)



Kaikoura from the north, about 1900 (*Alexander Turnbull Library*)



Site of Mangamaunu School, 1881-1922 (*photograph, 1959, by J. M. Sherrard*)

satisfactory Native schoolhouse.⁴⁶ The remarks would seem to apply to the Native Department's buildings at Mangaunu. In spite of Harry Ingles's supervision, Danaher on arrival found the house without paint or wallpaper, and the boards of the walls 'dark and discolored'. Five months later Pope could see light through the walls of both buildings. Ihaia te Awanui, when he asked for the veranda for Danaher's house said: 'the house is very badly built and the rain beats in the windows and door'. Even the equipment was unlikely to last. The desks, just sent up by a Christchurch firm, were of heavy kauri slabs mounted on flimsy sticks. The department agreed to paint the house; it was two years before the desks were replaced.

The most serious complaint was the siting of the school. It was built on low ground too close to the drifting shingle bed of the Hapuku, a snow-fed river which in the last flood had come threateningly close. Pope recommended that the school be removed to the terrace. Though Ingles called at the Education Department in Wellington to say that this was unnecessary, the department went ahead, and the school was closed for five weeks in the autumn of 1881 while contractors shifted it to higher ground, probably with local Maori labour, overseen by the wharf engineer from Kaikoura. But now the garden and the paddock were too far from the school. Pope recommended not only the removal to the new site of the garden fence but also the fencing anew of the whole site at a cost of £39: 'It is very provoking to have to spend so much money here, but I do not see how the expense can be avoided.'

The new chairman Aperahama Taki (whose name also appears as Abraham Starkey) and four committee members wrote to Hislop in September 1881 reminding him of his promise of a clock, a bell, and a veranda for Danaher in return for the fencing they had done a year before: 'Our part was completed long ago, but you have only given us the clock.' ['Kua oti te kaha kia matou i mua no atu na ko koe kahore ano ko te karaka anake:'] The bell that had been sent was too faint to be heard by the children in the pa on the terrace; a bell costing £3 would leave £12 15s. for the teacher's veranda. A new bell was sent and a veranda built by November.

Hislop would not fence the new site without title to the land. Ihaia te Awanui, chairman again, agreed in March

1882, provided the earlier site was returned. This would mean getting a surveyor from Kaikoura at a cost of about £20. In June the committee was impatient to complete the leases and the fencing, since it was the idle time of the year, and since they wanted the sites in their users' hands before the spring planting. In July they threatened to remove the fence themselves. Danaher told the department that this was not due to any hostility towards him; 'on the Contrary, our relations are most cordial, but they simply want to get back the land'. Danaher persuaded them to write to the department and wait for an answer. The surveying was done in August and in December J. Goodall, a Kaikoura citizen, was instructed to get signatures for the lease: not a simple job, since it meant a 10-mile ride on a bad road to the pa and most of the men were away shearing. It was at the end of the following April that Goodall had eleven signatures, including those of the most senior men at the pa. The land was leased for eighteen years at a rent of one shilling a year if demanded on 1 January. A pig-proof garden fence and a boundary fence were erected at a cost of £49. In August of the following year (1884) the new chairman Keepa te Hina wrote to Danaher reminding him that the rent was not paid. E. O. Gibbes, then clerk to the department, protested that the rent was payable only if asked for: 'Do you think the natives really want the shilling to be sent down?' In October, Pope reported that the committee was uneasy about the matter: 'I think we should pay this money.' Habens asked Pope to suggest to them they should apply for it. Pope replied that they understood they had already applied by speaking to him about it. The sum of two shillings, two years' rent, was passed at the end of December. In the following two years, the committee took care to apply to the inspector during his visit, 'probably more as a reminder that the land is leased than as a result of any real wish to have the money'.⁴⁷

After Pope's visit in October 1884 the department had other worries. It had already refunded Danaher for a colonial oven his wife had installed when the camp oven proved dangerous in windy weather.⁴⁸ In 1882 Danaher had built at his own expense a weatherboard shed as a storeroom and washhouse, a meat-safe, and a rabbit-proof fence; for these a £10 reimbursement was passed when Pope recommended it in 1885.⁴⁹

But these improvements were not enough. In October 1884 Pope quoted Danaher's logbook: cold southerlies penetrated the house, and the floor on the south side had been flooded. One room had to be used as a storeroom since it was necessary to order three or four months' provisions at a time (presumably the shed was not big enough). 'The quarters', Pope said, 'are certainly not fit for a family to live in.' He recommended repairs to the house and the addition of two rooms and a fireplace and chimney. These additions cost £72.

In the meantime Danaher continued in the good favour of the community, his lapse forgotten: it was after that that Aperahama Taki had reminded Hislop of the veranda. 'The attendance is extremely regular', Pope reported in 1882, always a sign of Maori pupils' confidence in a teacher. His reports were satisfactory and children passed from one standard to the next. The night classes continued. If anyone was lax, it was the department: twice Danaher had to remind the department to send prize-books to girls who had got high marks—several months overdue: the girls were 'getting rather anxious about them'. Danaher continued as friend and helper to the people. In 1885 Bedford in his medical report wrote: 'In sickness the want of a suitable diet is always a difficulty, and has to be supplied invariably from friendly sources. Mr Danaher, the schoolmaster at the pah, is always a good neighbour to the Natives at these seasons.'⁵⁰

In January 1883 the community was shocked by the murder of Erina (or Herina) Jacob by her husband Ratima. The murder took place 400 yards from Danaher's house. Only a few minutes before, at midday, Danaher had intervened when he saw Ratima quarrelling with Erina. Shortly afterwards, Eliza Poharama sent for him to come to the pa because Erina was dead.⁵¹ Danaher was a witness at the inquest and was subpoenaed to give evidence at the trial at Christchurch Supreme Court in April. He reported to the department three days after the murder: 'It has caused a great commotion here, and I fear it will materially affect the school attendance for some time. I believe some of the Natives are leaving here on account of it and taking their children with them.' He feared it would be difficult to keep the children together for the inspection in February. Nevertheless there were twenty-three present at the inspection out of a roll of thirty. But by the end

of 1883 the roll had dropped to twenty.⁵² Pope in his report of the February inspection noted that the reins had slackened and there was a great deal of talking among the children. He mentioned 'irregular attendance'. By the end of 1884 when the roll was twenty-two, Danaher hoped for a recovery, through people returning. But the roll continued to drop and in fact did not rise above twenty till the influx of European children in 1899. Yet in 1884 Pope found the children settled and working well. The parents had no complaints about the school. At the end of 1885, H. B. Kirk reported one case of corporal punishment, with the concurrence of the chairman. 'The Natives are interested in the school. . . . They seem to like Mr Danaher'.

But Danaher was going. There was a provision in the Native Schools Code that if attendance fell where there was a 'high-class master' and it was not his fault, he would be transferred to a better school and replaced by a teacher of lower classification. Danaher's classification was not high, but he was a teacher highly regarded by the department, and presumably rather than see his salary drop through poor attendance, the department offered him a better position: his new school was Motukaraka on the Hokianga harbour and he left Mangamaunu on 18 December 1885.

The committee asked Kirk if the new teacher could come before Danaher left. They were anxious that he should be as good as Danaher. This passage shows both their regard for Danaher and their anxiety. It was written to Pope after Kirk's visit and before Danaher's departure.

Ka nui to matou aroha ki to matou Maata kura ki a Tanaha raua ko tona hoa wahine ka riro nei i runga i ta korua tono ko te Kawanatanga. Ko te take i tino arohaina nuitia ai kua tangatatia ki a matou kua whanaunga kotahi matou ki a raua me raua hoki ki a matou. He Mata kura pai rawa a Tanaha kaore ana aha, ana aha. Kaore ana whiu kino i nga tamariki. Pai ana tana mahi whakaako i nga tamariki, ngawari ana tau ana te rangimarietanga. Kaore he maata kura hei rite me Tanaha te pai, te ngawari, ki te whakaako i nga tamariki. Ko wai i hua ai ki enei Maata kura e tonoa mai nei i Muri nei e rite me Tanaha te ahua pai ngawari me tona hoa wahine hoki; a pea e kore e rite mo tera ma raua ko taku hoa Tiamana e titiro tenei Maata kura e haere mai nei i tona atahuatanga i tona rangimarietanga Amene i tona

ahatanga ranei kinonga ranei ki [te] patu kino i nga tamariki o te kura, tera ka tae atu e* whakaaturanga ki a koe a aku ranei; a te Tiamana ranei. Heoi ano ena kupu. Kei te aroha matou ki a Tanaha, raua [ko] tona hoa wahine i muri i a raua kua motu ke atu nei i a matou. Na te Pononga aroha, te

Keepa te Hina ranginui.

Great is our liking for our schoolmaster Danaher and his wife sent to us by you and the Government. We like them so well because they have become people to us and we are now kin to them and they to us. He is a very good master with no faults. He does not beat the children severely. He teaches them well and with kindness and there is harmony. There is no master like Danaher for skill and kindness in teaching the children. Who can speculate if this schoolmaster to be sent after him will be as good and gentle as Danaher and his wife? Would it not be possible that this can be settled by Danaher and my chairman interviewing this schoolmaster who is coming concerning his virtues and calmness (I trust this is the case) or his other qualities, or bad points such as severely beating our school children. Then word would be sent to you by the chairman or myself. It will suffice for this matter [to say] we will love Danaher and his wife even after they have been separated from us. From your affectionate servant,

Keepa te Hina Ranganui.

But the committee were not favoured with their request: Pope's reply was non-committal: 'I was pleased to find that you think so highly of Mr & Mrs Danaher.' R. H. Beck, a bachelor, arrived without the preliminary inspection the chairman had hoped to give him. Beck had applied several times to get into Native education and at the time of his first application in 1879 he was clerk at a Wellington brewery. He had been employed as journalist, clerk, and book-keeper, and he had taught at Gympie and Warwick in Queensland. He was teaching at Kaituna when he applied for Mangamaunu. He was appointed the day Keepa te Hina's letter was written.

At the start he apparently got on well. Kirk reported at the end of 1886: 'Mr Beck has established himself on a good foot-

* e = he. 'The h is invariably omitted in the early texts'. Note supplied by Dr P. W. Hohepa.

ing and evidently has the respect and confidence of the natives.' But the roll was down to thirteen: although Beck claimed that 'all the children of school age . . . are enrolled and attending school', in the same letter (in October 1886) he pointed out that four Matene (Martin) children and one Jacob were not attending, and that four others had left the district. Kirk reported 'some want of decided obedience', and Pope made a note to Habens: 'I'm afraid that this is a dying school'.

A year later the report was more discouraging. It was a wet day when Kirk called; no children arrived till 10.55, and there was talking among the younger children. Attendance throughout the year had been irregular. Kirk was prepared to blame the committee for this and asked the department to write to the chairman. Nevertheless he found fault with Beck's teaching; he relied too much on 'simultaneous answering' and did not check that every child had 'mastered' a lesson. Not a single child passed in the examination.

Beck seems to have been rather helpless. His garden was overgrown, his closet had blown over in a gale. The department was angry to find that the 'urgent private business' for which he had closed the school one day was in fact a wedding. Habens wrote: 'I am sorry to see that the Inspector mentions that what has been a good garden is becoming overgrown with weeds. Cannot you have the water-closet put on end without Government assistance?'

The question is an indication (though it was December when the men would have been away shearing) that he would not, or could not, call on Maori parents for help. That he kept aloof is apparent in his letter pleading that there would be no reduction of salary as a result of decreasing attendance. 'While avoiding all waste we have to show no signs of poverty which would bring us into contempt in the eyes of the natives.' He had to hand-feed his horse as the glebe was a barren patch of stones. That Danaher had been able to hire or borrow horses from Maoris is suggested by his mention of unbroken horses at the inquiry into the complaint about him. But Beck was at loggerheads with them over his horse. He had written in 1887 asking about his rights of pasturage; in the following year he complained that, though the Maoris had a 10-acre pig paddock provided by the government, their pigs roamed over

the school glebe while his horse ran the risk of being impounded if it strayed outside it. It suggests either a malicious joke or retaliation for some threat or action he had taken over their stock. He could not keep poultry because of poisoned grain, probably spread to keep down rabbits. J. M. Sherrard tells me he was often the butt of jokes. 'On one occasion some Maoris painted his quiet old horse so that he could not recognise it on going to the paddock to saddle up for a trip into town.'⁵³

The report at the end of 1888 was an improvement. 'In school the children work well.' The roll had risen during the year from fourteen to twenty-one, but attendance was poor. Again Kirk blamed the parents for lack of interest. 'The Maoris promise to do their best to keep up a better attendance this year.' Habens wrote to the chairman and the teacher threatening to close the school unless attendance improved. But Pope, reading the report, told Habens 'a more efficient instructor' was needed.

In 1889 Beck noted the number of days when no children came to school: a total of $14\frac{1}{2}$ days because of mist or heavy rain. It was a wet morning for the inspection in December: the roll was down to thirteen again, but only seven children arrived, three-quarters of an hour late. Kirk again blamed the parents: 'Very little interest is taken in the school by the people.' But Beck came in for criticism. He was advised not to use Maori unless 'he is certain of the meaning of the words he uses', and he was accused of 'want of observation of the children's power and progress'. Kirk recommended closing the school, compensating Beck for loss of office and letting him continue to live in the teacher's house as long as he wished. But the reason for Kirk's generosity is clear in the sentence that follows: 'On no account should the land and buildings be allowed to fall into the hands of the Natives if this can be avoided.' He had formed the suspicion that the Maoris wanted the school closed in order to have use of the land and buildings. When he told the committee that the school might be closed, 'None expressed regret to any considerable extent but all were anxious to know whether the land and buildings would revert to them and there was some chagrin on learning that there was no prospect of this until the lease should run out.'

Beck was dismissed and given three months' salary in lieu of notice. But, returning his logbook, he asked for another month's salary in compensation for his horse, worth £18, which had succumbed to poisoned grain. The department sent him £6 12s. 6d., just over a month's salary. The school records were returned in July.

Beck continued to occupy the house. In August he wrote to say that the W.C. had blown down again, and also the shed erected by Danaher. He recommended sale of the shed, which was bought by Aperahama Taki for £2. In May a Maori wrote to the department asking to rent the schoolmaster's house: the department refused. There is no record of what Beck did for a living during the five years he lived there, but he applied unsuccessfully in 1893 to Reeves, Minister of Education and of Labour, for a clerical job, he hoped in the Labour Bureau.

It is doubtful whether Pope, had he inspected the school during Beck's appointment, would have come to the same conclusion as Kirk. It is plain from what followed that the parents had not lost interest in the school. The explanation of poor attendance is almost certainly in the statements, already quoted, of two inspectors of Maori schools: Bird's, that nothing would prevent a Maori child attending school if he thought it was worth going to, and Pope's that if pupils lose confidence in a teacher nothing will persuade them to attend. Some conception of how low the school had fallen can be seen in these figures. They represent marks given by inspectors for all aspects of the school: condition of records, school organisation, condition of buildings, discipline, methods, extra subjects and examination results.

1884 (under Danaher)	61.59%
1885	62.2%
1886 (under Beck)	42.3%
1887	41.7%
1888	41.3%
1889	40.0%

In the last two years Mangamaunu's percentage was among the lowest four (out of sixty-five Native Schools) in the country.⁶⁴ It is plain that, for whatever reason, the community had little respect for Beck and it was hardly in keeping with Pope's ideal of the teacher as a beacon of European culture that Beck

should have continued to live in the community, apparently in idleness, for five years.

While the school was closed there were no fewer than five letters from Maori parents, two of them petitions, asking that the school be reopened.

The first is a letter from Keepa te Hina Ranginui, written 20 January 1890, the day before Beck was sent notification of dismissal. Keepa te Hina had already sent, by way of Kirk, an explanation of the small number of children at the school.

Kua tatari matou ki te kupu whakahoki mai a te Kawana-tanga, kua roa i roto i enei ra kua pahure nei. Heoi tena kupu, kua whai kupu ano ahau ki te komiti kia hopinetia ano te kura i tenei tau, aua atu te tokoiti o nga tamariki Maori, e toko maha ano o ratou hoa tamariki pakeha, tera hoki e tahi tamariki Maori kei te whakatupu ano kei te kai waiu e tahi. Kei te haere etahi. Heoi nga kupu. Whakautua mai tenei reta ina tae atu.

We have waited for the words of reply from the Government and we have waited long. Let that be. I have again spoken with the Committee to have the school opened again this year. Never mind the small number of Maori children. There are many of their young Pakeha friends. There are also some Maori children growing up; some are at their mothers' breasts, others have just begun to walk. [Alternatively: others have departed.] That is all. Reply to this letter when it arrives.

The official translation omitted to translate the reference to Pakeha children. Habens's reply was that 'very trifling causes have been allowed to keep children from school'.

On 17 August 1891 Poharama Wahaaruhe and eleven others petitioned for reopening, since the numbers of children had increased: 'These children have not known education.' ['Ko enei tamariki kaore e mohio ana ki te kura.'] The petitioners asked for a prompt decision ['e tono atu ana matou kia tere te tono mai']. Habens wrote asking for the names and ages of the children. There is no record of these being received and nothing further happened.

The following year on 29 June, Ihaia te Awanui, signing himself 'Rangatira o mangamaunu' wrote to the Minister of Native Affairs:

Ki te Minita Maori,
Tena koe. Ko au ko Ihaia te Awanui Kaiwhakahaere o
Ngaitahu ki te wa o Mangamaunu nei. E hiahia ana Matou
ki to Matou Kura kia Hopene. Ko te take ko a Matou
tamariki kai te haere noa iho i te kore kura: 10 nga tama-
riki. Koia matou e linoi atu ai ki a koe mo a Matou tama-
riki; ara, mo te painga mo a matou tamariki e hiahia nuitia
nei e matou.

To the Maori Minister,
Greetings. I am Ihaia te Awanui, executive leader of Ngai-
tahu at Mangamaunu. We desire that our school be opened,
the reason being that our children wander aimlessly because
there is no school. There are ten children. Therefore we
beseech you on behalf of our children [to do] what is for
their advantage, which is greatly desired by us.

The letter was referred to Reeves, Minister of Education, who
replied regretting that the funds available for native schools
were insufficient for a district with such a small number of
children. Pope observed: 'if our rules concerning capitation
grants for small attendances were somewhat modified it might
be possible to do something'.

Two years later Ihaia and twenty-six others worded a
petition in English to the Prime Minister. They accompanied
the petition with a note to Thomas Pratt or Parata, member
of Parliament for the Southern Maori electorate:

Ki a Tame Parata, ki to matou Mema. Tena koe. E* kupu
atu tena na matou ki a koe mo te wharekura i Mangamaunu
nei. E hiahia ana matou mau e hoatu ki te aroaro o te
whare kia tonoa noa mai tetahi kura mata mo a matou
tamariki. Ko te nama o nga tamariki; 15. Ki nga tamariki
hou mai ka rua tekau ma wha katoa. E hiahia ana matou nei
kia whakatuhematia to matou kura inaianei

To Tom Parata, to our Member. Greetings. This message
concerns our school at Mangamaunu. We want you to place
before the House our petition that a schoolmaster be sent
to us for our children. The number of children is 15, and
with the new children, 24 altogether. We would like our
school opened immediately.

* E = He.

The petition itself is interesting. The use of the European name for the Seaward Kaikoura range and the spelling of *pa* and of the Hapuku and Mangamaunu in imitation of current Pakeha mispronunciations may represent a desire to ingratiate themselves with a Pakeha Prime Minister. But probably, like the language of the petition, these reflect the assistance of some Pakeha acquainted, though imperfectly, with legal procedure. The petition is too amateurish to have been prepared by a lawyer. It is tempting to speculate that it was Beck, seeking reinstatement; but this is unlikely since the letter to Parata implies that the teacher should be a new one. The most likely nominee is Walter Gibson, a failed runholder, former county chairman and unsuccessful parliamentary candidate of ten years earlier, whose advocacy was available to those with political grievances. The petition reads:

1st The Humble Petition of We, the undersigned Aboriginal natives residing at Mungumana, Province of Marlborough, Humbly Sheweth that we are suffering a great wrong and injustice at the hands of your Government inasmuch as our children twenty four 24 in number, fifteen 15 of which, range from five 5 years of age up to fifteen 15 years of age are growing up without any education; for our Pah is nine 9 miles distant from the nearest public school, at Kaikoura, from which all Communication is often cut off by the Hapuka river, when in flood.

2nd It is a cause of great grief and reproach to us to see our children growing to manhood without any Education. You are our Father: and in the knowledge of your great love for us we ask you to remove this great sorrow and reproach from us; for your children are melting away like the Snow in Spring time, from the Lookers On Mountains, and in Knowledge, only Can our Children find Salvation, for thier race. We therefor humbly pray our Father, that in his love for his Children, he will at once have a Native School opened at Mangumana and your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

At the end, no doubt remembering Habens's request two years before, the petitioners listed the names of eighteen children of school age and eleven under five.

Parata apparently sent the letter and the petition to the Education Department who referred them to the Justice Department, but the petition was never heard by the Petitions

Committee, because the Education Department had begun to think again. Pope advised against re-appointing Beck: 'he is incapable'. But with a new teacher 'it might possibly be worth a trial' to reopen. P. G. Steel, a trained teacher, at that time teaching at Te Puke, married with an infant son, was appointed.

In August Gibbes wired Constable Smart of Kaikoura to discover if Beck was still in the schoolhouse. Beck not only was, he wired collect to say he needed four weeks to move. But Steel was due to arrive in ten days, and the constable wired again (from 'Mungamunga') to say that Beck was packing.

Habens wrote on 11 September to Ihaia te Awanui that the school would be opened 'in the hope that the people will see the value of it and for the children's benefit require them all to attend. It will be as well for you to see that all the children are got together' by the following week. Steel, missing his boat from Onehunga, arrived a few days late on 25 September 1894. It was Pope who visited this year, five weeks after Steel's arrival. He found that the school needed a new roof and several new panes of glass. The house needed new wallpaper and the veranda new floor-boards. But Pope, since his last visit ten years before, noted a great advance in the settlement, in its appearance and its sanitation. Steel had dug the garden and his discipline was mild. 'The parents take a pleasing interest in their school at present.' Pope was hopeful. 'Of course everything depends, in the first place, on the ability of the Maoris to keep up a fair attendance'.⁵⁵ 'A good start was made, but the attendance is falling off somewhat: the Maori population is but small.'⁵⁶ Nevertheless for what was left of the year the children attended well. In 1895 Mangamaunu had second highest average attendance out of sixty-five Native Schools. The roll was twenty.

By March Steel reported that attendance was falling: three children with parents at Kaiapoi had gone home for the summer holidays and hadn't returned. The roll was now sixteen.

There is not much evidence of Steel's relations with the people. His logbook was 'laconic to a fault' and he wrote only brief letters to the department. But in contrast to the reception of Beck's animal, one notes fifteen months after Steel's arrival

Ihaia te Awanui and others seeking permission from the department for Steel to graze his cow and horse on Maori land.

Pope came again at the end of 1895. Steel had a good garden in. He was taking work in three classes. He had gained 'the confidence, and I think the affection of all his pupils. His relations with the Elder Maoris are good'. With Steel Pope visited the two settlements and was pleased with the advances in sanitation and the attractiveness of the Catholic church. 'Much of this advance is certainly due to the school and its work, although in the past this has not always been of the best'. He was impressed by the people's 'evident desire to support the school'. Eight children passed the examination. Pope reported:

This school should not be judged by the average attendance merely but by the amount of good it is doing, which is exceptional, although the attendance is small. . . . This is at present a useful little school, doing good work amongst Maoris who really need assistance to enable them to hold out against the pressure of pakeha civilisation.

But the average attendance was below eleven, and Habens wrote to Steel that it must be brought up to fifteen—hardly possible since the total roll was only thirteen, and dropped to twelve at the beginning of 1896. Pope told Habens that small attendance was the school's only fault. 'There is no prospect of improvement for some time to come. The master is a useful man; some of his work is particularly good.' He advised against closing.

At the end of 1896 the roll was thirteen again, with an average attendance of ten. The 'rule' was still 'mild'. 'The elder Maoris show interest in their school, and the pupils are attached to their teacher.' Pope added that the attendance must normally be small because the population was small: it had been particularly low this year because health had been bad and two school-children and several babies had died. There had also been floods: if the Hapuku were bridged, the attendance would improve at once (there were some Pakeha children living south of the river). 'The results are considerably above the average. . . . The English is very good indeed.' Again eight children passed.⁵⁷

For what reason it is not clear, but probably under the same provision by which Danaher had been offered another

school, Steel at the beginning of 1897 was appointed to Raukokore in the eastern Bay of Plenty. He was not there for long: in April he was in Auckland Hospital for amputation of a poisoned toe, and at the end of May he died.⁵⁸

The committee was restless that there was no teacher for the coming year. In January Gibbes wrote to Pene Tahui, chairman, that he would be informed when a new teacher was appointed. In March Habens asked Pope: 'Is Mangamaunu likely to be permanently closed?' Pope replied: 'there is no more reason for closing Mangamaunu than there has been for the last two years'. In April Habens considered appointing an elderly man whose retirement two years before he had not regretted, 'a man of little energy'. He gave him a week to consider, but this man, though poor and only returning from retirement because he needed the money, did not reply. 'The school has been closed a considerable time and I am unwilling to try the patience of the Natives further.' Five days later, on 27 April, Arapere Panita, chairman of the previous year's committee, was notified that Henry Lawson had been appointed. Habens asked the committee to keep up the children's attendance.

At this point it is useful to recapitulate. From the viewpoint of the Maori parents of Mangamaunu the performance, first of the Native Affairs Department and then of the Education Department had not been above reproach. After some delay they had got their school and teacher's house but they were badly built and badly sited. Their first teacher, except for his lapse, was all they could ask for—and in the light of their silence over Beck's many inefficiencies, it seems that their complaint about Danaher was a vote of confidence: he was worth complaining about; without his drinking expeditions he would answer their needs. They had treated their agreement with the government as a contract to be honoured to the letter by both parties. They had gone further when they volunteered their own labour in return for the veranda, the clock and the bell, for the sake of Danaher's well-being and the greater efficiency of the school. But on its side the department had been remiss: it had sent a bell too small to be heard, and it had to be reminded about the veranda; it did not immediately send prize-books promised to children who had passed. There was the period when the government seemed to want two

Table A

Annual Total Expenditure on Schools

Year	Board Schools			Maori Schools			Mangamaunu School		
	Total govt. expenditure to nearest £	No. of pupils	Expenditure to nearest £	Expenditure to nearest £	No. of pupils	Expenditure £ s. d.	No. of pupils	Expenditure £ s. d.	No. of pupils
1880	345,993	82,401	11,947	11,947	1,623	160 19 1	26	160 19 1	26
1881	297,905	83,587	14,574	14,574	2,010	248 17 8	30	248 17 8	30
1882	296,119	89,179	15,900	15,900	2,024	171 0 0	30	171 0 0	30
1883	350,290	92,476	15,425	15,425	1,923	208 15 4	20	208 15 4	20
1884	337,979	97,238	13,406	13,406	2,226	180 16 1	22	180 16 1	22
1885	365,581	102,407	16,511	16,511	2,161	221 2 7	20	221 2 7	20
1886	378,189	106,328	19,262	19,262	2,346	129 11 2	13	129 11 2	13
1887	388,056	110,919	19,078	19,078	2,631	96 16 1	14	96 16 1	14
1888	365,057	112,685	15,178	15,178	2,512	71 18 9	20	71 18 9	20
1889	335,118	115,456	14,382	14,382	2,462	67 14 10	13	67 14 10	13
1890	356,659	117,912	15,593	15,593	2,259	6 7 10	13	6 7 10	13
1891	408,983	119,523	13,612	13,612	2,231	—	—	—	—
1892	372,521	112,620	12,557	12,557	2,133	—	—	—	—
1893	397,739	124,690	11,030	11,030	2,134	—	—	—	—
1894	407,468	127,300	13,504	13,504	2,418	42 11 3	20	42 11 3	20
1895	424,214	129,856	16,302	16,302	2,675	127 17 0	13	127 17 0	13
1896	393,659	131,037	15,574	15,574	2,862	110 10 0	15	110 10 0	15
1897	452,039	132,197	18,944	18,944	2,864	70 17 11	17	70 17 11	17
1898	463,405	131,621	20,915	20,915	2,972	110 15 8	19	110 15 8	19
1899	436,052	131,315	21,557	21,557	3,065	112 18 7	32	112 18 7	32

Figures are taken from *Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand 1880-99*, and from tables in the Annual Reports on Native Schools, *AJHR*, 1881-1900.

Table B
Annual Average Expenditure on Each Pupil

Year	Board Schools £	Native Village Schools £	Mangamaunu School £
1880	4.2	7.4	6.2
1881	3.6	7.3	8.3
1882	3.3	7.9	5.7
1883	3.8	8.0	10.4
1884	3.5	6.0	8.2
1885	3.6	7.6	11.1
1886	3.6	8.2	10.0
1887	3.5	7.3	6.9
1888	3.2	6.0	3.6
1889	2.9	5.8	5.2
1890	3.0	6.9	0.5
1891	3.4	6.1	—
1892	3.3	5.9	—
1893	3.2	5.2	—
1894	3.2	5.6	2.1
1895	3.3	6.1	9.8
1896	3.0	5.4	7.4
1897	3.4	6.6	4.2
1898	3.5	7.0	5.8
1899	3.3	7.0	3.5

Expenditure is in terms of pounds and decimals of a pound corrected to one decimal place.

pieces of land and would not surrender the piece it no longer needed at a time when they could have begun to cultivate it, and then the delay of nearly two years in paying the rent for the new site. More seriously, the government had taken away the good teacher and replaced him with a poor one. Kirk complained to the parents when the children did not attend, when it was obvious that the children had no confidence in their teacher and the parents were unable to compel them to attend. When the government closed the school it took pains that no Maori should use the land or buildings and it left the poor teacher in possession, doing nothing profitable to the community. It had taken five years, three letters and two petitions to have the school reopened. Again when the school was established under a good teacher, the department had taken him away; and it appeared that the school would again be closed for a long time.



Mangamaunu Flat Settlement in the 1890s (from T. L. Buick, Old Marlborough, 1900, reproduced by the Alexander Turnbull Library)



Painting of Mangamaunu, artist and date unknown (photograph by J. M. Sherrard, from the original in the Christchurch Technical Institute)



The house the Lawsons lived in (photograph by Barry Yelverton, date unknown but probably between 1920 and 1940)

From the department's point of view, the school had been costly, not only in the continual repairs to the buildings. Not counting the cost of the original buildings, the sum of the annual expenditure on each pupil for the years when the school was open had been £95.2, whereas for all Maori schools it averaged £88.6, and for Board schools £43.8.⁵⁹ Under Beck the parents had not maintained the children's attendance, as they had undertaken to do, and under Steel, though it was not their fault the number of children was small, they had not maintained a full attendance. The department had a responsibility to its teachers as well as to its pupils and it was unfair to Danaher and to Steel, that their salaries should drop when rolls or attendances fell. It had waived its own rule on the minimum roll, in order to keep open a school it felt was needed and useful.

The fault lay in the rule itself and in the system of payment by results which obliged a good teacher to be shifted from a place where he was more urgently needed, and in the sad fact that the New Zealand Government, and the community it represented, felt an obligation to educate the indigenous people, but were unable to provide, or unwilling to train, an adequate number of qualified teaching staff.

It was these factors, and a letter of introduction to the Prime Minister, that led to the appointment, apparently with little more than a token inspection of his qualifications, of a man who had had less than three years at school himself. For teacher and community this expedient was to end in disappointment.

The Lawsons at Mangamaunu

I

It was not, of course, Henry Lawson who chose his occupation in New Zealand, but chance and a shortage of government posts. According to Bertha the choice was hers, in the hope (as she explained forty-six years later) of finding him a job that would 'leave him free to write' and be 'right away from hotels'.¹ But Henry seems to have accepted the offer willingly. It was managed through the help of Lawson's friend Edward Tregear, Secretary of Labour, poet, and student of Maori culture and Polynesian languages. Tregear was reputed in the Australian working-class press to be 'an avowed Socialist' and in 1893 he had found Lawson work and lent him money in 1896.² Bertha's account of the appointment, conflated from her two not entirely consistent memoirs, is that prepared with a letter of introduction to the Prime Minister, R. J. Seddon, from J. F. Archibald, editor of the *Bulletin*, she called on Tregear who told her that Seddon was due to leave next day for London for the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, and advised her to ask Seddon simply to minute the letter and hand her back to Tregear. Seddon obliged; then Tregear introduced her to 'Mr Ward, the Minister for Education' who called in F. K. de Castro, a clerk to the department, who offered Mangamaunu school, which she apparently accepted on Henry's behalf. The boat for Kaikoura was to leave in two days; on the same day as the appointment she asked for an advance of a month's salary to pay fares and buy furniture and ship it to Kaikoura (in her second version she says she

concealed the fact that they had no furniture); de Castro agreed and she bought a mattress, a kettle and pots and groceries.

But Bertha's reminiscences of thirty-four and forty-six years later are understandably unreliable.³ To be accurate so many years after would be a long haul on anyone's memory; and the second memoir was ghosted by her *de facto* second husband, Will Lawson. More seriously, she was recalling the most promising period of her marriage to Henry Lawson across the bitterness of their separation in 1903, her prosecutions for his defaults in maintenance, and her own mental breakdown. For example, it could not have been Joseph Ward to whom she was introduced, since he never was Minister of Education, and had in fact in the previous winter resigned his several ministries because of his bankruptcy and the scandal of his private financial manipulations.⁴ The man she meant could only have been William Campbell Walker, who was Minister of Education from 1896 to 1903. Indeed it is more likely that it was Henry who presented himself at the department and, being partly deaf, misheard the name. Since he was in Wellington and had made no written application, the department would hardly have appointed him without seeing him.

A letter from Tregear to William Pember Reeves, the preceding Minister of Education, confirms this: it is dated 13 April 1897.

Talking of Labour Agitators (I suppose it is hardly fair to call a poet by that name) Henry Lawson . . . has come over here to live. He brought a letter of introduction to Mr Seddon from Mr Archibald the editor of the Sydney Bulletin, and I have been trying to get audience for him with the Premier, but this is the Premier's last day but one, and he is driving through things, trying to wind up, with a sulphurous odour in the atmosphere and a cyclone of flying private secretaries . . . Lawson is married now to a nice little woman who has been a hospital nurse and has got him in hand well so that I hope he won't go 'Baresark' any more but will settle to steady work. He intends to write up New Zealand and I think it well for the colony for a man of such rare literary ability to come here.⁵

Bertha's account of their stay in Wellington is telescoped. She suggests that she called on Tregear (and Seddon) the

morning after their arrival, got Henry the job on the spot, went home to tell him, returned to ask de Castro for an advance and dined with Tregear that evening. The following day, the day that Seddon was to sail, she bought the household goods; the third day caught the boat; and 'the second day out' from Wellington they landed at Kaikoura and went straight to Mangamaunu. According to this account they were installed in Mangamaunu within five days of reaching Wellington.

But in fact the interval was nearly four weeks. They disembarked from the *Anglian* on 9 April, a Friday.⁶ They had several days in which to wait on Seddon who did not sail till the following Thursday, 15 April.⁷ The *Evening Post* reports Lawson's appointment (to 'Mangamaume') on 1 May. Departmental records are more definite. The offer of Mangamaunu school to the retired teacher was made on 22 April. Tregear's testimonial for Lawson to Habens is dated 27 April, and on that day Arapere Panita was notified of Lawson's appointment.⁸ They sailed on the *Wakatu* (registered tonnage: 95) on 4 May.⁹ Lawson reported to the department that he reached Mangamaunu on the afternoon of Wednesday 5 May. Apparently the appointment was not as perfunctory as Bertha suggests. Habens was certainly consulted. Nevertheless no obstacle was seen in Lawson's lack of schooling. Tregear's testimonial made three points, that Lawson was a 'distinguished literary man', that Mrs Lawson would be an admirable helpmate, and that the two of them were in need of assistance. The only handicap that Habens, in a note to Walker, saw was Lawson's partial deafness, which could be offset by his wife's assistance and the smallness of the school. Whether de Castro was as liberal in his advance as Bertha says cannot be checked, since monthly salary payments are not recorded on the school file; but there is a receipt, signed by Lawson and dated 18 May, for £1 5s. 'advance for travelling expenses'.*

Tom Mills, however, saw the appointment as a political favour, and shared the hope that had moved Tregear to recommend Lawson:

* Civil Service regulations required the presentation of a 'proper voucher' before travelling expenses could be refunded. *N.Z. Gazette*, 1878, p. 1208.

Admirers of Henry Lawson's writings will be pleased to hear that our Government has fixed him and his wife up in a nice little position—by no means a “phat” one, such as many bone-sucking Johnnies hold here, but of sufficient pay to free Harry from the poet's worry as to the morrow. He will, no doubt, repay the colony's kindness by writing our land up in some of his best work—both prose and verse. The settlement of Australia's poet over here will be a good advertisement for Maoriland. He has done good propaganda work for socialism—so here's to H.L.

A week later Walter Woods, editor of the Hobart Labour weekly, the *Clipper*, wrote:

How Maoriland is snapping up the talent! Henry Lawson, the foremost Australian-born poet and story-teller, has been found a billet in a native school under the shadow of the Kaikouras and the wing of the Seddon Government.¹⁰

While in Wellington Lawson lived, presumably, from the hospitality of Tom Mills, with whom he had stayed in 1893 and who had lent him money during his 1896 visit,* and from contributions to the *N.Z. Mail*, which had published four items of his in December 1893.¹² There are three pieces by Lawson during April 1897, a poem and two prose sketches (one of them on a shipwreck off Marlborough that he had learned of during his previous visit).¹³ Bertha says he was paid three guineas for the poem in the *Mail* and another three for a poem in the *Evening Post*, edited by his friend Gresley Lukin, for-

* Tom L. Mills, later editor for thirty years of the *Feilding Star* and elder statesman of New Zealand provincial journalism, was born at Douglas, Isle of Man, in 1865, came to New Zealand when nine and was educated at Timaru. He became foreman printer on the *Timaru Herald*, but was dismissed for protesting at a reduction in piece rates. He moved to Wellington where he was dismissed from a number of printing jobs for his activity in printing trades unions. When Lawson first met him he was chief compositor on the *New Zealand Times*; but in 1897 a piece of his 'descriptive journalism' attracted the attention of the *Evening Post*, which took him on as compositor, book-reviewer, music and drama critic, and interviewer. He was for a time New Zealand labour correspondent for the *Brisbane Worker* and the *Tasmanian Democrat* (Launceston); he later contributed gossip of the New Zealand printing trade to *Wimble's Reminder* (Sydney). He died in 1955.¹¹

In 1897 he was less interested in Lawson's visit than in the speaking tour of the English trade union leader Ben Tillett.

merly of the *Boomerang*; but there are no Lawson items in the *Post* during April or May, and it was not the policy of evening papers to publish literary material.¹⁴ Lawson did not see 'the fun of writing for Australian prizes and living at New Zealand rates'.¹⁵

The sources of information about the stay of the Lawsons at Mangamaunu between 5 May and 1 or 2 November are the school files, Bertha's two memoirs, Lawson's own few letters from Mangamaunu and one or two stray references in later writing, and such sparse and hazy recollections as have been found from people who knew him or knew people who knew him. The school file does not throw much light on life outside the school or on the daily events and relationships inside it. Apart from Lawson's letters, Bertha's reminiscences are an important source, and for such tentative reconstruction as is possible seventy years later, one must depend on them except where other sources show them to be wrong. Of the two reminiscences the earlier (edited by Bertha junior and J. Le Gay Brereton) is likely to be less untrustworthy since it is without the editorial bias of Will Lawson, who cultivated the popular image of Lawson.

Lawson's previous experience of Maoris was benign. In an earlier visit to New Zealand, crossing Cook Strait he had had a number of drinks with 'a big good-humored looking young Maori . . . playing a concertina'.¹⁶ Anthony Cashion, who knew him at Pahiatua, asserted that he admired 'the Maori race . . . and he was greatly interested in the Maori children'. On his return to Sydney he gave (one imagines with bristling pleasure) 'a most emphatic denial to the rumor that he has been married to a Maori girl'.¹⁷ More important, he had worked with five Maori men from Mangamaunu in the linen-men's gang in Marlborough in 1894, an experience he described a year or two later as 'the most pleasant days of my life'; and he recalled in 1910 that these men had a high respect for him.¹⁸

When the Lawsons arrived with their light hand-luggage and two cement-casks holding the mattress, the kettle, the groceries, and the few pans (or the billy and the frying-pan which Bertha in her second memoir says was all they had to cook with), without furniture or curtains, they found themselves dependent for some time on Maori hospitality. The

community met them with baskets of kumaras and a plate of wild pork. The men helped Henry to cut bracken to put beneath their mattress. Whatever groceries they had bought in Wellington were insufficient and until they made arrangements with the driver of the Blenheim coach to bring bread and meat from Kaikoura they relied on Maoris for food. They learned to supplement their supplies with rabbits, pigeon and kaka, pauas and fish and watercress: it should be noted that in doing this they were drawing on a Maori food-supply, and recalled that it was for its food resources that the Mangamaunu block had been selected by the Kaikoura Maoris as a reserve. Later the Lawsons arranged to have bulk orders shipped from Wellington. They could have used the vegetable garden, but it was overgrown and Henry needed the time to write. They sometimes were able to buy potatoes and onions from the Maoris.¹⁹

The house as they found it, since the addition of two rooms in 1884, was not the 'small wooden three-roomed cottage' Bertha describes, it had six small rooms, and must have swallowed their few possessions.* They had no furniture apart from the mattress and the two casks, which Henry made into chairs, and though they told the local people their furniture was coming later, it was some time before they had money to buy any. If they did receive their first month's salary in advance, it would have been two months, the end of June, before they could order the bed, the table and two chairs from Wellington; but Lawson in his letter of 25 June does not mention hardship or relief from it. If the advance was limited to the 25s. travelling expenses, then they could have bought the furniture at the end of May; but they would not have had much to spend. Taking Lawson's salary as the same as that of Steel and of Lawson's successor, £100 (he would not have been en-

* When Bertha says that the story 'Water them Geraniums' is 'a very true description of our home in Mangamaunu', she must mean by *home* their domestic relations. There is no resemblance between the two houses except that both had roof, walls, and floor. The selector's house at Lahey's Creek was of split slabs roofed with shingles, it had no veranda; attached to it was an unfloored slab-and-bark shed with a kitchen, a skillion, and a spare bedroom partitioned off with bark and chaff-bags. The Mangamaunu teacher's house was of weatherboard, with a ceiling and a corrugated iron roof; it had a veranda, six rooms and no shed, and was completely floored with wood.

titled to bonuses until attendance returns at the end of his first quarter—and then only 18s. 9d.), and that of his wife as £12 10s., their joint monthly cheque would have been £11 os. 10d.: with the £1 5s. advance deducted, a May cheque of less than £10.* They were thus without a bed or a table for at least a month, and possibly two. When their new furniture came they had enough only to furnish the bedroom, the kitchen, and a sitting-room. (One of the rooms Bertha used as a washhouse and scullery, now that Danaher's outhouse had been sold.)²¹ Henry made a wardrobe and 'the other things [they] needed' from timber bought from Kaikoura; they 'stained and painted chairs, tables and floors'—presumably Henry had made a second table. Five or six months later, in the spring, Bertha was able to decorate the rooms with clematis and wild flowers.²²

It seems plain enough that the Lawsons had established different relations with the community than their predecessors. Their home was hardly the beacon of European house-management that Pope had envisaged and, one imagines, the Danahers and the Steels (within their means) had tried to practise. There is little wonder that they found themselves the object of curiosity, with eyes at the windows till Bertha improvised some curtains out of the mattress covering. At the beginning their poverty probably made relations easier; the hospitality of the Maoris, Bertha says, was 'unstinted'.²³ She must, however, have confused them when, in a private scheme to keep her husband away from the pubs of Kaikoura, she told them he was a rich man, but very mean. In a culture that values generosity and deprecates meanness, it could not have helped relations; and Henry's anger at their 'greediness' in following Bertha's advice and asking £1 for the hire of a horse or £3 for a buggy was no more propitious.²⁴

There is reason to believe that at first the Lawsons reciprocated in a generous spirit and interested themselves in the community. They eventually let a local man cultivate the school garden and keep the produce, provided he would let them buy vegetables from him. Bertha fulfilled de Castro's

* Total salaries for Mangamaunu School in 1897 were £67 10s. 9d. Of this roughly £10 or £11 would have gone to Lawson's successor, leaving £56 or £57 for the Lawsons.²⁰

charge to 'look to the Maori women and children'. She attended to a sick woman. By the end of June she was 'a favourite everywhere and worshipped' and had received the confidences of one old Maori woman.²⁵ The vignette, in his letter to MacCallum, of Henry buying a goose from old Mrs Hehii and her laughter at him flapping his arms and quacking to indicate what he wanted shows the familiarity of his relationship with the people. One reminiscence shows that he either visited, or entertained Maoris: 'I learned to sit for an hour, if need be, in a cow-like but on my part at least, unembarrassed silence, with a row of Maoris, who I knew had some, to them, important communication to make, or wanted to buy something of me.'²⁶

He was curious enough to discover the meaning of a Maori curse. He went shooting with one young man, and he was on easy enough terms with Bob Poharama to buy wild pork from him after a hunting expedition, or to learn why he had had no luck. He, or Bertha, knew the pictures on the wall of Mary Jacob's home. He conversed, through a grandchild, with Mrs Poharama, about a devil that had appeared to her the previous night.²⁷

He sympathised with the Maoris against the local European sheep owners:

Whites here intensely clannish, in the narrow sence of the word. Regard the Maoris either with contempt or aggressive dislike, for no reason that I can see except localism—²⁸

[They] were reckoned as poor class Maoris . . . and looked upon as dirt—and their teacher little better—by the few clannish white families round, whom I looked upon as poor class whites, and with whom I was pretty quickly at feud too.²⁹

Mrs T. Walsh of Auckland was at the school in Lawson's time: she was probably the model of 'the youngest child in the school—a dear little half-caste lady of two or three summers' mentioned in 'A Daughter of Maoriland'. As Hannah McNamara her surname was the same as that of Bertha's mother and stepfather. I quote from notes I made after an interview with Mrs Walsh.

18 February 1963. Mrs T. Walsh says she was at Mangamaunu School while Lawson taught there in 1897. She was not yet five and works out that she must have been

three. (She is 69.) Though she cannot recall any details or incidents of the schoolroom, or any impression of how Lawson got on with the class or with parents, she has always remembered him and often thought of him, 'I don't know why.' She remembers him as a kindly man—'very'. 'Mrs Lawson used to nurse me home at lunch-time.' They spoke of adopting her and taking her back to Australia but her mother would not agree. . . . She read of Lawson's death when it occurred and remembers wishing she had known he was still alive since she would have written to him asking if he remembered her. She left Mangamaunu over forty years ago and has not been back since.

How much teaching Henry did cannot be certainly established. Bertha's claim that she did most of it needs to be examined. It is doubtful that the Education Department would have agreed to give him a job that would, as Bertha says she asked, 'leave him free' to write. Possibly all that Tregear (who was not in that department) took from this remark, if it was made in those words, was that she wanted a job for Henry that would allow him time to write; and that a four-hour teaching post in a remote settlement would answer. It is clear that when de Castro explained that her duties would be to 'look to the Maori women and children, to instruct them in hygiene, and to teach them how to sew', that he understood her to be appointed, like the wives of other Native School teachers, as sewing-mistress; 'looking to' the women and children was simply the wife's share of off-duty missionary work that Pope had enjoined in the Native Schools Code.

If, as Bertha says, Lawson spent most of his time writing, he did it sometimes at the teacher's table: Charles Oscar Palmer, a local farmer and poet (whose social calls and verse the Lawsons found equally unpleasing) remembered Lawson telling him of seeing the children 'dipping into the ink wells and splashing large drops about the floor in emulation of the teacher'.³⁰ Bertha says she taught reading and arithmetic as well as sewing 'with Henry looking in, if needed, to help me keep order'.³¹ She adds that he taught history, geography, and drawing—not the largest part of the timetable; but Lawson leaves not only an account of a history lesson and reading lessons (in his June letter to MacCallum) but this record of repeated teaching of arithmetic, under the scrutiny of Mary Jacob, the oldest pupil in the school:

I was slow at arithmetic . . . but I stuck to it. I was, I think, going into compound fractions when I le[f]t school. In 97, when I went to a native school in Maoriland, I could scarcely add a column of figures. I had to practice nights and fake up sums with answers on the back of the board and bluff for all I was worth; for there was a Maori girl there, about 20, a[s] big as I am and further advanced in arithmetic, and she'd watch me like a cat watches a mouse until she caught me in a mistake. I was required to give the average attendance to two points of decimals, and I had to study, and study hard before I could do it.³²

According to Bertha the children's relatives, 'old and young' would wander into the school to watch the lessons. 'Sometimes they would take a hand at the lessons themselves.'³³ But it is, one supposes, corrupt oral tradition that makes her daughter Bertha, who was not born at the time, say: 'Many of the Maoris were grown men and women but they all came to school to be taught English and history and arithmetic and sewing.'³⁴ If Bertha senior could not sew and had to learn from the children, they were quick to teach themselves since they had had only intermittent instruction. There was no sewing under Beck (or singing either), and though Mrs Steel had been employed as sewing-mistress at the end of 1894, there was no further payment of a sewing-mistress during the rest of Steel's stay, probably because she had a second son about that time. There was no singing under Steel either, and Henry, deaf, would hardly have introduced it.³⁵

Lawson started keenly and hopefully. He opened the school the morning after he arrived, a Thursday, when nine children attended, eleven the next day and fourteen the Monday following. He reported (five days after his arrival) that the children were very backward after their long spell without education, but 'exceedingly willing and eager to learn'.³⁶ He asked for stationery and for school records which could tell him the ages of the children. Steel was telegraphed at Auckland Hospital and wired back that the documents were in the school cupboard; Habens told Lawson to consult the return for the previous December to find the children's ages.

At the end of June, at the start of the annual holiday at the end of the second quarter, in his letter to Hugh MacCallum, Lawson is happy in his relations with the class. He is amused

at their misconceptions: they are grateful to him and especially to Bertha for the extra week's holiday to mark the Diamond Jubilee and tell him that the last teacher would not have done that for them. The Maori children are sensitive and truthful and in many ways more admirable than European children.³⁷

During the same holiday Lawson wrote again to Habens. He had made a 'thorough search and all possible enquiries' but he had not yet found all the school documents. The church register was lost or inaccessible; consequently in his June return he could only guess at the children's ages. In the case of one girl's age, the previous December's return was unreliable. The low average attendance (in his letter to MacCallum he had calculated it, however painfully, as 13.05) was due to sickness and the whaling season. Four children who had returned with their mother from the whaling station at South Bay in order to attend school had had to return when their father fell ill. Three European children living south of the Hapuku could only attend when it was safe to cross the river. He had difficulty getting firewood:

The children bring what firewood they can, but as they are poorly clothed for the most part, and get wet and invariably use time when they go for wood, and as the men are away and there is no convenience for carting in the pa. I might be permitted to order a load of firewood for the school to last the winter.³⁸

Steel had left a good garden, but it had been destroyed by sheep. Lawson asked for a pamphlet on kitchen gardening. He conveyed the parents' sorrow at Steel's death and asked for Mrs Steel's address, 'so that we might forward some token of sympathy'. Presumably he had not yet entered into the arrangement with the local Maori over the garden.

Habens replied that the registers were not in Wellington and he did not think Steel would have taken them. He sympathised about the firewood but he regretted that to supply it 'would be to invite the Committee to systematically neglect its duty'. He sent Mrs Steel's address and a pamphlet on gardening.

It was not till the end of July that Lawson came across the missing records 'in an unnoticed drawer in the School table'. He had not looked very hard. The specifications of the rimu

table, ordered 23 January 1880, are 'One Table with Large Drawer 4 feet 6 in by 3 feet turned legs'.³⁹

According to Bertha, Pope visited them and 'gave a good report and complemented us on the progress we had made'.⁴⁰ The school file only records the examination visits of inspectors, usually at the end of the year, and there was none in 1897. It is probable that Pope, since he liked to have each school visited twice a year, called on them in mid-year without any record other than a diary or logbook entry which is no longer kept.

Till this time Lawson was happy in his relations and conscientious in his work. He still felt at one with the community when he asked on their behalf for Mrs Steel's address so that 'we' might send a message of sympathy. He was concerned about three European children, overworked and cruelly treated by their parents:

Democratic Maoriland, with its natural and geographical advantages over Australia, is yet not free from the dark spot I refer to. I have known three white children at a Maori (native) school who belonged to a family of (originally) seventeen children. Two or three of the family were alleged to be the children of the eldest unmarried daughter. Of the three who attended school, two girls and a boy, the boy was over fourteen; the girls eight and nine. The boy was ignorant even of the existence of an alphabet. He had the face of a weazened, vicious little old man; and a good deal of the nature. The girls' faces were little masks of what their mother's might have been were she 20 or 30 years older. Both parents looked younger and fresher than the children. Boy and girl rose at daylight, cooked their parents' breakfast (bacon, eggs, &c.), carried it in to them, had a meal of bread and fat, and, when necessary, went into the bush to cut and get together a load of firewood. And the girls were eight and nine. The boy's physical development was naturally abnormal, but his head didn't seem to belong to his body. Sons can be over-worked, starved, stunted mentally, and otherwise cruelly treated to such an extent that they are capable of turning upon and killing a brutish parent—just as savage slaves will, when they get the chance, kill their savage masters.⁴¹

His letter to MacCallum shows sensitivity and sympathy:

Children very sensitive and very truthful, so much so that in one or two cases I find it painful to tax a child with "copying" or anything of that kind, or where "meanness" is suggested.

... when a Maori woman opens her heart to a white woman, she loves that white woman and would trust her with her life, and might lay it down for her. It may be so with the men, but they are more like us now—mixing more with the whites.⁴²

In a late sketch ('The Kids') there is patronage in his amusement at the argument between Charles Poharama and Sarah Barnett about the colour of a devil which had frightened Mrs Poharama the night before. Even so, he helped Mrs Poharama force her daughter Maraia to drink brine and hold her upside down to expel the sheep dip she had drunk in mistake for holy water to keep the devil away.

Two related incidents show a racial preoccupation in his memory-selection. Possibly the second is a revised version of the first:

Sarah Barnett, the Ishmeal and bad scholar of the school—who would grow to be a Sarah Bernhardt or greater if she were white—has just wholloped and scratched Clifford Renwick, a freckled, typical "flaxstick" from across the river, notable for his championship of his sisters, and the local ill-feeling towards the Maori (his father fought in the war (scare)) Sarah gets in her fierce little report first. "Please" with her eyes flashing and dark face more dusky with indignation "Please Mr "Lorrence" Clifford Renwick called me a—a—Black Nigger!"

Clifford says that he can't help it Mrs Lawson, If they call him and his sisters "white somethings" hes gone to call them black niggers!"⁴³

Which reminds me that when I was teaching a native school down in the South Island (Maoriland) years ago, my little brownies used to shout out manfully—and girlfully [so that he could hear]. They called a spade a spade, though; and often, because of their expressions—or after listening, with the face of fourteen judges, to their anecdotes of visits from the Devil, and other things—I'd have to slip behind the blackboard on some pretence, to hide my expression and cough. Or slip outside to splutter.

Thus Sarah Barnett (enrolled name) *wildly semaphoring*, "Please Mister (gasp,) Mister Lawrence! (gasp) Charley

Poharama called me a (gasp, gasp) a Half Cask Piccaninny!!!” Sarah by the way, was about three shades darker than Charley.⁴⁴

He wrote this incident in words very similar in notes towards a sketch in 1910.* If this is a revised version of the first incident the second account, written eleven and fourteen years after the first, is the less reliable. It is not important that the records for December 1896 and December 1897 show no half-castes on the school roll, since such a classification was arbitrary. What is important is that it is unlikely that Maori children used Lawson’s term ‘piccaninny’, and that if they used ‘half-caste’ pejoratively it more likely implied a dilution of Maori, rather than European, ancestry. His letter to MacCallum, written from the height of benevolence, has terms of condescension: ‘all my nigs’, ‘the youngest picaniny’, ‘the young heathen’. He could laugh with Mr Hehii but say ‘a very old cannabel he looks’.

There are passages written at Mangamaunu which show that these assumptions were present, if latent, ready to serve as explanation for failure or difficulty:

The other children are bright—cheerful would describe it better—with the exception of one or two half and quarter castes, in whom it was almost startling to me to see that discontented, sulky—resentful is nearer the word—*spirit*† that Olive Schreiner mentions in her article on South African mixed blood. The nearer the white the more so—it seems to me. . . .⁴⁵

His treatment of Maori educability as an open question is in itself a concession to doctrines of racial inferiority, or to the local white families who looked down on the Maoris:

White or full-blooded Maori children; but give me the Maori child, by a long chalk. They read better than white children and earlier, but there might be something yet in the contention that you can only teach the Maori child to a certain point—well, I don’t know, but must find out. The few examples the Government puts to controvert this idea may go for nothing.⁴⁶

* See p. 160.

† *spirit*] expression written above, MS.

I have dismissed the young heathen for Midwinter Holidays with a week added on account of the Record Reign foolery. . . . I looked up the names and dates in English History and explained the matter, they listened with inforced school attention, but weren't interested. Seems to me that when an impression does get in their minds, like say a clot of flax gum in their hair, it stays there, and other stray impressions stay too, or drop off if there's no room, just as the case may be. Old impressions must be rubbed out with considerable force, or not at all, and new on[e]s rubbed in with more.⁴⁷

Two years later he saw Maoris and Australian Aborigines as exhibiting a common (non-European) psychology:

The blacks seem to believe that the spirit moves as slowly in us as it does in their own dusky bosoms . . . I've noticed the same thing with the Maoris, and suppose it's the same with native races all over the world.⁴⁸

Speaking of gins reminds me that when they want to cadge, or beg a favour of you, or have a row with you, they will often spend a day edging on the most likely one of their party. I think this is true of most dark races. Whenever I saw a circle of Maori women squatting round for any length of time I knew that something was brewing.⁴⁹

This led him to some authoritarian philosophising:

When dealing with savages, whether black or white, never explain before doing a thing, else you'll have bother. Do what you want to do, and explain afterwards if you like.⁵⁰

The fact that he has included some 'white' among the 'savages' should not obscure the fact that he has consigned all members of 'dark races' into the category of 'savages'. It is not far from such a philosophy to the bluster of the teacher in 'A Daughter of Maoriland'. Lawson admits to 'frequent outbursts about something that in my opinion had gone wrong in the pah'.⁵¹ Bertha mentions one such outburst when the children stayed away from school after she had visited a sick woman, who she says was tapu. There is a strong probability that the woman's illness was tuberculosis, and she was avoided for fear of infection; Pope in his *Health for the Maori*, used at the school for some years, had advised everyone, except someone acting as nurse, to avoid the sick-room.⁵²

The next day there were no children at school. I myself was taboo for entering her house. We did not realize this till Harry went up to the pah to find out what the trouble was. He told the Maoris that if the children were not at school in an hour, he would walk into Kaikoura for the police. He could not see any of the young men. But he either persuaded the Maoris or frightened them. When he returned, he told me that he did not know whether they'd come or not, but it was because I had attended Mrs Jacobs. Harry started the school bell and kept ringing it loudly and awaited results. And presently the children came scattering down the hill. Within an hour they were all at school again and we had no more trouble.⁵³

When Bertha says that their 'nearest neighbours were a very strange family of white people, a mile and half away' she unguardedly excludes Maoris from being considered as neighbours.⁵⁴

On 25 June when he wrote to MacCallum Lawson was looking forward to using the fortnight's break for writing: he saw a 'chance for a psychological sketch' in Mary Jacob, whom they had taken into their home. But by 10 September when he wrote again to Habens a tone of failure has set in, as if forestalling criticism that might follow the impending examination. He reported that only 'seven and eight' children had been attending school. The four Martins (who had returned with their mother to the whaling-station) were still at South Bay; Mary Jacob had left; the three European children from across the Hapuku were still irregular in attendance; other children had been away from the kainga since the first quarter. The committee had promised to try to get one child to come back, but as far as he could see they were unable to do more. At the end of the month a number of children [including, presumably, the Martin children] would return with their parents from the whaling-station, but they had in effect learnt nothing new since Steel's departure; what they had learnt from Lawson before they had left for South Bay was only what they had forgotten while the school was closed. There would be no new entrants for the next three or four years. What Lawson seems to be hinting is that an examination would be unfair and a waste of time.

His relations with the pupils had deteriorated. An article on Lawson by J. D. Watson in the *N.Z. Free Lance* (22 March

1957) elicited two letters from Mr Barry Yelverton of Wairoa who recalled attending Mangamaunu School 1902-7.*

Mr Yelverton wrote to Mr Watson:

I often stayed at the schoolhouse about 53 years ago. A Mr Comerford was then the teacher. I often heard of Henry Lawson and, like most boys, enjoyed hearing about some big Maori girls draping a slate frame around his neck, putting him in the large fireplace and then putting the black-board against the fireplace.⁵⁵

One must of course allow for a successor's desire to consider himself an improvement on his predecessor (and Comerford did start in the department's bad grace) and one must allow for exaggeration in transmission from children to parents or local settlers to Comerford to the boys he told. But the episode fits the mood of 'A Daughter of Maoriland' and suggests that the bitterness unsupported by the events of the story might be partly based on an incident or incidents not mentioned in the story. If the incident happened it must have been before 10 September by which date Mary Jacob, the biggest of the 'girls', who was probably involved, had left school; and since there could have been no fire in the fireplace and Mangamaunu in August would be too cold to do without a fire, it is probable that the incident developed from an argument about lack of firewood. It is hardly of course to the girls' credit to have overpowered Lawson, but the point of interest (from members of a culture which normally shows respect for elders) is their hostility or their contempt.

By 19 September the Lawsons had decided to leave. A number of factors must have contributed to this decision; not only his disenchantment with Maoris, but his wife's pregnancy and his relations with Bertha in a place where they were thrown so much into one another's company. Denton Prout claims that the argument between Joe Wilson and his wife in 'Water them Geraniums' is a rendering of an 'actual quarrel' between Henry and Bertha at Mangamaunu.⁵⁶ Lawson's own personality contributed: even in his hopeful letter at the end of June he had mentioned moods of paranoiac brooding: 'which

* I tried in 1960 to find out more from Mr Yelverton but he had since died. Mrs Walsh (who was three at the time) could not recall the incident he recounted.

brooding, which only happens now on rainy days and in hours of enforced idleness, increases the magnitude and blackness of the world's apparent ingratitude and treachery to myself to such an extent that I feel like a danger to vested interests and a menace to society at large'.⁵⁷ According to C. O. Palmer he suffered from sleeplessness and, if he had visitors, sat up late with them.⁵⁸ Offers from English publishers, Blackwood and Chambers, reached him at some time while he was at Mangamaunu, and at some time he resolved to get to Sydney as a first step towards London and a promising market; from Wellington he wrote: 'the idea is to get to London as soon as possible'.⁵⁹ Another factor is likely to have been Lawson's desire for drink and male company to ease the strain and loneliness. There are local traditions of his drinking, but they are unreliable. They have been too readily accepted because they are consistent with Lawson's habits in Australia; for example Arthur Parker recalled Lawson and a mate in Western Australia in 1896 leaving their young wives to go on a drinking bout; Lawson, he said, was 'allway Very Contrite aftward, and try to make Amends'.⁶⁰ But in Mangamaunu not only had Lawson resolved to reform himself, he had no mates to drink with. Yet Bertha's excessive understanding of his problem may well have made him wish for the relaxation of some mates. J. M. Sherrard tells me:

It is over sixty years since Lawson and his wife lived at Mangamaunu, none of their neighbours at that time are still alive, and only one person now resident in the district [Mrs P. S. Boyd], has been sufficiently interested to do much about preserving the yarns of the old-timers. She tells me that she could learn little of Henry Lawson for he did not make much of an impression during his brief stay. Mangamaunu was very isolated, there were few white settlers there, and Lawson seldom got to the town to mix with the people. Her informants could only tell her that Lawson was known to be a heavy drinker when he got the chance and that his wife discouraged any trips that might lead him to the pubs. It was also known that Lawson's weakness strained good relations with his wife and it was believed that when Mrs Lawson left Mangamaunu some days—or some weeks—before Henry's departure it was the result of a quarrel. Mrs Lawson, of course, did practically all the teaching in the native school.⁶¹

The last sentence, however, shows how sceptical one must be about such local traditions. Mrs Boyd's account of it says Lawson 'seldom got to town'. It would not have been easy for him to leave Mangamaunu without Bertha's knowledge; ten miles to the nearest hotel, in Kaikoura, was too far to walk; and Bertha had made it difficult for him to hire a horse by warning the Maoris to charge him dearly. Bertha says his only visits were in her company and no more than two or three times.⁶² C. O. Palmer tells of one visit he made on his own with Bertha's knowledge, while she was left with a Maori woman all the time terrified that he would fall from his horse or be drowned in the Hapuku.⁶³

A similar, but somewhat discrepant, tradition is quoted by Denton Prout, from the Secretary-Manager of the Canterbury Education Board:

. . . he is remembered as a frequent visitor to Kaikoura riding a white horse. He is said to have been very fond of whisky—much to his wife's displeasure. A present inhabitant recalls, as a boy, being told how Mrs Lawson thought her husband was no longer succumbing to the temptations of the local hostelry, but unbeknown to her, he had whisky hidden in his shed, and on at least one occasion invited this person's uncle into the shed for a quick nip.⁶⁴

The weakness of this story is that there was no shed—Danaher's shed had been blown over in a gale in 1890 and sold to Aperahama Taki. Some years ago Mr William Quigley of Auckland told me he had once tape-recorded, in a Kaikoura pub, an interview with an old man who claimed to be one of Lawson's pupils; this man had said that when Lawson went to town on Friday the children knew there would be no school on Monday. But Mr Quigley's system was not equal to his enthusiasm: he had not labelled his hundreds of tapes and soon tired of playing them over in order to find the right one; he would not agree to my handling them myself; he thought perhaps the tape had been wiped anyway. But even if the tape had been produced, the old-timer's story has the marks of myth, let alone its own flaws. If Lawson *had* gone to town on the Friday, Bertha would have opened the school on Monday. And, recalling the complaint about Danaher, it is unlikely the committee would have overlooked so flagrant a breach of contract by the man they saw as the servant of the government.

It was not eight weeks, as Bertha says, but nearly five months before her confinement that Lawson decided to leave. Their son was born in Wellington on 10 February 1898. He wrote to his aunt Emma Brooks in Sydney on 19 September: 'We're full of work and worry just now and I can only write a note to catch the mail. Bertha expects to be confined early in January & I am taking her to Wellington next week'.⁶⁵

Possibly they intended to leave so soon. He might not have realised until after his letter to Mrs Brooks that a month's notice was necessary. He wrote to Habens on 28 September: 'As the loneliness of this place is affecting Mrs Lawson's health, I wish to resign my position . . . at the end of October'.⁶⁶ A day or two later Lawson received notice of the examination in November. He replied to Habens that he would like to stay, but must take Bertha away at the end of October. 'No medical attendance to be depended on—only one horse and trap available for hire, and not always—River crossing unreliable'.⁶⁷ He asked if the examinations could be arranged earlier. Pope replied, inferring Bertha's pregnancy, and unbending to an unusual man-to-man archness that he was 'sorry to learn you are about to leave us; but you are doing so for what is, plainly, a weighty reason. . . . As Mangamaunu will probably be vacant for some time and as you have been there only a short time, it would really be hardly worth the Department's while to incur the expense attending an examination'.⁶⁸ The *Bulletin* relayed the news, as it must have come from Lawson: 'Both he and Mrs Lawson find Mangamaunu too unutterably lonely: there is neither butcher nor baker, and white faces are seen about once a month'.⁶⁹

Lawson wrote to Tom Mills in Wellington: 'You won't be surprised to hear that we are more than full up of this place and can stand the loneliness no longer. Will be up early next month . . . I'll stay in Wgtn if I get anything, if not, and its safe I'll run for Sydney'.⁷⁰

But Aunt Emma was to arrive unexpectedly before this. Allowing eight days for Lawson's letter to have reached her, there are five ships on which she might have arrived in Wellington from Sydney between 30 September and 12 October, and if she travelled steerage her name would not be on the newspaper passenger-lists. But the *Monowai* arriving in Wellington on 12 October carried a 'Mrs Brookes' as cabin pas-

senger: assuming that this is Emma Brooks, she could have left by the *Wakatu* for Kaikoura at 6 p.m. the same day: no passenger list is given for that sailing. The next sailing was 16 October.⁷¹ Her arrival on 13 or 17 October, was not, according to Bertha, a welcome one for Henry, but it must have relieved him of some worry about his wife's pregnancy.

The parents had been told of the impending loss of their teacher. On 19 October, M. Ngatuere, a non-local Maori from Greytown—and probably the one who cultivated the school-house garden—wrote asking permission to dwell there and look after buildings, fence, and garden while the school was closed. Gibbes refused: 'another teacher will probably be sent to Mangamaunu without delay'.⁷²

But the committee did not view the closing with such equanimity. On 27 October Pene Tahui, chairman, signed this letter written in another hand in English:

Dear Sir.

I the undersign & my followers. would like to know the reason why this School is closing.

Teacher says it is because the Martins did not attend the last two quarter. It is quite true, their father was at the whaling station working, & was taken very ill, the Mother had to go. and leave MangaMaunu, And there were no one to take care of the children; They are all back now & are attending the School.

What we firmly believe the reason is, because he has no interest in teaching, for he told us that he would rather do 8 hours hard work, than teach in a School for four hours. Instead of him punishing the children when they did not behave, he sends them out off School & tells them never to come back to School any more.

There are 14 children attending the School. four not attending for he told them to stop away

After the holidays their will be a few more attendants We all wish that the Government will send another School master after M^r Lawson leaves,

Kindly let us know the reason.⁷³

Pene Tahui must have complained to Lawson himself: a week later Lawson, from Kaikoura, sent this telegram collect to Habens:

Maoris will not understand school closed wire chairman to stop his nonsense.

Kirk advised Gibbes there was no need to reply to Lawson's telegram; but Pene Tahui was wired on 5 November: 'Another teacher will be sent shortly'. On the same day Lawson was wired: 'Please say when you will vacate residence'. Lawson replied on the 6th, ambiguously: 'Waiting for Wakatu', adding after his signature, 'Kaikoura'.

It was ungracious of him not to have said plainly that he had left the residence. De Castro who called at the school, presumably as buildings inspector, on 7 November, wrote as though he had spoken personally to Lawson at Kaikoura on the 6th: 'Mr Lawson informs me that the key of the house was left with a Maori woman named Knight', and refers in a later memo to 'Mr Lawson's departure (about end of Octr)'.⁷⁴

The local tradition that Mrs Boyd recalled, that Bertha had left 'some days—or some weeks' before Lawson is almost certainly wrong. It is true that Bertha says Aunt Emma castigated Henry for taking his wife to 'such a lonely place',⁷⁵ but if she hustled Bertha off, it could only have been to Kaikoura, where they would have had to pay hotel expenses and live in quarters hardly less cramped than the school-house, and it could not have been before 14 October. It is unlikely that they left Mangamaunu even a day or two ahead of Henry, since there was no need for Lawson to stay behind to clean up or lock up; he left this to Mrs Knight.⁷⁶ The *Wakatu*, for which they were waiting, was having its annual overhaul and had been off the run for over a fortnight; it needed more repairs than expected and did not call at Kaikoura (from Lyttelton) till 10 or 11 November.⁷⁷ They boarded the *Waverly* (77 tons) which reached Wellington 7 November: the list of passengers is given as 'Mesdames Lawson (2), Mr Lawson'.⁷⁸

II

A brief account of Lawson's successor throws some hindlight on Lawson's stay. W. H. Comerford, aged 52, was appointed on 22 November; he had passed the teachers' E examination.⁷⁹ Although he was appointed on the understanding that his wife and family would accompany him, his wife was an invalid who could not leave Christchurch and needed their daughter to

look after her. The school reopened without a sewing-mistress.

Comerford arrived on 24 November and stayed with a fellow Freemason who lived in the district—Walter Gibson, the former county chairman. He complained (from 'Mangamanua') that he 'found the School-room and School-house in a filthy condition' and that the water tank was empty. De Castro had already advised Gibbes that Lawson had told him he had left the key of the house with Mrs Knight who undertook to leave it with the constable when she had cleaned the house.⁸⁰ De Castro reported further that he had visited the school on 7 November.

Mr Lawson had left the school building quite clean and the furniture and books in order. The residence was properly cleaned out by the Maori woman with whom Mr Lawson arranged to have it done. During the interval between Mr Lawson's departure (about end of Octr) and Mr Comerford's arrival on Wednesday the 24th Nov. the inside of the school had been the habitation of birds, which had free access through an open window. Mr Comerford reported the matter to the Chairman of the school committee who undertook to get the school cleaned out. The Chairman says that he was unable to get the cleaning done until the following Saturday and it took a Maori woman about half a day to do it. . . . The residence is in a habitable condition, only a few small repairs enumerated . . . require attention. The tank was full of clear water.⁸¹

Habens replied to Comerford criticising his 'standard of zeal and straightforwardness'; the department privately suspected that he was loath to leave his friend's house to face the prospect of living alone and was at pains to justify his reluctance. After that Comerford's letters to the department were more polite and the handwriting more careful. But in March he told Gibbes again that the house required certain repairs before it was 'fit to inhabit'. De Castro insisted that the only room that needed re-papering was a small back room which 'Mrs Lawson used as a scullery and for washing purposes, there being no outbuildings'.

Walter Gibson, for reasons one can only guess at, wrote to the Minister of Education praising his ability as a teacher and asking that he be sent to a larger school than 'Mangumana'. For short periods during the year Gibson's two daughters acted

in turn as sewing-mistress. Comerford complained of 'the backward state' in which he had found the children.⁸²

For all his initial reluctance to accept Mangamaunu, Comerford remained for twelve years and was well accepted by the community. Mrs Walsh remembered him clearly. He reintroduced singing for the first time since Danaher.⁸³ He played the piano, to the accompaniment of fiddle and accordion, at public dances in the schoolhouse. Mr McAra, the Presbyterian minister who had visited the Lawsons (not McCawra, as Bertha spells it)* visited the school and, according to Comerford, expressed pleasure at 'the whole tone of the School'. The report at the end of 1898 noted that he did not use corporal punishment, his 'rule [was] evidently mild without being weak'. He had cleared the grounds of stone and had a neat border of flowers. 'The teacher is well thought of by Europeans and Maoris so far as I could learn: the relations between teacher and taught appear to be good. . . . This is a useful little school and I see no reason for closing it . . .'. Pope added that a member of the committee 'spoke highly of Mr Comerford's relations with the Maoris and of his work and influence. . . . I may add . . . that I nowhere heard anything to Mr Comerford's discredit'.⁸⁴ R. Meredith, member of the House of Representatives for Ashley electorate, who visited the school, wired the Minister of Education that he was pleased with what he saw.

In 1899 with the arrival of the new settlers of the subdivided Puhipuhi estate the roll rose suddenly from eighteen to thirty-two; in 1900 there were more European children than Maori. Kirk reported: 'The recovery of this school is a most astonishing thing to me. It is now a promising school and there are several babies in the settlement. It is quite possible that the marked improvement in the way of living of the people accounts for this.'⁸⁵ In this year every child who sat the examination passed.

But Comerford reported in May 1901 that attendance was falling, owing to influenza and the departure of several children with their parents to the whaling station. Pope considered whether the school should be transferred to the control of the North Canterbury and Marlborough Education Boards, but

* I owe this information to J. M. Sherrard, a grandson of McAra.

concluded: 'it may be urged that it would be a pity to let the 13 Maoris attending, and their parents, suffer discouragement through the loss of their school'.⁸⁶ In the same year the clerk of works reported that the school buildings were in a 'dirty and dilapidated condition'—the roof of the house leaked and every ceiling was stained; the closet, last blown down in 1898, was standing on its roof. W. W. Bird, newly appointed as inspector, calling in February 1902, found Comerford teaching outside while the repairs were being done.

Comerford carried on without assistance, except in 1904 when his daughter came up from Christchurch, till his retirement. Reports were consistently favourable. 'The master has a fatherly way with the children which they appreciate'.⁸⁷ 'The teacher keeps order by his voice and manner but the children do not seem to be frightened'.⁸⁸ The Kaikoura bank manager wrote to A. W. Rutherford, member of the House of Representatives for Hurunui electorate, that Comerford was 'a painstaking teacher, and who takes great pride in his native pupils'.⁸⁹

In 1908 Comerford complained of irregular attendance and asked the department to ask the constable to threaten offending parents. Proceedings were taken against some parents. Bird, who had succeeded Pope, recommended that if attendance did not improve the school should be transferred to the control of an Education Board.⁹⁰

Comerford, nearing the retiring age of 65, wrote asking to be retained another year: in support of his request he said he had vegetable and flower gardens 'in splendid condition', had bought a horse and gig, built a fowlhouse and reared poultry.⁹¹ Gibbes refused. On 16 February 1910 twenty-four parents and residents—seven of them with names recognisably Maori—petitioned James Carroll, Minister of Native Affairs, for the retention of Comerford, 'a gentleman who is so eminently fitted to instruct our children and who has done so much to uplift our settlement'. W. B. Ingram, the proprietor of the *Kaikoura Star*, forwarded the petition with an accompanying letter. The same twenty-four petitioners wrote to the Minister of Education:

he has given the highest satisfaction, and the scholars under his charge have shown great progress and have always come through their examinations with flying colours. Mr Comer-

ford has always been most painstaking with the children to whom he has greatly endeared himself, and we consider that he is just as able and competent a teacher, and just as efficient to carry on his good work in the school, as if he were twenty years younger.

But Gibbes regretted it was not possible. Mrs M. E. Moss was appointed and until she arrived in May 1910, Comerford voluntarily stayed on. There is some irony in the fact that after twelve years of bachelor housekeeping Mrs Moss found the house neglected: she needed a new stove, hearth, and cupboard and a new floor for the scullery; the sitting-room needed re-papering, the chimney needed cleaning and altering; and she wanted a washhouse and bathroom. Comerford had done his washing under a tree in a kerosene tin.

In the community's eyes Lawson must have been a disappointment. If, as a teacher, he was less incompetent than Beck, the children had learned little and he feared their being examined; they had expressed their loss of confidence in him in their absences from school. As a man in the community he had begun on good terms, adopting a familiarity his predecessors had not used, but when the actions of people did not please him, he fell back on authoritarian bluster. His decision to leave the school was an unwitting recognition of the justice of Pope's statement: 'Maoris have as good an idea as most people of what is just and fair, and in the long run they nearly always take the right side. It would seem, then, that a teacher who cannot get on amicably with the Natives, should try to earn a living in some other way.' Both Danaher and Comerford demonstrated the possibility of serving the community while maintaining friendly relations. But for Lawson this would have involved a deeper commitment than he was prepared to make. Yet, as will appear later, the community remembered him for some years afterwards, with more affection than he felt for them.

III

Lawson's intention when he went to Mangamaunu was to settle and work. His first visit to New Zealand, too, had begun with benevolence and the intention to settle. 'Scenery climate and people all different from Australia', he had writ-

ten in 1893. 'The people are much nicer over here'.⁹² At Tuamarina near Blenheim he had written in 1894:

Oh! had you tracked where Kendall trod
 I think you would be kneelin'
 Three times a week an thankin God
 That you are of New Zealan'l
 For this I'll say, to make it short
 An' keep my tongue from clacken
 The people are a kinder sort
 Your singin for, Tom Bracken.^{93*}

'You stand a grand chance to lead the nations', he told the readers of *Fair Play*. And in a poem in *Truth*, before he left for Wellington in 1893, he wrote of himself:

Say you 'He's gone to Maoriland, and isn't coming back...'⁹⁴

But with such extravagance of sentiment, it is not surprising that that visit lasted only eight or nine months.

When he landed in Wellington in April 1897, he told the *N.Z. Mail* he intended to stay in New Zealand 'for several years', the *Evening Post* that he contemplated 'an extended stay', and the *Press* of Christchurch, reprinting a Wellington cable based on the *Post* interview, said that he intended 'taking up residence in New Zealand, which, he says, he prefers to all the other colonies'. Tom Mills wrote: 'If Harry can get a billet here he will settle in Maoriland. I sincerely hope we may secure him.'⁹⁵

There is no doubt that he spent much of his time writing while he was at Mangamaunu. He planned to write a series of sketches from his Mangamaunu experience. At the beginning of his mid-year break he gave two accounts of the plan, to Hugh MacCallum and to Angus and Robertson, and at about the same time to Tom Mills.

I have material for all possible Maori Child character—and outside for adults. I'd be crowded and do worse in a

* This is the last stanza of a poem contrasting New Zealand's treatment of its poets with Australia's, and expresses Lawson's reaction to the appointment on 1 May 1894 of Thomas Bracken to what Tom Mills called 'a State sinecure' as Reader and Record Clerk to the House of Representatives. Two other stanzas from the whole poem are quoted by Tom Mills in the *Worker* (Brisbane), 5 March 1898, p. 5.

large school. . . . But you must read all about it in my book. . . .

The book will be mostly NZ Character sketches, personal reflections—some old debts paid to one or two unfair critics, literary and otherwise, and scenery—with the Native School as a peg to hang on. The chapters [and] characters seem to fall into place of their own accord, and I feel happier over it, and more enthusiastic, than I ever did in my life before. Have written well into the new book but will have to write all the holidays and spare time to keep up with the chapters. Two Australian scenes called the Cinematograph, with the darkening snowey peaks of the Kaikouras for a ground, and "Out on the Wastes of the NeverNever" and "Clancy" for accompaniments, have dropped into the book, and read like a summary of all I have written or may write about Australia.⁹⁶

. . . am well on with a connected Book called the "Native School"—descriptive, reminiscent, and personal matter—in an altogether new style, for me. I have quiet, opportunity, all the characters, and the school as a peg to hang my fragmentary ideas incidents and emotions on; and if the book gives as much pleasure in reading as it does to me in writing, I think I'll succeed. The chapters seem to fall into place and fill without an effort. . . .

. . . all my ideas & NZ copy is working into the "Native School" (title private).⁹⁷

It was possibly from Lawson himself or from Tom Mills that Walter Woods, editor of the Hobart *Clipper*, heard:

The little New Zealand schoolhouse now keeps the wolf away and gives him time to write his first connected book, which should be finished by the end of the year.

Tom Mills's two accounts are the less reliable for their glibness:

He was full of enthusiasm when he took up that task [i.e., the position at Mangamaunu] and wrote me afterwards from the school that there was "lots of copy" in it. He was full of the idea of putting the Maoris of Maungamanu into a book.⁹⁸

Henry wrote me that he was inspired to write the book of his life. He would immortalise the South Island Maori in this magnum opus. It was to be a book that would make more than the billy boil. He wrote me later in great glee that he had completed the first chapter of his book on the Maori.⁹⁹

Only two of the pieces mentioned can be identified. The 'old debts paid to . . . unfair critics' are, in fact, one poem, 'The Uncultured Rhymer to his Cultured Critics', and his sketch 'The Australian Cinematograph' is accompanied by passages from Barcroft Boake's poem 'Where the Dead Men Lie' and a stanza from Banjo Paterson's 'Clancy of the Overflow'. Lawson had been impressed with Boake's poems when Angus and Robertson sent him a copy of his collection *Where the Dead Men Lie*, just published in Sydney.¹ The only story identifiable as what Mills called 'the first chapter of his book on the Maori' is 'A Daughter of Maoriland' itself. The main outlines of Lawson's conception of the book, however, are clear enough: it was to be a miscellany of verse and prose, some of it Australian in setting, the author's point of vantage being from the school at Mangamaunu, and the unifying factor of the poems, the character sketches and the reminiscences and personal reflections being Lawson himself or his literary persona. His enthusiasm suggests that he might have developed in a new direction, that Mangamaunu was at first a stimulus to his writing.

It must have been a letter from Lawson that was the source of the *Bulletin's* personal item that 'the school has made copy . . . probably a bookful of copy, so quaint and queer are Maori children'.²

He had clearly written more of this book than the poem and sketch and story so far identified. After his return to Wellington, the *Evening Post* reported an interview, probably written by Tom Mills. It is probably the source of brief, less informative notes in the *Bulletin* of 20 November, the *Tasmanian Democrat* (Launceston) of 19 November, and the *Clipper* (Hobart) of 4 December. The *Post* account reads:

We understand that Mangamaunu yielded much 'copy' for both the poetic and prose expression of Mr. Lawson's pen, and some of the best work of his life has been written at the pah, some of which will appear in the *Bulletin*, the *Antipodean*, and other Sydney Christmas publications. During his stay in New Zealand Mr. Lawson has also had good offers from such British publications as Blackwood's and Chambers's. Mr. Lawson's first sustained prose effort, a book on Maori and colonial impressions, also found its way upon paper while he was at the Maori schoolhouse. Altogether,

Maoriland will yield a rich harvest to one of Australia's most popular authors, and consequently New Zealand will reap a good advertisement. Mr. Lawson may stay in New Zealand to complete his unfinished MS. By to-day's mail he received word from Mr. A. P. Watt (who is Rudyard Kipling's literary agent) that Messrs. Methuen & Co., the English publishers, are anxious to secure the complete (English and colonial) rights to Mr. Lawson's next new book. Mr. Watt writes offering his services.³

The previous evening the *Post* had reported that Lawson's 'sketch' 'A Daughter of Maoriland' had been accepted by the *Antipodean*.⁴ In October he had told Tom Mills he was 'getting orders from leading Eng and Scottish magazines'.⁵

But Mills's account of the rest of the work is unreliable. Several poems written in Mangamaunu (including 'Written Afterwards', 'The Writer's Dream' and 'Ports of the Open Sea') appeared in the *Bulletin* in the first six months of 1898; all prose pieces published in the *Bulletin* between December 1897 and October 1898 are set in Australia. In June Lawson had been crowded by 'Australian Xmas orders' and was 'doing no short work save verse'.⁶ The *Antipodean* was a Christmas publication published in Melbourne and London. *Brooks's Australian Christmas Annual* published 'The Australian Cinematograph' in its first issue in 1898. I cannot say whether anything appeared in 'other Sydney Christmas publications' or whether Mills pluralised them for good measure. There is nothing by Lawson in *Blackwood's Magazine* or *Chambers's Journal* between mid-1897 and the end of 1899. Blackwood did publish both *The Country I Come From* and *Joe Wilson and his Mates* in 1901; Methuen published *Children of the Bush* in 1902. But none of these three volumes contains anything that might be construed as being part of a 'sustained prose effort, a book on Maori and colonial impressions.' There is reason to suspect Bertha's assertion that *Joe Wilson and his Mates* was written at Mangamaunu.

But the book or a considerable part of it existed. Lawson was uncertain of how best to publish it. From the *Post* office he wrote to Hugh MacCallum on 15 November:

I am not prepared, at present date, to make definite arrangements for the publication of a new book. I am undecided as to whether I will run the Maori book or series

through an Australian or English journal or magazine before publishing in book form.⁷

After Lawson's departure from Wellington for Sydney on 12 March 1898, the *N.Z. Mail* reported: 'We understand Mr. Lawson intends to publish his experiences in New Zealand in book form.'⁸

Nearly two years later they were still unpublished, but available. A letter, written not in Lawson's hand but signed by him was dated 24 June 1899:

If present business is satisfactorily concluded, he has no objection to letting Mr Robertson read the prose work he has on hand. Long stories "The Little Schoolmistress", "The Lash of Specimen Flat", "New Zealand & Maori Sketches", and the "Golden Nineties"...⁹

The letter goes on to name three sketches of experiences in Western Australia ('Life in the Government Camps', 'Sketches of Tothersiders', 'Boy Husband and Girl Wife'), and of the voyage to Perth.

The Golden Nineties ran serially in the *Australian Star* from 30 September to 25 November 1899; it included sketches of the voyage to Western Australia and perhaps part of the 'Sketches of Tothersiders'. I have not been able to trace any of the other pieces, either in print or in manuscript.

But by early 1900 there is no mention of the book, in an account of his publishing plans in a letter to Bland Holt. *On the Track* and *Over the Sliprails* were due out 'presently' and one of them contained 'some new stories, which I intended for a third prose vol, in order to strengthen the one coming out, but I'm glad I did it.'¹⁰ *Over the Sliprails* contains 'A Daughter of Maoriland', and the 'third' prose volume planned is probably *Joe Wilson's Mates*, or *Children of the Bush*, published respectively in 1901 and 1902. The stories of both collections are exclusively Australian in setting.

The collection tentatively titled 'The Native School' and another time 'New Zealand and Maori Sketches' was never published, nor is there any group of published stories that might collectively have composed such a volume. The reason would seem to lie in some hesitancy on the author's part or some loss of confidence in them.

Tom Mills's explanations are unsatisfactory:

He actually started on the task, but knowing his own habits so well, he wrote the chapters in such a way that he was able to sell each separately as a sketch, to raise the money to keep the family pot boiling. Some of the sketches were published, but the book was never completed.¹¹

. . . he had completed the first chapter of his book on the Maoris. But alas, he could not keep that chapter in hand and add other chapters to it. Sustained effort had always been against Henry's nature. He rounded that chapter off into an article and sent it as such to the "Bulletin". Later he sent another article. That was all the contribution he made to the big work he dreamed about.¹²

Not only is there looseness in this equation of 'chapter', 'article', and 'sketch', but neither 'A Daughter of Maoriland' nor 'The Australian Cinematograph' were published in the *Bulletin*, or any other chapters or sketches or articles that might have made up the collection.

An indirect approach to the problem is all that the evidence allows. There are three occasions where Lawson concerns himself with the situation of a young schoolmistress teaching in an isolated and small-minded community. One can relate this to his stories of the hardships of bush wives (like 'The Drover's Wife', 'Water them Geraniums', or 'No Place for a Woman'); one can relate it too to his hatred of meanness, pettiness, 'localism' that he expresses in his 'Fragment of an Autobiography' and 'The Little World Left Behind'. But there are features that connect these three pieces with Mangamaunu experience, and in two of them the reference is covert. He said of Mangamaunu: 'after a while I noticed all the different characteristics to be found in a white Bush school—or, in a modified way, in any primitive town or city school'.¹³

Denton Prout has seen in the tense isolation of Joe Wilson and Mary in 'Water them Geraniums' and 'A Double Buggy at Lahey's Creek' a reflection of the domestic life of the Lawsons at Mangamaunu.¹⁴ Mary is usually taken to be based on Bertha, and shared certain physical features with her: 'I used sometimes to call her "Little Duchy" and "Pigeon Toes"'; 'she had big dark hazel eyes'.¹⁵ The same physical features are found in the woman teacher at a bush school in 'barren western lands' in the poem 'Pigeon Toes'. There are elements of the poem that belong to Lawson's own situation at Manga-

maunu, as much as to Bertha's or to that of any teacher in the Australian bush:

I hated paltriness and deemed
 A breach of faith a crime;
 I listen now to scandal's voice
 In sewing-lesson time.
 There is a thought that haunts me so,
 And gathers strength each day—
 Shall I as narrow-minded grow,
 As mean of soul as they?

The feuds that rise from paltry spite
 Or from no cause at all;
 The brooding, dark, suspicious minds—
 I suffer for it all.
 They do not dream the 'Teacher' knows,
 What brutal thoughts are said;
 The children call me 'Pigeon Toes',
 'Green Eyes' and 'Carrot Head'.¹⁶

The 'brooding, dark suspicious minds' connect the pupils with Sarah Moses in 'A Daughter of Maoriland', and 'scandal's voice' with the stories she told about the teacher's home life. One stanza of this poem connects it with 'The Writer's Dream' which can be more definitely related to Lawson's experience in Mangamaunu:

I had ideals when I came here,
 A noble purpose had,
 But all that they can understand
 Is 'axe to grind' or 'mad'.
 I brood at times till comes a fear
 That sets my brain awl—
 I fight a strong man's battle here,
 And I am but a girl.¹⁷

The poem 'If I Could Paint' (sent to Angus and Robertson in 1899 and withdrawn a few days later) contains a number of word-scenes; one of them is of a sensitive woman teacher in the soul-destroying scrub, teaching 'half-savage children'.¹⁸ In its prose version, he adds of the 'half-savage children' that 'the youngest might be as tall as herself'.¹⁹

In his note from the Coast hospital in 1921 Lawson pays tribute to country teachers, but with women teachers mainly

in mind when he says they have to put up with 'the most appalling loneliness, in the most uncouth places, where the heads of the Department do not send a male teacher'.* Such teachers, he says, have 'to suffer temperamentally many years of the worst kind of mental—and heart—torture, and keep their pens still and their tongues silent about it.' The last statement is mystifying. It clearly implies a teacher who is, like Lawson, a writer; the teacher need hardly have kept silent in her (or his) personal letters. If in this note Lawson did have Mangamaunu in mind, it suggests that, while he was in Wellington (and seeking further government employment)—and after he had sent off 'A Daughter of Maoriland'—he had been advised against using his teaching experience as material for publication. Native School teachers were government servants, subject to Civil Service regulations, which forbade the disclosure of any information acquired in the course of duty and specifically forbade communication with the press. The worst penalty was dismissal, and Lawson had left Native teaching, but he was looking then for other government work. The inference is a tenuous one, but if it is correct, it might explain why, after his initial enthusiasm for New Zealand, he could describe it (in the same private letter to MacCallum in which he mentions seeking work with the government) as 'this intensely cautious country'; why in 1921 he could look back bitterly to his 'exile in Toadyland—New Zealand'.²¹

The statement has been made that there are several stories set in the Maori school, but the only one published is 'A Daughter of Maoriland'.²² And the only other published prose piece that can be recognised as belonging to the 'Native School' group is 'The Australian Cinematograph'. The fate of the others lies probably in Lawson's London bonfire.

I had a box full of old printed matter and copy, finished and fragmentary, which I'd humped about the world for years, and which I thought much of and cherished, principally because it had been so persistently rejected by *The Bulletin* and every other paper I submitted it to. It got mixed up so often and I wasted so much time sorting it out and looking up parts of it to use in new stories (under the impression that I wrote better long ago) and trying to put

* The *Bulletin* words it *dare not send*, but the Mitchell Library contains a correction in Lawson's hand to *do not*.²⁰

it together for a book; and it worried me so much for fear I'd lose a page of it; that at last I made a heap of it in the back yard of my last lodgings in City Road and set fire to it.²³

I burnt my scrap books and old M.S. in London (in the yard of the house where Macawber & David Copperfield lived, by the way—) to get rid of the worry of them; . . .²⁴

That Lawson cherished the work he destroyed is consistent with its including the 'Native School' sketches; there is a difficulty in the fact that his reason for non-publication—rejection by editors—is different from the one inferred from his note from the Coast hospital—a warning against publishing personal knowledge gained as a government servant; but the possibility is not ruled out that both are right; that he might have ignored the warning, since he was no longer in New Zealand, and submitted the work, had it rejected, and in his later years, been content to blame the warning. Since some of the contents of the box had been 'printed' and some were fragmentary, they had not all been rejected, or all submitted. The possibility is still open that the box contained the 'Native School' sketches, in manuscript and unsubmitted.

Of one of the stories, never published and perhaps never written, that might have been included in the 'Native School' there is a hint in a letter to Angus and Robertson written in May 1899. He proposed to bring Steelman to an end: 'He dies to save a Maori woman and a half-caste child from the treacherous little snow fed Maori river. I know the river, and the incidents would be practically facts.'²⁵ This story, called 'Steelman Goodnight', of which I have not found a manuscript, got as far as being 'thought out in England . . . and drafted'.²⁶ The river is clearly the Hapuku; the child I imagine is the 'dearest little half-caste lady of two or three summers' in 'A Daughter of Maoriland' who can be identified as Mrs Walsh. Mrs Walsh, though she remembered a drowning in the Hapuku, could not recall any incident where a mother and baby were rescued from drowning, or Lawson himself being involved in any rescue. It is interesting to note that five years after this plan Lawson saved a woman from drowning in Sydney Harbour.²⁷

IV

Not much can be said with certainty about what other work Lawson wrote at Mangamaunu. By date or signature at the end of the manuscript or first printing, six poems can be assigned there: 'The Dry Country' ('ML Sept 97'), 'Written Afterwards' ('Mangamauna NZ'), 'The Lights of Cobb and Co.' ('written at the "Native School in N.Z")', 'Ports of the Open Sea' ('ML Sept '97'), 'The Old Mile Tree' ('M L Sep 97') and 'The Writer's Dream' written on or after 1 September 1897.²⁸ To these one can add, on Gertrude O'Connor's authority, 'Sydney Side', and on Bertha's, some of the poems in *Verses Popular and Humorous*. The manuscript titled 'The Uncultured Rhymer to his Cultured Critics' is editorially marked 'Paid 15/- 17/2/97', and so was written before Lawson left Sydney for New Zealand, and 'The Vagabond' according to Mrs O'Connor was written on the voyage across.²⁹

It has been traditional to take *Joe Wilson and his Mates* as having been written in Mangamaunu. But there is evidence against. All Bertha Lawson says in her first memoir is that 'all of *Joe Wilson's Mates*' was written at Mangamaunu—the second part of the volume. It was Will Lawson, ghosting her second memoir, who changed the title. *Joe Wilson* itself—the first part of the volume—is generally accepted as autobiographical, and if so it takes Lawson beyond the point in his life that he had reached in 1897. Joe has a son Jim, born about two years after marriage as Lawson's son 'Jim' was; the accounts of Jim's illnesses in 'Brighten's Sister-in-law' read like a father's actual experience; in this story Jim is 'turning three' which would bring Lawson to 1901 and London.

Cecil Mann, who accepts Mangamaunu as the place of composition of the *Joe Wilson* stories, provides the hint of a solution to the difficulty.³⁰ Commenting on the intermittent stiffness of style he suggests that Lawson wrote them with an English readership in mind or that they were revised by Blackwood.³¹ The first suggestion would be less likely unless Lawson was already in England when he wrote them and knew how his colloquial Australian idiom might be misunderstood. The revision is a possibility. Lawson told George Robertson in 1917 that 'an educated young Australian friend' in London had spent days and nights 'correcting and restoring' the text

of *While the Billy Boils* for the selection published by Blackwood, *The Country I Come From*.³² It is possible that Lawson took the advice of this same young man with the manuscript of *Joe Wilson*, also published by Blackwood.

The argument is inconclusive. It is possible to find another reason for the stiffness of style: that Lawson was imaginatively examining and restoring his own faltering marriage, and that it was not Lawson's gift to submit himself and his relations with people to the kind of self-analysis demanded. It does not help the dating of *Joe Wilson* to cite Lawson's statement to David Scott Mitchell, 'I was ill and nearly mad with worry all the time I was writing it', since this might have applied equally to Bertha's 'very long and severe' illness in London or to the tensions of Mangamaunu.³³

But there is a clue in the report in the *Federalist* (Launceston) of 22 October 1898 that Lawson 'is engaged on a long novel which it is rumoured he will carry to London for publication'. *Joe Wilson* is not a 'long novel', but it comes closer to the description than any other work of Lawson's, and may have been conceived as such. It is probable that at this date he had only begun *Joe Wilson*—the date came early in a long spell of teetotalism and continuous writing that he mentioned in letters written in January 1900 to Bland Holt and Jack Louisson.³⁴

Much of his writing time must have been occupied with the play that the producer Bland Holt commissioned and paid an advance of £35 for.³⁵ This play, based on the story 'The Hero of Redclay', Bertha called *Ruth* and Lawson titled *Pinter's Son Jim*. It occupies four exercise-books, held in the Mitchell Library, and according to James Tyrrell (quoted by Denton Prout) it originally occupied six.³⁶ Lawson finished the play in Wellington and Holt rejected it because of its length.

Most of the play and some at least of the stories in *On the Track* and *Over the Sliprails* were written at Mangamaunu, possibly including such longer un-Bulletin-like pieces as 'The Selector's Daughter' and 'The Hero of Redclay' (which must have been written before *Pinter's Son Jim*). These two volumes (of thirty-five stories) contain at least nine stories published before March 1897 and at least eleven published between July 1897 and the end of 1899, one of which was certainly written at Mangamaunu. It is 'A Daughter of Maoriland' itself.

Mere Jacob and 'A Daughter of Maoriland'

I

Of the actual events on which 'A Daughter of Maoriland' is based, Bertha Lawson gives this account:

Among the scholars was a girl of about thirteen or fourteen years of age. This child was always brooding, sitting alone, and seemed to be wretchedly miserable. She was very obedient and would try to do her work, but in a sullen morbid spirit. Her father had murdered her mother and was serving a life sentence in jail. This had happened when she was a little girl, and she had been cared by an aunt, who was very cruel to her. Her Christian name was Mary. I asked the children why she didn't play with them, and they said she was too cranky. We felt sorry for her. I used to take her to the cottage in the afternoon and give her a cup of tea. In half Maori, half English, Mary said she'd like to stay with me. I interviewed her aunt, who had no objection, and Mary stayed some time. We had arranged to get most of our groceries and stores from Wellington as we could get them for half price by ordering large supplies. They now began mysteriously to disappear. Mary said it was the swagmen. At one time three packets of candles went, leaving us without a candle in the house. But by this time I suspected Mary and told her she would have to go home. I was sure that the aunt received the goods and that was why she had allowed her to come. We had some trouble with her, and after she had gone I decided to do without domestic help. She figures in Harry's story "A Daughter of Maoriland".¹

Lawson's account of the girl, written before she was taken

into their home occurs in his letter to MacCallum of 25 June:

But we are haunted just now by the eldest girl (16) a pure blooded aborigine—if there ever was one—of the heavy negro type, whose father killed her mother 11 years ago, (fit of jealousy) and on whose family (3 or 4 sisters) there seems to be a brooding cloud. This girl, they say, would take to the bush, if the last teacher punished her, and climb a tree and sit there and brood for hours—for days, if they didn't find her and get her home. Poor girl—but I shouldn't care to punish her if there were knives handy. The father, by the way, was "teased" (favourite Maori word for expressing it) by other Maoris concerning his wives easy nature, and, coming home, he called her out to the grindstone while he sharpened a butcher's knife for "pighunting". She turned away mechanically or naturally like—a Maori wife, I suppose, and presently he felt the edge of the knife, and, being satisfied, he grabbed her suddenly and cut her throat—Well, he got 11 years, and is just out, (but not here); the girls were babies then, but it left an impression on them that anybody with a knack of observation could see today. I think I could tell a member of that family anywhere, in twenty years time, by the brooding cloud on the foreheads and in their eyes.

Well, Mary haunts the school and will continue to do so during the holidays. She hangs round the wife like a dog, poor girl, "They're all away" she said once. "and I do feel so awfully lonely, Mrs Lawson." You need to hear a Maori woman say that to get at the pathos of it. Mary, by the way, as I found yesterday, still takes to the bush and broods. She, in her slow brooding way, cut a portrait out of the Illustrated London News, letterpress and all, and carefully trimmed it and pasted it on the wall at home—place of honour second to catholic frame, (half picture half fresco) representing the birth of Christ—and she would have put it in that place, no doubt, if she could.—She told Mrs Lawson, in confidence, that she loved that man—(the portrait). It is a portrait of the Czar of Russia, of all the men in the world—son of him who was killed. Mary's mother was killed and—theres a chance for a psychological sketch for me I think!²

If there was uncertainty about the ages of the children at the school (since there was no registration of Maori births) there was even more about Mary Jacob's. Bertha says she was about 13 or 14, Henry in his letter to MacCallum that she was

16, and to Habens about 17, and in his Autobiography, 'about 20 a[s] big as I am'. His last guess is the more accurate. Kairourā parish baptismal records, so far as any contemporary records can be trusted in such a matter, give her year of birth as 1876. As Mere Ratima she is on Stack's list, made in December 1877, of children likely to attend school—which would make her (since the school wasn't yet built and children started attending when they were 3 or 4) about 2. She would have been about 6 or 7 at the time of her mother's death. She was baptised on Boxing Day, 1886 as Mere Ratima, daughter of Ratima Waruhe and Herina Haura, and her sponsor was Martha Taki. A sister, Josephine Ratima, was baptised the same day, with the same sponsor, and most probably wrongly, the same year of birth. I can find no other reference to Josephine and suspect she may be the same as Para or Parahi who at the end of 1885 won a scholarship entitling her to secondary education at Napier. Parahi Jacob was one of Danaher's better pupils, gaining full or nearly full marks at every examination. Assuming she was 13 or 14 when she passed Standard IV (the average age for this pass for Maori pupils in 1894 was 13 years 6 months)³ she would have been born 1871-2, and so would have been 10 to 12 at the time of the murder.

Ratima had five children.⁴ It is possible from school records to give an account of the rest of the family. The name Annie Jacob appears on the examination schedules 1881-3. She did not do well and was sick or absent during two of the examinations. She enrolled a year after Mary and Para and left school before them, so that it is impossible to tell whether she was younger or older. I suspect she might have been the 'sick sister' of Lawson's story and the sick woman Bertha attended and called 'Mrs Jacobs'.

A brother John was as distinguished at school as Parahi and won a scholarship that took him to Te Aute College in 1887. A descendant by adoption of Ratima's remembers him as Jack Tuha Jacob and he was commonly known too as Hoani Terewiti Jacob; he can be recognised on Stack's 1877 list as Tuwhaitaurā Ratima. Te Aute College records show his birthday at 20 June 1874; if correct, he was 8 at the time of the murder. He was possibly the Teoni (Johnnie) Ihaia, using his grandfather's name, who signed the 1894 petition; and as Terewiti Ihaia and John Jacobs he was on the school com-

mittee in 1896 and 1898 and probably in Lawson's year too (for which there is no inspector's report). He would be the model of the 'brother or someone' that Lawson's fictional teacher took the shotgun to.

The fifth member of the family provided Lawson with a suggestion for the fictional name he gave Mary—'August'. Her name was Oketopa or October. She began school in 1885 and since she could have started as young as 3, she was probably born 1880-1 and would have been between 1 and 3 years when she was orphaned. The petition of 1894 lists her as still of school age but though she might have been at school in Lawson's time her name does not appear on examination schedules after the school closed in 1889 (there was none for Lawson's year). Either Para or Annie was also known as Maud.

During Steel's time the spelling 'Jacobs' first appears. Two 'Jacobs' children can be ruled out by age. There was an Elizabeth or Irihapeti who started at the end of 1887 and might have been a daughter of Ratima's brother Karipa who married in 1881.⁵ A John 'Jacobs' who began school at the age of 2 or 3 in 1894 must have been a son of John Terewiti Jacob, returned from Te Aute. He was at school in Lawson's time.

This then was the family of Ratima and Erina when Erina was murdered on 26 January 1883: Parahi of 10 to 12, Annie of unknown age, John of 8 to 9, Mere of 6 to 7, and Oketopa of about 3. Lawson's account of the tragedy, depending on gossip fourteen years afterwards, is inaccurate. From the judge's report and the press report of the trial, the evidence was as follows: Ratima and Erina, according to Eliza Poharama, 'had never been good together. . . . He was always quarrelling with his wife, and she quarrelling with him'.⁶ In the week before the murder the runanga had met to consider a charge of adultery between Erina and Ratima's brother Karipa. Ihaia te Awanui presided, and Paratene was 'the magistrate'.⁷ Karipa was ordered to pay a fine but refused and said they could take everything off his back. The trial finished about midnight, but they stayed talking till dawn. Erina refused to go home with Ratima and said she was not afraid of death. According to Ihaia te Awanui, Erina had already been before the runanga twice and Karipa once. On the day of the murder Ratima and Erina were seen talking near their house from morning to noon, he was 'jawing, jawing all the time, and slapping her

face'.⁸ At lunch-time Danaher saw Ratima dragging his wife by the hand and intervened; Ratima, grey-faced with emotion, told him she had annoyed him again and had been a bad woman a second time. Danaher advised him to calm himself and went home for lunch. When he got home there was an immediate outcry that Erina was dead and he rode back to the kainga. Ratima had stabbed her five times in the neck with a hunting-knife. When he saw Ihaia te Awanui and Paratene coming he covered her body with a blanket. Danaher found the women washing her wounds. Asked why he had done it, Ratima said 'Ko ahau te utu', interpreted in the court as 'I shall be punished for it'. When the Kaikoura constable came at 3 p.m. Ratima sat quietly waiting to be arrested.

Ratima was found guilty after a jury retirement of 28 minutes; but the jury added a recommendation of mercy: in view of his wife's infidelity, 'we trust the term will not be a life one.'⁹ The judge sentenced him to death, but recommended that the sentence be commuted to penal servitude for life, and at the concurrence of the Minister of Justice and the Colonial Secretary, the Governor formally commuted the sentence.

Three years later Mu Wahaaruhe wrote to T. W. Lewis, Under-secretary to the Native Office, enquiring about the possibility of Ratima's release for good behaviour; but the reply was negative.¹⁰ Mrs Walsh thought he saved the life of a warder in gaol, but such an action would have been mentioned in the Department of Justice Annual Reports and there is no such mention.¹¹ Yet he was in fact released, according to Lawson, shortly before June 1897, though he was not living in Mangamaunu. Nothing can be known of the circumstances and date of his release, which would have been recorded in the journals or logbooks of Lyttelton Prison, since they cannot be located.¹² Mrs Walsh thought he was released on parole and married a woman from Kaiapoi or Little River who had a son by a previous marriage; this son was adopted and took the name of Jacob.

By the murder the children not only suffered the shock of losing their mother; they lost their father too. In a community of about eighty living in small huts, and with many of the men absent on seasonal work, there was no permanent provision for them. Pope noted in his report of 26 February 1883:

The Natives referred to the children of Erina Jacob. . . . They are anxious to know what is to be done with the children; I asked them to bring the case before the Native Minister. If that is not the proper course to pursue, it might be as well to send the Maoris some directions as to what they should do in order to provide for these children.¹³

A marginal note on the file cross-refers to a Native Office file now destroyed.¹⁴ The register for the destroyed file, however, shows that it consisted of a letter from W. Gibson, Chairman of the Kaikoura County Council, dated 21 May 1883, drawing the Minister's attention to the children, presumably at the representation of Danaher. J. M. Sherrard has provided me with this minute from a meeting of the Kaikoura County Council:

19 May 1883—The Chairman was authorized to see into the matter of the Jacob's children and to expend 20/- to 30/- on them. The Chairman to communicate with the Native Minister calling his attention to the starving conditions of the children of Ratima Jacob and asking him to take steps immediately to relieve their distress.¹⁵

There is no record of what action the Minister took. By February 1884 they were in the care of a woman called Ripeka. The only Ripeka (Rebecca) I have been able to find is Ripeka Tanga who was mother of Pene Tahui, Lawson's chairman of the school committee. Pope reported on 22 February:

I saw Ratima's children; they are suffering from influenza, but they are well in other respects. The matron Ripeka is in Mr Danaher's opinion and in mine not active enough to take charge of the children. Their grandmother, Maraia, has not returned from Waipapa; she is strongly and would be a much better matron for them.¹⁶

On 20 August of the same year Pope reported again:

I saw Ratima's five children; they were clean and appeared to be well nourished; they attend school regularly. These children are now living with their grandfather Ihaia Waruhi; he appears to be a very decent old Native. I heard no complaints with regard to these children. . . .¹⁷

On 16 October 1885 Pope mentions them again: 'They [i.e. the committee] ask that the children Jacob may not be overlooked during the approaching change of masters'.¹⁸

The fact that it was Martha Taki who sponsored the baptism of Mere and Josephine in 1886 and that their grandfather Ihaia Wahaaruhe was not himself baptised till eight months later, suggests that Ihaia was no longer their guardian and that Martha Taki was. The fact that the runanga decided in February 1886 that Para Jacob and Emilia Taki should decline the scholarships entitling them to secondary education since they were needed to help in 'household duties' suggests that Mrs Taki had good reason for needing help, as she would have done if she were rearing two families.¹⁹

Lawson might well have feared Mary with her 'eyes like a hawk' watching for his mistakes in arithmetic: she had had over nine years longer at school than he had, though she had not made much use of them. She enrolled when the school opened and for her first three examinations she got no marks at all. In February 1884, like the two other Jacob children at school, she was given full marks (and passed Standard I)—presumably a charity pass, since they had influenza at the time. It took her a further two years to pass Standard II. When at the end of 1888 (under Beck) she failed, Kirk named her as one of those 'of good working age' who had 'attended well on the whole' who should have passed. She must have been thought too old to be listed in the 1894 petition (she would have been 17 or 18); but she re-enrolled when the school reopened. That this is not another girl called Mary Jacob is evident, first from Lawson's guess at her age, and second, from her being credited on the examination schedule, December 1894, with having spent '36 months' at school. This is wrong and may be all that Steel could make of her answers to his inquiries; but there had not been any other Mary Jacob at the school when it closed in 1890. In 1896, the only year for which her attendances are given, she missed 115 half-days out of 403, nearly thirty per cent. At the end of that year, aged about 20, she passed Standard II. Presumably, since according to Bertha she was considered strange and moody, she was sent to school for something to do.

It was possible under the Native Schools Code for teachers to take Maori girls to board with them, with the object of teaching them European housekeeping. For this they could claim £2 for every three months the girl stayed with them. It was specifically provided that such girls 'shall be treated as

boarders and not as servants'.²⁰ It is possible that it was under this scheme that the Lawsons at first took Mary Jacob into their home, but there is no record of any claim by Lawson. Mary of course did not stay three months, and teachers' payments are not recorded on the school file, and if kept separately, have been destroyed. But it is clear that Bertha saw Mary as 'domestic help'. In 1910 Lawson recalled having had a 'servant', though the name he gives is that of another pupil, Maraia Poharama.²¹

II

Lawson stated his literary method: 'I sought out my characters and studied them; I wrote of nothing that I had not myself seen or experienced. I wrote and re-wrote painfully, and believed that every line was true and for the right'.²²

In a letter, whose addressee one infers was George Robertson, he said: 'My life is "written between the lines" of every book of mine that you have published'.²³ It would be fair to say he was an 'autobiographical' writer in that his writing, more especially his prose, is drawn, with only slight imaginative transformation, from his experience. Bertha's account and Lawson's letter to MacCallum show a close correspondence between the actuality of their experience with Mary Jacob and the events of 'A Daughter of Maoriland'. Charles Oscar Palmer said that 'the cares of Mr Torrens [*sic*]' were 'practically [Lawson's] own'.²⁴ Certain details can be checked against actuality. The teacher is unnamed but the Maoris call him 'Mr Lorrens' as Sarah Barnett and the chairman of the school committee called Lawson. The chairman said, 'You can look at it two ways, Mrs Lorrens', and Pene Tahui said to Lawson, 'There is always two ways of looking at it Mr Lawrence'. Sarah pasted a portrait of a czar on the wall as Mary Jacob did.²⁵ In one detail that can be checked, where there has been transformation, the imagination has worked in terms of melodrama. This is the incident of 'August' standing menacingly sharpening a knife on the wires of a fence. There is no evidence in the court hearing that Ratima had done this, but Lawson had heard gossip—either from Maoris, or, more likely, local Pakeha settlers—that he had sharpened his knife on a grindstone in his wife's presence. If Lawson believed that this transforma-

tion was 'true and for the right', it is determined by an assumption that characteristics are inherited 'in the blood'. 'Her father had murdered her mother under particularly brutal circumstances, and the daughter took after her father'.²⁶ The only checkable variation from actuality is the extension in time: Sarah stayed with them for three months and the teacher taught at the school for three years afterwards.

But one has to judge the story on its own terms and take it as a situation involving not the Lawsons and Mary Jacob but an unnamed teacher and his wife and Sarah Moses and her relatives. Omitting the teller's interpretation the events of the story are these:

A teacher who is a writer hoped to write a 'romance' based on one of his pupils, a big ungainly girl who looked twenty, whose father had killed her mother when she was a child. She had since lived with her sister and then with an aunt by marriage who, according to local gossip, had ill-treated her. She had a history of running away to the bush and brooding when she was punished. She cut out a picture of a Czar whose father had been murdered and said she loved him. This was one of the reasons why the teacher found her an interesting character-study. She began to hang around the teacher's wife in the holidays and said she felt 'so awfully lonely'. When school reopened the teacher's wife sometimes took her home and gave her tea and cake.

One Sunday she arrived in nothing but a ragged dress to say that her aunt had put her out and she was going to her grandmother's at Whale Bay. The teacher and his wife considered taking her into their home, but first the teacher went to the kainga to see August's aunt. He did not believe her when she denied turning August out. He explained in 'words simplified for Maori comprehension' that if August did not wish to return home he would let her stay with him until her uncle, who was away, came back, and then the teacher and the uncle could talk the matter over. The aunt and relations said they understood, and, with two of August's sisters and other relatives, the aunt accompanied the teacher back to his house. August, seeing her aunt, hid in the flax; but came out and talked at length to her, each turning her back on the other as they talked. August refused to return home, and it was agreed that she should stay with the teacher.

August became brighter and seemed very changed. It con-

firmed the teacher's wife's theory that all she needed was kind treatment. The chairman of the school committee was sceptical. August was grateful and worked well and the house became very cheerful with her. She ate a great deal; but since she had come her relatives had ceased borrowing from the teacher.

One day she went on horse to town for groceries and did not return till the next day. She explained that she had met relatives who had pressed her to stay, though she had not wanted to. When the teacher's store of food and candles began to diminish, August could offer no explanation but to blame passing swagmen. She would take hours over messages. She had a sick sister living alone and unattended. The teacher's wife sent her one night to look after her sister and told her to return early in the morning and report on her condition. August didn't get back till lunch-time. The teacher lost his temper and told her he wasn't to be taken for a fool. He went to the sister's whare and concluded that August had done nothing for her sister but had eaten everything in the house and rested till lunch-time.

August improved and the teacher continued with his 'romance'. Then his wife became ill. The groceries began to disappear more quickly than before, the house became dirty and August got fat and lazy and dirty. One day she said she was going for the milk. ('The teacher gave her permission'.) When she had not returned by lunch-time—and half the pupils were absent from school—the teacher went to the kainga to look for her, and found her sitting in the middle of a circle of relations, talking. He concluded that she was entertaining them with exaggerated stories about his domestic life, and that that was how she had occupied her previous long absences. For a year later he heard amazing slanders that she had circulated. She had turned the most senior woman in the kainga against him and this woman had kept the children away from school.

Finding August there with her relatives and half the school-children the teacher lost his temper and the children went back to school. August and her aunt came with apologies and the gift of a shell-fish. The aunt and sisters said they did not want anything to do with August, but the teacher would not have her back in his house and she went back to her aunt's. The narrator explains that 'the whole business' had been a cunning plot by August's relations to get supplies from the teacher. When August was back home, her relations tried to renew their borrowing, but the teacher

refused them. Then August sent his wife a 'blackguardly' letter and her sick sister said the teacher's wife deserved it. The teacher went to the kainga again: an hour later August came down with a written apology in very bad English.

The teacher hearing noises in the night suspected it was August trying to scare him; he had previously believed Maoris too frightened to venture out after dark. One day August came to the school fence and scowling at the teacher's wife sharpened a table-knife on the wires. The teacher threatened to call a policeman—to 'take the whole gang into town'. August, and (presumably) her aunt who the teacher claimed was 'sneaking in the flax' behind, went back to the kainga.

The teacher could not continue with his romance. He heard from the younger pupils that August had threatened to cut his wife's throat. When the aunt sent down a shilling for some soap, he kept the shilling instead of sending it back as he had formerly been accustomed to doing. The borrowing ceased.

August went to live briefly with a mill-worker from the town. One day 'her brother or someone' rode to the school-house with a friend, drunk and blustering. The teacher came out with his gun and threatened to shoot them and they rode off. Just then he saw a hawk and impulsively shot at it. When he turned there was only a cloud of dust where the two men had been.

The teacher stayed at the school for three years; he gave up his ideas of universal brotherhood, and after that the Maoris respected him.

What is remarkable, even from this synopsis, is the sudden change from narration to interpretation at the point where the teacher finds August sitting in the circle of listeners. All previous events are seen in one of those 'flashes of clarity' or moments of recognition common in moods of extreme bitterness or jealousy or paranoia, where every event contributes to a malign pattern and all contradictions are resolved into a simple harmony of interpretation. Yet there are a number of contradictions in the story.

There is at this point a change in the story's point of view. Though the third person is used throughout the story, the narrator had until this point adopted a standpoint sympathetic to the teacher but still at some distance from him; now he identifies himself with the teacher's point of view and acts as

his advocate. The story reaches forward in time to explain other slanders, originating in August, that the teacher continued to hear for a year afterwards (and in relation to the checkable actuality from which Lawson wrote the story, this is an exaggeration). The teacher, in his moment of recognition, not only knows what August is saying but realises that she is responsible for the senior woman's hostility towards him.

The story itself will not support the narrator's conclusion that every preceding event had contributed to a malign scheme: 'The whole business had been a plot by her nearest relations'. August's aunt had denied putting August out and had spent some time, apparently, in persuading her to come home and had agreed, only after a long discussion with the teacher, to her staying with him. The chairman of the school committee had not accepted the teacher's wife's theory that August needed better treatment. The narrator himself is aware of a contradiction and tries to resolve it with a sneer when he says:

They treated her, 'twas said, with a brutality which must have been greatly exaggerated by pa-gossip, seeing that unkindness of this description is, according to all the best authorities, altogether foreign to Maori nature.

If the rumour of the aunt's cruel treatment was not exaggerated, August's actions could be interpreted in a more complex and sympathetic way; if they were exaggerated then the Maori reputation for kindness did not deserve to be dismissed so easily. The teacher's conclusions about what August had done while she stayed with her sister are equally hasty and could hardly have been established by questioning a sick woman whose knowledge of English was limited. He believed the 'blackguardly' letter but he did not believe the apology. It is held against the apology that it is badly composed, but the insulting letter must have been just as ill-composed. We do not know what language August is speaking to the circle of relatives, but since her aunt's and her own English was imperfect, it is likely that she would have been more fluent in Maori, which the teacher did not understand. Yet he recognises immediately that 'she was entertaining them with one of a series of idealistic sketches of the teacher's domestic life, in which she showed a very vivid imagination, and exhibited an unaccount-

able savage sort of pessimism'—hardly possible for her in English, and hardly possible for the teacher to perceive in Maori or without listening for some time if it was in English.

There are other contradictions. August's change from gratitude to ingratitude is not explained. She grows fat when she becomes an unsympathetic character; she has 'about as much animation, mentally or physically, as a cow', yet she was 'wonderfully quick in picking up English ways and housework'. In the case of the noises in the night the narrator is aware of a contradiction. Though he hadn't thought of it at the time, it was 'plain' later that it was August trying to frighten them. He had thought Maoris too cowardly to go out in the dark. But the preconception of a 'savage' seeking revenge is too attractive and the contradiction is resolved in the unsatisfactory explanation: 'But savage superstition must give way to savage hate'.

Every subsequent action except August's acting as housekeeper for a sawmill worker is interpreted as a further stage in a plan of revenge that the narrator has failed to demonstrate. August sharpening a table-knife, being the daughter of a murderer, must have murderous intentions. A visit from her brother, without any indication of what he said, is met with threats and gunfire. The narrator does not see the need to explain why August's sister thought the teacher's wife deserved the insulting letter—an oddity since the wife had been kind to her; he does not explain why the teacher, when she returned late from her sick sister, should lose his temper and say that *he* wasn't to be taken for a fool, or why the senior woman in the kainga had been persuaded, by a girl generally thought of by the community as strange and moody, to align herself against the teacher and keep the children from school, or why August apologised. Was it because the teacher made threats; did the community confer and decide that since August had obviously offended him she should do something to mollify him? These gaps in explanation suggest that some events in the actual sequence on which Lawson based the story have been omitted.

It is clear that the teacher and his wife looked on August as an unpaid servant:

It was a settled thing that they should take her back to the city with them, and have a faithful and grateful retainer all their lives, and a sort of Aunt Chloe for their children when they had any.

Aunt Chloe is Uncle Tom's wife in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, faithful to her master in adversity, devoted to her master's children, clean, hard-working and a good cook. Harriet Beecher Stowe describes her:

Her whole plump countenance beams with satisfaction and contentment from under her well-starched checked turban, bearing on it, however, if we must confess it, a little of that tinge of self-consciousness which becomes the first cook of the neighbourhood, as Aunt Chloe was universally held and acknowledged to be.²⁷

She is the type-figure of the gratitude a European idealist might expect from an African in return for benevolence: she was also a slave. The arrangement by which August was to live with the teacher was to work in return for bed and board—a truck contract that Lawson would not have countenanced between white Australians or even for the indentured labourers of Queensland. August even has to ask permission to leave the house, and the trouble begins when she stays away longer than expected. It would be expecting too much of the narrator to see her actions in terms of a system of values and priorities different from his own; but August's explanation that, though she herself wanted to come home, she could not resist her relatives' pressure to stay, is quite plausible in a culture with a wide kinship system and one that laid stress on the obligations of members of the extended family to one another. She might have been simply sharpening a table knife and her aunt (if she was indeed there) might have had some reasonable purpose in the flax.

The teacher and the narrator extend August's untrustworthiness to all Maoris—even if the subtitle 'A Sketch of Poor-Class Maoris' seems to exempt the author from such generalisation. The teacher will not accept the explanation that 'August was mad': in fact he makes surprisingly little allowance for the shock of losing both parents so young—as if that, too, were part of the conspiracy against him. The prominent aspect of that tragedy in his view is that she inherits the blood of a murderer. The most senior woman of the kainga he sees now as 'like the rest . . . very ignorant and ungrateful'. He had expected gratitude not only from the girl he fed but from the whole community.

An extended digression throws further light on Lawson's philosophy about coloured people. After the teacher has told August that he is not to be taken for a fool, he 'thought of the trouble they had with Ayacanora in Westward Ho, and was comforted and tackled his romance again'.

Ayacanora is an interesting version of the noble savage, her conception modified by Charles Kingsley's devout imperialism and Victorian English Protestant Christianity. When Amyas Leigh and his men meet her in Central America she is the mysterious and haughty ruler of a tribe of Indians who worship her as a goddess because of her white skin; but she is contemptuous towards her subjects and treats them with capricious cruelty. Meeting the Englishmen she deserts her tribe and, against dissuasion from Amyas, earns her right to join them. It is at this point that she becomes 'most troublesome'. The 'warrior-prophetess of the Omaguas' becomes 'nothing but a naughty child'—inquisitive, impulsive, hiding and hoarding trumperies. Amyas, who himself has stolen a Spanish galleon and its cargo, is shocked to find she is stealing small articles. She drinks wine, threatens to drown herself; she is penitent, and promises not to offend again, but lapses. She tries to tempt Amyas to kill a man of his that she dislikes. By a song she sings, they recognise her as the lost English girl they have been looking for, John Oxenham's daughter. The moment she realises that she is truly English she is transformed: 'She regained all her former stateliness, and with it a self-restraint, a temperance, a softness which she had never shown before'.²⁸ She now sings only English songs, and psalms. Back in England she and Amyas marry.

The absurdities of this plot are obvious. It is plain that Kingsley is having it both ways: Ayacanora is white-skinned and she is dark-skinned; she is daughter of the Incas and daughter of John Oxenham. Kingsley apparently intends by her story some allegory of culture-contact and assimilation. Her natural or 'primitive' stateliness is lost when she is exposed to a superior culture, but she regains it, modified by inborn English restraints, when she feels completely identified with that culture. At a point of the story where the reader thinks her to be Indian, where Ayacanora joins the English crew of the captured galleon, Kingsley writes:

And so Ayacanora took up her abode in Lucy's cabin, as a regularly accredited member of the crew.

But a most troublesome member; for now began in her that perilous crisis which seems to endanger the bodies and souls of all savages and savage tribes, when they first mingle with the white man; that crisis which, a few years afterwards, began to hasten the extermination of the North American tribes; . . .

For the mind of the savage, crushed by the sight of the white man's superior skill, and wealth, and wisdom, loses at first its self-respect; while his body, pampered with easily-obtained luxuries, instead of having to win the necessities of life by heavy toil, loses its self-helpfulness; and with the self-respect and self-help vanish all the savage virtues, few and flimsy as they are, and the downward road toward begging and stealing, sottishness and idleness, is easy, if not sure.²⁹

In Ayacanora's case this was only a temporary phase. There are some points of resemblance between Ayacanora and August: Ayacanora following the Englishmen against their wishes is 'silent and moody'; there is her pilfering and her unpredictable behaviour on the ship; she 'picked up' English 'with marvellous rapidity' just as August was 'wonderfully quick in picking up English ways and housework'.³⁰ The point of interest is that August's teacher by remembering Ayacanora was comforted and returned to his 'romance'. Since there was no possibility of August turning out to be a long-lost English girl, his comfort must have lain in the hope that these difficulties were only an intermediate stage to her assimilation into English culture. The assumption is an imperialist one: that August was one of a native people under tutelage, that he had accepted the 'white man's burden'. We are told at the end that the teacher gave up his 'universal brotherhood' notions, but we hadn't been aware that he had any.

Since Lawson at no point in the story detaches himself from the viewpoint of the narrator, the distinction is a fine one, and the conclusions may be taken as the author's. They are demonstrated in the last sequence of events—which have no parallel in the actual situation of the Lawsons—in which it is clear that August and the others 'respected him, and rather liked him than otherwise; but she hated his wife, who had been kind to her, as only a savage can hate'. It is the tenet of colonialism:

don't be soft with the natives, they lose respect if you're kind to them, the one thing they understand is firmness.

It was a tenet of European culture at this time that kindness to an individual should be acknowledged by unmistakable gratitude, the conspicuousness of which should vary in direct ratio to the difference in status between the two parties, or, in a case like this one, in inverse ratio to the proportion of European ancestry in the recipient. It was a tenet of the Australian bushman's code that a mate's generosity or loyalty should never be exploited; the bushman was always watchful that he wasn't being taken for a fool or thought soft, and he didn't forgive if he was. The narrator in Lawson's story was incapable of interpreting the events in any other terms than these.

Lawson's attitude is inconsistent. He disapproves of conduct in August that he connives at in the Steelman stories. He had already connived in his dubious assumption that the Maoris were stealing sheep. But in these cases the bereft were publicans and station-owners, and in Lawson's Australian *mores*, this alone would exonerate those who stole from them. Lawson would not of course have classed his teacher as wealthy, but he certainly had more than Sarah or her aunt did.

Returning to the actual situation from which Lawson wrote the story, and using only Bertha's account as evidence of what happened, it is possible that Mary, perhaps for personal reasons determined by the loss of her parents and her isolation in the community, gave the groceries and candles to her relations in order to impress them or earn their esteem or repay them for keeping her. If her relations knew where they came from, it is not unlikely that Mary told them that the Lawsons had given the groceries to her. But if she did not, they thought he could afford the loss because Bertha had told them that her husband was wealthy. In the Maori view hospitality is a reciprocal process. The Lawsons had at the beginning been dependent on Maori food and still relied to some extent on Maori food-sources. They had reciprocated in terms of their own culture, with kindness to individuals, attention to the sick and conscientious teaching of the children. In urban or bourgeois European *mores* (as distinct from the bushman's code) such services are not usually measured, but material goods for which money has been paid are not usually given without a

consciousness of measurable debt or obligation. There is an assumed desideratum of an eventual balance of debt and repayment. In the Maori system of values, neither such obligation nor goods are measured, nor is any mental balance-sheet kept, since tomorrow the donor might be recipient. If the Lawsons had been in need again it is likely that the Maoris would have supplied them as far as they were able. It is a sad thing that Lawson, who so highly valued mutual generosity, should not have recognised this. It is odd that in the last resort, it was not by the bushman's code but by urban bourgeois values that Lawson judged the community.

Yet the actual experience affected Lawson with more bitterness than even the imposture on 'Mr Lorrens' would seem to justify. It is likely that Lawson personified his own feelings in the obscurely wronged survivor of a treble partnership of mates in 'The Old Mile Tree', written at Mangamaunu in September 1897:

... dark and lonely,
 A wronged and broken* man,
 He crouched and sobbed as only
 The strong heart broken can.

 Old mile-tree I remember
 When all green leaves seemed dead.³¹

* broken] hopeless written above in author's hand, MS.

Lawson's Aesthetic Crisis

I

It is time to return to the exception made, in the racist attitudes of Australian trade unionism in the 1890s, of Maoris. There was an older European benignity towards Polynesians in general. It has often been remarked that Samuel Marsden felt no compulsion to save the souls of Aborigines, but on meeting Ruatara in Sydney, he determined to start a mission among Maoris. On the whole Europeans took more readily to Polynesians than to Melanesians or Micronesians. The navigators' journals of the late eighteenth century comment on their likeness in colour and physique to Europeans. Bougainville and Cook, whatever misinterpretations they made, were able to engage in a dialogue between European and Tahitian culture. From Bougainville's urbane account of the Tahitians, from Banks's journal, from Cook's sympathetic descriptions of Polynesians and Hawkesworth's tendentiously edited selections from them, from the eulogies of Forster *père et fils* for Tahitian society, there had derived a literary cliché of the noble, happy, and innocent Polynesian. It was not a cliché likely to recommend itself to Lawson, but he indulged it once in 'Cruise of the Crow', a poem on a blackbirding raid in which his sympathy is with the islanders who take revenge on the captain when he comes to the island again. The romantic cliché is in these lines:

... the islanders' girls
 (Who had eyes that were brighter than stars, who had teeth
 that were purer than pearls),

Of the graces in bronze, finely fashioned by nature,
untrained and free,
Who swam out through the rollers to gambol and dive in
the luminous sea—¹

In New Zealand writing this literary cliché showed itself in a few novels and stories that assumed that Maoris were a dying race who had a heroic and admirable past, pathetic but nobly acquiescent victims to the inevitable imperialism of Progress.

In Robert H. Scott's *Ngamihi; or the Maori Chief's Daughter* (1895), set in the Taranaki land war, those Maoris who aid the settlers' cause are brave, generous, and honourable; the 'rebels' are fierce, treacherous, and given to atrocities. The heroine, a 'princess' christened by a missionary with the exotic and unbiblical name Zada, dies spectacularly sheltering her Pakeha lover from a bullet. In Jessie Weston's *Ko Méri* (1890) the heroine, daughter of a British general and granddaughter of a Maori chief, repudiates genteel London society and returns to her mother's village to share the doom of her race. In H. B. Vogel's *A Maori Maid* (1898) Ngaia, daughter of a European surveyor and granddaughter of a Maori chief, wins through a series of misfortunes to become the bride of a future Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. In Vogel's *The Tragedy of a Flirtation* (1909), Raita, daughter of a chief, is mistress to a European farmer and mother to his child, but willingly dies to make way for a more suitable match with an English doctor's daughter. Jessie Weston's Méri and Vogel's Ngaia were at home in two cultures; and in Arthur H. Adams's 'The Real Maori Maid', in the *Lone Hand* in 1908, the heroine, daughter of a chieftainess, wife of a senior government official, spends one day paddling a canoe and the next day at an elegant function discussing the Henley regatta.² In these novels and stories the heroine either dies pathetically, freeing her European lover from a noble but perhaps ill-calculated attachment, or she moves easily from high rank in one society to high rank in the other. The underlying assumption is either that Maoris are doomed to die out or that they, or at least their ranking class, will be gracefully assimilated into European society.

How these Maori or half-Maori heroines were conceived in

terms of the conventions of contemporary popular romances can be illustrated by two parallel passages:

She paced up and down the room with a sweeping, panther-like grace, her eyes brilliant with that dangerous light never seen except in the eye of native races, whose souls know no law but their own instincts and passions—a magnificent figure in her long, trailing gown and splendid, voluptuous beauty, the veneer of civilization fallen off, and the Maori blood surging wildly through her veins.³

At this juncture Captain Wilson rose from his chair and walked across the room to where she was standing. Leading her gently to a seat beside Miss Munroe, he reverently raised her hand to his lips and kissed it. The effect on Zada was instantaneous. With a swift glance of her large dark eyes, which had suddenly become strangely tender in expression, she almost compelled Captain Wilson to meet her gaze, and for an instant the two stood as if transfixed. Hastily letting her eyes fall she caught his hand, and after passionately kissing it fled from the room with an articulate sob.⁴

If in the first there is the pretence that Méri has thrown off the bonds of her acquired European culture, there is in fact little difference between the two passages: both display passionate women acting with less restraint than is conventional.

There is something of this late-romantic tradition in the *Bulletin* in 1897. F. Rollett's sketch 'Pomare's Death' sees the Maori as a noble warrior.⁵ In 'Ripene Manga' a half-caste youth is reduced to wage-slavery by a Pakeha land-shark and his grandfather, driven from his land, dies of humiliation and grief.⁶ Here the forces of evil are identified with a Pakeha, and the Maori with dying nobility. In 1903 David McKee Wright's poem 'Hawaiki' has 'the strong brown race of warriors' and 'deep-bosomed women, with far-dreaming eyes'.⁷ In 1894 Lawson too had indulged the literary convention of the noble dying warrior in 'Ake! Ake! Ake! The Last Stand of the Maoris', a poem on Rewi Maniapoto, and in another 'Rewi to Grey' in which Rewi Maniapoto's last words to Sir George Grey are that they should be buried together:

Let us rest together brother,
When our gods recall us two.

.

Let there be one stone above us,
 Standing for a sign:
 On one side your name be written,
 On the other mine.⁸

Scott's *Ngamihi* is illustrated with photographic 'portraits'. One of them shows Zada and her maidservant Hema in poetic pose: by a broken column of photographer's plaster, against a lowering sky, Zada looks resolute in a loose sleeveless gown with a sash and a piece of material hanging from her shoulder, a feather in her long hair: at her feet is Hema her face hidden in her hair. The *Bulletin* ran a series of like 'studies' by a Hobart photographer, Arthur Iles. One of them 'A Maori Belle' is captioned: 'One of the most charming of many Maorilanders . . . so skilfully photographed to the glory of a perishing race.'⁹ There is a second of an adolescent girl, and a third of two girls posing head against head, one with her arms round the other.¹⁰ By its title and date (17 July 1897) it is clear that Henry Lawson in his story of Mangamaunu was reacting against the sentimentality of the tradition: the photograph is captioned 'Two Daughters of Maoriland'. It is ironic that the issue of the *Antipodean* which first published 'A Daughter of Maoriland' should have accompanied it with five of Iles's photographs, including 'A Maori Beauty', 'Type of Maori Girl', and one untitled in the fashionable photographic pose of leaning pensively with one arm raised—not against a column but against a tree-fern.¹¹ This appears on the same page as the account of Sarah's gluttony.

Alfred A. Grace in his stories of Maoris as yet in only slight contact with Pakeha culture, falls into conventional heroics of ill-fated love, but he is best remembered for his tales of Maoris more or less acculturated. He finds sardonic humour in the implied contrast between the Maori as he had been and the Maori trying to cope with European culture. There are several of his stories in the *Bulletin* in 1897: and two of them preceded the probable date of writing 'A Daughter of Maoriland'. 'Pirimona' is a wry tale of a half-caste who overcomes the handicap of a barren wife by taking two concubines.¹² 'Told in the Puia' is of a European who lives with Maoris and marries a Maori girl when his European fiancée throws him over because of his acquaintance with the Maori girl: the point is that a Maori woman makes a more pleasant partner than a

European woman.¹³ It is probable that in them Lawson found a preferable 'realism'—that is a disinclination to depart from the working values of the practical-minded European settler, even if an unusually genial one. In any case there was sympathy in outlook between Grace and Lawson: after reading *While the Billy Boils* and 'The Story of the Oracle' and 'Pursuing Literature in Australia' Grace wrote to Lawson suggesting (as in fact Lawson had decided more than two years earlier) that he should try London as a market.¹⁴

Lawson did find a literary precedent for his 'realism'. The second version of 'A Daughter of Maoriland' substitutes one paragraph at the end of the story for three. The two paragraphs later scrapped from the first version in the *Antipodean* of 1897 read:

And if this sketch, and others that will be written, do something towards knocking the sentimental rot out of current literature that teacher will not have lived, learnt and been 'had' in vain. We rush off in imagination to coral isles and other places, and make heroes out of greasy, brown, loafing brutes, for no other reason, apparently, than that their fathers were even greasier and more brutal than their children, while thousands of brave, self-sacrificing white heroes, weeds for the most part, but heroic weeds, live, fight and die unnoticed in our own cities and bush, all the year round.

For further information on the subject of this sketch, and for many profitable hours, the reader is confidently referred to *Old New Zealand*, by "a Pakeha Maori" (Maning), one of the brightest and healthiest books ever written. The author, or the hero, lived this book, and was equal to the life.¹⁵

There is of course some likeness between Maning's genial irony, his mixture of admiration and scepticism, and Lawson's in his comic stories of swagmen. But Maning's tone has little in common with the bitterness of 'A Daughter of Maoriland'. It is notable that in the first paragraph quoted Lawson sees the choice in writing about Polynesians as between sentimentality and defamation.

It is not initially easy for a writer to interpret another culture without some participation in it, but if he does not set himself so comprehensive an aim and is content to write of

members of the alien culture simply as people he has known and observed, his difficulties are fewer. He needs only to shed such preconceptions as may interfere with sensitive and sympathetic observation or with his intuitive perception of their common humanity. Since the late nineteenth century a number of European novelists have written reliably of Africans and Asians, West Indians and the peoples of the Pacific. In New Zealand, Alfred A. Grace, Roderick Finlayson, and Noel Hilliard have written with understanding of Maori communities. The success with which a writer can interpret the behaviour of people outside his own culture depends partly on his own gifts and partly on the capacity of his own philosophy to tolerate a wide range of human behaviour, on its freedom from intolerance and parochialism.

These observations are relevant to Lawson's experience of Maoris. The society in which he was at home as a writer was a scattered society of shearers and rouseabouts, of drovers and bullockies and swagmen, shanty-keepers, struggling selectors and diggers, spielers and hatters and tough, long-suffering women. It was a society rich in variety of social and economic experience, of interest in and understanding of how people struggled for their living; but governed as it was by a limited set of conventions for the relations between men and women and between men and their fellow-men, rather narrow in its range of emotional or inter-personal experience, and prone to condemn those who departed from these conventions. Confronted with a community quite different from the society he knew, whose culture was in many ways alien to the bushman's code, Lawson's comic or sardonic realism, his habitual method of representing life, was inadequate. The style had evolved in a different setting and was not readily adaptable to the new one. The sensitive interplay of narrator and experience lost confidence and in 'A Daughter of Maoriland' Lawson made up for it by assertion. The mental habits by which he had ordered his experience into art were no longer sufficient to control that part of his personality which he had not hitherto allowed to take charge of interpretation.

The disillusion of Mangamaunu caused in him a crisis of aesthetic conscience, and it affected his confidence in publishing his sketches written in Mangamaunu before the crisis. He expresses this crisis in his poem 'The Writer's Dream', a poem

that he said 'will be quoted when others are forgotten'.¹⁶ It is necessary to print the poem in full, taking the text from Lawson's manuscript and to analyse it.¹⁷

II

Lawson suffered from editors and subeditors who thought that because his copy had a few spelling mistakes they could revise his poems without asking him. Denton Prout cites George Black, employed by the *Bulletin*, who boasted of condensing and remodelling Lawson's verse, and C. H. Bertie thought Lawson should have been grateful.¹⁸ Prout gives an example of a text before and after amendment by J. B. Dalley, and the editorial arrogance is startling.¹⁹ There is evidence of Lawson's anger at such treatment, and he complained to the editor of the *Lone Hand* at 'the condensing or altering, and . . . the mutilation of my copy'.²⁰

Bertha complained that David McKee Wright altered without Lawson's permission, but Rebecca Wiley of Angus and Robertson claimed that Lawson had written to her that Wright was the only person he would allow to alter his words.²¹ T. D. Mutch wrote: 'Miss Wylie [*sic*] is quite correct. The alterations referred to were either made by Lawson himself, or made with his concurrence. I have seen them.'²² Certainly George Robertson, in preparing *Selected Poems* for publication in 1918, was most scrupulous in keeping a record of corrections by Bertram Stevens, A. W. Jose, and Wright in ink of several colours in a volume he called *The Polychrome*, and in his protracted and detailed letters to Lawson which show that Lawson fully considered and approved or vetoed Robertson's suggestions and Wright's amendments.²³ But there were further amendments after Lawson's death, for the *Poetical Works* of 1925, by Wright, Robertson, and Jose; and it is in these that Wright has seemed more cavalier.

The editors of journals were less scrupulous than Robertson. Lawson laid himself open to their treatment by leaving the choice of this word or that to the editor's discretion; frequently a word is overwritten by an alternative which Lawson has neither settled for nor rejected, and sometimes underwritten by a second. In the manuscript of 'The Writer's Dream' the editor has once rejected both of Lawson's alternatives and

provided a word of his own, and seven other times has taken it on himself to revise a word or a phrase, though in fact four of his revisions are not used in any of the printed versions. To get back to what Lawson meant and not what the editor thought he should mean I have used the text as Lawson wrote it. Where there are alternatives—except in two cases, lines 34 and 52, where the question is one of grammar—I have used the word first written, that is on the same level as the rest of the line in which it appears (*a*); first alternatives, written above the line, are footnoted *b*; second alternatives, written below the line, are footnoted *c*; if either of these alternatives was used in the *Bulletin*, the *b* or *c* is followed by *B*; editorial alterations are footnoted *Ed*. With some variations, the *Bulletin* version was used in *Verses Popular and Humorous* (1900), the only reprinting the poem has had.* David McKee Wright and another hand, either Robertson or Jose, made some revisions, presumably for the *Poetical Works*, but the poem was not included in the collection: these sixteen variations from the *VPH* text are footnoted *DMW*, though five of them are in a hand different from Wright's.²⁴ Variations in punctuation have not been noted.

The Writer's Dream

- 1 [A] writer wrote of the hearts of men, and he followed
 their tracks afar;
 For his was a spirit that forced his pen to write of the
 things that are.
 His heart grew tired of the truths he told, for his life
 was hard and grim;
 His land seemed barren, it's people cold;—yet the
 world was dear to him;—
 5 So he sailed away from the Streets of Strife, he travelled
 by land and sea,
 In search of a people who lived a life as life in the
 world should be

The Writer's Nightmare DMW

1 [A] MS. torn

3 for his life written twice and once cancelled

* Since this was written the poem has been reprinted in Colin Roderick's edition of Lawson's *Collected Verse*, but Professor Roderick has not made use of the manuscript version.

- II And he reached a spot where the scene was fair with
field and forest and wood,
And all things came with the seasons there, and each in
its turn was good;
There were mountain-rivers and peaks of snow, there
were lights of green and gold,
10 And echoing caves in the cliffs below, where a world-
wide ocean rolled.
The lives of men from the wear of Change, and the
strife of the world were free—
For Steam was barred by the mountain range and the
rocks of the open sea.

7 field and forest] forest and field *Ed., B., VPH*

8 in its turn] of its kind *b, B., VPH*

12 and the strife] from the strife *b*

- III And the last that were born of a noble race—when the
page of the South was fair—
The sons of the conquered dwelt in peace with the sons
of the victors there.
15 And he saw their hearts with the author's eyes who had
written their ancient lore,
And he saw their lives as he'd dreamed of such—Ah!
many a year before.
And "I'll write a book of these simple folk, ere I to the
world return,
"And the cold who read shall be kind for these and the
wise who read shall learn."

14 sons (*twice*)] last *b, B., VPH*

15 And he] He *b, B., VPH* who had written] who'd recorded *DMW*

- IV "Never again in a song of mine shall a jarring note be
heard,
20 "Never again shall a page or line be marred by a bitter
word—
"But love and laughter and kindly fun will the book
I'll write recall,
"With chast'ning tears for the loss of one, and sighs for
their sorrows all.
"Old eyes will light with a kindly smile and the young
eyes dance with glee—

"And the heart of the cynic will rest awhile for my simple folk and me."

21 fun] hours *Ed.*, *B.*, *VPH*; in *MS.* hours written after [kindl]iness also in editor's hand and cancelled will the book] shall the book *DMW*
I'll write] I write *DMW*

23 the young] young *DMW*

24 will] shall *DMW* for my] with my *DMW*

v 25 The lines ran on as he dipped his pen—ran true to his heart and ear—

Like the brighter pages of memory when every line is clear.

The pictures came and the pictures passed, like days of love and light—

He saw his chapters from first to last and he felt it grand to write!

And the writer kissed his girlish wife, and he kissed her twice for pride:

30 "Tis a book of love, though a book of life!—and a book you'll read!" he cried

25 his heart and ear] the writer's ear *b*

28 felt] thought *B.*, *VPH* felt it grand to write] thrilled at the goodly sight *Ed.*

29 the writer kissed] he kissed for joy *Ed.*

30 you'll] you will *Ed.*, *B.*

vi He was blind at first to each senseless slight—for shabby and poor he came—

From Local "Fashion" and mortgaged pride that scarce could sign it's name

What dreamer would dream of such paltry pride in a scene so fresh and fair?

But the Local spirit, intensified, with its pitiful shams was there

35 There were cliques where-ever two houses stood. (no rest for a family ghost!)

They hated each other as women could—but they hated strangers most.

33 fresh and fair?] young fair? cancelled by author

34 with its] and its *b* was *b*, *B.*, *VPH*] were *a*

35 no] No *B.*

36 could] would *b* strangers] the stranger *Ed.*, *B.*, *VPH*

- vii He wrote by day and he wrote by night and he wrote,
in the face of Fate:—
"I'll cleave to my dream of life in spite of the cynical
ghosts that wait.
" 'Tis the shyness born of their simple lives." he said
of the paltry pride—
40 (The homely tongues of the simple wives never erred on
the generous side)
"They'll prove me true and they'll prove me kind, ere
the year of grace be past—"
But the ignorant whisper of "axe to grind!" went home
to his heart at last.

37 He wrote by day and he wrote by night] The writer wrote by day and
night *b, B., VPH* and he wrote] and he cried *b, B., VPH*
39 of the paltry pride] to the paltry pride *VPH*
40 never erred] erred not *b* ne'er erred *c, B., VPH*

- viii The writer sat by his drift-wood fire three nights of
the South-east gale—
His pen lay idle on pages vain, for his book was fairy
tale.
45 The world-wise lines of an older age were plain on his
youthful brow,
And he sadly thought of each brighter page that would
never be written now.
"I'll write no more!" But he bowed his head, for his
heart was in Dream-land yet;—
"The pages written I'll burn," he said "and the chap-
ters thought forget."

43 the South-east gale] a South-east gale *DMW*
44 was fairy tale] was a fairy tale *Ed., B., VPH*
45 older] elder *b, B., VPH* youthful] aching *b, B., VPH*
48 pages] chapters *b* chapters] pages *b, B., VPH*

- ix But he heard the hymn of the Open Sea, and the old
fierce anger burned,
50 And he wrenched his heart from its dreamland free as
the fire of his youth returned:—
"The anarchist's madness, the strong man's scorn—the
rebellious hate of youth—
From a deeper love of the world are born!—And the
cynical ghost is Truth!"

And the writer rose with a strength anew where Doubt
could have no part,

"I'll write my book and it shall be true—the truth of a
writer's heart."

51 anarchist's] weak man's *b*, *B.*, *VPH*

52 are born *b*, *B.*, *VPH* is born *a*

53 rose with a strength] turned to his work *b* anew] fire-new *DMW*
where] wherein *Ed.*, *B.*, *VPH* could have no part] would never
have part *b* [would never] take [part] *c* had no part *DMW*

54 shall] shall *Ed.*, *B.*, *VPH*

x 55 "Aye! Cover the truth with a fairy tale, who never
knew Want nor Care

"A bright green scum on a filthy pool that will reek the
longer there.

"You may starve the writer and buy the pen—you m[a]y
drive with want and fear—

"But the lines run false to the hearts of men and false
to the writer's ear.

"The bard's a rebel and strife his part, and he'll burst
from his bonds anew.

60 "Till all pens write from a single heart! And so may
the dream come true.

55 Aye] Ay *Ed.*, *B.*, *VPH* truth] false *b* wrong *c*, *B.*, *VPH* who]
you who *DMW* Want, Care] want, care *B.*, *VPH*

56 filthy pool] pool of filth *b* stagnant pool *Ed.*, *B.*, *VPH*
will reek] [will] rot *b* festers *c* that will reek the longer there]
[that] poisons earth and air *d*

57 writer] pen cancelled by author you m[a]y drive] [you my drive]
it *b*

58 false to the hearts] [false] in [the hearts] *b* writer's] writers *MS.*

xi "Tis ever the same in the ways of men where money
and dress are all—

"The crawler will bully whenever he can and the bully
who can't will crawl.

"And this is the creed in the local hole, where ignorant
"cheek" can rule:

"Borrow and cheat while the stranger's "green"—and
sneer at the poor soft fool.

65 "Spit your spite at the man whom fate has placed in
the head-race first

"And hate till death, with a senseless hate, the man
you have injured worst!

61 ways] tracks *b* paths *c*, *B.*, *VPH*

62 whenever] [when] e'er *b* cancelled by author [when] e'er *c* with a
query against the two alternatives whenever *B.*, *VPH*

63 And this] This *b* ignorant "check" can rule] the souls of the selfish
[rule] *Ed.*, *B.*, *VPH*

64 and sneer] then sneer *b*, *VPH* and then sneer *B.* poor, soft] simple
Ed., *B.*, *VPH*

65 Spit] Spit out *DMW* man] men *b*, *B.*, *VPH* the head-race] [the]
glorious [head-race] *Ed.*

xii "There are generous hearts in the grinding street, but
the Hearts of the World go west.

"For the men who toil in the dust and heat of the
barren lands are best!

"The stranger's hand to the stranger set—for a roving
folk are mine—

70 "The stranger's store for the stranger set—and the camp-
fire-glow the sign!

"The generous hearts of the world, we find, thrive best
on the barren sod—

"And the selfish thrive where Nature's kind—(they'd
bully or crawl to God!)

67 but the Hearts of the World] but ever the best *b*

68 set] yet cancelled *MS.*

69-70 *MS.* directs but queries the transference of these lines to follow
line 72.

71 generous] open *b* hearts] hearts cancelled and open overwritten,
open cancelled and hearts underwritten *MS.* we find added above
caret *MS.*

xiii "I was born to write of the things that are! and the
strength was given to me

"I was born to strike at the things that mar the world
as the world should be!

75 "By the dumb heart hunger, and dreams of youth—by
the hungry tracks I've trod—

"I'll fight as a man for the sake of truth—nor pose as a
martyred god:—

"By the heart of "Bill" and the heart of "Jim" and the
men that their hearts deem "white"

"By the hand-grips fierce, and the hard eyes dim with
forbidden tears!—I'll write!"

73 strength] power *cancelled MS.*

75 and] the *b*

77 that their hearts deem] whom the Bush deems *b* [that their hearts]
call *c* their hearts deem *DMW* their] *their Ed., B., VPH*

xiv I'll write untroubled by cultured fools, or the few that
fume and fret—

80 For against the wisdom of all their schools I would
stake mine instinct yet!

And I'll write as I think in the knowledge strong that
thousands think the same.—

For the cynical strain in the writer's song is the *world*,
not he to blame.

And the men who fight in the Dry Country grim battles
by day, by night

Will stand by me and be true to me, and say to the
world:— "He's right!"

M.L. Sept 97

Henry Lawson

79 fools] fops *Ed.* few] dense *b, B., VPH* dull *c* fools *Ed.* that] who
DMW

81 knowledge] knowledg *MS.*

82 *MS. directs but queries the transference of this line to follow line 80*

83 Dry Country] dry Outback *DMW*

84 Will stand by me and be true to me] Will believe in me, and will
stand by me *b, B., VPH* They'll trust in me and they'll [stand by
me] *c* They will [trust in me and they'll, etc.] *d* and say]
and will say *Ed., B., VPH*

III

It is sometimes difficult in Lawson's verse to know exactly what he means. The attractions of posture and cliché, the compulsion of regular prominent beat in his rhythms, the need to find a rhyme and so to provide a phrase to fill the line out obscure the initial poetic impulse. In 'The Writer's Dream' Lawson is drawn into many irrelevancies, but the initial impulse is a rejection of a hope that proved false and a reassertion of a habitual view of experience.

Charles Oscar Palmer said that the poem 'tells [Lawson's] tale' in Mangamaunu,²⁵ and one may note that in the manuscript the quotation marks enclosing the poet's thoughts are

dropped in the last stanza, where it is Lawson himself speaking. But even without this evidence, certain internal references clearly locate the poem in Mangamaunu. There is the inaccurate version in stanza III of the history of the Kaikoura Maoris and the reference to 'the author' who had written the 'ancient lore' of Maoris.²⁶ In stanza II the greenness and the comparative distinctness of the seasons suggest New Zealand, and the mountains, the ocean, and the sea-caves are appropriate to the Kaikoura Coast, and the inaccessibility by rail or steamship appropriate to Mangamaunu. There is in stanza I an echo of his dissatisfaction with Australia and his hope of finding a more congenial life in New Zealand.

One can accept Lawson's connection of his writer's realism ('the truths he told') with the austerity of his past life ('for his life was hard and grim'), but it was naive to imagine that a more contented life should result in a change in literary method. There is an implied equation of realism with harshness. The choice the writer sees is a false one, between bitterness or cynicism and sentimentality, between on the one hand 'jarring note', 'bitter word', 'the heart of the cynic' and on the other, 'love and laughter and kindly fun', 'chast'ning tears' for bereavement, 'sighs' for sorrows, 'kindly smile' and 'glee'. It reflects something of Lawson's oscillation, in his attitudes to bushmen, between sentimentality and hostility. The writer's newly adopted aim, as Lawson describes it, is that of a sentimental popular entertainer. There would be little wonder that he lost faith in it if one could trust Lawson's description of it. For it must be recognised that this description is written in the light of disillusion. The 'Native School' sketches as Lawson described them in letters to Hugh MacCallum and Angus and Robertson do not seem nearly as objectionable as Lawson in 'The Writer's Dream' makes them out to be. One may suspect from these letters and the stray digressions on Mangamaunu in his later writing, that there were elements of condescension or patronage in his benevolence, but this is not a weakness apparent to the disillusioned Lawson or his writer. The weakness as he sees it is that he had been telling well-meant lies.

When he itemises the factors that destroyed the writer's benevolence Lawson obscures the issue, since he avoids mention of the troubles that actually confronted him in Mangamaunu or interprets them, very generally, in terms of his

experience of Australian rural communities. It would be true that some of the Mangamaunu Maoris could scarcely sign their names—but many of them could, and did, write. There might be sardonic irony intended in applying 'Fashion' to Maoris, but 'mortgaged pride' is certainly not applicable since, possessing no saleable land as security, Maoris were unable to obtain credit. The cliquishness and bickering, the 'Local spirit' and the hatred for the stranger, the ungenerous tongues, the 'ignorant whisper of "axe to grind!"' are the features of New Pipeclay in the 'Fragment of an Autobiography' and of 'The Little World Left Behind'. They are the ills that faced the Advanced Idealist and the girl teacher called Pigeon Toes. The spite of the crowd for 'the man whom fate has placed in the head-race first' is the lot of 'The Man Ahead'; the situation of the good man reviled and persecuted is that of 'The Crucifixion'. Again, in stanza II, while it would be applicable to Lawson's experience in Mangamaunu as Bertha remembered it, to speak of borrowing and cheating 'while the stranger's "green"', it would be a strange comment on the kainga to say that money and dress were all that counted. The bullying crawler and the crawling bully and the self-assertion of the 'ignorant' are features of competitive small-town politics rather than of Mangamaunu where the right to authority was commonly recognised as hereditary and according to seniority and education. It appears that Lawson was predisposed to see in Mangamaunu the 'localism' and the 'ignorance' to which he had been so hurtfully exposed as a boy in New Pipeclay. One recalls his remark in 1910 that after a while in Mangamaunu he noticed 'all the different characteristics to be found in a white bush School'.²⁷ In generalising his writer's predicament as the situation of any good or enlightened individual persecuted by a small vindictive community he has side-stepped the writer's real literary predicament.

The writer might have been wise after brooding for three nights during a south-east gale to reconsider his initial attitudes in his 'chapters', but it was an evasion to dismiss them as 'Dream-land' and 'fairy tale'. One imagines that, even in the light of his unpleasant experiences, the material was salvageable, that the genial tolerance Lawson was prepared to exercise towards Mitchell and Steelman would have been sufficient to produce rewritten sketches deepened by comedy or irony or

even pathos. His bitterness is blind to the partial truth that the sketches must have contained; and his equation of 'the truths he told' in his earlier writing with cynicism betrays either a misunderstanding of the word or a very morose view of truth. His reaction to his disenchantment is to assert a view no less sentimental than the one he has rejected, to take up a posture more dramatic but no less false than the Arthur Iles 'study' of the Two Daughters of Maoriland. Stanzas ix and x make a series of declamations irrelevant not only to Lawson's experience in Mangamaunu but to his total experience as a writer in Australia and New Zealand at this time. It is little more than histrionics to link the poet with the anarchist, the 'strong man' and the young rebel, an incompatible trio, who, however, have it in common they all at one time or another—in 'The Dying Anarchist', 'Cromwell', 'The Man Ahead', and the Advanced Idealist—had served as personae for the artistically intractable element in Lawson's personality. It is posture to suggest that sentimentality in writing is the unenvied prerogative of those who have not known 'Want' or 'Care'—as if Mere Jacob had not known them—or that 'Want' and 'Care' are prerequisites to truthful writing.

In his catalogue of the forces hostile to truth Lawson pays off a few old scores, irrelevant to the situation of his writer. The 'cultured fools' of the last stanza—John Le Gay Brereton, for example, who had criticised his verse—he had answered in 'The Uncultured Rhymer to his Cultured Critics'. The writer addresses an unidentified 'You' who starves the writer and buys his pen. Lawson, it is true, resented the low rates of payment of the *Bulletin* for work he sometimes sat up all night writing and rewriting,²⁸ but the *Bulletin* had published much of his work written in 'cynical' strain from 'the truth of the writer's heart'. There is no evidence that any editor tried to 'buy his pen' by commissioning sentimental sketches of Mangamaunu, or, low rates of payment apart, that any editor had tried to 'drive him with want and fear'. What the writer—or Lawson—is doing is setting up a suitably hostile environment in which he can put up his fists—a conspiracy of editors, 'cultured fools', carping critics ('the few that fume and fret') and pampered sentimental writers. He has extended the malevolence from Mangamaunu to 'the world' which he can blame for his bitterness. It was a strategy by which the writer in

Lawson rescued himself from the false position of despair that his writer had reached in stanza viii, when he vowed to write no more: that Lawson recognised the falsity of the position is in the words, 'for his heart was in Dream-land yet'. He rescued himself too from the position that the writer disowns in stanza xiii, the pose of a 'martyred god'. To the writer it is a restorative of artistic confidence to cut a figure as the fighter for truth who strikes at 'the things that mar the world'; but, in the movement of the poem it is, for Lawson, only a step in the strategy, which is to remind himself of the sources of his strength as a writer. That he has misapplied the word 'cynical' is clear from his profession of faith in the last three stanzas. He has recognised that his inspiration is dependent on the culture he knows—the code of Bill and Jim and the 'white' men of the 'barren lands'. But the 'Truth' that he wrote from this recognition was 'A Daughter of Maoriland'. 'The truth of the writer's heart' was limited by the compass of the bushman's code and the sore spots of Lawson's personality.

The artistic crisis that came out of Lawson's experience of Mangamaunu was a withdrawal. He had taken up the challenge of interpreting a different culture, but he retreated into bitterness when the values of his own culture were offended. But the crisis was also a reassertion of the values from which he had hitherto drawn artistic strength; a recognition of the limitations in time and place in which his talents could operate. It preceded a deeper exploration of the area of experience he knew. Within four years three volumes containing some of his most memorable prose had been published, mostly set in Australia: *On the Track*, *Over the Sliprails*, and *Joe Wilson and his Mates*. One must agree with T. Inglis Moore that the first two volumes are not consistently of high quality,²⁹ but among those stories published later than mid-September 1897, they contain 'No Place for a Woman', 'They Wait on the Wharf in Black' and four Mitchell and Steelman stories. It is impossible to be certain what proportion of these three volumes was written after the crisis but it is probable that it included the Joe Wilson stories and some at least of *On the Track* and *Over the Sliprails*.

The retreat from the difficulties of the new material of Mangamaunu foreshadowed Lawson's failure to complete the

Joe Wilson stories, or to be ultimately satisfying in those that he did finish. It was for Lawson, as he felt his 'Native School' sketches to have been, a new departure to write so closely to his inner experience, but the theme of marital strain required a more objective view of himself and his own contribution to the tension than Lawson had the gift for. The tension is not so much brought out and resolved as by-passed (however convincingly) by the happy ending that follows Joe's gift of the double buggy, and the happy ending is thrown into doubt by the author's reference in his post-script to Joe's subsequent 'deep trouble'. Lawson's retreat after the crisis at Mangamaunu foreshadowed too the imaginative fixation (in his personal disorientation after his separation in 1903 and when his bush material had pretty well run out) that retarded him in adapting his vision (as he did after 1912 in a number of stories set in Sydney) to the industrial, urban Australia whose life could not be interpreted in terms of the cult of the bush.

Epilogue

On their side, the Mangamaunu people, apart from Pene Tahui's letter to Pope, remembered Lawson without bitterness or, apparently, any impression of a serious breach of relations. J. M. Sherrard writes:

Barney Martin, a Maori, living near the Hapuku station, can just remember Lawson although he did not attend the school until the arrival of Lawson's successor. He says that his people often talked about the previous teachers and that he remembers the later teachers very well indeed. But Lawson seems to have made only a slight impression during his short stay. Martin says that there was no great praise for him—nor any feeling of resentment against him.¹

Mr Martin died in 1960; he was probably one of the four Martin children who were on the school roll during Lawson's time, but absent for the most part at South Bay.

Nevertheless Lawson was not forgotten. Six months after her arrival at Mangamaunu Mrs Moss wrote to Lawson. The letter is dated 27 November 1910:

You are not forgotten by the Maoris of this pa. Since I came here to teach, six months ago, I have often heard them speak of you & many times I have thought that perhaps you might be interested to hear from Mangamaunu.

Just now the Maoris are having sad times. Since July ten children have died. Consumption is killing the babies & the growing boys and girls. Henry Norton has lost four children. William Poharama has lost one & has three ill, Agnes Norton died yesterday & pretty Dorothy Norton is ill.

All this sickness has made a difference to the school. I have only 21 scholars. They attend well & are very happy. It is a pity they cannot speak Maori as well as English.

Old Mrs Poharama is still alive, her daughter Maria—

one of your pupils—is married. William Barnett, commonly known as Billy Barnett, remembers you well. I am living in the queer little school-house. It has lately been mended & additions, much needed, have been made. The tiny garden is gay with flowers & great cairns are in different parts of the large play-ground. They were built years ago with the loose stones which used to lie around.

The mountains are still fairly well covered with snow. We have some gorgeous sunsets and during the last fortnight we have had forty earthquakes, great & small.

The Hapuku river is still unbridged & is swift & deep at times.

I do not quite know how to address this but send it to the "Bulletin" office, hoping that it may reach you, also that you will not think me impertinent in bringing this out-of-the-world place to your mind again.²

One cannot know if Lawson recognised how much of this sad news concerned Ratima's children. Mrs Walsh recalled that Maraia Poharama had married Harry Jacob, Ratima's adopted son. She recalled that Oke—or perhaps Maud—Jacob had married Harry Norton, who had lost four children, and that Mary Jacob had married Wi Poharama, who had lost one and had three ill.*

Lawson at this time was a lonely and dispirited man, who had been imprisoned more than once for defaults in maintenance and tended to brood on his wrongs, to see himself (as he put it seven years later in a letter to George Robertson) as 'a good, kind, proud husband and father & a generous friend—a cruelly wronged and innocent man'.³ As a writer he felt he had exhausted his subject:

Has Beens we who fight the cheerful jim-jams of the
Written Out.⁴

He welcomed Mrs Moss's letter and was disposed to reconsider his memories of Mangamaunu. In an undated letter to Robertson apologising for an incident at his shop on the previous Tuesday, he wrote as an afterthought: 'Had a letter from my Maoris will send you a copy'. The letter ends: 'Will see you Monday 26th December'. The only years in which 26

* Records of Maori births, deaths, and marriages for this time are incomplete, and of Mrs Walsh's memories only that concerning Maraia Poharama and Harry Jacob can be confirmed by the Registrar-General's office.

December fell on a Monday were 1910 and 1921. In December 1921 Lawson was recuperating in a convalescent home and unlikely to call at Angus and Robertson's to cause trouble. A passage on the other side of the page makes the dating more certain.

I have written a big sketch round the letter from my Maoris, and Jimmy Edmund will print it. M^{rs} Lawson knows—tell her that old Pene Tahui is dead (our old chief and my Chairman of the School Committee. He used to say: "There is always two ways of looking at it, M^r Lawrence (they couldn't pronounce Lawson")

Yours ever Henry Lawson—Henare Lurehanna.^{5*}

James Edmond retired from the *Bulletin* editorship in 1915, so that this letter was certainly written in December 1910. Lawson was wrong about Pene Tahui, who did not die (of bronchitis, in Christchurch Public Hospital) till 17 November 1920, when he was 70.⁶

There is a pencilled draft of the sketch in the Mitchell Library; it is attached by staple to Mrs Moss's letter, and it is editorially marked (by Edmond?) 'No'. It is worth reproducing in full, since it probably represents a second handling of some of the material of the lost 'Native School' sketches. I have edited the manuscript as little as allows fluent comprehension.

The following unexpected letter, coming at a most unexpected time, and after a lapse of many years, brings a flood of memory, also something as of sadness and regret. It brings a grain of comfort and a touch of pride too, because of being remembered so many years by a poor little people, whom, perhaps I understood, after all, instinctively—and who (perhaps) understood me far better than I thought—or than I did my self. And whom I left, I am now sorry and ashamed to say, in rather a bitter mood. They have had several masters and mistresses since then.† The letter speaks for itself, and for my Maories, far better than I can. They have fallen

* 'Henare Lurehanna', written at the top of the page, is tied by a line of pencil to Lawson's signature: there was no room at the bottom of the page for it. I take it as a bad attempt at a Maori trans-phonemisation of his name, perhaps a badly remembered version (since Lawrence would be Rorene and Lawson Rohana).

† This sentence lightly cancelled, MS.

on evil times, and a dreader enemy seems to be among* them than any since the days of that bloodthirsty brute Rauparaha:

Letter

When I went to take charge of the school, the children used to go all the winter in thin clothes—cheep flannellette & cotten, and rotten sodden boots. At least they didn't wear the boots outside—they carry them down in their hands, as I found out, and put them on in the flax near the S[c]hool. Then they'd sit in those rotten sodden boots through the school hours. Thats how the consumption started. So I told them to leave off boots alltogether. If the school code and the law would have let me I'd have got them back into mats. They were constantly putting up their dusky hands and asking to go out "Please Mr Lawrence.—(they couldn't pronounce "Lawson" for some reason) "May I go out"; and their tails would scarcely have disappeared out the school door, when their noses would appear—looking relieved. This puzzled me till I found they only went out to *blow their noses*. Consumption coming. But the noses seemed to get better in the absence of boots.

At the beginning of summer they would begin to turn up wit[h] good rig-outs, with strong, new, boots. This was because the whaling season had ended, below the peninsula (Kaikora of blood memory—that they held against Rauparaha) and the men had been paid,

I might have something to say about my Maori children later on.

[*Roughly written jottings:*] Better arithmatician than Bluff. Back of blackboard Watch a month to catch me on an error.

Suffice for the present that when I went there first They all seemed pretty much alike to me, with troublesome noses for the most part, and rags tied round their ancles where theyd cut themselves in the jungle, but, after a while I noticed all the different characteristics to be found in a white Bush school—or, in a modified way, in any primitive town or city school. Sarah Barnett,—sister of the Billy of that ilk, mentioned in the letter,—was the M'liss of the school,

* among] upon *written above*, MS.

with Charley Poharama for a sort of Tom Sawyer, and Billy Barnett as Huckleberry Finn.

Sarah: (Breathlessly indignant) Please Mr Lawrence, Charley Poharama called me a—a—a—halfcask picanniny!"

And Sarah was some shades darker than Charley.

But they believed in a visible devil and his works, and sometimes brought him up as an excuse for absences at school. On account of sickness at home. They'd talk to me frankly about him, and other things & superstitions where the old Maoris wouldnt—because I'd listen to the children and never laugh at them; only* Sarah Barnett declared that the devil** was a plain devil while Charley Poharama held that he was a spotted one, Mr Lawrence. Sarah used to get excited abt that too, in case I'd believe Charlie instead of her. We had Maria Poharama, mentioned in the letter, for a servant for some time.

They seemed to me to learn quicker than white children, and they constantly forgot more quickly too, as I had occasion to know, for they were taken away, on various excuses to the whaling station for weeks at a time.

They the elders, were reckoned as poor-class Maoris—the descendants of the slaves of rauparaha—and looked upon as dirt—and their teacher little better—by the few clannish white families round, whom I looked upon as poor class whites, and with whom I was pretty quickly at feud too.

Now (1)† a year or two before, I had travelld in a lining gang, on the telegraph, with five of those Maoris, of whom Norton, who is losing his pretty children, was one, and I got an idea that they were good clean camp mates, very hardworking men, and gentlemen, And I was considered *rangatira* in those days and for some years afterwards. Perhaps some of my Maoris consider me *rangatira* yet.

(2) I used at the school‡ to go shooting on holidays with M——, a young Maori of about my age§ He had a double barrelled breach loader, I an old single barrel muzzle loader. He tried to perswade me that he preferred to shoot out of my gun, but I wouldn't¶ borrow his and spoil his sport on

* only written above but cancelled, MS.

** the devil written above it cancelled, MS.

† Now (1) written above Some year cancelled, MS.

‡ at the school written above with carets after both used and to; in schoo cancelled, MS.

§ then (after age) cancelled, MS.

¶ wouldn't] woundlt MS.

those transparent terms. But, sometimes going out after school, I'd meet him coming home through the flax, and he'd hand him his gun, and cartridges politely slipping a couple of fresh shells into the breach before doing so; and he'd hand it to me in a manner that some white gentleman couldn't immitate. Then he'd* take my old gun and carry it home, to leave at the school house. I never noticed anything poor class about young M——.

3 Old H—— my chief and chairman of the School Committee, used to say to me, depreciatively, (or to sooth me in one off my frequent outbursts about something that in my opinion had gone wrong in the pah) "There is always two ways of looking at it M^r Lawrence." He had a daughter whom he had in a way forced to marry a Maori she didn't like, and, as a natural consequence, she cleared out with the young Maori she loved. The young couple were persuaded to come back—either by H—— or short commons—I don't righ[t]ly remember which. Now old H—— took them in, had a morden whetherboard cottage built and furnished for them, and put them in it, and helped them all he could. He argued that it was all his own fault, because he had made his daughter marry the man she didn't love; and this was his way of making reparation. "There are always two ways of looking at it M^r Lawrence". He had† the choice of two ways of looking at it, and the choice of two ways of acting on it, and he chose the one he concided right—and acted on it to the best of his ability. I couldn't§ see anything poor class about his action—but then, they say I always had a crooked way of looking at things.

(4) There was one half Ma[o]ri woman I remember well whose father was a negro from a whaling ship, and first husband a pakeha Maori—said to have been a gentleman to—accordind to her version he was one yet. She had a lot of the kindly, and even sentimental negro blood in her, and was our very good friend—she had lost caste a little I think with the other Maoris. She had a daughter (Maggie) my youngest scholar; a pretty, brunette, a solemn silent dumpling of about 4 (I'd carry Maggie down to the "residence" on cold days, to warm her, and give her dainties, and I remember I never succeeded in getting a word out of her out of school.

* obligingly (after he'd) cancelled, MS.

† of] for MS.

‡ two (after had) cancelled, MS.

§ couldn't] counted MS.

though she'd say he[r] ABC and figure glibly enough during school hours). Her mother used to tell Mr^s Lawson how her father died. And shed finish up something like this:* "And he laid back down again, and he said** over and over again, 'Take care of little Maggie Nene—Take care of little Maggie';† and he shut his eyes, and two big tears came out and rolled down from under the lids—‡ It would make you so sorry Mr^s Lawrence."

She—or another daughter of a dead granny—used to tell Mr^s Lawson of a terrified experience of her childhood, when he[r] mother crouched all night hid in the flax, with her and a little brother, while Rauparahas men were burning, murdering and ravishing all round. And the glare, and the howling, and the shrieks. . . .

* * * *

Now trace back the blood of my Maories to that chief, who with his friends and daught[er]s were enticed aboard the schooner of a black hearted yankee and betrayed into the hands of Rauparaha. He was overpowerd treacherously, bound, and thrown into a cabin, to be reserved for torture, while the rest were murdered. Except his daughter a beautiful Maurio girl, who was reserved for what most men consider a worse fate, and was thrust for the present in to the cabin with her father, and locked in. Now! Maori Chief!§ He struggled to a sitting posture, beckoned his daughter to him, spoke to [her] rapidly, while he struggled desperately to get one hand free enough to strangle her—to save her from that worse fate.

Victory! Good night. They gnawed no "poor class"¶ coward's, or slavish bones when the[y] ate you, old man.⁷

This outline of a sketch or sketches needs some comment. There is the inaccurate reference to the Ngai-tahu as Te Rauparaha's slaves, and an account of the incident of the brig *Elizabeth* in 1830 when Captain Stewart (British not American), in return for a cargo of flax, carried Te Rauparaha and eighty Ngati-toa warriors to Akaroa on an expedition of

* Something like this concluding *partly cancelled*, MS.

** said *repeated*, MS.

† Maggie was actually the name of the mother, not of the daughter.

‡ four carets under dash, stars ringed and written above dash, MS.

§ Now! Maori Chief! *These words written at the end of the paragraph may have been inserted later and conceived as a sub-heading.*

¶ "poor class" written twice and once cancelled, MS.

revenge for the killing of a Ngati-toa chief. There are several versions of this which vary in minor particulars. Thomson's version is that a Ngai-tahu chief Tamaiharanui was invited by Stewart to visit the ship with his wife, son, and daughter and several of his tribe; Te Rauparaha's party killed them all except the chief and his wife and daughter (aged 11 or 12) and then landed and massacred the rest of Tamaiharanui's people. Tamaiharanui was bound hand and foot, but persuaded his wife to strangle their daughter Nga Roimata, and was later tortured to death by Te Rauparaha.⁸ Shortland's version, from Ngai-tahu sources, is that Tamaiharanui persuaded Nga Roimata to throw herself into the sea and swim ashore, but she was drowned.⁹ Another Ngai-tahu version is that Tamaiharanui himself strangled his daughter, and threw her body overboard, in order to prevent the Ngati-toa killing her.¹⁰ It is probable that Lawson read, rather than heard, this story, in either Stack or Travers, both of which might have been shown to him by Tregear. Stack's version is that Tamaiharanui smothered Nga Roimata with his mat as she slept, in order to save her becoming the wife of an enemy.¹¹ But Stack shows little sympathy for Tamaiharanui, who had been party to the killing of a relative of Te Rauparaha's, Te Pehi. Lawson's version comes closest to that of Travers:

It appears that the unfortunate Tamaiharanui attempted to commit suicide, in consequence of which he was chained in the cabin, but his hands being free, he managed to strangle his daughter, and to push her through one of the after ports, in order to save her from the indignities to which she would be subjected by her ruthless captors . . .¹²

Tamaiharanui being Ngai-tahu would have been related to the people of Mangamaunu but there is no evidence that they were descended from him. Ema Turumeke in 1894 told a story of concealing herself and a baby from the Ngati-toa after the raid on Omihi, but this was probably a common experience.¹³

Certain of Lawson's memories have been more durable than others. The 'better arithmatician' watching to catch the teacher out on an error he had already written of in his 'Fragment of an Autobiography'. The incident of Charlie Poharama calling Sarah Barnett a 'half-cask picanniny' he was to use in

'The Kids' in 1913, and it may be a misremembered version of Sarah's complaint about Clifford Renwick, described in his letter to MacCallum. The dispute about the colour of the devil he used also in 'The Kids'.

One notices incidentally a lack of concentration due perhaps to absent-mindedness or drink in certain spelling mistakes: *woundlt* reproduces all the right letters, but in the wrong order, so (almost) with *counted* for *couldn't*, and so with *Maurio* for *Maori*, which he has spelt correctly earlier in the manuscript, as if a consciousness of having omitted an *o* caused its addition at the end of the word.

Most noticeable, in spite of the kindness of memory, and the repenting of the bitter mood in which he left Mangaunu, is the persistence of old attitudes: 'my Maoris'; the hope that they think of him as 'rangatira'; the need for an antagonist, so that, forgetting apparently that it was he who had subtitled his story 'A Sketch of Poor-Class Maoris' he angles this draft as a defence of them against the local Europeans who had called them 'poor-class'.

But that Lawson himself had doubts about the genuineness of his revised attitudes is apparent from this undated letter to Edmond, which I take to refer to the sketch written after reading Mrs Moss's letter:

Dear Edmund,

Please tell me if this will make a sketch, article, or paragraph, or is it only Drivel. Read letter attached at the end. If all fales you might send me down a Bob.

Yours

H.L.¹⁴

There is a pathetic self-centredness in some of the memories—the knowing better than the 'school code' about the children's clothing, the hope that he is still considered 'rangatira', the consciousness of appreciating humour where others couldn't—but then, they say I always had a crooked way of looking at things'. There is a similar self-centredness in another memory reported by J. McCausland who talked with him at Leeton in 1916.

His memories of Maoriland were pleasant ones, he assured me. . . . He had a good word for the Maories and considered them the finest type of coloured races extant. We could take

a pattern from some of their customs he said. When a Maori takes a final view of his Hapu, they have a much more felicitous way of speeding him on that great expedition which has never been revealed to us. A visit to a Tangi is very interesting said Lawson. That's the sort of funeral I'd like. Music in the vanguard and a canteen in the rear and impulsively he strode to the table and took up his pen. "By jove said he I'll write a poem on that, "music in the vanguard and a canteen in the rear, he repeated, and if the cortege is wanting in elegance it will be neither here nor there". It dawned on me that he had written similar sentiments in his "Jolly Dead March".¹⁵

'The Jolly Dead March' had appeared in the *Bulletin* of 11 December 1897 and might have been written in Mangamaunu. According to William Wood the poem refers to Bourke experience: 'His verses about the Brass band at the funeral was another Bourke experience. The band would play the deceased to the grave with dead marches and on the way back to town would give more lively airs'.¹⁶

Colin Roderick ascribes the poem to Mangamaunu.¹⁷ If the poem was inspired by a tangi it shows both a misunderstanding of the meaning of a tangi (a very mournful occasion) and a predilection to using experience as material for fantasy of self-dramatisation.

According to Will Lawson, Henry lying in the Coast hospital in 1921 received a long telegram from the Maoris of Mangamaunu 'sending their love and praying for his early recovery. That did him a lot of good—it made him happy'.¹⁸ Will Lawson's informant, of course, was Bertha;¹⁹ and at the time of Lawson's illness a reconciliation with Bertha had been made by Henry's friends, so that she would have heard from him.²⁰ If there was such a telegram it must have arrived later than Lawson's note in the *Bulletin* of 22 September in which he names and thanks well-wishers and does not mention any Maoris, or his poem of two months later in which he refers to unanswered messages of goodwill and still does not refer to Maoris.²¹ But probably Mangamaunu had not then heard of his illness. A Sydney cablegram appeared in New Zealand newspapers on 1 December 1921 reporting that the Federal Government had increased Lawson's pension from the Men of Letters Fund from £1 to £3 weekly; the cable added: 'Mr Law-

son is recovering from a serious illness'. This cable appeared in the *Lyttelton Times*, the *Press*, and the *Dominion*, all of which could have circulated in the Kaikoura district. The *Marlborough Express* does not carry the cable, and there are no files of the *Kaikoura Star* for the year concerned. Mrs Walsh was not in Mangamaunu at this time. Presumably the telegram was addressed to Lawson at the *Bulletin* office. There is some doubt as to whether Lawson was still in hospital at this time. Denton Prout says he did not leave till 3 January 1922; the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 21 October 1921 reports that he had recovered sufficiently to leave the Coast hospital at Little Bay, and on 27 September Lawson gave his address as 'Denistone House' Convalescent Hospital, Eastwood.²² Prout tells of a visit to the Blue Mountains at Christmas. I have not been able to find the telegram or any comment Lawson might have made about it.

Late in the same year as Lawson died, Mangamaunu School caught fire one weekend when the teacher was in Kaikoura. It was completely destroyed and whatever school records (log-books, rolls, workbooks, etc.) might have survived the tidying up of Lawson's successors were destroyed. The local Maoris suspected, according to Mr Sherrard, that settlers a couple of miles north along the coast were responsible; they had been agitating for some time for the shifting of the school nearer their homes.²³ A new school was built by the Canterbury Education Board, sited two miles north of the old school, and opened in April 1923 with Eric T. Baas as master. Mangamaunu Native School officially closed in the March quarter of 1923 with a roll of twelve. Another school south of the Hapuku had been opened for the children of settlers in 1905.²⁴

On 26 January 1925 Mr Baas replied to a request for information on Lawson from J. F. Thomas. The memories are becoming less distinct, the information less accurate:

Lawson was here for only a short time I think, but I can not tell you the date of his stay here, with any certainty. In the district however are several old pupils of his whose children I am teaching. Mrs James Norton and Mr Harry Jacobs both remember Lawson if they were not taught by him. . . .

About Lawson I have been able to ascertain very little. That he taught here and was subsequently deprived of his posi-

tion is quite well known, as also is the fact that he wrote verse. Evidently too he was fond of sport but I have come across no reminiscences of him and there are no records of him in the district. . . .

I have been told that Mrs Lawson was here and a child was born in the district but this information is by no means reliable.²⁵

Harry Jacob was the adopted son of Ratima's second marriage, and was not taught by Lawson. His son was unable to give me more information than that he had heard his mother say that Lawson taught at the school. Mary Jacob, I am told, died years ago, though I have not been able to trace the entry of her death; Maraia Poharama (Mrs Harry Jacob) died of tuberculosis in 1939. I have not found any surviving ex-pupils besides Mrs Walsh.

There are few Maoris living at Mangamaunu now and none at the old kainga. The Maori community began to break up in the 1930s; railway construction camps in the district after 1936 hastened its disintegration.²⁶ J. M. Sherrard, visiting the site of the village in 1965, found no remains of the settlement on the flat; the huts of the old settlement on the terrace were in disrepair with sheep wandering through them; the church had several holes in the walls and sheep had fouled the floor. The old teacher's residence, extended and altered, still stands; it was occupied till his death in 1959 by Hoani Terewiti Jacob, son of Ratima and brother of Mary Jacob, and model of the 'brother or someone' that Lawson's teacher once chased away from it.

Appendix I

LAWSON'S LETTERS FROM MANGAMAUNU*

Native School
Mangamaunu
Kaikoura
May 10th 1897

Mr Habens.†

Dear Sir,

I reached Mangamaunu Wednesday afternoon (May 5) and opened the School the following morning. The Chairman of the Committee—Pene Tahui—was absent, down the coast, and I did not see him until Friday morning, when he only stayed for a few minutes. Nine children attended the first day, 11 the next and 14 today, (Monday). I expect a few more this week. Several of the Native children have died lately. I found the pupils very backward—the result of the school having been closed so long—but exceedingly willing, and eager to learn.

The articles referred to in appended requisition form are not to hand. Have enquired at the Post Office Kaikoura, and of the Chairman of the School Committee, but can hear nothing of parcel.—Foolscap, official envelopes, and requisition forms required in school.—There is no “summary” nor record of any kind in the school, and I am without reliable reference for ages of children and other particulars concerning them. Trusting that these matters will receive your attention.

I remain,

Yours respectfully
Henry Lawson

Mangamaunu
Kaikoura
25/6/97

Dear Mr Macallum,

Many thanks for your kind letter. Such letters brighten me up and help me a lot when I feel inclined to brood over mine own old folly;

* Two letters to Tom Mills, mentioned by Mills in *N.Z. Railways Magazine*, 2 April 1934, pp. 27-8, have not been found. There were probably other letters.

† I.e., Rev. W. J. Habens, Inspector-General 1878-99, and Secretary for Education 1886-99.

which brooding, which only happens now on rainy days and in hours of enforced idleness, encreases the magnitude and blackness of the world's apparent ingratitude and treachery towards myself to such an extent that I feel like a danger to vested interests and a menace to society at large. I have dismissed the young heathen for Midwinter Holidays with a week added on account of the Record Reign foolery. We parted on the best of terms—the said heathen with a fixed idea that the extra holidays were of my own giving, and their gratitude to me is only tempered by their thankfulness towards M^{rs} Lawson who first reported the holidays to them, and who, I have reason to believe, they fancy, persuaded me, in the face of some opposition to grant the boon. They said that the last teacher wouldn't do that for them. I looked up the names and dates in English History and explained the matter; they listened with inforced school attention, but weren't interested. Seems to me that when an impression does get on their minds, like say a clot of flax gum on their hair, it stays there, and other stray impressions stay too, or drop off if there's no room, just as the case may be. Old impressions must be rubbed out with considerable force, or not at all, and new ones rubbed in with more.

The prevalent impression on the 23rd of May* was that next day was St Patricks day. I have thought it out and come to the conclusion that that impression can be traced to the fact that most of the Maoris here are Catholics. Some of the children thought it was *their* birthday (the church records are lost and mothers seem to depend, as does Department strictly—on such little matters as the ages of their children, on the school master—in event of any formal emergency) Well, the youngest picaniny in the school said it was our, (Mrs Lawson's and my birthday) Anyway, they knew there'd be no school, and thats all *they* wanted to know. But we are haunted just now by the eldest girl (16) a pure blooded aborigine—if there ever was one—of the heavy negro type, whose father killed her mother 11 years ago, (fit of jealousy) and on whose family (3 or 4 sisters) there seems to be a brooding cloud. This girl, they say, would take to the bush, if the last teacher punished her, and climb a tree and sit there and brood for hours—for days if they didn't find her and get her home. Poor girl—but I shouldnt care to punish her if there were knives handy. The father, by-the way, was "teased" (favourite Maori word for expressing it) by other Maoris concerning his wifes easy nature, and, coming home, he called her out to turn the grindstone while he sharpened a butcher's knife for "pighunting". She turned away mechanically or naturally like—a Maori wife, I suppose, and presently he felt the edge of the knife, and, being satisfied, he grabbed her suddenly and cut her throat—Well, he got 11 years, and is just out, (but not here); the girls were babies then, but it left an impression on them that anybody with a knack of observation could see today. I think I could tell a member of that family anywhere, in twenty years time, by the brooding cloud on their foreheads and in their eyes.

Well, Mary haunts the school and will continue to do so during the holidays. She hangs round the wife like a dog, poor girl. "They're all

* 24 May, the Queen's Birthday, was a school holiday.

away" she said once. "and I do feel so awefully lonely. M^{rs} Lawson." You need to hear a Maori woman say that to get at the pathos of it. Mary, by the way, as I found yesterday, still takes to the bush and broods. She, in her slow brooding way, cut a portrait out of the Illustrated London News, letterpress and all, and carefully trimmed it and pasted it on the wall at home—place of honour second to catholic frame, (half picture half fresco) representing the birth of Christ—and she would have put it in that place, no doubt, if she could.—She told M^{rs} Lawson, in confidence that she loved that man—(the portrait). It is a portrait of the Czar of Russia of all the men in the world—son of him who was killed. Mary's Mother was killed, and—theres a chance for a psychological sketch for me I think! The other children are bright—cheerful would describe it better—with the exeption of one or two half and quarter castes, in whom it was almost startling to me to see that discontented, sulky—resentful is nearer the word—spirit* that Olive Schreiner mentions in her article on South African mixed blood. The nearer the white the more so—it seems to me; but it is not so noticable in the girls—because they are girls I suppose. I was going to say that all my nigs, are bright; and, and in the school, though only 20 on the roll, and average attendance "13-05"—I have material for all possible Maori Child character—and outside for adults. I'd be crowded and do worse in a large school. White or full blooded Maori children, but give me the Maori child by a long chalk. They read better than white children and earlier, but there might be something yet in the contention that you can only teach the Maori to a certain point—Well, I don't know, but must find out. The few examples the Government puts to controvert this idea may go for nothing. Whites here intensely clannish, in the narrow sence of the word. Regard the Maoris either with contempt or aggressive dislike, for no reason that I can see, except localism—or that they could explain; But you must read all about it in my book. Corporal punishment no good, I tried it a little in one case for example. Taken chee[r]fully and seriously in that case, but no effect. When you understand the school you don't want a cane. Children sensitive and very truthful, so much so that in one or two cases I find it painful to tax a child with "copying" or anything of that kind, or where "meanness" is suggested. Children speak Maori and English. Boys read with none of that madden-ing repetition and droning you hear in white schools. This is due partly to strick and sensible instructions in the "Code". The child that repeats a word fails in that branch with our inspector. Boys read boldly and well, but the difference between them and the girls in this respect is very marked. Girls, I think are the best pupils in white schools—the boys are in every way in mine. Sarah Barnett, the Ishmeal and bad scholar of the school—who would grow to be a Sarah Bernhardt or greater if she were white—has just wholloped and scratched Clifford Renwick, a freckled, typical "flaxstick" from across the river, notable for his championship of his sisters, and the local ill feeling towards the Maori (his father fought in the war (scare)) Sarah gets in her fierce little report first. "Please" with her eyes flashing and dark face more dusky with indigna-

* spirit] expression written above, MS.

tion. "Please M^r "Lorrence" Clifford Renwick called me a—a—Black Nigger!"

Clifford says that he can't help it M^{rs} Lawson, If they call him and his sisters "white somethings" hes gone to call them black niggers!"

The "something" is probably a string of fierce and excited Maori, sounding savagely abusive and scandalous but to the effect that Clifford is a "remnant of the feast" and they wouldn't eat his head—an old Maori "oath" the literal meaning of which as little known to the children, as ours to us, or our children.

The book will be mostly N Z Character sketches, personal reflections some old debts paid to one or two unfair critics, literary and otherwise, and scenery—with the Native School as a peg to hang on. The chapters characters & seem to fall into place of their own accord and I feel happier over it and more enthusiastic than I ever did in my life before. Have written well on into the book but will have to write all the holidays and spare time to keep up with the chapters. Two Australian scenes, called the Cinematograph, with the darkening snowey peaks of the Kaikouras for a ground, and "Out on the Wastes of the NeverNever" and "Clancy" for accompaniments have dropped into the book, and read like a summary of all I have ever written or may write about Australia. I felt like writing to you, somehow, perhaps because of your kind reference to M^{rs} Lawson. I knew she was a gem, from the first. I was right in that as in most other things where drink did not madden my instinct. She is a favourite everywhere and worshipped here; which reminds that when a Maori woman opens her heart to a white woman, she loves that white woman and would trust her with her life, and might lay it down for her. It may be so with the men, but they are more like us now—mixing more with the whites.

I want to show some of my kind relatives (who never assisted me or thought of me except perhaps as a soft idiotic fool to get money and work out of) who advised Bertha against me from the first, and kindly told her all my worst points—whilst, on the other hand, and in common with one or two good but mistaken friends, they persuaded me against being "trapped" and ruining my prospects when I "ought marry money"—I want to show them, if they be worth showing, that I have made a success of my married life—and hers. I think I've married money too, as well as fame, but that will be seen. And I want to show the true friends, bushmen and others, who trusted and believed in me through it all—I want for their sake to write myself up to the top of the Australian gum

But Bob Pohar[a]ma has come home with no wild pig—save the tusks of an old Captain Cook Boar that chased him a good part of the way before he could reload his rifle; and he hasn't succeeded in getting a "wild sheep" either—probably because mustering is going on on the hill station—So I must go down to old M^{rs} Hehii—who was a baby left over from Rapaurahah's (the Conqueror from North Island) last victorious and cannabalistic feast—and stretch out my neck and flap my wings and "quack" at her to make her understand that I have no meat and want to by one of her geese. And, like as not, she'll mistake the pantomime, or add another detail to it and send me up a dozen duck eggs. She did once, having, no doubt, taken my gestures and quacks for an exaggerated

representation of the pakeha's idea of a goose or duck laying eggs. By-the-way—old Hehii—and a very cannabel he looks—understands English, but doesn't "savey" "goose" only *geese*—geese a gander, and a goose are and is alike "*geese*" to them. They laughed so when I asked for goose that I got a suspicion it might "mean something" in maori (especially when I thought of the eggs) so I was at some pains to explain by the aid of a flock of geese with one solitary one at a distance; but don't think I succeeded for they only laughed more happily [Two lines of script torn from the bottom of the sheet]

With kindest regards from Mrs Lawson and myself.

Yours truly
Henry Lawson

Mangamaunu
Kaikoura NZ
25/6/97

Messers Angus & Robertson

Dear Sirs,

I trust you will understand that I feel deeply and sincerely grateful for your kindness and consideration in forwarding the copies of my book. I have just received very flattering (and, on at least one side, very "business-like") letters from W^m Blackwood of "Blackwoods Magazine" Eng, "Chambers Journal" editor (who doesn't want "questionable subjects as his is a "family magazine); and from the "Northern Newspaper Syndicate" Kendal, Eng, which last wan't 3,500 words for £3.3—"cheque on receipt of MS." Blackwood offers £2-2. per thousand words, and all the usual rights, and says that his attention has been directed to "While the Billy Boils" by one of his contributors who expressed high &c of the merits &c. Chambers want them, stories & sketches as good as in "WBB". The Northern Newspaper Shyndicate (probably a Jew and a drunken journalist) would also be glad of any other MS. I may have by me—(with prices). Blackwood mentions a proposal to your firm. Have never been able to feel as contented with "WBB" as "The Days When the World was Wide, but am well on with a connected Book called the "Native School"—descriptive, reminiscent, and personal matter—in an altogether new style, for me. I have quiet, oppotunity, all the characters, and the school as a peg to hang all my fragmentary idea's incidents and emotions on; and if the book gives as much pleasure in reading as it does me in writing, I think, I'll succeed. The chapters seem to fall into place and fill without an effort. There is a sketch of mine called "The Three Roads" still in your office also some newspapers and clippings "Truth" and Freemans Journal. I would be very thankful if you would forward sketch, as Australian Xmas orders crowd on me, and I am doing no short work save verse, and must make some guineas by Xmas. Also I would be glad to remit price and postage of any back number magazines you wish to clear, for get little or nothing to read here, and, in fact, only see a white

face about once a month. Trusting that Mr Angus is better in health, and the publishing business succeeding I remain,

Yours truly

Henry Lawson
Teacher
Native School
Mangamaunu
Kakoura
South Island
New Zealand

P.S. Am getting request for copy at Australian prices from NZ papers, notably the Christchurch Press which paper has started a column or so of sgd Literary articles and—"to supply" as the editor says, "the want of a New Zealand Magazine—and already has the names of the leading men of NZ (the Dean of Dunedin &c). Will not be able to spare any as all my ideas & NZ copy is working into the "Native School" (title private) But I want to write up Boake for the NZ press at large. Would you let me have advanced sheets.* Australian stuff read well and wanted in New Zealand.

H L

[Written sideways in space to the left of signature] "Chambers uses the name of John Arthur Barry†—and say they have published some of his work and have more in hand—an inducement. Am writing and will mention Boake Banjo &c. I would like in some way to repay you for past trouble and abandoned agreements H L

[At top of first page] If "The Three Roads" is found and Banjo cares to use it for his Magazine, he can have it. Could he have typewriter copy?

Two letters from Mangamaunu concerned with an attempt by Louisa Lawson to reissue, without Lawson's knowledge or authority, *Short Stories in Prose and Verse* (1894), have been omitted. The first, dated 25 June 1897, is to Lawson's mother, addressed 'Sir or Sirs or Madam', and the second, dated 26 June 1897, is to Angus and Robertson. Both letters are in the Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 8.

Native School
Mangamaunu
Kaikoura
29th June 1897.

The Secretary for Education
Sir

I beg to report that the School "Summary" for 1897 and Daily Attendance Registers for 1896 & 1897 were not in the school when I took

* Barcroft Boake's posthumous collection *Where the Dead Men Lie* was published by Angus and Robertson later in 1897.

† Five of John Arthur Barry's stories appeared in *Chambers's Journal* between 19 June 1897 and 30 April 1898.

charge. I have made a thorough search, and all possible enquiries, since writing to the Department on the matter, but without success. It may be possible, in view of a statement made to me to the effect that the Church Register, here, is lost—and provided that the records were not sent to the Department and overlooked—that the missing School records were borrowed by one of the Maoris or the Committee for reference for childrens ages or some such purpose. The Committee and most of the parents are still absent, whaling, &c; the Church records are not accessible; the mother of the youngest child in the school does not herself know the child's age, and for these reasons I beg to submit that the statement of ages in the case of three or four of the younger children in my quarterly returns for June, may be open to amendment. I was unable to go to Kaikoura and see the District Register there before posting returns, but will ascertain correct ages as soon as possible. Maria Poharama stated in my copy of returns for last December to be 10 yrs 3 mth, cannot be less, now, than 13 yrs.

The only stock missing from the school, as far as I could judge was stationery. I have no blotting paper nor Contingency Voucher forms in stock. Kindly forward a supply of blotting paper at your earliest convenience.

The low average attendance, compared with the roll, is due to sickness and the whaling season. The mother of four of the children, who brought them from the whaling station to attend School, had to return to attend to her husband who is sick there, and was obliged to take the children with her. The attendance of three of the Europeans depends on the state of the river crossing

The children bring what firewood they can, but, as they are poorly clothed for the most part, and get wet and invariably lose time when they go for wood, and as the men are away and there is no convenience for carting in the pa. I might be permitted to order a load of firewood for the school to last the winter.

Yours respectfully
Henry Lawson
Teacher.

The late teacher left a good garden here to be kept for his successor; but it was totally destroyed by the sheep. I would be glad of a pamphlet on kitchen gardening, suitable for this district. The Maoris here express great sorrow at Mr Steel's death and sympathy for M^{rs} Steel. Would be glad of her address so that we might forward some token of sympathy.

H. L.

Native School
Mangamaunu
Kaikoura

26/7/97.

The Secretary for Education

Sir.

I have to inform you that the School Records &c, about which I wrote to the Department, have lain till this date, in an unnoticed drawer in the

School table; and I trust that my explanation and apologies will be accepted.

Yours respectfully
Henry Lawson
Teacher.

Memo.

Five or six of the pupils are absent and I only expect a bare average of ten this quarter.

H.A.L.

Native School
Mangamaunu
Kaikoura
Sept. 10th 97.

The Secretary for Education

Sir

I regret to have to report that only seven and eight children have been attending school lately. The Martin family (4)—mentioned in previous report as having been brought here from the whaling station to attend school and taken back shortly afterwards on account of the father's illness—have not returned. It now appears that they have no house here, but one at South Bay. The eldest girl, Mary Jacobs, about 17 years of age, has left school. The attendance of the children (3) from the white family across the river, is very irregular, the boy (13 yrs) being kept away to assist his father; one girl sent for a week or so, then the other (domestic duties); and as none of the children (the girls are eight and nine) knew the alphabet when they came, it is hopeless to expect marks for them, under the circumstance. One girl is temporarily absent, on account of her mother's illness, at South Bay; the rest that went up to make up the original 20, have been absent from the pa. since early in the first quarter. Members of the Committee have promised to try to secure the return of one child, and as far as I can see, they are at present unable to do more in the matter. The return of the people to the pa after the whaling season, which ends this month, will not alter the situation—unless the Martins make arrangements to live here. Their children and others with the exception of six or seven, whose attendances have been regular and fairly regular, might, in justice to present teacher, be consider to have been practically absent from school since the school was closed at the end of last year, as they had to be taught, in the first place, all that which they had forgotten during the six months' interval. None of the infants in the pa will be old enough to attend school for the next three or four years.

Yours respectfully
Henry Lawson
Teacher.

Native School
Mangamaunu
19/9/97

Dear Aunt.*

We're full of work and worry just now and I can only write a note to catch the mail. Bertha expects to be confined early in January & I am taking her to Wellington next week. If I don't get a good billet there, and the doctor thinks its safe, I'll run across to Sydney. I've got a good deal of work from England and hope to get there next year. I will write you as soon as I get to Wgton; but I'm nearly certain to go over. Remember me to the boys. Love from Bertha

Yours affectionately
Harry.

Native School
Mangamaunu
Kaikoura
28th Sept. 97.

The Secretary for Education

Dear Sir

As the loneliness of this place is affecting M^{rs} Lawson's health, I wish to resign my position [as teacher of the Native School Mangamaunu]† at the end of October.

Yours respectfully
Henry Lawson.

Native School
Mangamaunu
Kaikoura
30/9/97

The Secretary for Education

Dear Sir,

Resignation posted before I received notice of examination. Would be glad to be able to stay, but must take M^{rs} Lawson away at the end of October. No medical attendance to be depended on—Only one horse and trap available for hire, and not always—River crossing unreliable.

Could examination be arranged for earlier?

Yours truly and respectfully
Henry Lawson.

* I.e. Emma Brooks.

† *Square brackets in MS.*

Mangamaunu

Oct 10th 97.

Dear Tom.*

You won't be surprised to hear that we are more than full up of this place and can stand the loneliness no longer. Will be up early next month. Tell you all my news and compare notes then. I'll stay in Wgtn if I get anything, if not, and it's safe I'll run for Sydney Am getting orders from leading Eng and Scottish magazines. But we cant yarn in a letter after this interval. Will take unfur. rooms or small cottage if I stay in Wgton; but I don't see the fun of writing for Australian prizes and living at New Zealand rates. Give my regards to M^{rs} Mills.

Yours truly.

Harry.

[In another hand:] and love from me.

[Although the full stops after 'Dear Tom' and after the signature were in the original letter, unfortunately they do not appear on the facsimile opposite.]

[Collect Telegram 3 November 1897 to Secretary for Education]

Maoris will not understand school closed wire chairman to stop his nonsense

Henry Lawson

Kaikoura

[Collect Telegram 6 November 1897 to Secretary for Education]

Waiting for Wakatu

Henry Lawson

Kaikoura

Note on locations: The letters and telegrams addressed to the Secretary for Education are in the Mangamaunu School file, Education Department, N.Z. The letter to Hugh MacCallum (25 June 1897) is in the Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 7 and the letter to Angus and Robertson, same date, in Item 8; the letter to Emma Brooks (19 September 1897) is in the Mitchell Library MSS. A1 29/-2; the letter to Tom Mills (10 October 1897) is in the Alexander Turnbull Library scrapbook, *Sydney Bulletin Writers: Manuscripts and Portraits*, vol. i, p. 170, Q 091.

* I.e. Tom L. Mills.

Mangamaunu
Oct 10th 97

Dear Tom

You won't be surprised to hear that we are more than full up of this place and can stand the lousies no longer. Will be up early next month. Tell you all my news and compare notes then. I'll stay in Winton if I get anything, if not, and it's safe, I'll run for Sydney. Am getting orders from leading Eng and Scotch magazines. But we can't yarn in a letter after this interval.

Will take unfur. rooms or small cottage if I stay in Winton; but I don't see the fun of writing for Australian prices and living at New Zealand rates. Give my regards to Mr. Mills and love from
Dre. Yours truly,
Harry

Facsimile of a letter from Lawson to Tom L. Mills, written from Mangamaunu (see p. 178)

Appendix II

LAWSON'S VISITS TO NEW ZEALAND

Lawson made two earlier visits to New Zealand. Not much is known about the second; but a summary of the first, based mainly on published sources, is appropriate. The main sources are Tom L. Mills's two articles, Anthony Cashion's article in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, and Lawson's 'Pursuing Literature in Australia', his four letters to Jack Louisson and one to Emma Brooks.* Little is added by an article by Charles Wilson in the *Lyttelton Times*, 9 September 1922. Colin Roderick has added further details in his two essays, in *Overland*, Spring 1957, and the *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, June 1967; and an account of the visit is given by Denton Prout in his biography.

Driven by economic depression in Australia in 1893, Lawson sought the price of a passage to New Zealand and was donated a first-class passage by the Union Steam Ship Company, but he chose to travel steerage. The voyage took eleven or twelve days, and he wrote of it in 'Coming Across', first published in the *N.Z. Mail* (Wellington), 15 December 1893. H. Roth's statement that he landed in Wellington on the *Waihora* on 27 November is backed by a report in *Fair Play* (Wellington), 2 December, that Lawson had arrived on the previous Monday. This conflicts with Lawson's dating a letter from Wellington to Emma Brooks, '6/11/93', but perhaps the '11' is a mistake for '12'.†

Lawson landed at Auckland first, and he visited the Auckland Museum to see Maori carving. He 'could not get a show' of work in Auckland and spent his last pound travelling to Wellington where he was better known, 'old chums at every corner'. He reached Wellington in time to see women vote 'for the first time' on 28 November. When he arrived, according to Colin Roderick, he telegraphed J. F. Archibald, editor of the *Bulletin*, for money. He slept at least his first two nights in Wellington in sewage pipes which were lying in the recreation ground waiting to be installed as part of a municipal drainage system.

A compositor on the *N.Z. Times* called Talbot told the chief compositor, Tom L. Mills, who asked Talbot to bring Lawson to the news-room. Mills, whose family was away at the time, offered to put Lawson up, and

* I have not seen a letter written from New Zealand to John Le Gay Brereton, in the possession of Mr Harry Chaplin.

† H. Roth, *Overland*, 12, Winter 1958, p. 11; Henry Lawson to Emma Brooks, Mitchell Library A1 29/-2.

for a fortnight Lawson lived with Mills, cooking the meals and writing. Mills says that even if he arrived home between 2 and 4 a.m. Lawson would have a hot meal ready. He would recite verse by the hour—Banjo Paterson, Kipling, Kendall, and Boake. He was a laborious writer and his total equipment was a 'J' pen, a traveller's bottle of ink and a shilling Routledge dictionary. Through Mills he met Charles Wilson, editor of the *N.Z. Mail* (a weekly published by the *N.Z. Times*) and later General Assembly Librarian, and in December and January the *N.Z. Mail* published, besides 'Coming Across', another sketch and three of Lawson's poems, for one of which ('For'ard') he earned a guinea. He contributed a cheerful article to *Fair Play* (30 December), 'New Zealand from an Australian's Point of View', in which he was most impressed by such unfamiliarities as the quality of the beer, the gambling in Wellington bars, the half-paved footpaths, by 'boys in knickerbockers, and tall strapping girls of fourteen, and intelligent women', by the women's franchise and the Liberal Government, by the Botanical Gardens and Wellington's liability to earthquakes and the stale 'National Joke' about the winds of Wellington. In a poem 'I've Drawn New Zealand Blank' published in the *N.Z. Mail*, 25 January 1894 (later re-titled 'The Windy Hills o' Wellington', *CV*, 262-3) he complained of being down on his luck.

His impression of New Zealand newspapers was not favourable:

At one of these offices that I know, and have a hearty contempt for, it would be thought an act of charity to offer a hard-up *Bulletin* writer 5s. per col.; while in another it would be a mark of special favour to offer him a chair. I have stood (and walked up and down and boiled over) for two hours in the passage outside the office of a paper which had been "clipping" my work for years, and this because they knew I was hard-up and wanted them to pay for a contribution by way of a change.

He also met Edward Tregear, Secretary of Labour. Tregear found Lawson a job as a painter, but the only work Lawson was given was to paint a small door to the grounds of Government House. Others, according to Mills, who helped Lawson were Gresley Lukin, editor of the *Evening Post*, for whom Lawson had worked on the *Brisbane Boomerang* in 1891, and Herbert Baillie whose bookshop in Cuba Street Lawson used as an address when he wrote to Aunt Emma, and was the scene of two photographs of Lawson taken by Baillie's brother John. Mills placed some of Lawson's verse with newspapers, including, he says, the *Otago Witness*.

He went with a mate to the Hutt Valley, apparently near Silverstream, working for a boss who contracted to supply a sawmill with logs. For a fortnight they slogged in a rough wet gully, felling trees, cutting a track for the bullocks and jacking logs over stumps and boulders. The boss, however, told them they were not bushmen (i.e., in its New Zealand sense, timber workers) and gave them an order for wages on the owner of the mill in Wellington, an order for some reason never cashed. According to Lawson they tramped 20 miles back to Wellington without food or tobacco, and for a while Lawson found some work painting houses.

The 'three-months' unemployed "perish" he recalled in 'Pursuing

Literature in Australia' presumably ended with his arrival in Pahiatua, on or about 26 February, when he called into the office of the director of the *Pahiatua Herald*, Alex Baillie, known to him in Sydney when Baillie was on the staff of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Anthony Cashion, then a reporter on the *Pahiatua Herald*, claims that it was at his suggestion that Baillie invited Lawson to join the staff, but this has been questioned by Colin Roderick (CV, i, 450) and by Rollo Arnold, who has written an interesting speculative paper on Lawson's stay in Pahiatua.* Dr Roderick says that Lawson was not a reporter for the *Herald*, simply a contributor: Lawson confirms this in a letter to Jack Louisson from Pahiatua, written on *Herald* note-paper: 'Have had no work except a little from the local paper';† the *Herald* in March ran two prose pieces and some light verse of Lawson's. Cashion tells the legend that Lawson, sent to report the opening of the Tui Brewery at Mangatainoka, handed in a brief and overdue report: 'The Mangatainoka Brewery was opened one day this year. It was a gigantic success and ended in oblivion'.

Lawson visited a number of places within a rough radius of 30 or 40 miles: the Manawatu Gorge, Ngaturi, Kaitawa, Woodville, and Eketahuna within 20 miles of Pahiatua, and further away, Makuri Gorge and Pongoroa. According to Cashion, he was welcomed by the farming community and was friendly with two families—the Crosbys who had a farm at Mangatainoka, and 'Mr Moore and his daughter Gertrude'. Rollo Arnold identifies Moore as George Moore, clerk to the Pahiatua County Council‡ and suggests a love affair between Lawson and Gertrude, whose poem 'Waiting: A Bush Idyl' (*N.Z. Mail*, 17 June 1897) expresses longing for the return of a lover with whom she had walked during a bushfire one Easter Monday. Lawson's memory (in 'A Wild Irishman') that it rained five weeks while he was in Pahiatua is contradicted by Mr Arnold's finding, in files of the *Herald*, reports of a bushfire on Easter Monday 1894, started by farmers burning off after a long spell of dry weather. He reads Gertrude Moore's poem as a message to Lawson, written in ignorance of his marriage but in the knowledge that he had returned to New Zealand in 1897. Mr Arnold relates the poem to some obscure references in Lawson's verse to a broken love affair.

The connection, however, is tenuous. Whatever Gertrude Moore might have felt for her imagined lover, the passionately feminist personality suggested by her story 'Toitoti's Pakeha' (*N.Z. Mail*, 1 April 1897)—in which a calculating Pakeha lover who causes a Maori girl's suicide is '“accidentally” shot' by the brother of another girl he had betrayed—is hardly one that would have held Lawson's sympathy for long; and there

* 'Henry Lawson: The Sliprails and the Spur at Pahiatua?' (1967), typescript in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

† Henry Lawson to Jack Louisson, n.d., [1894], Alexander Turnbull Library Q 091, *Sydney Bulletin Writers*, vol. i, p. 175.

‡ George Moore had once worked as a reporter on several English provincial newspapers. Another Moore at Pahiatua in 1894, with whom Lawson might have had common interests, was F. G. Moore, bookseller and job printer. (*Cyclopedia of N.Z.*, vol. i, 1897, pp 1024, 1040-1.)

was one other girl in whom Lawson was equivocally interested. Writing from Pahiataua to a friend in Wellington, he asked to be remembered to 'your dear clever little friend Miss Luskie . . . one of those women to whom the man comes home to die . . . I know such another girl in Sydney. She loved me and I didn't love her . . . I loved another who didn't love me—or did—I don't know. I will probably go home to the first one to die'.* And from Sydney in November Lawson again asked his friend about Miss Luskie: 'I wish I knew her well enough for her to write over and give me a d-d good lecture—or, I mean, I wish she knew me well enough to think it worth her while to write me some advice—but I'm d-d if I know what I do mean'.†

It would be tempting to relate this to Lawson's statement in 'The Ghosts of Many Christmases' that his life had been changed by the loss of a letter from a sweetheart when the *Tasmania* was wrecked off Gisborne, except that when the *Tasmania* was wrecked (off Mahia Peninsula on 29 July 1897) Lawson was back in New Zealand and in any case married.

It was at Pahiataua that Lawson knew the shoemaker from whom he heard the outline of his story 'A Wild Irishman'. Lawson left Pahiataua for Wellington on 6 April 1894.

Somewhere in his New Zealand experience, either at the Hutt, or on the way from the Hutt to Wellington, or from Pahiataua to Wellington, or perhaps later in the South Island, Lawson met and tramped with a commercial traveller who had a wife and family in Wellington and who was the model for his confidence trickster Steelman, the subject of seven sketches. A mate Lawson had met before he was in Pahiataua was Jack Louisson, a 27-year-old lineman attached to the Wellington Post Office.

In Wellington Lawson applied again to the Labour Department and it was probably Tregear (though possibly Jack Louisson) who found him work as a lineman with a gang putting up a telegraph line in Marlborough. His journey by ferry from Wellington to Picton he described in 'Across the Straits'; according to this account, he arrived in Wellington with 25s., 10s. of which he spent on the ticket, and the half-sovereign change he lost. From Picton he wired a friend in the North Island for a pound. Bertha Lawson says the telegraph line was between Nelson and Tophouse (near the head of the Wairau Valley), but this line had been completed years before, as had the line connecting Picton, by way of Kaikoura, with Christchurch. (*AJHR*, 1876, F-1A, p. 2; 1866, E-5, p. 4.) The only new line laid in Marlborough in 1894 was a 9-mile connection between Awatere (16 miles south-east of Blenheim) and Cape Campbell lighthouse. But 195 miles of old line were overhauled, mainly between Blenheim and Tophouse, and between Picton and Kaikoura. (*AJHR*, 1895, F-1, p. xx.) The addresses on three of Lawson's manuscripts are consistent with his working on the northern section of the Picton-Kaikoura line: a

* Henry Lawson to Jack Louisson, n.d. [1894], from Pahiataua. Alexander Turnbull Library, Q 091, *Sydney Bulletin Writers*, vol. i, p. 175.

† Henry Lawson to Jack Louisson, 19 November 1894, from Sydney, *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 171.

poem addressed Tuamarina (north of Blenheim), an undated postcard to Jack Louisson from Blenheim, and a letter to Louisson dated '-94-' from 'Keherangu', that is, Kekerengu on the Marlborough Coast. One of his sketches, published in the *N.Z. Mail*, 29 April 1897, 'Drift from the Wreck' is set in Kekerengu. He did not, as he claims in 'The Ghosts of Many Christmases', spend Christmas with the lining gang; but it was in this lining gang that he first met five Maoris from Mangamaunu.

Tom Mills says that the foreman of the lining gang was Jack Louisson's brother whom Bertha called Tom, but whose name is given in the Post and Telegraph departmental list (*N.Z. Gazette*, 1894, p. 1122) as W. W. Louisson, first-grade lineman, aged 38. He was stationed at Greymouth at the end of March 1894 and in the following year at Nelson, neither of which offices are likely to have supervised the laying of lines in Marlborough, since there were first-grade linemen stationed both at Blenheim and at Kaikoura. But he must have worked in Marlborough for a time. Writing to Jack Louisson from Kekerengu Lawson mentions a Bill known to them both: 'I understand Bill thoroughly. Good hearted old lunatic.' And from Sydney in November he wrote: 'Remember me to that old hard-case, the Boss, if you see him.'

He described the work in 'The Romance of the Swag':

I've carried a shovel, crowbar, heavy rammer, a dozen insulators on an average (strung round my shoulders with raw flax)—to say nothing of soldering-kit, tucker-bag, billy and climbing spurs—all day on a telegraph-line in rough country in New Zealand, and in places where a man had to manage his load with one hand and help himself climb with the other; and I've helped hump and drag telegraph-poles up cliffs and sidlings where the horses wouldn't go.

The boss was a 'driver' but Lawson enjoyed the open-air work and said that after 'four or five months' of it (in fact three or four months, through autumn and into mid-winter) he was 'too healthy to write'. He told Jack Louisson: 'Graft easy but—mind weariness, you know. Fever of life and all that sort of thing'.*

He was attracted from this work by an offer of a job on the new *Daily Worker*, launched in Sydney at the beginning of July—initially (according to the *Hobart Clipper*, 14 July 1894, p. 5) planned to appear daily only for the duration of the 1894 New South Wales elections. The paper only lasted a month, and, according to Colin Roderick, Lawson arrived back in Sydney on 29 July 1894, three days before its demise. He had thus been in New Zealand nearly eight months.

Besides the Steelman sketches and those already mentioned Lawson's stories set in New Zealand are 'Stiffner and Jim' (set in North Canterbury), 'His Country—After All' (set in the Awatere—misspelt Avetere—Valley in Marlborough), 'The Ghostly Door' (set in the Hutt Valley) and 'A Wild Irishman' (set on the West Coast of the South Island). It is doubtful if Lawson had in fact been in Canterbury before 'Stiffner and Jim' was first published (according to Mr Arnold) in the *Pahiatua Herald*

* Henry Lawson to Jack Louisson, 1894, from Kekerengu, Alexander Turnbull Library Q 091, *Sydney Bulletin Writers*, vol. i, p. 174.

on 9 March 1894; and it is not clear if, and when, he got as far south as Dunedin, as Colin Roderick infers from his poem 'Statue of Robert Burns' (*CV*, i, 409-10, 474-5).

It is more likely a statue in an Australian 'southern town'. Burns statues were unveiled between 1887 and 1905 at Ballarat, Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney. The Ballarat statue, unveiled 21 April 1887, has on the west panel these lines from 'Robin':

He'll hae misfortunes great and sma'
But aye a heart aboon them a'.

There is possible reference to these lines in Lawson's last stanza:

And the sorrows that you knew
I am learning, Bobbie Burns.
But I'll keep my heart above . . . *

All the places in 'A Wild Irishman' can be found on the 1:63360 N.Z. Lands and Survey Department maps of Westland districts or in Dollimore's *New Zealand Guide*: Duffers Creek is 40 miles south of Hokitika, Ahaura (misspelt Aliaura) in the Grey Valley; Orwell Creek (spelt Orewell) 2 miles from Ahaura; Nelson Creek, off the Grey River, now a sawmilling town; Notown, a former gold-mining settlement, now a ghost-town; and Kanieri, 3 miles south-east of Hokitika can be recognised behind 'Th' Canary', its usual local (Pakeha) pronunciation. The spelling Aliaura (which first appeared in the *Worker* in 1894, and has been repeated ever since) and 'Th' Canary' support Lawson's statement that he heard this story away from the West Coast; it is likely that he took notes and, in the case of Ahaura, misread them.

Yet on the whole—apart from the opening of his later sketch 'The Australian Cinematograph' and impressions based on physical discomfort like the storm in the Hutt Valley in 'The Ghostly Door'—the New Zealand landscape made little impression on Lawson's writing, and most of the stories could, as Denton Prout says, be as easily set in Australia.

Lawson's second visit to New Zealand was briefer. He wrote to Jack Louisson from Sydney on 19 November 1894 to say that he intended to take a run over to New Zealand at Christmas for 'a trip—two or three weeks'.† But there is no record that he did. His memory in 'The Ghosts of Many Christmases' of a Christmas at sea, on the *Tasmania* going to New Zealand, may be no more reliable than his memory of a Christmas with the lining gang. He stayed in Sydney in December, presumably to see his first book, *Short Stories in Prose and Verse*, through the press. Denton Prout says that he gave copies to A. G. Stephens, to John Le Gay Brereton, and to the Public Library of New South Wales on 22 December. There is no evidence, to my knowledge, that he made the visit before early 1896. Bertha's account of this visit is that they had agreed to postpone their marriage and save, she by nursing and he by

* See Edward Goodwillie: *The World's Memorials of Robert Burns*, Waverley Publishing Co., Detroit, 1911, p. 67.

† Alexander Turnbull Library, Q 091, *Sydney Bulletin Writers*, vol. i, p. 171.

working in New Zealand; she says he sailed to Auckland but stayed only long enough to catch the next boat back. This was in March 1896. The *Bulletin*, 21 March 1896, notes (on the Red Page) that 'Henry Lawson is back from his Maoriland trip'. But a longer stay and a visit to Wellington are implied in T. D. Mutch's note that on 14 February 1896 Lawson signed directions for the payment of debts of £1 to T. L. Mills and £1 to Tregear.*

On his third visit, most of which has been dealt with in this book, the *Anglian* called first at Auckland, but though the Wellington papers announced his arrival in Wellington, a steerage passenger was beneath the notice of Auckland's *N.Z. Herald*. The latter part of this visit, after he left Mangamaunu, was spent mainly in Wellington, where according to Bertha, they found a room in College Street. It is not certain where Aunt Emma stayed. The address on a letter to Louisa Lawson is 14 College Street.

But a letter to Jack Louisson, written from Sydney in 1900, suggests that for part of the time he lived with 'T.L.' I assume that this is Tom Mills, who adopted 'Tom L.' as his regular forename in 1886 to avoid postal confusion with two other Thomas Millses in Wellington.† Lawson quarrelled with Mills and regretted it:

threshing it out I've come to the conclusion that it was a paltry quarrel after all—I was worried and irritable and over sensitive on account of my financial position, and quick to take offence at what I considered a slight—Then again we tried to live together in our capacities as married men—which was a great and silly mistake. I never quarrel with any one only when I'm hard pushed and fancy myself in a false position. Now Tom barracked for me alright, I know that—‡

In Wellington Lawson sought, apparently without success, another government job. Bertha says that at Mangamaunu he had worked on the script of his long play *Pinter's Son Jim* for the producer Bland Holt, and he completed it in Wellington, but Holt declined it as far too long. According to Tom Mills, Holt was looking for 'the great Australian drama', with Mitchell as a central character, and in order to familiarise Lawson with the mechanics of stage production, took him 'on tour through New Zealand'. He gave Lawson 'a MS from London to practise his prentice hand upon and localise', but Lawson either lost the script or put it aside. This need not conflict with Bertha's statement that Holt hoped with Lawson's help to condense *Pinter's Son Jim* (which she called *Ruth*, after the heroine) but their departure for Australia did not allow time for it. Holt did give Lawson work, possibly not connected with his

* Mutch papers, Item 27, Mitchell Library.

† R. A. McKay (ed.), *A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940* (Wellington: Club of Printing House Craftsmen, Wellington, [1940]), p. 237.

‡ Henry Lawson to Jack Louisson, 3 January 1900, Alexander Turnbull Library Q 091, *Sydney Bulletin Writers*, vol. i, p. 170.

own play. Walter Woods, probably having heard directly from Mills—or from Lawson—wrote in the *Hobart Clipper* (4 December 1897, p. 5): 'Before leaving Wellington [Lawson] will probably revise and locally color some dramas for Bland Holt, who is now playing in the windy city.' Mills may have been unaware of *Pinter's Son Jim*. But the story of Lawson touring with Holt is doubtful since a letter of Lawson's to his mother implies that he stayed in Wellington during Bertha's pregnancy.*

Mr J. E. Traue of the General Assembly Library, Wellington, has provided me with this note on Bland Holt's itinerary:

Bland Holt's season in Wellington was from Wednesday, 17 November to Wednesday, 15 December, 1897. He arrived in Wellington on the *Rotomahana* from Lyttelton on 17 November (*N.Z. Times*, 16 November 1897). According to the *N.Z. Times* (15 December) the company was to leave for Palmerston North on the 16th December. We do not have the relevant provincial newspapers for 1897 but my guess is that the itinerary was Palmerston North, Whanganui, New Plymouth (the railway ran from Wellington as far as New Plymouth).

The company arrived in Onehunga from New Plymouth on the *Mahinapua* on 24 December and opened an extended Auckland season on 27 December. The season finished on 29 January, 1898, and the company left for Gisborne, Napier and Wellington.

It would be a reasonable guess that if Lawson did accompany Holt it was no further than New Plymouth, and that he returned to Wellington about Christmas. Holt was back in Wellington by 16 February, since Lawson wrote to his mother on that morning that he had to meet Holt in the afternoon for a decision on work Lawson had done for him. Presumably the decision was Holt's rejection of the play or his handing it back for revision.

Possibly Lawson did go so far as Auckland, content to leave Bertha in his aunt's care and to return before her confinement. Their son 'Jim' was born 10 February 1898, the day of an earthquake which caused Emma Brooks to take the first boat back to Sydney. According to Bertha, Lawson was offered another Maori school, near Auckland, but turned it down. Henry, Bertha, and 'Jim' left Wellington on the *Tarawera* on 12 March 1898 and arrived in Sydney on 17 March.

Three months before he sailed for England in April 1900 he wrote to Jack Louisson: 'I'd like to take a run over and see old friends and shake hands with old enemies (if any) before I go—but am afraid I won't be able to afford it'. He asked Louisson to shake hands for him with 'T.L.', presumably Tom Mills, to make up the quarrel.†

The Dixon Collection at the Public Library of New South Wales holds an undated manuscript, 'The Blanky Papers, II, His Coloured Country', in which Lawson comments adversely on 'flax-sticks', that is New Zealanders, whom he finds mean and conceited and clannish and calls mongrel Scotsmen.‡ I have referred earlier to his memory in 1921 of his 'exile in Toadyland—New Zealand'.

* Bertha Lawson, *My Henry Lawson*, p. 65.

† Henry Lawson to Jack Louisson, 3 January 1900, from North Sydney, Alexander Turnbull Library, Q 091, *Sydney Bulletin Writers*, vol. 1, p. 170.

‡ Henry Lawson, *Verse and Prose*, MS. Q 39, pp. 144ff.

Glossary of Maori Words

hapū	sub-tribe
iwi	tribe
kāinga	village
kākā	a New Zealand parrot
karaka	a tree whose berries, when cooked and rinsed to remove their poison, are edible
kūmara	sweet potato
mānuka	a tree or shrub often collectively forming a scrub, like and related to the Australian tea-tree
pā	originally a fortified village; in Pakeha use, any Maori settlement; often mis-spelt <i>pah</i> in the nineteenth century
Pākehā	a person of European ancestry
pāua	an edible shell-fish
rangatira	originally a chief; as used by Lawson, a person of good breeding, a 'gentleman'
rimu	an indigenous timber
runanga	assembly or council with judicial powers
tangi	mourning; as used by Lawson, a funeral gathering
tapu	under superstitious or religious restriction, unapproachable
whare	Maori dwelling

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INTRODUCTION

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2 *Ibid.*, 403.

1 'THEY CALL THAT MAN A "WHITE MAN"'

1 'Coming Across', *N.Z. Mail*, 15 December 1893, p. 23; *SHL*, i, 212.

2 Gertrude O'Connor, *Family History of the Lawsons*, p. 38.

3 'The Golden Nineties: The Rush', *Australian Star*, 14 October 1899, p. 5.

4 'The Cambaroora Star', *Boomerang*, 19 December 1891; *PW*, 108.

5 'A Word to Texas Jack', by Joe Swallow, *Bulletin*, 29 March 1890, p. 15; *PW*, 225.

6 'Years after the War in Australia', *Bulletin*, 23 May 1896, p. 3; 'After the War', *PW*, 238.

7 John Le Gay Brereton, 'Henry Lawson' in *Knocking Round*, pp. 37-8; 'The Star of Australasia', *DWW*, 116-23; *PW*, 2-5.

8 'In the Storm that is to Come', *World's News* (Sydney), 5 March 1904, p. 18; 'The Storm that is to Come', *PW*, 128-30; 'The Heart of Australia', *Bulletin*, 13 October 1904, p. 11; *WIK*, 229-32.

9 'The Vanguard', *Bulletin*, 15 June 1905, p. 9; *WIK*, 225.

10 *Loc. cit.*

11 'The Good Samaritan', *Bulletin*, 3 November 1904, p. 40; *WIK*, 239.

12 'Our Fighters', *Australian Star*, 28 October 1899, p. 4.

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15 'Mostly Slavonic: I Peter Michaelov', *My Army, O, My Army!*, p. 39.

16 'To Be Amused', *For Australia* (1913), p. 68.

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19 'The Song of Australia', *SR*, 138.

20 'The World is Full of Kindness', *SR*, 141.

21 'The Shearers', *CB*, ix; 'Shearers', *PW*, 103.

22 'His Burden of Sorrow', *Bulletin*, 29 June 1922, pp. 47-8; *SHL*, iii, 249-52.

- 23 'Elderman's Lane. II. Ah Dam', *Bulletin*, 16 January 1913, p. 43; *SHL*, iii, 239-43.
- 24 Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, p. 250.
- 25 'Ah Soon', *Lone Hand*, 1 August 1912, p. 324; *SHL*, iii, 223.
- 26 'Straight Talk: The New Religion', by Joe Swallow, *Albany Observer*, 5 July 1890, p. 3.
- 27 Loc. cit.
- 28 John Le Gay Brereton in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, p. 10.
- 29 Jim Gordon in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, p. 249.
- 30 'A Double Buggy at Lahey's Creek', *JWM*, 121-52; *SHL*, ii, 60-75.
- 31 Fr Michael Tansey in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, p. 277.
- 32 'Ah Soon', *Lone Hand*, 1 August 1912, p. 326; *SHL*, iii, 225.
- 33 'The Tracks that Lie by India', *Bulletin*, 15 June 1905, p. 3; *WIK*, 73.
- 34 MS. original of 2-page autobiography, in Gertrude O'Connor, *Family History of the Lawsons*.
- 35 'Fragment of an Autobiography', Mitchell Library MS. i, 5; *SHL*, i, 4.
- 36 Op. cit., i, 22; *SHL*, i, 13; also 'The Old Bark School', *Bulletin*, 22 May 1897, p. 28; *PW*, 185.
- 37 'A Word to Texas Jack', by Joe Swallow, *Bulletin*, 29 March 1890, p. 15; *PW*, 224.
- 38 'Some Popular Australian Mistakes', *Bulletin*, 18 November 1893, p. 20; *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, i, 231; reprinted *Southerly*, 1964, 4, p. 205.
- 39 'The Dry Country', Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 4; edited version, *Bulletin*, 20 August 1898, p. 32; 'The Drovers', *ES*, 200-2.
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- 41 Jim Grahame, 'Henry Lawson on the Track', *Bulletin*, 19 February 1925, Red Page.
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- 44 Emma Brooks to J. F. Thomas, 28 February 1924, Mitchell Library MS. A1 29/-2.
- 45 'The Drover's Wife', *Bulletin*, 23 July 1892, pp. 21-2; *SHL*, i, 175-80; 'A Bush Publican's Lament', *CB*, 94-8; *SHL*, ii, 433-6.
- 46 'The Golden Nineties: Albany Before the Boom', *Australian Star*, 30 September 1899, p. 4; *SHL*, iii, 120.
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- 53 'Black Joe', *Western Mail*, 16 October 1896, p. 28; *SHL*, ii, 408-12.

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- 55 'The Drover's Wife', *SHL*, i, 175-80.
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- 57 Gertrude O'Connor, Annotations, 22 September 1920, in *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, i, 14, Mitchell Library.
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- 63 See Robin Gollan, *Radical and Working Class Politics*, pp. 116-17; L. G. Churchward in Ebbels, op. cit., p. 12 (see Note 62).
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- 75 See Jean Guiart in Hubert Deschamps and Jean Guiart, *Tahiti, Nouvelle-Calédonie, Nouvelles-Hébrides*, pp. 227-8.
- 76 This table is in a typed version of Dr Parnaby's work, shown to me by the author. It does not appear in the published book.
- 77 Ebbels, op. cit., pp. 115-16 (see Note 62).
- 78 W. G. Spence, *Australia's Awakening*, p. 72.
- 79 See O. W. Parnaby, *Britain and the Labor Trade in the South West Pacific*, p. 150.
- 80 Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, p. 120.
- 81 Paul Twyford, 'On Tramp', *Worker* (Sydney), 26 May 1894, p. [4]; 'On Tramp: Pakeha and Maori', *Worker* (Sydney), 9 June-7 July 1894.
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- 84 'A Niggers' Mission', *Bulletin*, 17 December 1887, p. 5.
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2 THE RELUCTANT BUSHMAN

¹ See Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*.

² Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, p. 104; A. J. Coombes, *Some Australian Poets*, p. 65.

³ Jim Grahame, 'Henry Lawson on the Track', *Bulletin*, 19 February 1925, Red Page; Letter from William G. Wood, *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 21 September 1926 (also in Mitchell Library, *Newspaper Cuttings*, vol. 235, p. 21, Q A820A); Letter from William Wood, 2 August 1931, in Mitchell Library MS. A1 29/-2 (11).

⁴ Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, p. 171.

⁵ H. M. Green, *A History of Australian Literature*, i, 363, 377.

⁶ A. J. Coombes, *Some Australian Poets*, p. 65.

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⁸ Henry Lawson to Emma Brooks, from Hungerford, 16 January 1893, Mitchell Library MS. A1 29/-2 (11).

⁹ *Ibid.*, from Bourke, 6 February 1893, Mitchell Library MS. A1 29/-2 (12).

¹⁰ 'That Pretty Girl in the Army', *CB*, 37-8; *SHL*, ii, 384-5.

¹¹ Jim Grahame, 'Henry Lawson on the Track', *Bulletin*, 19 February 1925, Red Page.

¹² Boozing Bill in 'The Bush Fire', *WIK*, 108-12; *PW*, 121-3; 'Corny Bill', *DWW*, 132-4; *PW*, 204-5; Boko Bill in 'Mateship', *TL*, 237-9; *SHL*, iii, 433; Jimmy Nowlett in 'The Song of Old Joe Swallow', *Bulletin*, 24 May 1890, p. 13; *PW*, 212-14; Jimmy Noland in 'The Shanty on the Rise', *Bulletin*, 19 December 1891, p. 21; *PW*, 245-6, and 'The Strangers' Friend', *TL*, 224-35; *SHL*, iii, 75-81; Jim Duggan in 'The Boss-over-the-Board', *Bulletin*, 11 December 1897, p. 29; *PW*, 188-9; Jim Barnes in 'Mateship', *TL*, 243-8; *SHL*, iii, 436-9; 'Tambaroora Jim', *Bulletin*, 19 March 1892, p. 18; *PW*, 191-2.

¹³ 'The Bush Fire', *WIK*, 108-12; *PW*, 121-3; 'Years After the War in Australia', *Bulletin*, 23 May 1896, p. 3; 'After the War', *PW*, 237-40.

¹⁴ 'Bill and Jim Fall Out', *Bulletin*, 12 December 1896, p. 10; *PW*, 196-7.

¹⁵ 'The Boss-over-the-Board', *Bulletin*, 11 December 1897, p. 29; *PW*, 188-9.

¹⁶ 'Mateship', *TL*, 242; *SHL*, iii, 435-6.

¹⁷ 'Bill and Jim Fall Out', *Bulletin*, 12 December 1896, p. 10; *PW*, 196-7; 'The Bush Fire', *WIK*, 108-12; *PW*, 121-3.

¹⁸ 'Years After the War in Australia', *Bulletin*, 23 May 1896, p. 3; 'After the War', *PW*, 237-40.

¹⁹ 'The Bill of the Ages', *WIK*, 113-16; 'Bill', *PW*, 45-7.

²⁰ *Bulletin*, 19 March 1898, p. 13. Lawson's son was in fact christened Joseph Henry, apparently after a friend who persuaded Lawson and Bertha to go to New Zealand (Gertrude O'Connor, *Family History of the Lawsons*, p. 79); but Lawson always referred to him as Jim.

²¹ Henry Lawson, private letter to Hugh MacCallum, 15 November 1897, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 7.

²² 'Some Popular Australian Mistakes', *Bulletin*, 18 November 1893, p. 20; reprinted *Southerly*, 1964, 4, p. 205.

²³ 'A Few Remarks on Bill and Jim', *ibid.*, 8 October 1914, p. 44.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*

²⁵ 'The Stranger's Friend', *TL*, 225; *SHL*, iii, 75.

- 26 'Armidade', *Bulletin*, 14 June 1917, pp. 47-8. The *Bulletin* used the name. An item by Daniel Healy, 'The Biljim Craze', appeared 28 August 1897, and on 9 May 1918 the *Bulletin* reported that it had received 350 entries in a competition for an epitaph for Biljim.
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- 28 See Note 26.
- 29 'Bourke', *WIK*, 101-5; *PW*, 134-6; 'Peter Anderson and Co.', *Bulletin*, 17 August 1895, p. 8; *DWW*, 186.
- 30 'The Bill of the Ages', *WIK*, 114; 'Bill', *PW*, 46.
- 31 'In the Storm that is to Come', *WIK*, 194; 'The Storm that is to Come', *PW*, 129.
- 32 'An Article on Man' (from the *Worker* (Sydney)), *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, ii, 423.
- 33 'Our Countrymen', *Worker* (Sydney), 1 July 1893.
- 34 'The Hopeless Futility of the Sydney Street Crowd', Mitchell Library typescript, Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 7.
- 35 1913 Autobiography, leaves 14-15. Alexander Turnbull Library MS.; printed *Southerly*, 1964, 4, p. 196.
- 36 Cecil Mann, 'Henry Lawson in his Writing, I', *SHL*, i, 58; Dorothy Green, 'Tent and Tree', *Nation* (Sydney), 4 September 1965, pp. 21-2.
- 37 Lawson wrote several parts of an autobiography, (1) a short manuscript contained in Gertrude O'Connor's *Family History of the Lawsons* in the Mitchell Library, a typescript copy of which is in the *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, i, 41-2, which sketches his life from birth to 1893; (2) 'Pursuing Literature in Australia', *Bulletin*, 21 January 1899, Red Page; (3) 'Fragment of an Autobiography', which ends shortly after Peter Lawson's death in 1888, held in manuscript in the Mitchell Library, and published (with some textual differences) in *SHL*, i, 3-53; (4) a continuation of the 'Fragment', written in 1913, held in manuscript by the Alexander Turnbull Library, MS. K2, and in typescript copy by the Mitchell Library, titled 'From Mudgee Hills to London Town', in Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 3 and in *Misc. MSS.—Prose*, ii, 121-42. This last was published in *Southerly*, 4, (1964). See my fuller note in *Bibliobooks*, July-October, 1967.
- 38 *Lawson's Birth*. The accounts are (1) a note signed by Gertrude O'Connor dated 24 June 1920 and inserted in the Lawson family bible, Mitchell Library C334; (2) another note signed by Gertrude O'Connor, dated 24 June 1920 in the Mutch papers, Item 22; (3) Gertrude O'Connor, *Family History of the Lawsons*, p. 22; (4) Gertrude O'Connor, *Louisa Lawson*, p. 38; (5) Gertrude O'Connor, 'Louisa Lawson and her Son', *Bulletin*, 2 September 1920, Red Page and p. 28; (6) Gertrude O'Connor, 'The Birth of Henry Lawson', *Aussie*, 15 October 1921, pp. 12-13. Mrs O'Connor's account is that Henry Lawson was born during a flood and the nurse had to be carried 2 miles across flood-waters to reach him. On the second day the nurse was unable to cross the flood, and mother and baby became dangerously ill. The menfolk went for an alcoholic doctor and forced him at rifle-point to attend the mother and baby. In her *Aussie* version, which is written in the form of fiction, Mrs O'Connor says that Louisa Lawson developed milk-fever and in her delirium almost threw the baby at an imagined black snake, and that the doctor, finding a litter of new-born puppies, used two of them as breast-pumps. The baby's scalp and eyes

were septic from 'three days' neglect'. The doctor washed, dressed, and fed the baby till the flood subsided. The Lawson family bible itself has only the bare entry of the date of Henry Lawson's birth (made, according to Colin Roderick, ten years later), and Mrs O'Connor's account is probably traceable to Louisa Lawson herself, who if she was delirious would hardly have remembered accurately. The account, with the menfolk standing around helpless as mother and baby worsened, shows signs of Louisa's feminism and her resentment of having children at all. She told A. G. Stephens she was 'brooding over poetry' when Henry was born. (A. G. Stephens, *Autobiographies of Australian and New Zealand Authors and Artists*, Mitchell Library Q Ag20A.) That Lawson himself uses the story of the alcoholic doctor in 'Middleton's Peter' does not necessarily mean that he accepted it as the story of his own birth: in his poem, 'The Wander-Light' he accepts the storm but in his 1913 *Autobiography* he describes himself as 'drought born'. There is a fuller discussion of Lawson's birth by Colin Roderick, 'Was Lawson Born in a Tent?', *North* (Townsville) 5, 1966, pp. 14-31.

39 Emma Brooks to J. F. Thomas, 17 January 1924, Mitchell Library MS. Al 29/-2. Presumably Mrs Brooks was referring to Mrs O'Connor's published articles 'Louisa Lawson and her Son', *Bulletin*, 2 September 1920, and 'The Birth of Henry Lawson', *Aussie*, 15 October 1921.

40 Emma Brooks to J. F. Thomas, 28 February 1924, Mitchell Library MS. Al 29/-2.

41 Jack O'Brien to T. D. Mutch, 21 September 1926, Mutch papers, Item 24.

42 Emma Brooks to J. F. Thomas, 28 February 1924, Mitchell Library MS. Al 29/-2.

43 Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, pp. 43-4.

44 'Fragment of an Autobiography', vol. ii, fo. 157, Mitchell Library MS.; *SHL*, i, 33.

45 Loc. cit.

46 *Ibid.*, vol. ii, fo. 139-40; part of this passage is omitted in *SHL*, i, 30.

47 Gertrude O'Connor, *The Personal Life of Henry Lawson*, n.p. Mitchell Library MS.

48 'A Child in the Dark—a Bush Sketch', *Bulletin*, 13 December 1902, p. 14; *SHL*, iii, 29-34; Gertrude O'Connor, annotations in *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, i, 20.

49 Gertrude O'Connor, *The Personal Life of Henry Lawson*, n.p. Mitchell Library MS.

50 P. J. Lawson to T. D. Mutch, 10 March 1933, Mutch papers, Item 25; P. J. Lawson, undated typescript in Mutch papers, Item 23.

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53 'Fragment of an Autobiography', vol. ii, fo. 158, Mitchell Library MS.; *SHL*, i, 38.

54 Emma Brooks to J. F. Thomas, 1 January 1924, Mitchell Library MS. Al 29/-2.

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- 57 'A Letter from Leeton', National Library of Australia MS. 75/2; edited version in Ethel Turner and Bertram Stevens (eds.), *The Australian Soldiers' Gift Book*, Voluntary Workers' Association, Sydney [1917], pp. 21-2; *SHL*, iii, 317-20.
- 58 Frank Sargeson, 'Henry Lawson, Some Notes after Re-reading', *Land-fall*, June 1966, p. 156; James Vance Marshall, 'The Day Henry Lawson Talked to me about his Father', *Australian Letters*, March 1962, pp. 28-34; P. J. Lawson to T. D. Mutch, 10 March 1933, Mutch papers, Item 25, Mitchell Library; Henry Lawson, 'About Dreams', n.d., National Library of Australia MS 75/2.
- 59 Bertha Lawson, 'Memories' in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, p. 84.
- 60 'For Auld Lang Syne', *WBB*, 329; *SHL*, i, 248.
- 61 'The Author's Farewell to the Bushmen', *JWM*, v-vi, *WIK*, 10-11; 'Farewell to the Bushmen', *PW*, 158.
- 62 John Le Gay Brereton, *Knocking Round*, p. 33.
- 63 'The Cant and Dirt of Labor Literature', *Worker* (Sydney), 6 October 1894, p. 1; reprinted *Southerly*, 1964, 4, pp. 206-7.
- 64 'Fragment of an Autobiography', vol. i, fo. 79, Mitchell Library MS.; *SHL*, i, 67.
- 65 Henry Lawson to George Robertson, 15 February 1917, *Correspondence re Selected Poems*, Mitchell Library.
- 66 'Our Countrymen', *Worker* (Sydney), 1 July 1893, also in *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, i, 221.
- 67 'Some Popular Australian Mistakes', *Bulletin*, 18 November 1893, p. 20, also in *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, i, 231; reprinted *Southerly*, 1964, 4, pp. 204-5.
- 68 'Fragment of an Autobiography', vol. ii, fo. 216, Mitchell Library MS.; *SHL*, i, 43.
- 69 'Fragment of an Autobiography', vol. i, fo. 79; *SHL*, i, 19.
- 70 *Ibid.*, vol. i, fo. 42; *SHL*, i, 12.
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- 72 'To the Advanced Idealist', *Miscellaneous MSS.—Verse*, ii, 257, (Mitchell A 1870); *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, iii, 755; *Dissed Prose and Verse*, p. 90 (Mitchell A 1884); *Verses: Emendations by McKee Wright and Others*, vol. 6 (Mitchell A 1883); published *Elector* (Sydney), 2 November 1895.
- 73 'Pigeon Toes', *WIK*, 244-8, shortened and revised version, *PW*, 150-1; 'The Little World Left Behind', *JWM*, 323-9; *SHL*, ii, 168-71.
- 74 'The Local Spirit', *Bulletin*, 30 April 1914, p. 3.
- 75 'The Dying Anarchist', *Worker* (Sydney), 15 September 1894, p. 1.
- 76 'The Good Samaritan', *Bulletin*, 3 November 1904, p. 40; *WIK*, 235.
- 77 'The Crucifixion', *Miscellaneous MSS.—Verse*, ii, 187-91, (Mitchell A 1870), *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, iii, 427; 'Cromwell', Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 4.
- 78 'The Universal Brothers', Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 3.
- 79 'The Man Ahead' (1899), Dixon Collection MS. Q 39.

⁸⁰ 'The Drunken Leader', *Miscellaneous MSS.—Verse*, ii, 166-7 (Mitchell A 1870); Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 3.

⁸¹ 'You know, he said, people acclaim me as a poet although I never look upon poetry as my forte. I'm better at prose. I've never studied Galliambics, Iambics, Ionics etc. said Henry. That science belongs more to a fellow like David McKee Wright.' (J. McCausland, 'A Poet in Leeton', 28 June 1917, reporting conversation with Lawson at Leeton in 1916, Mutch papers, Item 23.)

3 THE NGAI-TAHU OF KAIKOURA

¹ W. J. Elvy, *Kaikoura Coast*, p. 8.

² J. W. Stack, *South Island Maoris*, p. 27; W. J. Elvy, *Kei Puta te Wairau*, p. 26; W. J. Elvy, *Kaikoura Coast*, p. 18.

³ W. J. Elvy, *Kaikoura Coast*, p. 31.

⁴ J. W. Stack, *South Island Maoris*, p. 57.

⁵ W. J. Elvy, *Kaikoura Coast*, p. 40.

⁶ John Miller, *Early Victorian New Zealand*, pp. 18-19.

⁷ Bertha Lawson, 'Memories' in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, p. 102.

⁸ 'The Writer's Dream', Alexander Turnbull Library MS.

⁹ Information in this paragraph is based on personal communications from Mr J. M. Sherrard.

¹⁰ *AJHR*, 1858, C-3, pp. 26-8; 1878, G-2, p. 25; 1881, G-3, p. 26; 1896, H-13B, p. 14.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1878, G-2, p. 25; *Census*, 1896, p. lii.

¹² *AJHR*, 1874, G-7, p. 18; G-2C, p. 6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1858, C-3, pp. 26-8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1875, G-3, p. 3.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁷ J. Mackay to D. McLean, 19 April 1859, A. Mackay, *Compendium of Official Documents relative to Native Affairs in the South Island*, ii, 35.

¹⁸ T. L. Buick, *Old Marlborough*, pp. 385-6.

¹⁹ W. J. Elvy, *Kaikoura Coast*, p. 58.

²⁰ J. M. Sherrard, *Kaikoura*, pp. 91-6; *AJHR*, 1867, C-4, p. 3; 1862, C-2, p. 3.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1867, C-4, p. 3.

²² *Ibid.*, 1897, H-23, p. 83.

²³ J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 13 December 1964.

²⁴ *Canterbury Times*, 11 November 1897.

²⁵ H. B. Kirk, Report, 16 October 1900, Mangamaunu School file.

²⁶ J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 13 December 1964.

²⁷ T. L. Buick, *Old Marlborough*, p. 383.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

²⁹ J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 26 July 1959; Mrs Robert Wilson, *In The Land of the Tui*, pp. 192ff.

³⁰ W. J. Elvy, *Kaikoura Coast*, p. 71.

³¹ G. P. B. in the *Bulletin*, 5 June 1897, p. 22.

³² *AJHR*, 1884, H-1, p. 21.

³³ J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 25 January 1959.

- 34 *AJHR*, 1872, F-3, p. 18.
- 35 T. Danaher to W. J. Habens, 1 March 1882, Mangamaunu School file.
- 36 *AJHR*, 1872, F-3, p. 18.
- 37 R. H. Beck to W. J. Habens, 13 March 1888, Mangamaunu School file.
- 38 *AJHR*, 1872, F-3, p. 18.
- 39 Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, p. 156.
- 40 Bertha Lawson, 'Memories' in *Henry Lawson by his Mates*, p. 102.
- 41 *AJHR*, 1885, G-2A, p. 13; J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 13 August 1967.
- 42 *AJHR*, 1886, G-12, p. 18.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 1896, H-13B, p. 14.
- 44 *Census*, 1896, p. lvi.
- 45 *AJHR*, 1896, H-23B, p. 78.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 1872, F-3, pp. 16-18.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 1885, G-2A, pp. 12-14.
- 48 *Loc. cit.*
- 49 J. W. Stack to R. Gill, 19 December 1877, Mangamaunu School file.
- 50 J. H. Pope, Report, 28 October 1896, Mangamaunu School file.
- 51 *AJHR*, 1881, G-3, p. 26.
- 52 *Census*, 1896, p. lii.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 369.
- 54 *AJHR*, 1891, Session II, G-2, p. 7.
- 55 Henry Lawson to W. J. Habens, 10 May 1897, Mangamaunu School file.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 10 September 1897.
- 57 J. H. Pope, Report, 3 December 1894, Mangamaunu School file.
- 58 *AJHR*, 1896, E-2, p. 7.
- 59 J. H. Pope, Report, 20 November 1895, Mangamaunu School file.
- 60 Bertha Lawson, 'Memories' in *Henry Lawson by his Mates*, p. 102.
- 61 H. B. Kirk, Report, 28 October 1899, Mangamaunu School file.
- 62 Figures of only rough reliability are:
 - 1874: 2608 including 797 half-castes—*AJHR*, 1874, G-2C, pp. 5, 7.
 - 1884: 2061 including 134 Stewart Island Maoris—*AJHR*, 1884, Session II, G-3.
 - 1891: 1883—*AJHR*, 1896, H-13B, p. 12.
 - 1896: 2207 including 895 half-castes—*Census*, 1896, p. xxxviii.
- 63 *AJHR*, 1896, H-13B, p. 11.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 65 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 66 W. J. Elvy, *Kaikoura Coast*, p. 60.
- 67 Mrs Robert Wilson, *In the Land of the Tui*, pp. 197-8.
- 68 Bertha Lawson, 'Memories' in *Henry Lawson by his Mates*, p. 102.
- 69 Henry Lawson to Hugh MacCallum, 25 June 1897, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 7.
- 70 I owe information in this paragraph to Mr J. M. Sherrard.
- 71 J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 25 January 1959.
- 72 *AJHR*, 1872, F-3, p. 16.
- 73 N.Z. Prisons Department File 83/438, 83/808. Also *Lyttelton Times*, 4 April 1883, p. 3.
- 74 I owe information about the Catholic mission to Fr K. McGrath, S.M., of Otaki.

- 75 J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 13 December 1964.
 76 Keepa te Hina to J. H. Pope, 24 November 1877, Mangamaunu School file.
 77 *AJHR*, 1876, G-2, p. 10.
 78 *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
 79 *Ibid.*, 1868, A-6, pp. 14-15.
 80 *Ibid.*, 1879, Session II, G-2, pp. 12-13; (Wairau), 1877, G-4, p. 21.
 81 *Ibid.*, 1874, G-8, p. 15; 1879, Session II, G-2, p. 13.
 82 *Ibid.*
 83 *Ibid.*, 1878, G-7, p. 3.
 84 *Ibid.*, 1877, G-4, pp. 19-20; 1875, G-2A, p. 13.
 85 J. W. Stack, undated memo., *Papers and Pictures*, Alexander Turnbull Library MS. fo. 91.
 86 J. W. Stack, unidentified newspaper clipping, *Newspaper Clippings*, p. 21. Alexander Turnbull Library Q 920 P STA.
 87 *AJHR*, 1876, G-2, p. 10; 1879, Session II, G-2, pp. 12-13.
 88 *Ibid.*, 1875, G-3, p. 1.
 89 *Ibid.*, 1888, G-1, p. 3.
 90 *Ibid.*, 1897, G-1.
 91 *N.Z. Statutes*, 1944, p. 401.
 92 *AJHR*, 1858, C-3, p. 27; *AJLC*, 1897, Session I, no. 12, p. 2.
 93 *AJHR*, 1875, G-2, p. 14; 1877, G-4, p. 15.
 94 *Ibid.*, 1872, F-3, pp. 16-18.
 95 *Ibid.*, F-5, p. 29.
 96 T. D. Mutch papers, Item 27, Mitchell Library MSS.
 97 Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, pp. 40-1.
 98 J. W. Stack to R. J. Gill, 19 December 1877. All information in the remainder of this chapter is from the Mangamaunu School file.
 99 Ihaia Whakatau and others to H. T. Clarke, 6 March 1878, Mangamaunu School file.
 1 Stack in his last annual report gives the cost as £400, probably only a rough round figure—*AJHR*, 1880, H-1L, p. 6.

4 'MISSIONARIES OF CIVILISATION'

- 1 A. G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, p. 119.
 2 *AJHR*, 1880, H-1F.
 3 *Ibid.*, 1893, E-2, p. 2.
 4 A. G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, p. 120.
 5 Reweti T. Kohere, *The Autobiography of a Maori*, p. 27.
 6 *AJHR*, 1880, H-1A, p. 21.
 7 *Ibid.*, 1886, E-2, p. 4.
 8 *Ibid.*, 1884, E-2, p. 1.
 9 *Ibid.*, 1882, E-2, p. 8.
 10 *Ibid.*, 1900, E-2, p. 16.
 11 A. G. Butchers, *The Education System*, p. 87.
 12 *AJHR*, 1885, E-2, p. 12.
 13 A. G. Butchers, *The Education System*, p. 87.
 14 *AJHR*, 1880, H-1F, p. 7.
 15 *Ibid.*, 1885, E-2, p. 12.

- 16 Ibid., 1880, H-1F, p. 7.
- 17 Ibid., 1883, E-2, p. 10.
- 18 Ibid., 1884, E-2, p. 13; 1887, Session II, G-3, p. 2.
- 19 James H. Pope to Thomas Danaher, 10 July 1884, Mangamaunu School file.
- 20 A. G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, pp. 123-4.
- 21 *AJHR*, 1888, E-2, p. 9.
- 22 Ibid., 1880, H-1F, p. 1.
- 23 Ibid., p. 7.
- 24 Ibid., 1881, E-7, p. 4; 1900, E-2, p. 17.
- 25 Ibid., 1881, E-7, p. 4.
- 26 W. W. Bird in I. Davey (ed.), *Fifty Years of National Education in New Zealand*, p. 68.
- 27 *AJHR*, 1881, E-7, p. 4.
- 28 A. G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, p. 123.
- 29 *AJHR*, 1882, E-2, p. 5.
- 30 Ibid., 1889, E-2, p. 14.
- 31 Ibid., 1880, H-1A, p. 21.
- 32 Ibid., 1882, E-2, p. 4; 1883, E-2, pp. 6-7; 1884, E-2, pp. 12-13.
- 33 Ibid., 1883, E-2, p. 6.
- 34 Sir E. O. Gibbes to A. G. Butchers, quoted by Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, p. 122.
- 35 Ibid., p. 131.
- 36 Ibid., p. 125.
- 37 *AJHR*, 1888, E-2, p. 10. See also A. G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, pp. 125-6.
- 38 *AJHR*, 1893, E-2, p. 10.
- 39 See *ibid.*, 1899, E-2, p. 11; 1891, E-2, p. 11.
- 40 Ibid., 1900, E-2, p. 16.
- 41 Loc. cit.
- 42 *AJHR*, 1884, E-2, p. 15.
- 43 H. Hill, 'The Maoris To-day and To-morrow', *Transactions of the N.Z. Institute*, xxix, n.s. 12 (1897), p. 159.
- 44 *AJHR*, 1895, E-2, p. 20; 1896, E-2, p. 23; 1897, E-2, p. 23; 1898, E-2, p. 25; E-2A; 1899, E-2, p. 26.
- 45 Thomas Danaher to J. Hislop, 29 January 1880. All information in the remainder of this chapter, not otherwise attributed, is from the Mangamaunu School file held by the Education Department.
- 46 *AJHR*, 1900, E-2, p. 16.
- 47 J. H. Pope, Report, 16 October 1885, Mangamaunu School file.
- 48 Ibid., 4 August 1881.
- 49 Ibid., 18 November 1885.
- 50 *AJHR*, 1885, G-2A, p. 13.
- 51 *Lyttelton Times*, 4 April 1883, p. 3.
- 52 *AJHR*, 1882, E-2, Table 2, p. 12; 1883, E-2, Table 2, p. 15.
- 53 J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 12 January 1961.
- 54 *AJHR*, 1885-90, E-2, Table 7 each year.
- 55 Ibid., 1895, E-2, p. 7.
- 56 Ibid., p. 2.
- 57 Ibid., 1897, Session II, E-2, p. 21.

⁵⁸ Raukokore School file, Education Department.

⁵⁹ Figures arrived at from Tables A and B.

5 THE LAWSONS AT MANGAMAUNU

¹ Bertha Lawson, *My Henry Lawson*, p. 57.

² Arthur Rae, 'Labor and Politics in Maoriland', *Hummer*, 17 September 1892, p. [2]; Note by T. D. Mutch, Notebook in Mutch papers, Item 26.

³ See Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, pp. 141, 201, for other lapses of Bertha's memory.

⁴ See R. T. Shannon, 'The Fall of Reeves 1893-6' in R. Chapman and K. Sinclair (eds.), *Studies in a Small Democracy*, p. 141, also K. Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves, New Zealand Fabian*, pp. 240-2. Ward, as Postmaster-General, had been Lawson's employer when he worked as a telegraph lineman in 1894.

⁵ E. Tregear to W. P. Reeves, 13 April 1897, Alexander Turnbull Library photocopy; original in the British Library of Political and Economic Science, London School of Economics.

⁶ *Evening Post*, 10 April 1897, p. 5; *N.Z. Times*, 10 April 1897, p. 3.

⁷ *Evening Post*, 17 April 1897, p. 5; *N.Z. Mail*, 22 April 1897, p. 39.

⁸ Mangamaunu School file, Education Department.

⁹ *N.Z. Times*, 5 May 1897, gives the passengers as 'Mesdames Morris and Quinn, Mr H. Lawson', the *Evening Post*, same date, as 'Mrs Lawson, Messrs Lawson, Williams'. The tonnage of the *Wakatu* is given in G.W.N. Ingram and P. O. Wheatley, *N.Z. Shipwrecks*, p. 346. Its gross tonnage, 157, is nearer to Bertha's guess of 'about 200 tons burden'. It was wrecked in 1924 off Waipapa Point, within 60 yards of the wreck of the *Taiaroa* (1886), the subject of Lawson's sketch in the *N.Z. Mail*, 29 April 1897.

¹⁰ *Worker* (Brisbane), 22 May 1897, p. 5; *Clipper* (Hobart), 29 May 1897, p. 5.

¹¹ See A. G. Stephens (ed.), *Autobiographies of Australian and N.Z. Authors and Artists* (Mitchell Library Q A920A), pp. 130-1; R. A. McKay (ed.), *A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940*, (Wellington Club of Printing House Craftsmen, Wellington, [1940]), pp. 237-40; G. H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand*, p. 52.

¹² They were 'That There Dog o' Mine: an Australian Sketch', 8 December 1893; 'Coming Across', 15, 29 December; 'The Cambaroora Star', 15 December; 'For'ard', 22 December.

¹³ They are 'On a Good Tucker Track: an Australian Sketch', and 'Drift from a Wreck: a New Zealand sketch', *N.Z. Mail*, 29 April 1897, p. 21; 'The Three Kings', *N.Z. Mail*, 15 April 1897, p. 23, reprinted *N.Z. Times*, 23 April, p. 5. The *Mail* also published 'The Old Bark School', 8 July 1897, and 'An Oversight of Steelman's', 30 September 1897.

¹⁴ Bertha Lawson, *My Henry Lawson*, p. 56; G. H. Scholefield, *Dictionary of N.Z. Biography*, i, 507.

¹⁵ Henry Lawson to T. L. Mills, 10 October 1897, Alexander Turnbull Library scrapbook, *Sydney Bulletin Writers*, i, 170. That the 'Australian' prices were offered by the New Zealand press is evident from Lawson's mention of 'request for copy at Australian prices' from New Zealand papers, notably the *Christchurch Press*. (Henry Lawson to Angus & Robertson, 25 June 1897, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 8.)

- 16 'Some Reflections on a Voyage Across Cook's Straits (N.Z.)', *Worker* (Sydney), 12 January 1895, p. 1; 'Across the Straits', *SHL*, i, 154-5.
- 17 Anthony Cashion, 'Pahiatua' in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, p. 60; *Worker* (Sydney), 4 August 1892, p. 2.
- 18 2-page Autobiography, *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, i, 41-2, Mitchell Library; Comments on a letter from Mrs Moss, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 3 (see p. 160).
- 19 Bertha Lawson, 'Memories' in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, pp. 104-5.
- 20 *AJHR*, 1898, E-2, p. 19.
- 21 F. K. de Castro to E. O. Gibbes, 2 April 1898, Mangamaunu School file.
- 22 Bertha Lawson, 'Memories' in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, p. 99.
- 23 Bertha Lawson, *My Henry Lawson*, p. 59.
- 24 Op. cit., p. 62.
- 25 Henry Lawson to Hugh MacCallum, 25 June 1897, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 7.
- 26 'The Golden Nineties: Albany Before the Boom', *Australian Star*, 30 September 1899, p. 4.
- 27 Henry Lawson to Hugh MacCallum, 25 June 1897 (see Note 25); 'Elderman's Lane: The Kids', *Bulletin*, 19 June 1913, p. 48; *SHL*, iii, 261.
- 28 Henry Lawson to Hugh MacCallum, 25 June 1897 (see Note 25).
- 29 Comments on a letter from Mrs Moss (see Note 18).
- 30 Charles Oscar Palmer, 'Henry Lawson . . . Spent Five Happy Months at Kaikoura', *Star* (Christchurch), 4 June 1927, p. 23.
- 31 Bertha Lawson, 'Memories' in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, p. 100.
- 32 'Fragment of an Autobiography', Mitchell Library MS.; *SHL*, i, 14.
- 33 Bertha Lawson, loc. cit.
- 34 Bertha Lawson, junior, 'Henry Lawson', 7 March 1927, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 4.
- 35 J. H. Pope, Reports, 3 December 1894, 20 November 1895, 28 October 1896, Mangamaunu School file.
- 36 Henry Lawson to W. J. Habens, 10 May 1897, Mangamaunu School file.
- 37 Henry Lawson to Hugh MacCallum, 25 June 1897 (see Note 25).
- 38 Henry Lawson to W. J. Habens, 29 June 1897, Mangamaunu School file.
- 39 Tender from Alexander Doddmeade, cabinet-maker, Kaikoura, 23 January 1880, Mangamaunu School file.
- 40 Bertha Lawson, *My Henry Lawson*, p. 63.
- 41 'Crime in the Bush', *Bulletin*, 11 February 1899, p. 35; reprinted *Southerly*, 1965, 4, pp. 279-80.
- 42 Henry Lawson to Hugh MacCallum, 25 June 1897 (see Note 25).
- 43 Loc. cit.
- 44 'Elderman's Lane: The Kids', *Bulletin*, 19 June 1913, p. 48; *SHL*, iii, 260.
- 45 Henry Lawson to Hugh MacCallum, 25 June 1897 (see Note 25).
- 46 Loc. cit.
- 47 Loc. cit.
- 48 'The Golden Nineties: Albany Before the Boom', *Australian Star*, 30 September 1899, p. 4.
- 49 'The Golden Nineties: W. A. Before the Boom', *Australian Star*, 7 October 1899, pp. 4-5.
- 50 Loc. cit.

- 51 Comments on a letter from Mrs Moss (see Note 18).
- 52 J. H. Pope, *Health for the Maori*, rev. ed., 1894, pp. 72-3, 89, 131-2.
- 53 Bertha Lawson, 'Memories', in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, pp. 103-4.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- 55 J. D. Watson, personal communication, 12 December 1960.
- 56 Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, p. 166.
- 57 Henry Lawson to Hugh MacCallum, 25 June 1897 (see Note 25).
- 58 C. O. Palmer, 'Henry Lawson . . .', *Star* (Christchurch), 4 June 1927, p. 23.
- 59 Henry Lawson, private letter to Hugh MacCallum, 15 November 1897, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 7; *Evening Post*, 11 November 1897; 'Grimy Old Babylon', *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 2 August 1902, p. 7.
- 60 Arthur B. Parker to T. D. Mutch, 3 August 1940, Mutch papers, Item 25.
- 61 J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 25 January 1959.
- 62 Bertha Lawson, *My Henry Lawson*, p. 62.
- 63 C. O. Palmer, 'Henry Lawson . . .', *Star* (Christchurch), 4 June 1927, p. 23.
- 64 Quoted by Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, p. 166.
- 65 Henry Lawson to Emma Brooks, 19 September 1897, Mitchell Library MS. A1 29.
- 66 Henry Lawson to W. J. Habens, 28 September 1897, Mangamaunu School file.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 30 September 1897.
- 68 J. H. Pope to Henry Lawson, 4 October 1897, Mangamaunu School file.
- 69 *Bulletin*, 23 October 1897, p. 13.
- 70 Henry Lawson to T. L. Mills, 10 October 1897 (see Note 15).
- 71 *Evening Post*, 13 October 1897, p. 4.
- 72 E. O. Gibbes to M. Ngatuere, 1 November 1897, Mangamaunu School file.
- 73 Pene Tahui to J. H. Pope, 27 October 1897, Mangamaunu School file.
- 74 F. K. de Castro to E. O. Gibbes, 8 November, 20 November 1897, Mangamaunu School file.
- 75 Bertha Lawson, *My Henry Lawson*, p. 64.
- 76 F. K. de Castro to E. O. Gibbes, 8 November 1897, Mangamaunu School file.
- 77 *Evening Post*, 25 October 1897, p. 4; 6 November 1897, p. 4.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 8 November 1897, p. 4; *N.Z. Times*, 8 November 1897, p. 2.
- 79 *AJHR*, 1898, E-2, p. 19.
- 80 F. K. de Castro to E. O. Gibbes, 8 November 1897, Mangamaunu School file.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 20 November 1897.
- 82 W. H. Comerford to E. O. Gibbes, 25 March 1898, Mangamaunu School file.
- 83 *Ibid.*, 15 February 1898.
- 84 J. H. Pope, Report, 19 December 1898, Mangamaunu School file.
- 85 H. B. Kirk, Report, 20 October 1899, Mangamaunu School file.
- 86 J. H. Pope, Report, 26 November 1901, Mangamaunu School file.
- 87 *Loc. cit.*
- 88 W. W. Bird, Report, 18 November 1903, Mangamaunu School file.

- ⁸⁹ Mr Barton to A. W. Rutherford, June 1905, Mangamaunu School file.
- ⁹⁰ W. W. Bird, Report, 20 October 1908, Mangamaunu School file.
- ⁹¹ W. H. Comerford to E. O. Gibbes, 8 October 1909, Mangamaunu School file.
- ⁹² Henry Lawson to Emma Brooks, from Wellington, 6 November 1893, Mitchell Library MS. A1 29/-2/13.
- ⁹³ Ibid.
- ⁹⁴ 'New Zealand from an Australian's Point of View', *Fair Play* (Wellington), 30 December 1893, p. 23; 'The Emigration to New Zealand', by Cervus Wright, *Truth* (Sydney), 18 June 1893.
- ⁹⁵ *N.Z. Mail*, 15 April 1897, p. 21; *Evening Post*, 10 April 1897, p. 5; *N.Z. Times*, 10 April 1897, p. 3; *Press*, 12 April 1897, p. 5; *Worker* (Brisbane), 24 April 1897, p. 8.
- ⁹⁶ Henry Lawson to Hugh MacCallum, 25 June 1897 (see Note 25).
- ⁹⁷ Henry Lawson to Angus and Robertson, 25 June 1897, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 8.
- ⁹⁸ Walter Woods in *Clipper* (Hobart), 25 September 1897, p. 5; T. L. Mills, 'Henry Lawson in Maoriland', *Aussie*, 15 November 1922, p. 23; reprinted in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, p. 54.
- ⁹⁹ Tom L. Mills, 'Henry Lawson, Australia's Poet and Story-teller, His Connection with New Zealand', *N.Z. Railways Magazine*, 2 April 1934, pp. 37-8.
- ¹ Henry Lawson, business letter to Hugh MacCallum, 15 November 1897 (this is not the same letter as that cited in Note 59); Angus and Robertson to Henry Lawson, 25 August 1897; both in Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 8.
- ² *Bulletin*, 23 October 1897, p. 13.
- ³ *Evening Post*, 11 November 1897.
- ⁴ Ibid., 10 November 1897, p. 4.
- ⁵ Henry Lawson to T. L. Mills, 10 October 1897 (see Note 15).
- ⁶ Henry Lawson to Angus and Robertson, 25 June 1897 (see Note 97).
- ⁷ Henry Lawson, business letter to Hugh MacCallum, 15 November 1897 (see Note 1).
- ⁸ *N.Z. Mail*, 17 March 1898, p. 13.
- ⁹ Henry Lawson to Angus and Robertson, 24 June 1899, Mitchell Library, Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 8.
- ¹⁰ Henry Lawson to Bland Holt, 1900, State Library of Victoria MS.
- ¹¹ T. L. Mills, 'Henry Lawson in Maoriland' (see Note 98), p. 23.
- ¹² T. L. Mills, 'Henry Lawson . . .' (see Note 99), pp. 37-8.
- ¹³ Comments on a letter from Mrs Moss (see Note 18).
- ¹⁴ Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, p. 165.
- ¹⁵ 'Water them Geraniums', *JWM*, p. 86; *SHL*, ii, 43-4.
- ¹⁶ 'Pigeon Toes', *WIK*, pp. 235-6.
- ¹⁷ Op. cit., *WIK*, p. 245.
- ¹⁸ 'If I Could Paint' (verse), Alexander Turnbull Library scrapbook, *Sydney Bulletin Writers*, i, 137; *Dissed Prose and Verse*, p. 49, Mitchell Library; Henry Lawson to Angus and Robertson, 7 May, 11 May 1899, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 8.
- ¹⁹ 'If I Could Paint' (prose), *Bulletin*, 8 April 1899, Red Page.
- ²⁰ *Bulletin*, 22 September 1921, p. 27; Mitchell Library B 1449.

- ²¹ Footnote to 'The Parsin for Edgerkashun', *Lone Hand*, 1 February 1921, p. 5. The Civil Service regulations are in *N.Z. Gazette*, 1867, p. 507; 1873, p. 48.
- ²² E.g. T. S. Browning in *Henry Lawson: Memories*, n.p.: 'Lawson has given us some exquisite pictures of this school in "A Daughter of Maoriland" and several other stories'; Stephen Murray-Smith in *Henry Lawson*, p. 26: 'the Maori village—scene of several Lawson stories'.
- ²³ 'The Sweet Uses of London', *Bulletin*, 22 October 1903, Red Page.
- ²⁴ 'Fragment of an Autobiography', Mitchell Library MS.; *SHL*, i, 50.
- ²⁵ Henry Lawson to Angus and Robertson, 7 May 1899 (see Note 18).
- ²⁶ Henry Lawson to person unnamed, undated, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 8.
- ²⁷ *Bulletin*, 5 January 1905, p. 15; *Henry Lawson Scrapbook*, i, 70.
- ²⁸ 'The Dry Country', Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 4; ? T. D. Mutch, typescript 'Works of Henry Lawson Published in the Bulletin, 1887-1922', Mutch papers, Item 29; Henry Lawson to George Robertson, n.d., (c. October 1917), *Correspondence re Selected Poems*, iii, 332, Mitchell Library A 1877; 'The Old Mile Tree', *Miscellaneous MSS.—Verse*, i, 111, Mitchell Library A 1869; 'The Ports of the Open Sea', *Australian Manuscripts*, ii, Alexander Turnbull Library Q 091; 'The Writer's Dream', loc. cit. On the reverse of one sheet of this poem there is the opening of a letter to Banjo Paterson dated 'Sept 1st 97'.
- ²⁹ Gertrude O'Connor, *Notes upon the Personal Life of Henry Lawson*; Bertha Lawson, 'Memories' in *Henry Lawson* by his Mates, p. 99; 'The Uncultured Rhymers to his Cultured Critics', *Sydney Bulletin Writers: MSS. and Portraits*, i, 2, Alexander Turnbull Library Q 091; Gertrude O'Connor, op. cit.
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- ³¹ *SHL*, ii, 84.
- ³² Henry Lawson to George Robertson, 15 February 1917, *Correspondence re Selected Poems*, i, 88, Mitchell Library A 1875.
- ³³ Henry Lawson to David Scott Mitchell, 11 February 1902, Mitchell Library MS. A1 29/-3. Cf. Henry Lawson to Jack Louissou, 3 January 1900, 'I was worried and ill and up to my neck in trouble all the time in Wellington last time, so I don't suppose you've got very cheerful recollections of me.'—*Sydney Bulletin Writers: MSS. and Portraits*, i, 170, Alexander Turnbull Library, Q 091.
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- ³⁶ Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, pp. 161-3.

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- ¹¹ Hon. J. R. Hanan, Minister of Justice in New Zealand, personal communication, 14 December 1965.
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- ²¹ Comments on a letter from Mrs Moss, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 3.
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- ²⁴ C. O. Palmer, 'Henry Lawson, Australian Poet, Spent Five Happy Months Near Kaikoura', *Star* (Christchurch), 4 June 1927, p. 23.
- ²⁵ 'Elderman's Lane: The Kids', *Bulletin*, 19 June 1913, p. 48; Henry Lawson to ? George Robertson, n.d., Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 1; Henry Lawson to Hugh MacCallum, 25 June 1897, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 7.
- ²⁶ 'A Daughter of Maoriland', *SHL*, i, 402.
- ²⁷ Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ch. iv.
- ²⁸ Charles Kingsley, *Westward Ho!*, ch. xxvii.
- ²⁹ Loc. cit.
- ³⁰ Op. cit., chs. xxv, xxvii.
- ³¹ 'The Old Mile Tree', *Miscellaneous MSS.—Verse*, i, 111, Mitchell Library A 186g; *Bulletin*, 23 November 1911, p. 44.

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- ² Arthur H. Adams, 'The Experiences of Clarence. III—The Real Maori Maid', *Lone Hand*, 1 February 1908, pp. 381-7.
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- ⁴ Robert H. Scott, *Ngamihi, or The Maori Chief's Daughter*, p. 157.
- ⁵ F. Rollett, 'Pomare's Death', *Bulletin*, 10 July 1897, p. 28.
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- 12 Alfred A. Grace, 'Pirimona', *Bulletin*, 24 July 1897, p. 27.
- 13 Alfred A. Grace, 'Told in the Puia', *Bulletin*, 31 July 1897, p. 28.
- 14 Henry Lawson to Lord Beauchamp, 19 January 1900, Mitchell Library MS. A 3102.
- 15 'A Daughter of Maoriland', *The Antipodean*, 3, 1897, p. 34.
- 16 Henry Lawson to Angus and Robertson, 14 January 1899, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 8.
- 17 The MS. of 'The Writer's Dream' is in *Australian Manuscripts*, ii, Alexander Turnbull Library MS. Q 091.
- 18 Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, p. 73; C. H. Bertie, 'On the Trail of Henry Lawson', *The Home*, August 1929, p. 92.
- 19 Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, pp. 260-1.
- 20 Henry Lawson. Draft of letter to editor of *Lone Hand*, 7 November 1907, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 8. See also C. H. Bertie, 'On the Trail of Henry Lawson', *The Home*, August 1929, p. 82; Denton Prout, *Henry Lawson, the Grey Dreamer*, p. 261.
- 21 Bertha Lawson, *My Henry Lawson*, p. 127; Rebecca Wiley, 8 July 1943, in Mutch papers, Item 25.
- 22 T. D. Mutch to Mr Cousins, 27 July 1943, Mutch papers, Item 21.
- 23 See *The Polychrome: 'Selected Poems' of Henry Lawson*, Mitchell Library MS. A 1871; *Correspondence re Selected Poems of Henry Lawson*, Mitchell Library MS. A 1875.
- 24 Henry Lawson, *Verses: Emendations by McKee Wright and others*, vol. 3, Mitchell Library MS. A 1880.
- 25 Charles Oscar Palmer, 'Henry Lawson . . .', *Star* (Christchurch), 4 June 1927, p. 23.
- 26 'The author' might be any of several writers. If one takes 'ancient lore' to mean pre-European traditions, the first work to come to mind is Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* published in English in 1855 and 1885. But Tregear himself had written on 'Old Maori Civilization' in *Transactions of the N.Z. Institute*, 1894, and on 'The Maoris of New Zealand' in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1890. Other candidates are Richard Taylor's *Te Ika a Maui* (1855, 1870), Edward Shortland's *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (1854, 1856), John White's *Ancient History of the Maori* (1887-90, 1891), 'Lectures on Maori Customs and Superstitions', (*AJHR*, 1861) and *Te Rou or the Maori at Home* (1874). Though they could hardly be called 'ancient lore' Lawson had read F. E. Maning, *Old New Zealand* (1863, 1876), and probably W. T. L. Travers, *Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha* (1872) and possibly J. W. Stack, *Kaiaupohia, the Story of a Siege* (1893). Any or all of these works could have been brought to his attention by Tregear. Grey, Taylor, and Maning were recommended in the Native Schools Code.
- 27 Comments on a letter from Mrs Moss, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 3.

- 28 Emma Brooks to J. F. Thomas, 28 February 1924, Mitchell Library MS. A1 29/-2.
 29 T. Inglis Moore, 'The Rise and Fall of Henry Lawson', *Meanjin*, XVI, 4, December 1957, p. 371.

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- 1 J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 27 May 1959.
 2 Mrs M. E. Moss to Henry Lawson, 27 November 1910, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 3.
 3 Henry Lawson to George Robertson, 28 March 1917, *Correspondence re Selected Poems of Henry Lawson*, ii, 260.
 4 'The Land of Living Lies' (1908), *Verse and Prose*, p. 84, Dixson Library MS. Q 39.
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 8 Arthur S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, vol. i, pp. 264-6. See also *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, XVI (1831-2), pp. 237-9.
 9 Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand*, pp. 4-6.
 10 Taare Wetere Te Kahu, 'The Wars of Kai-Tahu (Ngai-Tahu) with Kati-Toa (Ngati-Toa)', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, X, 38, June 1901, pp. 96-7.
 11 J. W. Stack, *Kaiapohia, the Story of a Siege*, pp. 43-4. Reprinted as 'The Sacking of Kaiapohia' in W. T. L. Travers and J. W. Stack, *The Stirring Times of Te Rauaparaha*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, [1906].
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 17 *CP*, 337.
 18 Will Lawson, 'Henry Lawson and his Ghost', *N.Z. Listener*, 23 January 1953, p. 8.
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²¹ 'A Note from Henry at the Coast Hospital', *Bulletin*, 22 September 1921, p. 27; 'The Low Lighthouse', *Bulletin*, 17 November 1921, p. 47.

²² Henry Lawson to Walter Walker, 27 September 1921, Mitchell Library Uncat. MSS. Set 184, Item 8.

²³ J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 27 May 1959.

²⁴ *AJHR*, 1924, E-3, p. 4; 1906, E-1, p. 49.

²⁵ E. T. Baas to J. F. Thomas, 26 January 1925, Mitchell Library MS. A1 29/-2.

²⁶ J. M. Sherrard, personal communication, 31 January 1965.

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W. H. Pearson, M.A. (N.Z.), Ph.D. (Lond.), Senior Lecturer in English at the University of Auckland, at present holds a Senior Research Fellowship in the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University, where he is studying imaginative literature in English on the Pacific islands.