

NGĀTI RAUKAWA AND 20th CENTURY WARS

NGĀ PAKANGA O TE AO

PARTICIPATION, PRICE, AND POST-WAR EXPERIENCE



Anzac Day, 2018, Te Rau o te Aroha Māori Battalion Hall, Palmerston North

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.0 KUA WHAWHAI MĀTOU - A BRIEF HISTORY OF NGĀTI RAUKAWA IN BATTLE	10
1.1 Tamāio and Raukawa vs Ngāti Hā, Ngāti Hia	11
1.2 Brothers fighting against Ngāti Kahupungapunga	12
1.3 Wairangi's Haka	13
1.4 Kapumanawawhiti	15
1.5 Links between Ngāti Raukawa, Waikato and Ngāti Toa	15
1.6 Hingakaka	16
1.7 Wahineiti	17
1.8 Hape-ki-Tūārangi	18
1.9 Hangahanga	19
1.10 Hape's death	19
1.11 Amiowhenua	20
1.12 Piraunui	24
1.13 Ngāti Raukawa Arrive in the South	24
1.14 Taikapuruā and Ihakara Tukumarū - Te Hokowhitu-ā-Kuri	26
1.15 Ngāti Raukawa battles of conquest	26
1.16 Haowhenua conflict	27
1.17 Kuititanga Conflict	27
1.18 Christianity & arrival of NZ Company	29
1.19 Conclusions	30
2.0 LARGE-SCALE COLONISATION LED TO CONFLICT	31
2.1 Introduction	31
2.2 Wairau conflict	33
2.3 Heretaunga/Hutt Valley/Manawatū	37
2.4 From Dominance to Economically Dispossessed	42
2.5 Conclusion	53

3.0 NGĀTI RAUKAWA PARTICIPATION IN WORLD WAR ONE - SACRIFICE, SCARS AND LEADERS LOST	55
3.1 The Twentieth Century Begins with a Wave of Patriotism & Pro-British Fervour	55
3.1.1 Anglo-Boer Wars	55
3.1.2 Volunteer Mounted Rifles - many Ngāti Raukawa sign up	56
3.1.3 Scouts and school cadets	60
3.1.4 Non-fighting Māori contingents - to Australia and Britain (1900s)	62
3.1.5 Ngāti Raukawa in the Boer War & a musical composition by Mere Symons (nee Cook)	65
3.2 World War 1 - Ngāti Raukawa participation strong	69
3.2.1 Rikihana Carkeek	70
3.2.2 Māori MPs and some Iwi call for a Māori contingent	72
3.2.3 Tahiwī whānau	73
3.2.4 The Māori Contingent at Gallipoli - fighting with bayonets, ancestral spirits invoked	77
3.2.5 'Shocking' Attrition rates at Gallipoli	83
3.2.6 Māori contingent under threat of being broken up	84
3.2.7 Further Ngāti Raukawa casualties	86
3.2.8 Ngāti Raukawa at Gallipoli and haka	86
3.2.9 Sgt Horo Karauti, Ngāti Tukorehe, Ohau - distinguished army career and large collection Alexander Turnbull Library	88
3.2.10 Royal whānau profile - 19th century, & World Wars 1-2	90
3.2.11 The Dansey Brothers - Roger and Harry	94

3.3 Waikato resistance to compulsory conscription	99
3.4 In France - Heavy losses continue despite ‘combat support’ role	102
3.5 Taking Le Quesnoy, where Harry Jacob earned his Military Cross	109
3.6 Harry Jacob (Ngāti Huia ki Matau) - Honoured in War and as a Rugby representative	111
3.7 Summary & data analysis - 1900 to WW1	126
3.8 Grievances	115
4.0 BACK IN AOTEAROA - FUND-RAISING, INFLUENZA, HOME-COMING & AFTER-EFFECTS	128
4.1 Introduction	128
4.2 Fund-raising to support our Soldiers & Public Honouring of Ngāti Raukawa soldiers	128
4.3 Health context and influenza epidemic 1918	136
4.4 Homecoming for our Ngāti Raukawa men	140
4.5 On-going military service between wars	143
4.6 Post-war illness & inadequate Government support	144
4.7 Whenua - more Māori land taken and given to Pakeha (veterans)	151
4.8 Health impact of war & piecemeal, poorly paid work - whānau struggled	158
4.9 Conclusions	162
5.0 KEY PEOPLE AND EVENTS - NGĀTI RAUKAWA WORLD WAR TWO	164
5.1 Introduction	164
5.2 Capt Rangi Royal & the First Bayonet Charge of the War, and	165

Maleme Airport, Crete	
5.3 Bayonet charge at 42nd Street	171
5.4 Libya - events at Gazala	176
5.5 Capt Pirimi Tahiwī & nephews - WW2	181
5.5.1 Corporal Remana Te Hana (802232), 28 Maori Battalion - nephew of Pirimi and Henare Tahiwī - excerpt from biography by Deanna Rudd, AWMM, OLC)	181
5.5.2 Kingi Te Ahoaho Gilling Tahiwī (411951), broadcaster and pilot	182
5.6 Haane Manahi - Distinguished Conduct Medal - (Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa & Scottish)	183
5.7 Sgt Thomas Tulloch, Ngāti Kapu, Distinguished Conduct Medal	185
5.8 Sgt Tumata (Toi) Graham, 67779 WW2- Rodney Graham tells Te Kenehi about “the Monkey Brigade”.	186
5.9 What was the character of D Company? by Te Kenehi Teira	186
5.10 J-force & more - including Ruth Howell, the only Ngāti Raukawa WAAC to serve overseas	188
5.11 Brian Poananga 824356, - First Māori chief of General Staff, NZ Army,	190
5.12 Conclusions	194
6.0 NGATI RAUKAWA IN AOTEAROA BEFORE, DURING & AFTER WW2	195
6.1 Towards Enlistment - Push and Pull Factors	195
6.2 Māori battalion formed 1939- 1940 - Many Ngāti Raukawa men enlist	201
6.3 War Effort on the Home Front	204
6.4 Kingi Tahiwī & Ngāti Poneke - awarded an OBE for War Effort	211

WW2	
6.5 28 Māori Battalion Successes Celebrated	214
6.6 Scale of Ngati Raukawa Loss in WW2	216
6.7 Insufficient Care for Men Returning from War	216
6.7.1 Discharged Soldier Settlement Land	216
6.7.2 The Maori Soldiers' Fund	217
6.7.3 Ngāti Raukawa Prisoners of War	218
6.7.4 Pensions - Scarce since 1915, better during & after WW2, except J-force	223
6.7.5 Army employment and rehabilitation	224
6.7.6 Any benefit gained from participation in WW2?	225
6.8. Conclusions	229
7. SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	233

TABLE OF FIGURES

1.	Te Harore o Kapu, Waotu, photo Collins & Teira 2013	11
2.	Pare over door at Pakake Taiari, Mōkai, Taupo, photo Collins & Teira 2016,	15
3.	Te Rauparaha, watercolour, I.Coates, ATL PA2-2268, & Te Rangihaeata, watercolour, C.Heaphy, ATL CO-025-022	17
4.	Ihakara Te Hokowhitu-ā-Kuri Tukumarū, PA1-o-423-10-1, ATL	26
5.	Rev Octavius Hadfield, Rev Octavius Hadfield, c 1860, ATL, Publ-0217-001,	29
6.	Lambton Harbour, 1841, C.Heaphy, ATL C-026-001-B	33
7.	George Grey, c1860, photo D. Mundy, ATL, PA2-1182, p34	37
8.	Ngati Tama leader Te Kaeaea, aka Taringakuri, c1850s, p35	35
9.	Matai-taua pā, Pauatahanui, W.Swainson, c1847, p36	36
10.	Military operations in Wellington district, 1846. ATL, Map Coll, CHA 4/3/3, p38	38
11.	Huirangi Cross, inland Taranaki, 1861 memorial, Collins & Teira 2017, p44	46
12.	Uniformed men, Papawai marae, Greytown with Seddon & Carrol, c1900-1910, ATL PA Group 00412, Vosseler, F.W.	52
13.	Maori War Effort Organisation, Wanganui, OHJ, OHS, 2004, p54	58
14.	Te Oneroiokatia (Jack) Himiona, Fielding Mounted Rifles, Akuhata Himiona whanau	60
15.	Māori Coronation Contingent 1902. Photo: Wairoa Museum Collection, 96/115/83	63
16.	Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, c1900. Photograph by W.J.Topley (1845-1930), Wikipedia	64
17.	Boer War medal, Willie Collins; cover 'Ake Ake Waltz', Mary Symons, Cook whanau journal, p63	67
18.	1899 Farewell to Boer War volunteers, Raukawa marae, photo, R.Waaka.	95
19.	Rikihana Carkeek, wounded Gallipoli, Auckland Weekly News 30 September 1915, p67.	71
20.	Capt Tahiwī, Lt Stainton and 2/Lt Pohio on ship in August 1917,. Photo: R.Waaka collection	75
21.	Cpl Henare Tahiwī. Photo: AWMM, Auckland Weekly News, 28 October 1915, p72	76

22.	Pte Tau aka Te Matau Paranihi, DCM, Gallipoli, AWMM	80
23.	Pte Daniel Ransfield, AWMM, Auckland Weekly News, 4 Nov 1915	86
24.	Sgt Horopapera Karauti. ATL, PA-Coll-8921, 1878-1932	87
25.	Capt Roger Dansey & Te Rangihiroa Buck, digging trench at Malta.ATL, PA-Coll-7171-5	94
26.	'NZEF in Egypt 1914-16 map', URL: https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/nzef-egypt-1914-16-map , Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 2-Apr-2015	98
27.	Lt/Cpl Arona McGregor, Koputaroa, Levin. AWMM, AWN, 11 Jan 1917, p101	105
28.	Drawing by Jenny Cooper from 'Le Quesnoy, the story of the town New Zealand saved' by Glyn Harper, 2012, Picture Puffin	109
29.	New Zealand flag on Le Quesnoy Town Hall, photograph 1918 by H.A. Sanders. ATL, ½-013787-G	110
30.	Lt H. Jacob, New Zealand Pioneer (Maori) battalion, AWMM. Photo: Kylie Coles, p111.	111
31.	Akuhata Himiona, wounded, at military hospital, possibly Cairo. Whanau research group	120
32.	Otaki Maori Brass Band arriving Basin Reserve, Wellington, to play at Maori carnival, 900, probably C.O.Rosenberg. ATL, PA1-o-127-12	129
33.	Nurse Ethel Lewis, ambulance for Maori Pioneer battalion, and New Zealand flag, fund-raising by Otaki children, OHS, compilation R.Kerr 2016	138
34.	Postcard, Ken Atkin series, showing Otaki sanitorium, Haruatai Park, Mill Rd (date not shown). HHS	143
35.	Rota Hohipuha, photo supplied R.Waaka, 2.12.21	155
36.	Major Rangi Royal, Auckland Weekly News, 4 Feb 1942. AWNS-19420204-24-1	165
37.	Tom Jamison with Rangi Royal's WW2 tin trunk.	176
38.	Gunner Jack Seymour, photo P.Seymour,	180
39.	Cover, NZ Listener 1942, Pilot Officer Kingi Te Ahoaho Gilling Tahiwī, AWMM.	183
40.	Māori battalion HQ members Kiwi Cribb (left), and Whiwī Winiata (rear, left) in jeep at Sora, Italy	188
41.	Ruth Ransfield, WAAC, Wellington & J-force. Photo: D.Taylor.	190
42.	Takihiku cultural group, (1930s) private collection T.K.Teira.	206

43.	Te Rau o te Aroha Maori Battalion Hall, Palmerston North	207
44.	Workers at a Services Vege Production Project near Levin, Pascoe, J.D. ATL, ¼-000258-F	209
45.	Kingi Tahiwī, c1935, photo S.P. Andrew. ATL, PA Coll-3739. ½-043370-F.	212
46.	Peter Hakaraia, 5142 (standing), with John Winterburn (left) and R.Smith, c1939. Photo: P.Hakaraia	220

ABBREVIATIONS

AJHR - Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives

ATL - Alexander Turnbull Library

AWMM - Auckland War Memorial Museum

OLC - On-line Cenotaph web-site, AWMM

DNZB - Dictionary of New Zealand Biography

JPS - Journal of the Polynesian Society

Te Ara - Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand

OMB - Otaki Native Land Court Minute Book

WMB - Waikato Native Land Court Minute Book

OHJ (OHS) - Otaki Historical Journal (Otaki Historical Society)

HHS - Horowhenua Historical Society

TPRSNZI - Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand Institute

EP - Evening Post

BoE - Brief of Evidence

DCM - Distinguished Conduct Medal

MS - Manuscript

CFRT - Crown Forestry Rental Trust

KO TE MIHI:

Tuia te rangi e tū nei, tuia te papa e takoto nei, tuia rātou kua wehe
Anei ngā mihi, ngā tangi ki a koutou ngā hoia o ngā pakanga o te ao.
Anei ngā whakaaro o te pae maumahara i timata
i roto i ngā korero tuku iho o Mōtai Tāngata Rau.
No reira, rārangi maunga tu te ao, tu te pō, rārangi tāngata ka ngaro, ka ngaro.
Koutou o te puna aroha koutou kua wheturangitia, haere, haere, haere.
Apiti hono, tatai hono, rātou te hunga mate ki te hunga mate,
Apiti hono, tatai hono, tātou te hunga ora ki a tātou,
tēnā koutou ngā whānau, ngā hapū, me ngā karangatanga maha o tō tātou rohe nei,
mai Waitapu ki Rangataua, mai Miriatekakara ki Kukutauaki,
koutou i hapai tēnei kaupapa hei maumaharatia ngā korero o neherā.
Anei ngā mihi, ngā whakawhetai kia koutou ngā whanaunga, ngā rangatira,
hei tatakihia ngā reanga i ā omuri ake nei.

He mihi ki to tatou ropu whakahaere e pā ana ki te ripoata nei.

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Tairangahia o tuawhakarere, ka kore tātou e warewaretia,
ngā mahi o ngā tupuna me ngā whakatupuranga o te ope taua ārai hoariri.

No reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

Nā Te Kenehi Teira

1.0 KUA WHAWHAI MĀTOU - A BRIEF HISTORY OF NGĀTI RAUKAWA IN BATTLE

‘Te ika i te ati’¹ or ‘mata-ika’² (the first slain) and ‘te rau o te patu’³ (the blade of the patu) were some of the terms relevant to battle for Ngāti Raukawa and other Tainui iwi. Other associated kupu were ‘riri’ (anger), taua (war party), utu (revenge, or seeking balance) and Te Hokowhitu a Tū (the 140 warriors of Tūmatauenga). Leaders were of two types - rangatira and tohunga.⁴ There was a spiritual kaupapa relevant to fighting, and karakia were important to propitiate atua - for Ngāti Raukawa and Tainui people these atua included Uenuku (a war god associated with rainbows) and Tūmatauenga. The carved representation of Uenuku, now at Te Awamutu museum, may have been taken to Lake Ngaroto, where it was later found, to support Ngāti Raukawa and allies in the battle of Hingakaka.⁵ There are many variations of the name Tū, including Tu-kai-tāua and Tū-kai-tangata. Men were made tapu by karakia before battle, and haka were also performed. These practices boosted confidence, strength, and spiritual protection. They also intimidated the enemy, if within earshot.

Fighting was part of the lives of our Ngāti Raukawa tupuna, as it was for all iwi. Weapons such as mere, patu and taiaha were artfully crafted, highly valued, passed from one generation to another and named after tupuna eg Te Rauparaha’s taiaha, Kimihia. While a taua, or fighting force, was predominantly men, wahine also participated, and their presence was noted at times during or after battles eg Te Rauparaha’s wife Te Akau and Te Peehi Kupe’s wife Tiatia joining the fighting men in a conflict with Ngāti Maniapoto north of Mokau during Te Heke Tahutahuahi, & Topeora sparing the life of Te Ratutonu in Taranaki by claiming him for herself. Topeora was said to have been involved with her brother Te Rangihaeata and uncles in strategizing towards battles and wrote a famous kaioara or cursing song calling for utu on Ngāti Pou after they killed

¹ Ross Calman, *He Pukapuka Tātaku i Ngā Mahi a Te Rauparaha Nui Nā Tamihana Te Rauparaha, A Record of the Live of the Great Te Rauparaha*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2020, p. 52.

² Basil Keane, 'Riri - traditional Māori warfare', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB), 20 June 2012 <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/riri-traditional-maori-warfare> (accessed 22 July 2021).

³ Matene Te Whiwhi and others to Governor General, 5 July 1881, Archives NZ MA-MLP1 24

⁴ Keane, 20 June, 2012.

⁵ Heeni Collins & Te Kenehi Teira, *Raukawa, the many descendants of Motai Tangata Rau*, Creative NZ (unpublished), Chap. 4, 2016.

members of her whānau.⁶ Utu was the reason for many battles, with causes including inter-generational enmity, mana, insults, wahine, and whenua. Raiding parties, local or travelling, were also common, and sometimes associated with muru (the taking of goods for a breach in tikanga). Training for battle became a unifying and important part of Ngāti Raukawa culture, and certain places became known for it, eg Te Rape o Huia and Te Harore o Kapu, south of Waotu (near Putaruru), a natural amphitheatre, now surrounded by pine-forests, see below.⁷



Photo:
Collins &
Teira,
26.1.2013

1.1 TAMAIO & RAUKAWA VS NGATI HA, NGATI HIA

While the lifetimes of the brothers Whatihua and Turongo, and Turongo's son Raukawa had been largely peaceful, significant conflicts began when Raukawa was older, and involved Whatihua's grandson Tamāio,⁸ who became known for devising deceptive strategies. A Tainui and Ngāti Hia force fought against Ngāti Hā near Otorohanga, and Tamāio led a further battle south of Te Kuiti. A peace-making arrangement there included Tamāio's marriage to Hinemata, daughter of a defending chief. Raukawa and Tamāio now fought against their former allies, Ngāti Hia, eg at Kakamutu, Otorohanga. When Tamāio returned to Kawhia, the mana of these lands went to Raukawa's sons Rereahu and Whakaterere, until Whakaterere moved further east into the Waikato valley. Tamāio and

⁶ Teremoana Sparks and W. H. Oliver. 'Te Rangitopeora', DNZB, Te Ara, first published in 1990, updated April, 2012, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t103/topeora-rangi-te-kuini> (accessed 22 July 2021).

⁷ Personal communication, Ruthana Begbie, 19 August 2021. All of Ngāti Raukawa trained there, between the areas of Ngati Huia and Ngati Ngarongo. (Photo: H.Collins, 26.1.2013)

⁸ On his mother's side, Tamāio was also a descendant of Tuhianga, Tawhao's brother. He was brought up in Kawhia.

Hinemata's daughter Rangianewa married Rereahu, bringing the descendants of Whatihua and Turongo together, despite the earlier division between those two brothers. Raukawa was strongly associated with the Wharepungu area, and the traditions of the whare wānanga at Rangiatea (near Waikeria), but also with Te Kaokaoroa o Patatere, east to the Kaimai range where he was born. Both of Raukawa's sisters had married descendants of Whatihua, again forging the descendants of the two brothers together. Another marriage that reconnected Whatihua and Turongo's descendants was that of Huitao and Hinetore, granddaughter of Tukorehe.⁹ Some of Raukawa's descendants also moved to Maungatautari.

Rereahu's descendants (Ngāti Maniapoto) got into conflict with the descendants of the other three siblings (Whakatere, Kurawari and Takihiku) later for various reasons. One example was that a planned taumau marriage between Rereahu's grand-daughter Rangipare and Takihiku's son Wairangi, which would have strengthened connections, fell apart when Rangipare eloped with her cousin, Maniapoto's son. Ngāti Raukawa as we know it today descend mostly from the three younger children of Raukawa – Whakatere, Kurawari and Takihiku. However, many of our whānau and hapū of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga are also of Ngāti Maniapoto descent and maintain those connections, such as Ngāti Rangatahi,¹⁰ Ngāti Matakore, parts of Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Pikiahu, and Ngāti Whakatere. The descendants of Ngatokowaru such as Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Ngarongo, Ngāti Turanga and Ngāti Te Au all descend from Maniapoto.

1.2 BROTHERS FIGHTING AGAINST NGĀTI KAHUPUNGAPUNGA

It was the oldest sons of Raukawa's son Takihiku - Tamatehura, Wairangi, Upokoiti and Pipito - who became known as the 'fighting brothers'. Their younger brother Ngakohua was too young and stayed at home when the major battles against Kahupungapunga occurred. Tamatehura and his three brothers fought alongside their cousin Whāita (son of Raukawa's daughter Kurawari), and Whakatere's son Poutu. Together they defeated Ngāti Kahupungapunga, expanding their territory south towards Taupo and east towards Rotorua. The death of Whāita's sister, Koroukore, wife of Purahore, was one of the

⁹ T.K.Teira, 11.1.22.

¹⁰ Ngāti Rangatahi became closely associated with Te Rangihaeata, who fought for their rights in Heretaunga (Hutt Valley), and then supported their settlement at Te Reureu.

causes of the conflict with Ngāti Kahupungapunga, with whom the Tainui people had previously lived in peace. Jones dates the conflict with Ngāti Kahupungapunga to around 1650.¹¹

1.3 WAIRANGI'S HAKA

The earliest known Ngāti Raukawa fighting haka, composed around the time of these battles, is known as Wairangi's haka and is referred to by Jones & Biggs¹² and Te Rangihiroa Peter Buck¹³. There is also a version written by a Ngāti Raukawa man named Poututerangi, which was given to Ben Keys at Kihikihi in 1908.¹⁴ Briefly, Wairangi's wife Parewhete had been unfaithful to Wairangi while he was away from their kainga at Wharepuhunga on a birding trip, and when he found out, he had struck her in anger. She had fled to join her lover, Tupeteka, towards Hauraki. Travelling alone, she followed Tupeteka's trail to Te Āea, near Te Aroha, where she re-united with him. But perhaps deliberately, she had also left markings for Wairangi and his group to follow her. Wairangi and his brothers Tamatehura, Upokoiti and Pipito formed a war party to attack Tupeteka at Te Āea. When they arrived Tupeteka pretended to offer manaakitanga and protection, while waiting for allies from Hauraki to arrive, to be sure of defeating Wairangi's large party. The shelter he provided them for them was a wharau, a recently-built shed below the pā. Then Parewhete's aroha for Wairangi was demonstrated, when she spoke within earshot¹⁵ and warned him with the words, "He aha koe i haere mai i te rourou iti a Haere? Tē noho atu ai koe i te tōkanga nui a Noho!" Wairangi sent a man to scout out their hosts' intentions, and heard that his party would be attacked at dawn the next day.

When Wairangi and his relatives heard this news, they discussed what to do. They decided to compose a haka to engage and distract their hosts, with each brother leading a verse in turn. Tamatehura would begin, then Upokoiti and Pipito, and Wairangi would

¹¹ Pei Te Hurinui Jones & Bruce Biggs, *Ngā Iwi o Tainui: The Traditional History of the Tainui People*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1995, p. 138.

¹² Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. 144-149.

¹³ Te Rangihiroa, from Hitiri Paerata & others, 'Wairangi, he tipuna nō Ngāti Raukawa', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (JPS), Vol 19, No. 4, 1910, p. 197-200.

¹⁴ Ben Keys, Papers (Microfilm of Ms-Papers-0407), Ref: Copy-Micro-0724-1, Folder 7. Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), 1878-1951, pp. 16-37.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-37. In Poututerangi's version she went to Wairangi, and haehae (cut herself), seeking his forgiveness and by spilling her blood on him, she would protect him from being eaten.

end. On his final words, “a tē, a tā, a taū!” they would attack. They sent word to Parewhete to tell her to climb onto the roof of the whare, so she would not be killed. As dawn broke, they came out of their whare and began to haka. This version is from Jones & Biggs (1995, pp. 149):¹⁶

‘Tamatehura: Ko te Āea o ia rangi, ko te Āea o ia rangi, hui ake!

Te nuinga: Ko te Āea o ia rangi, o ia rangi, o ia rangi!

Upokoiti: Ka whakakōpura Ruarangi-hape, teina o Tupeteka e!

Te nuinga: O Tupeteka e! O Tupeteka e!

Upoko-iti: Huakina!

Te nuinga: Huakina! Huakina!

Pipito: Puhi kura, puhi kura, puhi kākā. Ka whakatautapa ki Kāwhia. Huakina!

Te nuinga: Huakina! Huakina! (I konei kua ara te mātua, kua tū kei runga)

Wairangi: Kātahi ka riri, i toru ka whā. Matamata hopukia!

Te nuinga: Hōmai rā tō whiri kaha, toro kaha. Kia wetewetea, wetewetea
A tē, a tā, a tau!’

Translation:

Tama-te-hura: Te Aea of everyday fame, of everyday fame, gather here!

Chorus: Te Āea of everyday fame, of everyday fame!

Upoko-iti: Ruarangi-hape, brother of Tupeteka, dazzles like the Morning Star!

Chorus: Tupeteka, Tupeteka!

Upoko-iti: Charge!

Chorus: Charge! Charge!

Pipito: Red plumes! Red plumes! Parrot plumes challenging Kāwhia! Charge!

Chorus: Charge! Charge!

Tupeteka and his relations had come out of the pā to watch the haka, and Tupeteka had even lain down on the ground, not seeing the patu that Wairangi and his brothers held behind their backs. Parewhete had told him which man was Wairangi. Despite the

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 16-37.

fighting meaning of the kupu, when Wairangi and his brothers attacked after their final words (a tē, a tā, a tau!), Tupeteka was taken by surprise. He was held firmly by an ally of Wairangi's seated nearby, and then killed by Wairangi with his taiaha. Tupeteka's people were all killed and the pā destroyed by fire. Ngāti Tumutumu was the name of the hapū there – they were descendants of Whakaterere (Poututerangi) but are included as a hapū of the Hauraki area. Parewhete had taken refuge on the roof of the whare, survived, and was taken back to Rurunui (Wharepuhunga) by Wairangi.¹⁷



Caption: Pare on the whare Pakake Taiari, Mōkai, north Taupō, showing Wairangi and his brothers doing haka (Collins & Teira, 2016).

1.4 KAPUMANAWAWHITI

Kapumanawawhiti and his brother Haetapunui, grandsons of Tamatehura, were both fighting chiefs, but Kapu was more quick-witted, and tricked his brother into going home before an important battle. Haetapunui, previously known as Haehaeora, was better known as a tohunga. Kapu was mentored by his great-grandfather Tukorehe, brother of Kauwhata, at Mangakino.¹⁸ Huia was given his name from the single huia feather worn by Kapu. Some say Ngatokowaru's name relates to eight pā which Kapu defeated north of Taranaki.¹⁹

¹⁷ Te Rangihira, 1910, p. 197-200.

¹⁸ Pers. comm, S. Ogden-Bennett, 7 February 2016.

¹⁹ Pers. comm, S. Ogden-Bennett, 8 February 2016; F. L Phillips, *Ngā Tohu a Tainui, Landmarks of Tainui, A geographical record of Tainui Traditional History*, Tohu Publishers, Otorohanga, 1989, pp. 103-4. A similar name, Ngatokawaru, eight rocks, is associated with the defeat of Raukawa at Puru Kawe Hue.

1.5 LINKS BETWEEN NGĀTI RAUKAWA, WAIKATO AND NGĀTI TOA

Ngatokowaru's eldest son was Te Autuoro. A Ngāti Mahuta source tells how Te Autuoro's daughter Toreheikura was given to Waikato 'fighting adventurer' Te Huaki as wife by Ngatokowaru, after Ngatokowaru and Te Huaki had fought together against Te Arawa at Te Tumu, near Maketu.²⁰ Boundary disputes led to hostilities between Ngāti Raukawa and Waikato on the Horotiu plains, north of the Waikato river.²¹ Ngatokowaru and his men besieged a Ngāti Mahanga pā and kainga there, until Te Putu's son Tawhiakiterangi and his men arrived and defeated Ngāti Raukawa. One hundred Ngāti Raukawa chiefs were said to have been killed, their heads displayed on stakes at Taupiri. Ngatokowaru was taken captive, but requested to be taken to greet the aging chief Te Putu. As it was thought he had been dis-armed, his request was granted. As he greeted Te Putu, Ngatokowaru pulled out a hidden tete, or dagger, and stabbed the old man in the throat, spilling blood on himself so he would not be eaten. Though Ngatokowaru died and was buried at Taupiri after this occurred, his surprise attack on Te Putu is remembered and his name as a fighting chief respected.²²

An important early link between Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa was that a grand-daughter of Wehiwehi (son of Kauwhata) named Parehounuku became the wife of Toarangatira. Their son Marangai-paraoa was the father of Kimihia, great-grandfather of Te Rauparaha. Marangai-paraoa had avenged the death of Te Autuoro, so Korouaputa was obliged to give a daughter (Parekohatu) in marriage to Marangai-paraoa's grandson Werawera. Werawera and Parekohatu were the parents of Te Rauparaha, Waitohi etc. Marangai-paraoa had a sister named Moarikura, who married Kapumanawawhiti's son Mokai. There are many descendants of Moarikura and Mokai within Ngāti Kapu today.

1.6 HINGAKAKA

Hingakaka was a huge battle, with several thousand men from around the motu on both sides, fought between related tribes (Ngāti Toa/Ngāti Raukawa/Ngāti Kauwhata on one side, Ngāti Maniapoto/Kinohaku/Apakura on the other) at Ngaroto near Te Awamutu,

²⁰ B. Taylor (Ngāti Mahuta), <http://www.kawhia.maori.nz/maori-king.html> (accessed 19 August 2021).

²¹ Phillips, 1989, p. 84; Leslie G. Kelly, 'Tainui, the story of Hoturoa and his descendants', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (JPS), Wellington, 1949, pp. 248-251.

²² Kelly, 1949, p. 248

around the time of Te Rauparaha's birth.²³ Nigel Te Hiko states that Ngāti Raukawa people fought on both sides of this battle - some affiliating more closely with Ngāti Toa, some more closely with Maniapoto.²⁴ It was the last significant battle fought with traditional weapons, and was a huge loss for both Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. From the perspective of Raukawa and allies, the whenua where the battle occurred was in the rohe of Ngāti Kauwhata.²⁵ Tamihana Te Rauparaha states that chiefs of Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Awa died at Hingakaka. Ngāti Toa rangatira who died there included Pikauterangi, his younger twin brothers, and Rakaherea, husband of Te Rauparaha's older sister Waitohi, and father of Te Rangihaeata.²⁶

1.7 WAHINEITI

Wahineiti was the older brother of Hape, and both were prominent ariki, or high chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa in the late 1790s and early 1800s. Though Wahineiti was described as 'a high chief of the Ngāti Kauwhata, a sub-tribe of the Ngāti Raukawa',²⁷ it is probably more accurate to say that Wahineiti and Hape were Ngāti Raukawa rangatira with Ngāti Kauwhata whakapapa connections, and often fought alongside Ngāti Kauwhata as an allied and related iwi. The brothers (who had a sister Pareraukawa) lived at Maungatautari, Waotu and throughout the area conquered by Tamatehura. Their pā included Ohiti (in the Waikato, a pā of Ngāti Raukawa as a whole), Puketotara and Panetūtahi at Waotu, Pohaturoa near Atiamuri, Mangakoromiko, and Te Rorekahu at Tokoroa (built by Ngāti Kikopiri under Hape, Wahineiti and Rangitaiki).²⁸

'Wahineiti was a chief of Ngāti Raukawa and the whole of this land,' his descendant Aperehama Te Kume told the Native Land Court, regarding the Tokoroa area.²⁹ In the Whakamaru rehearing, he described a conflict between Ngāti Kikopiri and Ngāti Maniapoto in which both Wahineiti and Hape took part, which occurred at Tokoroa and the northern part of Whakamaru. Several Ngāti Kikopiri chiefs were killed at Tokoroa, and Ngāti Maniapoto invaded further south before retreating. 'Ngāti Kikopiri invaded

²³ A. Te Kairangi, *Ngā Toa History and Whakapapa*, Ref: Micro-MS-0949, 1881, p. 59.

²⁴ Statement of Evidence of Nigel Huirama Te Hiko on behalf of the Raukawa Charitable Trust, 2015, p. 6.

²⁵ Pers. comm, Te Kenehi Teira, 21 January 2016.

²⁶ Calman, 2020, pp. 58-59.

²⁷ Pei Te Hurinui Jones, 'He Maemae Mo Wahineiti', *Te Ao Hou*, 1966, pp. 19-21.

²⁸ Arekatera Te Puni, Waikato Minute Book (WMB), 10, Whakamaru Rehearing, 19 March 1883, p. 209.

²⁹ Aperehama Te Kume, Waikato Minute Book (WMB), 10, Whakamaru Rehearing, 19 March 1883, p. 180.

them in return under the leadership of Hape and Wahineiti. They were joined by the Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Maniapoto were defeated...Ngāti Kikopiri returned to Maungaiti.’

Wahineiti died after he and Hape joined an ill-fated raiding party of Ngāti Maru, which offended the Ngāti Tuwharetoa people of lake Taupo. While Wahineiti escaped the initial attack, he died of a mysterious cause, possibly mākutu, at northern Taupo near Orakei-Korako. A maimai aroha acknowledges his untimely and unfortunate death. Hape-ki-tūārangi, his teina, became the principal chief after his passing, and likewise had mana over vast lands.

1.8 HAPE-KI-TŪĀRANGI

Hearing about Hingakaka, Te Rauparaha became obsessed with the need for utu, and went to Maungatautari to train under his mother’s cousin Hapekitūārangi, renowned fighting chief of Ngāti Raukawa. He joined with Hape in fighting the Waikato tribes, forming a fighting group of 800 men. Tamihana Te Rauparaha described Hape as ‘te tino rangatira nui o Ngāti Raukawa o Maungatautari’, the principal chief of Ngāti Raukawa of Maungatautari. Tamihana states that Waikato was defeated by Hape and Te Rauparaha, in hand to hand combat (‘ka whawhai nei tētahi ki tētahi’) with the loss of a thousand Waikato men. Thus utu for the deaths at Hingakaka was achieved.³⁰

Conquest of Ngāti Kahupungapunga at Whakamaru (north-west Taupo) had been followed up by occupation by Huia, his son Kikopiri and grandson Hape-ki-tūārangi.³¹ ‘The pās of Ngāti Kikopiri were Te Rorekaahu and Pohaturoa,’ stated Aperehama te Kume, who also described a carved post, with a human figure, erected at Huriako by Hape. Birds and rats were important food sources in the ngahere there.³² Te Rauparaha was the grandson of Kikopiri’s older brother Korouaputa - his mother was Parekohatu. Waotu (near Putaruru) was also a place occupied by Ngāti Huia, including Kikopiri and Korouaputa, and was the place many left from when coming south. The whānau group known as Te Tuarā-nui-o-Pakake, which became a strong fighting force, descended from Parekohatu’s sister Parewahawaha, as well as Hape’s sister Pareraukawa - so from both Korouaputa and Kikopiri. This group also had Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Ngarongo

³⁰ Calman, 2020, pp. 58-61.

³¹ Te Puni, WMB, 10, Whakamaru rehearing, 19 March 1883, p. 209.

³² Te Kume, WMB, 10, Whakamaru rehearing, 19 March 1883, p. 180.

whakapapa.³³ The Pareraukawa whakapapa is through Whawha, wife of Pakake Taiari II. Te Ahukaramu, Te Hoia and Te Ruru were members of this whānau group. Te Rauparaha first accessed guns through his Ngāti Maru relations, who had traded for them from visiting European ships.

1.9 HANGAHANGA

Ngāti Whakatere had been living in their home area of Horotiu near Maungatautari for 20 years, until clashing with Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato in a battle at Hangahanga, c 1816. Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato were getting guns through their Ngā Puhi allies. Te Peehi Tukorehu had become angry with Hape for supporting Ngāti Whakatere and not doing enough to avenge the death of his grandmother Paretekawa, so he had transferred his allegiance from Ngāti Raukawa to Ngāti Maniapoto. Hangahanga was a pā south-west of Maungatautari mountain, possibly under the leadership of Te Whatanui, Kiharoa and Matangi.³⁴ Some of the hapū with rights at Hangahanga were Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Kapu, Ngāti Ngarongo, Ngāti Kauwhata and Ngāti Huia.³⁵ Ngāti Raukawa was very numerous with over 90 hapu at the time. The pā was besieged for nearly two months. An indication that Ngāti Raukawa had guns was that Te Ahukaramū is said to have fired his gun, from within the pā, and shot a man who had ascended a newly constructed tower outside the pā.³⁶ Then Te Akanui of Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngati Takihiku relented and allowed them to escape using vine ropes down a steep slope on the western side. Hence Hangahanga was not considered a total defeat, though the pā was lost.

1.10 HAPE'S DEATH

At Hape's death-bed, around 1819, Te Rauparaha declared that he was confident enough to take on the mantle of leadership for Ngāti Raukawa when Hape died. Hape had been so impressed with the young chief that he agreed - Te Whatanui, however, did not. Peehi Tukorehu had heard a prediction that Ngāti Raukawa would take Mangatoatoa after Hape's death, so in a pre-emptive move, attacked Hape's mourners at his tangi at

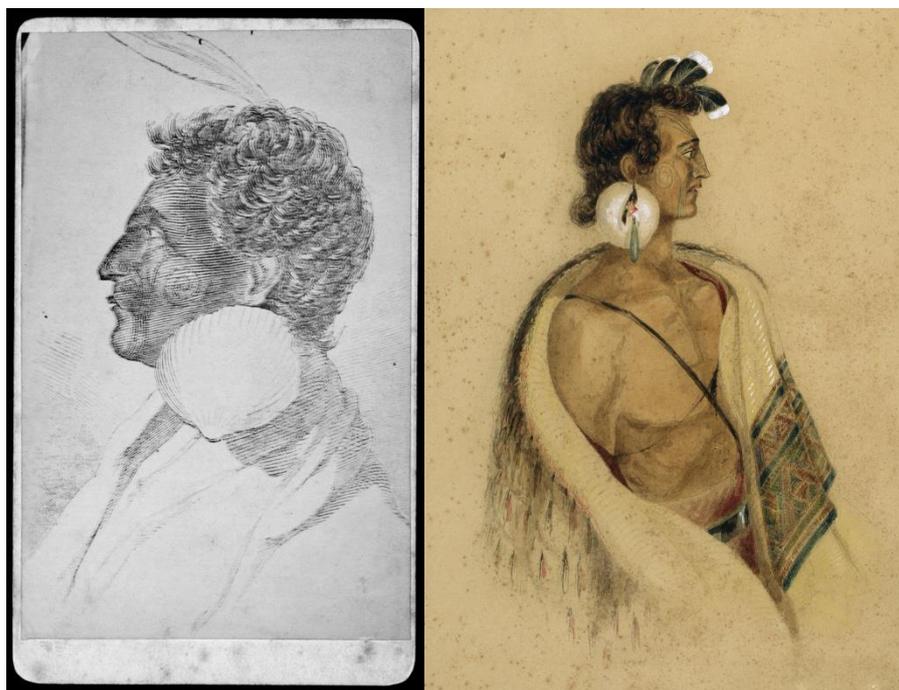
³³ Pers. comm, Te Kenehi Teira, 17 August 2021. Pakake Taiari's wife Parehingaawatea, was a daughter of Ngarongo. Their son was Rangipumamao, husband of Parewahawaha.

³⁴ R.D. Crosby, *The Musket Wars, a history of inter-iwi conflict 1806-45*. Reed Publishing, Auckland, 2001, p. 60; Te Hiko, 2015, p. 9.

³⁵ Te Winitana Tupotahi, Waikato Minute Book (WMB), 13, Cambridge, 16 August 1884, pp. 39-40.

³⁶ Te Winitana Tupotahi, WMB, 12, Cambridge, 7 August 1864, pp. 22-23.

Maungatautari, taking the pā.³⁷ Many Ngāti Raukawa began moving away to the east and south towards Taupo for greater security.



Engraving of Te Rauparaha (far left) based on an 1843 watercolour by Isaac Coates, ATL PA2-2268.

Te Rangihaeata (left), watercolour by Charles Heaphy, 1840, ATL CO-025-022.

1.11 AMIOWHENUA

There were two separate travelling raiding parties known as Amiowhenua, involving Waikato and Ngāti Raukawa men with guns, which occurred about 1819-21. The first was that led by Ngā Puhī chiefs Waka Nene and Patuone of Hokianga, joined by some Ngāti Whatua of Kaipara, and then by a large contingent of Ngāti Toa including Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha from Kawhia. Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata were also of Ngāti Huia, through their mothers. The Ngā Puhī had accessed guns from Europeans who had arrived in the northern harbours many years before.

This party, numbering over 400, travelled down the west coast to Taranaki and Whanganui and was successful in battles against the Whanganui people at Purua, and against the Ngāti Apa people at Rangitikei. Rangitane, Ngāti Apa and Muaupoko people were all attacked or displaced by the travelling party at this time. A peace deal may have occurred at Kapiti Island, when a mere was handed over, indicating submission by the occupants.³⁸ A strategic pā Waimapihi at Pukerua Bay was taken, but at Te Whanganui a

³⁷ Phillips, 1989, p. 137.

³⁸ Collins, H. *Ka Mate, Ka Ora! The Spirit of Te Rauparaha.* Wellington, Steele Roberts Ltd, 2010, pp. 30-33; Keepa Te Rangihiwini, Otaki Minute Book (OMB), 1, Kukutauaki case, 1872, p. 24.

Tara, the party found few people until they crossed the harbour and attacked a pā at Parangarehu, Pencarrow Head. Despite some losses, the party travelled north into the Wairarapa, where they are said to have killed thousands and taken many greenstone weapons³⁹. After returning around the south coast, further pā were taken at Heretaunga (Hutt Valley) before the party returned north to the Waikato. On the way, Muaupoko chiefs Taueki and Toheriri were captured and released as kaitiaki for Ngāti Toa at Manawatu and Ohau, and an alliance was formed with Ngāti Apa, involving Te Rangihaeata taking the captive wahine rangatira Te Pikinga as his wife.

The second large raiding party, known as Amiowhenua or ‘taua kai-tangata’ which occurred at the same time or shortly after, was that led by Peehi Tukorehu (Ngāti Paretekawa, Ngāti Ngarongo). It had been initiated by Ngāti Whatua of Kaipara, and then joined by Peehi Tukorehu and other Waikato men at their pā, Mangatoatoa, on the Waikato river. Rewi Maniapoto⁴⁰ listed the names of those involved, including several Ngāti Raukawa chiefs:

‘I heard Tupotahi’s evidence with regard to the Amiowhenua campaign and I confirm it. I myself saw the man Toi, the man who came to induce them to go on that expedition - the following tribes and hapus took part in that expedition, Ng’Whatua under Murupaenga, and Apihai Te Tawa, Ng’Maniapoto under Pehi Tukorehu, Te Akanui, Mahuta under Pura, Ng’Te Ata under Kaihau, Ng’Apakura under Hori Te Waru, Ng’Raukawa who had returned from Pawaiti, under [Kingi Te] Ahoaho and Matangi, and Ruamaiuru [Ruamaioro] and Kiharoa and Matia, and Ng’Te Kohera from Taupo under Te Momo, Te Kohika, Te Paerata; Ngāti Tuwharetoa under Te Heuheu, Te Riupawha, Tauteka, Te Rangimorehurehu; Ng’Te Rangīta under Kouauau. Amiowhenua was prior to Ngā Puhī’s taking the Totara pā.’⁴¹

Around 600 men, some with muskets, made up a frightening force as they travelled via Patatere towards Rotorua, Orakei-Korako, and crossed the Kaingaroa plains to Runanga and on to Te Roto-ā-Tara (near Te Aute). There they besieged and took a pā of Whatu-i-

³⁹ Te Kairangi, 1881, p. 65.

⁴⁰ Rewi Manga, later Rewi Maniapoto. His mother was from Ngāti Takihiku, through Ngakohua and Rakau-Paewai. T.K.Teira, 12.1.22.

⁴¹ Waikato Minute Book (WMB), 13, 21 August 84, p. 48; comments in square brackets, from T.K.Teira 11.2.22.

apiti, attacked a pā near Takapau (near the source of the Manawatu river), and took several kainga at Te Apiti, Manawatu Gorge.

A pā was taken at Maungarake, not far from Masterton today, before the party moved south to Te Whanganui ā Tara, taking the Taputeranga pā, on an island off the south coast.⁴² While many people had fled to Kapiti Island, the travelling party found and attacked people at a Muaupoko pā near Ōtaki, successfully raided the Muaupoko, Rangitane and Ngāti Apa further north, and obtained a victory at Whanganui river. A further battle up the Whanganui river led to heavy losses, but Peehi Tukorehu fought his way out, and the expedition continued north to Taranaki. There they became besieged at a cliff-top pā named Pukerangiora - the famous 'raihe poaka' or pig-sty siege. And there they encountered the heke known as Te Heke Tahutahu-ahi, the migrating group of Ngāti Toa, led by Te Rauparaha. Although they fought, Te Wherowhero's life was spared by Te Rauparaha.

Hence both these significant raiding parties had involved Waikato and Ngāti Raukawa people armed with guns, and they had both reduced the populations and leadership of the earlier occupants of both the Manawatu and Wairarapa regions, on the west coast and east of the Tararua and Ruahine ranges. The numbers killed and displaced had helped clear the way for Ngāti Toa led by Te Rauparaha to bring his migrating group of both Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa, and later Ngāti Raukawa, into the Rangitikei, Manawatu, Horowhenua Otaki and Kapiti regions. "The above account should give some clearer indication of how the conquest of the south-western part of the North Island became quite simple for the Ngāti Toa."⁴³

In about 1819 Te Whatanui's uncle Pakake Taiari (Ngāti Te Kohera, Tuwharetoa, of Taupo) had been asked by some leaders of Ngai Te Upokoiri to support them in their conflict with their relations in the Hawke's Bay Heretaunga region. Around this time Te Whatanui was then asked by a Ngāti Kahungunu wahine to support her hapū in conflict with another hapū, and he took a taua south from Taupo, successfully taking the Okoraka

⁴² Kelly, 1949, pp. 331-4.

⁴³ Allwright, 1958, p. 15.

pā near Tamaki-nui-ā-Rua (Dannevirke). In earlier times, he had been given land near Waipukerau by this wahine for his support in another campaign.⁴⁴

Te Rauparaha had gained knowledge of guns when travelling with Ngā Puhi during their journey south in 1819. The guns gave the Ngā Puhi/Ngāti Toa/Ngāti Huia group a strong advantage in battles in Taranaki, Whanganui, Rangitikei, Manawatu and Kapiti. Many Ngāti Ira and Ngai Tara fled in fear. At the end of the campaign, Te Rauparaha and other Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa warriors were given guns by Ngā Puhi for their contribution to the campaign, including the ability to strategize and plan deceptions (ngā mahi nukurau⁴⁵). This ability to plan deceptions, or cunning tricks, was a strength that the Māori battalion became known for later in World War II. The importance of guns in the balance of power between hapū and iwi had become clear to Te Rauparaha and others, and the need to obtain them became strong in their hearts. Ability to obtain guns from passing ships at Raukawa Moana (Cook Strait) was one of the reasons his son Tamihana Te Rauparaha gave for Te Rauparaha's decision to move his people south.⁴⁶

The killing of Te Rauparaha's children, including eldest son Te Rangihoungariri and oldest daughter Te Uira, and Te Rauparaha's cousin and close friend Te Poa at Te Wī (south of lake Papaitonga, Ohau) by Ngāti Apa, Muaupoko, Rangitane occurred in 1822. Te Rauparaha's children (by Marore) and Te Poa (Marore's uncle) all had Ngāti Raukawa as well as Ngāti Toa whakapapa. Te Rauparaha, Ngāti Toa & Ngāti Huia began to kill these iwi mercilessly, particularly Muaupoko. Kapiti Island was then taken by Ngāti Toa, Te Atiawa and allies. By taking and holding Kapiti Island in 1824, in the battle known as 'Whakapae-a-tai' at Waiorua, Te Rauparaha was able to achieve dominance in the market for guns, tools etc, invite his Ngāti Raukawa relations to join him, and thus obtain mana over an area from Whangaehu (or at least Rangitikei) river in the north and as far south as Kaikoura in Te Wai Pounamu.⁴⁷ Ngāti Raukawa, especially Ngāti Whakatere, was also

⁴⁴ Prentice, The Māori History of Hawke's Bay, in Wilson, J.C. & others, *The History of Hawke's Bay*. Wellington, Reed, 1939, pp. 78-85.

⁴⁵ Two Letters from Ngāti Toa to Sir George Grey, translation by B Biggs, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (JPS), Vol. 68, 1959, pp. 269-70.

⁴⁶ Collins, 2010, p. 4; Calman, 2020, pp. 69-71; Te Kairangi, 1881, p. 66.

⁴⁷ Collins, 2010, p. 68; Two Letters, 1959, p. 269.

involved in Te Rauparaha's retaliatory raids into Te Wai Pounamu, and they became known as his 'henchmen'.⁴⁸

Meanwhile, Te Whatanui had continued to explore the possibility of the main body of Ngāti Raukawa moving east of Taupo to settle. Along with his Tuwharetoa relations led by Te Heuheu, a pā at Roto-ā-Tara near Te Aute was taken (though with heavy losses), and a pā was established by Te Whatanui at Puketapu (near Ahuriri, Napier). Over about two years he established a place for his people in a 200km-square area.⁴⁹ Then Ngāti Kahungunu attacked Puketapu pā in about 1824 resulting in a serious defeat, from which Te Whatanui and his sister Hitau were lucky to escape.

1.12 PIRAUNUI

After Hangahanga, Ngāti Raukawa went to pā east of the Waikato river, including Piraunui and Pāwaiti. There a peace arrangement was made with part of Ngāti Maniapoto. About 80 Raukawa people returned to Maungatautari and lived at Puke Whakaahu (south-west of Maungatautari) and Aratitaha (at the source of the Mangahoe stream, near Pukeatua), and lived there undisturbed by Maniapoto and Waikato, according to Tupotahi. A three-year period of peace followed.⁵⁰ However, enmity grew between Whatakaraka of Ngāti Ngarongo and Ngāti Maru. The killing of Whatakaraka at Piraunui in 1827 was significant and contributed to the decision to migrate south.⁵¹

1.13 NGĀTI RAUKAWA ARRIVE IN THE SOUTH

A party of Ngāti Whakare (led by Tawhiri) which had travelled west to Taranaki from the northern Whanganui river, came south with Ngāti Tama and fought alongside Te Rangihaeata at Pikitara, Rangitikei, defeating the Ngāti Apa people there. Four hundred Ngāti Apa people fled.⁵² The initial exploratory group, Te Heke Karere, led by Te Ahukaramū and others, travelled south after hearing about the attack on Te Rauparaha's whānau at Te Wī, and arrived soon after Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa had held off the

⁴⁸ Archives NZ - Matene Te Whiwhi, Otaki Minute Book (OMB), 1, Kukutauaki case, 1872, p. 141; Matene Te Whiwhi, OMB 1C, 1868, Himatangi case, p. 197.

⁴⁹ Prentice, 1939, p. 44.

⁵⁰ J. Hutton, Raukawa Traditional History Summary Report. Wai 898, A086. Commissioned by CFRT, Wellington, 2009, p. 114; Tupotahi, Waikato Minute Book (WMB), 13, 7 August 1884.

⁵¹ 'The Maungatautari case', *NZ Herald*, Vol. XXI, No. 7127, 19 September 1884, p. 3.

⁵² Terry Hearn, *One Past, Many Histories, Tribal Land and Politics in the 19th Century*, 2015, p24; Angela Ballara, 'Te Rangihaeata', DNZB, Te Ara, first published in 1990, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t63/te-rangihaeata> (accessed 19 August 2021).

combined attack on Kapiti island in 1824. This party numbered 120. Other named chiefs in this party were Mātenga Te Mātia (Ngāti Pare), Te Horohau (Hape’s son, Ngāti Kikopiri), and Ngārangiorehua (Korouaputa’s grandson, Ngāti Huia). Te Rauparaha and his sister Waitohi invited their Ngāti Raukawa relations to come south, and it was Te Ahukaramū who promised to do so, “māku, mā te tuarā nui o Pakake” (I will, by the strong back of Pakake).⁵³ The first major Ngāti Raukawa migration south, Te Heke Whirinui, led by Te Ahukaramū occurred in 1826. The group, Te Tuarā-nui-o-Pakake, whose whakapapa is described above, stayed first at Kapiti, then Otaki, and obtained utu from Muaupoko at lake Papaitonga (also known as Waiwiri).⁵⁴ Our hapū of Ngāti Kikopiri still occupies that whenua and has mana over the lake. The second heke, Te Heke Kariri-tahi⁵⁵, was led by Nepia Taratoa with Te Whatanui; and the third Te Heke Mairaro, was led by Te Whatanui from east of the Ruahine range, over the Ahuaturanga track above the Manawatū river, to Kapiti island.

⁵³ TAC. Royal, *Kati Au i Konei. He Kohikohinga i ngā Waiata a Ngāti Toarangatira, a Ngāti Raukawa*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 1994, pp. 19-20.

⁵⁴ Sir W. Buller, with Waretini Tuainuku, *The Story of Papaitonga; or, A Page of Maori History*. Transactions & Proceedings of the NZ Institute, Vol. 27, Government Print, Wellington, 1893. p. 572-584.

⁵⁵ E. O’Donnell, *Te Hekenga, early days in Horowhenua. Being the reminiscences of Mr Rod McDonald*. Bennett & Co Ltd, Palmerston North, 1929. Known from how they enlarged the touch-holes of their muskets, so no priming being required, a more rapid fire might be maintained.



Ihakara Te Hokowhitu-ā-Kuri Tukumaru, PA1-o-423-10-1, Preston, G.M. Album, ATL.

1.14 TAIKAPURUA AND IHAKARA TUKUMARU - TE HOKOWHITU-Ā-KURI

The fact that Taikapurua and his nephew Ihakara Tukumaru of Ngāti Ngarongo were strong fighting chiefs is indicated in the name of their taua, Patukōhuru, and Ihakara's full name, Te Hokowhitu-ā-Kuri Tukumaru. An area of land associated with Patukōhuru at Manawatū is Te Rerenga o Hau, west of Te Awahou Foxton. Taikapurua (a 'soldier for Te Whatanui') came from Waotu on an earlier heke, probably Te Heke Whirinui, and Ihakara came on Te Heke Mairaro, also with Te Whatanui.⁵⁶ When they first came, they lived with Te Rauparaha and other Ngāti Raukawa relations at Rangiuru and Pakakutu pā, Otaki, and fought there against Te Atiawa in the Haowhenua conflict. They then settled at Manawatu, living at Koputoroa and Te Maire. The carver Hokowhitu McGregor, grandson of Poutu Hairuha (leader of Ngāti Takihiku) was named after Ihakara Hokowhitu-ā-Kuri Tukumaru. Ngāti Takihiku people, including Poutu Hairuha, had fought a rearguard action for Ngāti Raukawa as they left Roto-ā-Tara to join their

⁵⁶ Hokowhitu McGregor, OMB 46, Matararapa hearing, 7 December 1905, pp. 342-344.

relatives at Kapiti and Manawatu.⁵⁷ Hokowhitu's sons Poutu and Moses McGregor would later enlist to fight on behalf of the Crown.

Te Aokatoa was a revered tohunga, steeped in the knowledge of the Raukawa whare wānanga, though also a fighting chief. He was Ngāti Wairangi and Ngāti Takihiku. He was part of Te Whatanui's attempt to settle in the east, but when Te Heuheu withdrew his support and after a strong warning from Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Aokatoa took his party back to Wharepuhunga, where Ngāti Takihiku remains today.

1.15 NGĀTI RAUKAWA BATTLES OF CONQUEST

Many battles were fought by Ngāti Raukawa either on their route south, or after arrival. Parakaia te Pouepa (Himatangi case 1868)⁵⁸: "A second party came on to inspect the country and after that the 'heke nui'. Hukiki, Whatanui and all the Raukawa chiefs came in this heke - came by Taupo to Turakina, found Ngāti Apa there and took prisoners. Between Oroua and Rangitikei Ngāti Apa were met and defeated. At Te Katoa Te Awahuri, killed more Ngāti Apa. Kete, a woman was saved. Came to Manawatu, found Rangitane & killed some. Came to Kapiti, Rauparaha then wished us to destroy Muaupoko and Rangitane." Waretini Tuainuku told Buller about the Ngāti Huia defeat of Muaupoko at lakes Papaitonga and Horowhenua.⁵⁹ Some other places known as sites of Ngāti Raukawa defeat of the earlier tangata whenua were Pikitara (Te Reureu)⁶⁰, Ohotuiti (Manawatu)⁶¹, Awahuri (Oroua) and Tuwhakatipua (where Kaihinu and Peropero were killed)⁶².

1.16 HAOWHENUA CONFLICT

While Te Atiawa were allies of Te Rauparaha during the first heke south from Taranaki, named Te Heke Tataramoa, and in battles in Te Wai Pounamu and Wairarapa, tensions developed in 1834 over competition for land with Ngāti Raukawa arrivals, and also over

⁵⁷ T. Tarakawa, *Ngā Mahi a Te Wera me Ngā Puhi ki te Tai-Rawhiti*, translation by SP Smith, *Journal of the Polynesian society (JPS)*, Vol 9, Part 3, 1900, p. 62.

⁵⁸ Otaki Minute Book 1C, 1868, p. 200.

⁵⁹ Buller, 1893, p. 572-584.

⁶⁰ Karatea, T., Korero Tuku Iho hearing, site visits, Wai 2200, 18.5.2014.

⁶¹ Collins, 2010, p. 67.

⁶² L. Buick, *Old Manawatu*, Buick & Young, Palmerston North, 1903, Chap. 2; Buller AJHR, 1867, I, A-19, p9.

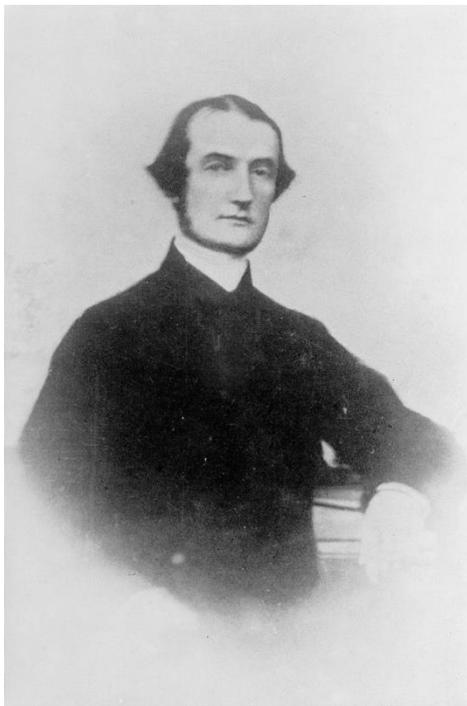
access to European trade, including guns. Hence the conflict known as Haowhenua began. Ngāti Toa was divided into those who supported Te Atiawa and those allied to Ngāti Raukawa. Te Rauparaha and others of Ngāti Kimihia fought alongside their Ngāti Raukawa relatives. After a four-month siege at Rangiuru, Te Rauparaha sought help (via messengers) from Te Heuheu of Tuwharetoa, who brought in Waikato and Maniapoto, a force of 800 men who pushed Te Atiawa into a more defensive position. Several more battles occurred, and losses were heavy on both sides. Te Atiawa withdrew south to Kenakena pā, Waikanae. The fighting lasted two summers and a winter, and unfortunately for Te Rauparaha and our combined strength, resulted in the breaking up of the alliance of the three iwi at that time. Te Atiawa agreed to remain south of the Kukutauaki stream (just north of Waikanae), and Ngāti Raukawa settled at Ōtaki, Ōhau, Horowhenua, and the area between the Manawatu and Rangitikei rivers.⁶³

1.17 KUITITANGA CONFLICT

Tensions flared between Te Atiawa and Ngāti Raukawa again at Waitohi's tangi, on Mana Island in 1839, resulting in the battle of Kuititanga. Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Raukawa resented Te Atiawa for negotiating land sales directly with the New Zealand Company, hence Te Rauparaha ordered one of the Te Atiawa slaves to be killed and cooked to help feed the assembled gathering. Land was also an issue between them, and when Te Atiawa and Ngāti Ruanui began building a large whare near the disputed boundary with Ngāti Raukawa in Horowhenua, Ngāti Raukawa arrived in force to stop them and fighting broke out. Ngāti Raukawa were still seeking utu after the battle of Haowhenua. An attempt at peace-making by Te Atiawa, influenced by Christianity (and led by Te Atiawa missionary Te Minirapa), was declined by an influential Ngāti Raukawa chief named Ngakuku. Te Atiawa gathered their fighting men at Waikanae and were joined by allies from across Raukawa Moana (the strait). Te Atiawa began readying a series of pā north and south of the Waikanae river, together known as Kuititanga, for battle. On 15 October 1839, the Raukawa taua surrounded Waimea pā, opening fire as dawn broke. But the pā was well-defended with trenches and palisades, and the well-armed Te Atiawa occupants killed so many Ngāti Raukawa that they withdrew to reconsider. Te Atiawa quickly moved their force to Arapawaiti pā south of the river, where they were supported by some Ngāti Ruanui and Ngāti Toa. A further assault by

⁶³ Collins, 2010, pp. 106-111.

Ngāti Raukawa was repelled, and the attackers suffered heavy losses as they fled. Te Atiawa was said to have been advantaged by staying on the hard sand, while Ngāti Raukawa coped with the difficulty of the soft sands of the dunes. Te Rauparaha did not take part in the battle, but watched it from a whaleboat offshore, shouting encouragement to Ngāti Raukawa.⁶⁴ After Ngakuku, who had refused the peace offer, was killed at the Waikanae river mouth, Te Minirapa called a halt to the fighting. However, the killing did not stop there, as over 55 Ngāti Raukawa captives were forcefully walked back to the main Waikanae settlement, where they were verbally taunted and killed by patu. Due to Christian influence, they were not eaten, but buried together in a large single grave with their possessions. About twenty Te Atiawa were also killed in this battle, which marked the end of Te Atiawa's obligations to Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa.⁶⁵



Rev	Octavius
Hadfield,	c 1860,
photographer	
unidentified.	ATL,
Publ-0217-001	

1.18 CHRISTIANITY & ARRIVAL OF NZ COMPANY

The alliance of the three iwi, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa, and Te Atiawa, which had been built by Te Rauparaha by his strong willpower, successful strategizing, political advocacy and military prowess, had finally fallen apart. In 1836, Te Rauparaha had written to Rev

⁶⁴ Collins, 2010, pp. 130-131; P. Burns, *Te Rauparaha, A New Perspective*. Auckland, Penguin Books Ltd, 1983, p. 205.

⁶⁵ Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2003, *Te Whanganui a Tara me ona Takiwa, Report on the Wellington District*, Wai 145 (Ngāti Toarangatira), p. 29.

Henry Williams requesting that a missionary come to the area, aware of the need to deal with Europeans. When Hadfield arrived, Ngāti Raukawa was initially resentful towards him and others for not coming earlier, instead of after the musket wars in which so many had died. But Hadfield's courage and faith eventually won them over, including Te Rauparaha, who enjoyed his company. Te Rauparaha's son Tamihana and nephew Matene Te Whiwhi were early converts, learning to read and write from the missionaries. Te Rangihaeata, however, was more wary and suspicious. Our three iwi had become more vulnerable, as we faced the arrival of the New Zealand Company who had brought shipload after shipload of Englishmen hungry for the land they had been falsely promised. In signing the Kapiti deed in 1839, Te Rauparaha had thought his mana over vast lands was being affirmed, to be made known to the Queen of England and others around the world.⁶⁶ Slaves were being released by Ngā Puhi in 1839, and Ngāti Raukawa eventually did so also. Our iwi also became known for kindness to the subjected iwi, which was later used against us in the Native Land Court.

1.19 CONCLUSIONS

Warfare was an important aspect of our culture and way of life. Leaders of hapū, or alliances of hapū, were men successful in battle. Women also had leadership roles in motivating, strategizing and fighting. Conflict with Waikato/Maniapoto led to Ngāti Raukawa leaving Waikato and moving east to Te Kaokaoroa o Patatere and south to northern Taupō. Hangahanga pā, near Maungatautari, was the site of one of the last significant conflicts, though it was not a total defeat as most occupants of the pā were able to escape. The death of Whatakaraka at Piraunui, Waotu, was also significant. The need to obtain guns for military strength was an important factor in Te Rauparaha's decision to bring his people south - both Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. Fighting continued after the arrival of Christianity, with Kuititanga in 1839 being the last inter-tribal battle of significance for our iwi. Both Ngāti Raukawa and Te Atiawa suffered serious losses in this battle. Intermarriages since have helped heal the pain of these losses and build unity between the three iwi.

⁶⁶ Waitangi Tribunal report, 2003, p. 59.

2.0 LARGE-SCALE COLONISATION LED TO CONFLICT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The arrival of the New Zealand Company and its shiploads of European settlers in 1840 was when our chiefs began to get some idea of the extent of the British colonization process which would soon impact heavily on our traditional way of life and their authority. British Crown support for the colonization of Aotearoa was backed up by military force, evident at the time of the signing of the Treaty and at various times over the next two decades as the British took control of the country. Chiefs like Ihakara Tukumarū and Tamihana Te Rauparaha had wanted Europeans to live amongst our Ngāti Raukawa people for guns, tools, commercial benefit, literacy and a more peaceful existence under Christianity. Obtaining guns was important for maintaining the balance of power amongst iwi as other iwi were also acquiring them. It took some years for our tupuna to realize that the Europeans wanted to impose British law and governance over the whole country and relegate Māori to subordinate roles e.g. labourers. In signing the Kapiti deed, Te Rauparaha thought he was stating the extent of his mana and rangatiratanga, from Mokau to Te Wai Pounamu beyond Kaikoura. By buying land from significant leaders such as Ihakara Tukumarū, Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi; and also giving them paid roles such as Native Assessors; the British maintained their loyalty but undermined the strength of hapū and iwi as independent entities.

Though the intention of missionaries was to prepare Māori for colonization by ‘civilizing’ them, in doing so they also facilitated the colonization process e.g. teaching literacy, trading skills, and allowing Government agents to speak to their congregations about land-selling.⁶⁷ Missionary Octavius Hadfield was brought to the region by Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene te Whiwhi, became friendly with Te Rauparaha, and was highly regarded within Ngāti Raukawa. Te Rauparaha promised to ‘help tread down the anger’ and supported the idea of building peace between Te Atiawa and Ngāti Raukawa. By the end of 1839, peace had been accepted at every pā along the coast. Tamihana and Matene Te Whiwhi took the message of Christian peace to Te Wai Pounamu, overriding Te Rauparaha’s plan to get utu for Te Puoho’s death. The Christian conversion of Te Matia

⁶⁷ Letters to friends and fellow churchmen in Scotland from Rev. James Duncan & Rev. John Inglis, published in the Scottish Presbyterian, 1843-1857. ATL NZ Pac, P920 Dun 1843-57. Journal entry 1st Jan 1849, p. 338.

(Ngāti Pare), who then became Matenga Te Matia (after Samuel Marsden), occurred a year or two later. Te Rangihaeata was more wary of the Pakeha invasion but was willing to treat them fairly under his own tikanga, or justice system.⁶⁸

The Treaty of Waitangi was promoted and signed before the extent of European intentions to gain control of the country had become evident to rangatira. The missionaries reassured our tupuna they would retain their rangatiratanga, whenua etc. Henry Williams and Hadfield both supported it. Te Rauparaha, Tamihana (Katu), Topeora and Matene Te Whiwhi (Te Wiwi) were among the first of our Ngāti Raukawa leaders to sign Williams' document, under the title 'Chiefs of Kapiti, Otaki, Manawatu' at Kapiti Island, 14 May 1840. Other chiefs of Ngāti Raukawa who signed a few days later on 19 May were Te Ruru (Ngāti Kikopiri), Mātia (Ngāti Pare), Kiharoa (Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Huia), Te Puke (Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Hikitanga), Toremi (Ngāti Kahoro), Te Ahoaho (Ngāti Maiotaki) and Tahurangi (Ihakara Tukumarū of Ngāti Ngarongo). Te Whetu of Ngāti Kauwhata and Witiopai of Ngāti Takihiku, with links to Ngāti Maiotaki⁶⁹ signed it on 26 May at Manawatu. Blankets were given to those who signed. Te Rauparaha told Wakefield later that he had not ceded his mana to the Queen. While he accepted that the Queen had authority over the Europeans, he still had authority over his own people, as 'king of the Māori', he said. Even Te Rangihaeata eventually signed, but again, had no intention of signing away his own authority.⁷⁰

Crown representatives with military backing were now actively supporting British colonisation of Aotearoa. Bunbury was accompanied by 80 troops on the *HMS Herald*, and proclaimed what he thought was the ceding of the South Island with the firing of a 21-gun 'salute'. New Zealand company director Colonel William Wakefield had negotiated a doubtful purchase of land with some Te Atiawa chiefs at Te Whanganui ā Tara (Port Nicholson) and backed up the settlement of colonists encroaching on kainga with cannon-fire from a ship in the harbour. Though the Treaty stated that land should be sold only to the Crown, the New Zealand Company continued to negotiate purchases of land e.g. at Whanganui, Whakatu (Nelson) and Ngāmotu (New Plymouth). New Zealand Colonial Secretary Willoughby Shortland travelled to Port Nicholson accompanied by 30

⁶⁸ Collins, 2010, pp. 131-137.

⁶⁹ Witiopai, Treaty signatories, nzhistory.govt.nz, Ministry of Culture and Heritage, accessed 19 Aug 2021.

⁷⁰ Collins, 2010, pp. 139-142.

troops to assert Crown authority over the New Zealand Company, and then got involved himself in purchasing land from chiefs at Te Aro pā. Crown support for the New Zealand Company was formalized in November 1840, with an agreement that it should receive four acres for every pound spent on colonization. In April 1841, the Company was found by British government representatives to be entitled to over 500,000 acres within the areas it claimed to have purchased under ‘deeds’ eg the Kapiti deed, from Mokau to the top of the South Island. Settler demand for land led to the New Zealand Company pushing north from Port Nicholson to Porirua, Heretaunga (Hutt Valley) and from Nelson to the Wairau, where Ngāti Toa interests were affected. Te Rangihaeata, Te Hiko (Te Peehi Kupe’s son) and their men began obstructing the building of a road to Porirua, stopping the surveyors and ousting the settlers. Ngāti Tama led by Taringakuri also tried to limit colonisation in the Hutt valley. New Zealand Company promises to leave pā, wahi tapu and cultivations untouched were soon broken.



Lambton Harbour, 1841, indicating large-scale colonization at Te Whanganui-ā-Tara, by then known as Port Nicholson. C.Heaphy, ATL C-026-001-B.

2.2 WAIRAU CONFLICT

Several thousand settlers arrived in Nelson in 1841-2 expecting land, leading to pressure to find new areas to survey. Captain Arthur Wakefield had led the negotiations with Ngāti Tama and Te Atiawa for the Nelson settlement at Whakatū, Moutere and Motueka.

Mohua (Golden Bay) was the next area investigated, and its resources, coal and lime, were noted for exploitation. When the Wairau valley was discovered, the Europeans thought they had found the extra land they needed. But Ngāti Toa chiefs Nohorua and Rawiri Puaha who lived locally did not agree to the settlers taking the land and told Wakefield so. Ngāti Rarua and Rangitane were also opposed. Capt Wakefield argued that Te Rauparaha had sold the land to Blenkinsopp for a ship's cannon and that his brother William Wakefield had purchased it from Blenkinsopp's widow.⁷¹ Ngāti Toa disagreed that Blenkinsopp had bought the land, and said that they had cultivations there, which they wanted to retain. Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata and Te Hiko crossed Raukawa Moana to try dissuading Wakefield from the survey. Their faith in the British justice system had been badly affected by a recent case in which the murderer of a Ngāti Toa woman, Kuika, had been acquitted. But they were still willing to trust in Land Commissioner William Spain to hear the case of their rights at Wairau. Wakefield threatened them with arrest. The pressure for land was such that the Nelson community was not prepared to wait, and in March 1843 Capt Wakefield proceeded with the survey.

Ngāti Toa harassed the surveyors, burnt a house made from local timber, and began planting potatoes. Surveyor John Cotterell, probably with support from Wakefield or police magistrate Henry Thompson, applied for and received arrest warrants for Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata for arson. Thompson was an unstable young man who led a volunteer militia group of 46 men, 35 carrying guns, intent on taking on Ngāti Toa and arresting the chiefs. The two parties were on opposite sides of the Tuamarina stream, then eight of the Europeans crossed the stream on a Ngāti Toa waka, and their purpose to arrest Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata was explained. Rawiri Puaha was a Christian and advocated for peace. Thompson pushed him aside, threatened to take Te Rauparaha by force, and Ngāti Toa armed with guns sprung into combat mode. Thompson threatened to give his men the order to fire, and when Te Rauparaha still refused to submit, Thompson and others began shouting, and a European fired his gun. Te Rangihaeata's wahine Rongo was the first of six Ngāti Toa killed. Nine Europeans were also shot and killed or wounded in the conflict. Ngāti Toa had crossed the stream and pursued the Europeans up a hill. Thirteen Europeans surrendered, including Wakefield and Thompson, but Te Rangihaeata demanded utu for the death of his wife, and killed them with his patu. The death of Kuika had also been on his mind, he later told Ironside. Some

⁷¹ Collins, 2010, pp. 116-7, p. 152.

escaped, perhaps assisted by Puaha. Te Rangihaeata crossed the strait, to Taupō (Plimmerton) where he fortified a pā, thinking the Europeans would surely want revenge. Ngāti Toa abandoned the Wairau and nearby settlements, expecting the conflict to escalate.

While the Nelson settler community was traumatized by the event, the evidence was gathered by Wellington Police Magistrate A. E. MacDonogh who apparently had some sympathy for Ngāti Toa's actions and wanted to reduce tension. He reassured them that the Europeans would not be angry. Despite his brother's death, William Wakefield was also lenient on Ngāti Toa, blaming Spain and Joseph Thoms, though calling for more British troops and navy ships. The British government sent a naval ship, the *North Star* with 53 men from the 80th regiment on board. Acting Governor Willoughby Shortland and Governor Robert Fitzroy both saw Thompson and the Nelson settlers' actions as provocative and approved the dismantling of the settler volunteer forces.

Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata together with their whānau and supporters returned to their Ngāti Raukawa relatives at Ōtaki and Ōhau, where they planned to hold a defensive line. Due to the heightened tension, they became determined to oust some of the settlers who were in places they wanted to base themselves. For example, Te Rauparaha refused to allow William White to take more cows north to Ohau, stopping him at the Otaki river, in conflict with Ngāti Huia chief Te Ahukaramū. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's son Jerningham had to be restrained from attacking Te Rauparaha there, as he wanted utu for the death of his uncle and the others, White reported. The idea of a fighting force of united tribes attacking Wellington was discussed but did not eventuate. Ngāti Toa had about 200 fighting men at Taupō pā and Hongoeka. Hadfield and Spain worked on calming the situation. Spain assured Ngāti Toa, Te Atiawa and Ngāti Raukawa that Acting Governor Shortland or the new Governor Fitzroy were not planning to attack, or arrest Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. George Clarke, Chief Protector of Aborigines, also encouraged Te Rauparaha to have faith in British law.

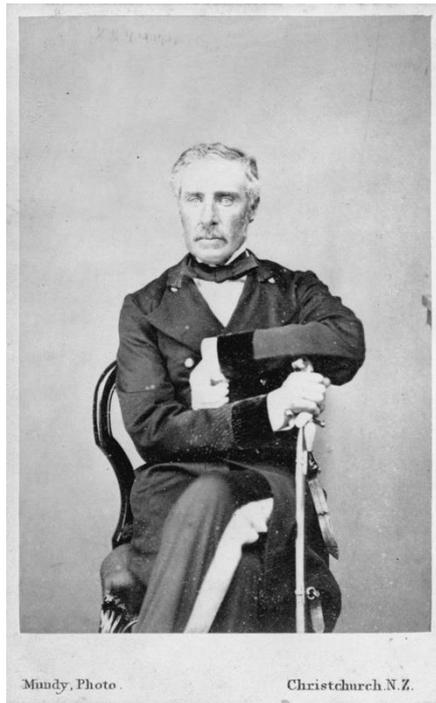
The *Victoria* arrived from Auckland with Major Matthew Richmond, who had been appointed Police Magistrate and Chief Government Agent for the southern district, and 53 grenadiers of the 96th regiment. The heavily armed *North Star* (26 large guns, 50 soldiers, two officers), commanded by Sir Everard Home, also arrived in Port Nicholson from Australia, for defensive purposes. After travelling to Porirua, the *North Star* was

intimidating enough for Te Rangihaeata and his men to quickly leave Mana Island when they saw it, then it travelled to Waikanae so Fitzroy could meet with Te Rauparaha. Fitzroy, Home and Richmond met with Te Rauparaha and supporters at Waikanae and while stating confidently that his military force was surely superior, he invited Te Rauparaha to tell his version of events. He then stated that the Englishmen (supported by the NZ Company) had been wrong to begin surveying the land without legal authority, and while Te Rauparaha should not have resisted arrest, the conflict was understandable. While his manner was seen as offensive by Ngāti Toa, he helped settle the peace and his stance was supported by missionaries, moderate Europeans and the British Government. Nevertheless, the colonial government continued to assist the New Zealand Company to get land, giving local Māori no choice but to part with it, albeit for a little more money. A system of native reserves was implemented, but most of these reserves were not cultivable.

During the rebellion led by Hone Heke in the north in 1845, Grey used policies of awarding pensions and salaries to loyalist chiefs, e.g. Waka Nene, to reward their loyalty, alongside a sense of personal friendship with him. The Resident Magistrates Courts Ordinance in 1846 provided for the appointment of native assessors who became agents of the Crown. During his periods as Governor, in the 1840s and 1860s, Grey promoted the recruitment of native military forces and police.⁷² Also in response to the unrest in the north, in 1845 Grey brought in compulsory military training and service for ‘colonists’ with ordinances that established a colonial militia to complement British units in New Zealand. All European males between 18 and 60 years of age were liable for defence duties within 25 miles (40 kms) of their nearest police office.⁷³

⁷² Dr D.T. Kahotea, *Rebel Discourses: Colonial Violence, Pai Marire Resistance and Land Alienation at Tauranga*, PhD thesis, Anthropology, University of Waikato, 2005, pp. 140-41.

⁷³ *The New Zealand Official Yearbook 1990*, Department of Statistics, 1990, p. 117, www.stats.govt.nz (accessed 23 August 2021)



George Grey, c1860, photograph
by Daniel Mundy, ATL, PA2-
1182.

2.3 HERETAUNGA/HUTT VALLEY/MANAWATŪ

Te Rauparaha and Taringakuri of Ngāti Tama first tried to prevent the NZ Company from giving land to settlers north of Rotokākahi stream (Lower Hutt). When that failed, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata advocated for a large reserve for Ngāti Rangatahi in the northern valley, now the Upper Hutt area. Spain and Richmond declined, and in 1844, tension was growing. Ngāti Rangatahi and other hapū had several hundred acres of cultivations in the Hutt Valley, selling most of the produce to Wellington settlers. While the settlers began calling for military action, Te Rangihaeata consolidated his people (Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Rangatahi) there. Major Richmond ordered the building of forts at Thorndon, Te Aro and the Hutt river, each with 50 armed British troops. Te Atiawa built a stockade at Kaiwharawhara for their own protection. Te Rangihaeata had 60 armed men with him and was joined by a large group of Ngāti Kahungunu allies, and Ngāti Hauā-te-rangi from the upper Whanganui river also came to support their Ngāti Rangatahi relations. Altogether his forces numbered 500 or so. They talked about cutting an aukati, or boundary of prohibition, near Almon Boulcott's farm, to retain the upper valley for themselves. Again, Richmond refused to allocate them land.



Ngāti Tama leader Te Kaeaea, aka Taringakuri, resisted European colonization in the Hutt Valley. C.Barraud, c1850s, ATL-A084-047.

In February 1846, Grey arrived in Wellington with 500 troops on three naval vessels, with field guns and howitzers. Settlers were happy he also repealed a Native Exemption Ordinance (1844) which had meant Māori could be arrested only by their own chiefs and abolished the Aboriginal Protectorate Office. Taringakuri and most of Ngāti Tama left the Hutt Valley, but Kaparatehau of Ngāti Rangatahi remained, saying he would leave if compensated for his crops. But Grey said he would only pay after Kaparatehau had moved off the land. Troops plundered Ngāti Rangatahi houses, desecrated the chapel, and later burnt down the pā. Te Rangihaeata and Ngāti Rangatahi were outraged. Ngāti Rangatahi returned to raid settlers' homes and property. Te Rangihaeata still used intermediaries such as the missionary Richard Taylor to send word that if land was allocated, the matter would be settled. An exchange of fire led to Grey imposing martial law, though Ngāti Toa argued later that the level of threat was not sufficient at the time to justify it. Ngāti Rangatahi withdrew to Porirua, and settlers were re-established on their farms in the Hutt Valley, heavily protected by British troops. Grey was willing to compensate only for crop loss, not land or buildings, and when two men (of Te Atiawa and Ngāti Tama) were arrested, tensions remained high. A Ngāti Rangatahi man tomahawked a settler and his son near Boulcott's farm. Te Rangihaeata fortified a position at Matai-taua, Pauatahanui, which had access to the Hutt over the hills.



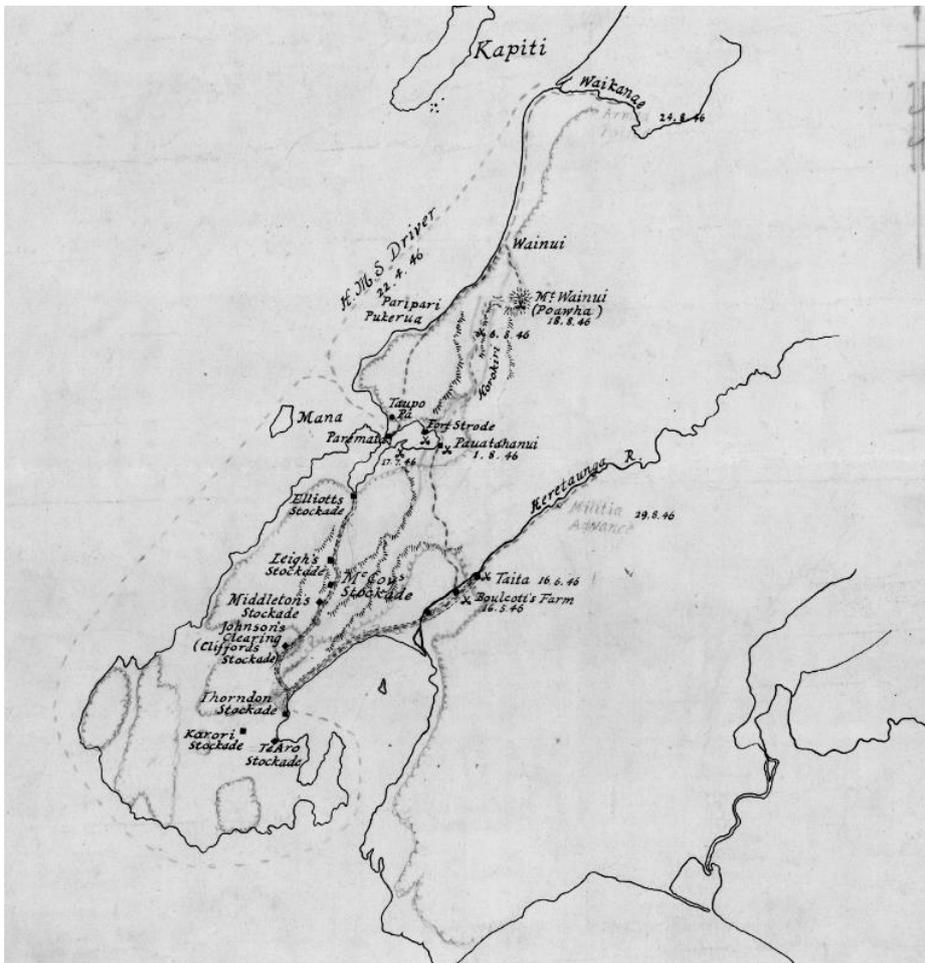
(Drawing of Matai-taua pā, Paua-tahanui, by William Swainson, c1847, ATL, A-186-007)

Grey now determined on a course of military coercion, building more blockhouses and stockades from Wellington to the Hutt, and building a military road between Wellington and Paremata, while he waited for more troops. Te Rauparaha was invited to send men to help build the road. He did so and also advised on a site for a fort for Grey's men (possibly to their disadvantage). Te Rangihaeata imposed a tapu or rahui on the road to Wellington, halting food supply to the south (hence the name Taua-tapu track⁷⁴). Richmond reduced the number of men in the Hutt Valley, as the focus had moved to building the Porirua road.

On 16th May 1846, a Whanganui and Ngāti Rangathi taua, about 200-strong, launched a surprise attack at Boulcott's farm, which was manned by only about 50 men. Six soldiers were killed and five wounded in the attack, with no losses to the tribes. It was thought that Te Rangihaeata had ordered the attack, though there was no evidence to charge him. Police Magistrate St Hill called out available militia, armed friendly tribes ie Te Atiawa, and trained volunteers. Further skirmishes occurred in June, and another settler was killed. Ngāti Toa was also involved in an exchange of fire, wounding five regiment members. In an altercation between some naval officers from the *Calliope* and Te Rangihaeata and his men at Pauatahanui, Te Rangihaeata and group proved their courage and gun-power. Grey began to suspect Te Rauparaha was assisting Te Rangihaeata,

⁷⁴ Collins, 2010, pp. 258-9.

whose tapu on food supply going south was enforced at Taupō pā. Grey extended martial law to Whanganui, and learnt that a well-armed war party was coming south from Whanganui, intending to join Te Rangihaeata. After talking to chiefs of Atiawa and Ngāti Raukawa, he decided to arrest Te Rauparaha for treason. He did so in a surprise attack at dawn on 23 July 1846. Te Rauparaha called for help, but was overwhelmed by the troops and taken to the steamship, the *Driver*, with others. Te Rangihaeata and his men attempted a rescue, but were threatened by a large-calibre gun (a 12-pounder carronade). While Te Rauparaha was treated with dignity on board the *Driver* and later in captivity in Auckland, his capture under-mined the resistance movement and weakened the position of Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa in the Cook Strait and west coast region. There was insufficient evidence to charge Te Rauparaha, and Ngāti Toa would later describe the capture as a “kidnapping”.⁷⁵



(Military operations in Wellington district, 1846. ATL, Map Coll, CHA 4/3/3, Acc37792.)

⁷⁵ Rene, A.E. Brief of Evidence, Northern South Island claims, Wai 785, 11 June 2003, p. 6.

Grey now launched a military campaign against Te Rangihaeata and his supporters at Matai-taua, Pauatahanui. Strongly fortified with a double palisade, an outer ditch, tunnels, and possibly even bunkers, the pā was still vulnerable to artillery attack from a hill 500 yards behind. Grey ordered militia including Te Atiawa to approach the pā from the Hutt Valley, as well as those approaching from Paremata. On 1 August scouts approached, capturing Te Mamaku's brother who gave the alarm, and the occupants quickly left, travelling up the Horokiwi (now Horokiri) valley. The military party from the Hutt pursued them through steep bush but returned to Matai-taua at nightfall. Two days later Major Last led a force of 490 men, and began cutting a wide pathway through the bush, for two divisions of men - seamen, regulars, militia and armed police. Te Rangihaeata was possibly advised by relations in the pursuing party, and he and his group had time to build a rough stockade at Battle Hill. An exchange of fire occurred there, resulting in the deaths of two Europeans, and wounding of nine others. The pā was not taken, and the British left to get some small cannons, and shells. There was a further pursuit to another rough pā at Pouaha hill, which they found deserted on arrival. But an ambush on Te Atiawa and others resulted in fatalities on both sides. Wiremu Kingi at Waikanae and Ngāti Raukawa at Otaki refused Captain Stanley's request that they pursue Te Rangihaeata, and the campaign against him ended.

Te Rangihaeata went with his few remaining supporters to Puru-taua pā at Poroutawhao, near the mouth of the Manawatu river. His Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Whakarete relations supported him there, and he could have rallied 200 men, but the Government left him unmolested, thinking he was unlikely to lead any further attacks. Settlers south of the Manawatu, however, felt the tension of the political and military conflict and suffered some loss, as he ordered them to leave their homes and properties, despite some having Ngāti Huia wives eg the Symonds cousins Charles and Henry.⁷⁶ A house built by Charles & Henry Symonds was burnt down in May 1847, and Rauti and Henry Symonds were eventually forced to separate. Some years later, however, Te Ahukaramu and Nopira of Ngāti Toa allowed Charles Symonds to lease land at Whirokino. Te Whatanui, senior chief of Ngāti Raukawa, also had a pā nearby at Oturoa. In 1868 there was tension between Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Ngarongo/Ngāti Takihiku over a boundary dispute further up-river, and the Native Land Court process caused further division between our hapū.

⁷⁶ T.U. Cook, 'Experiences of an Old Pioneer', *Manawatu Herald*, 21 Aug 1894; H. Collins, Brief of Evidence, (Wai 1944), March 2021.

2.4 FROM DOMINANCE TO ECONOMICALLY DISPOSSESSED

In 1850, Native Secretary H. Tacy Kemp did a survey of the ‘native population’ and was impressed with the general state of Ngāti Raukawa; they were ‘the most powerful tribe in the region, able to field over 1000 fighting men,’ ‘industrious, brave and very much united’. Kemp described Ngāti Raukawa as the “undisputed owners of Kukutauaki and Manawatu, and overlords of the dispossessed tribes. Ngāti Raukawa had well-developed agricultural systems, engaged in commercial flax production, vegetable-growing and rearing pigs for the European market. And yet by the mid-1870s, by the manoeuvrings of other iwi and the Crown, including the costs and burden of court hearings, our iwi had lost Rangitikei and Manawatu, and was struggling to retain Manawatu-Kukutauaki. Disease and illness had taken a heavy toll on our population numbers (fifteen percent loss reported in 1872) and we were suffering from food shortages and hunger.”⁷⁷

How did this come about? Grey’s policies of recruiting ‘natives’ into the military, to secure their loyalty, continued from the 1840s into the 1860s. At this time Te Rangihiwini, later known as Te Keepa or Kemp, whose father was Tanguru of Muaupoko, had enlisted in the colonial forces and formed a Māori contingent, serving at Whanganui, Weraroa (near Waitotara river), Opotiki and south Taranaki. He gained a formidable reputation, honours from the colonial government and a personal bodyguard of over 100 men. Kawana Hunia Te Hakeke (Ngāti Apa, Muaupoko) similarly built his military reputation and strength fighting for the Crown at the Bay of Plenty and Taranaki. Both Hunia and Kemp later used their new-found power and influence with the Government to threaten and intimidate the Native Land Court, delaying surveys at Horowhenua, obstructing the Kukutauaki hearing in Foxton in 1872 and eventually setting the boundaries of the Horowhenua block granted to them or their iwi in 1873. In addition to the 20,000 acres which Te Whatanui had allocated Muaupoko as a sanctuary, including the northern half of lake Horowhenua, the Native Land Court allowed Kemp and Hunia to claim an extra 32,000 acres, extending their territory to the north and south of that sanctuary.⁷⁸ This was effectively a political reward for Kemp and Hunia’s loyalty

⁷⁷ R. Anderson & K. Pickens, ‘*Rangahaua Whanui District 12, Wellington District: Port Nicholson, Hutt Valley, Porirua, Rangitikei and Manawatu*’, Working Paper, Waitangi Tribunal, 1996, pp. 182-6.

⁷⁸ J. Luiten, *Muaupoko Land Alienation and Political Engagement Report*, Summary for Hearing, Wai 2200, #A163 (c).

during the Land Wars, whereas Ngāti Raukawa’s loyalty to the Crown was questionable, as we were divided into Queenites and Kingites.

Wanting to build Māori political independence, Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi had helped establish the Kingitanga in 1858, though by 1860, from what they said at Kohimarama, they had become Queenites. Other Ngāti Raukawa leaders, however, continued to support the Kingitanga, and some fought alongside Titokowaru in Taranaki, and also against the Crown in the Waikato.⁷⁹ Evidence given by Hare Arapere for Ngāti Pīkiahū at the Korero Tuku Iho hearings at Te Tikanga in May 2014 was that seven of their tupuna fought alongside Titokowaru in southern Taranaki; and three fought in the Waikato wars. The wife of one of them was said to have loaded shot into the rifles for the men at Orakau and was killed during the ‘break-out’. Arapere described the armed action of Ngāti Pīkiahū as ‘resistance’ to legislation contrary to the Treaty of Waitangi, the “Crown’s waging of war on our people”, and to “land confiscation and land acquisition by the Crown” and a “fight for rangatiratanga”. Some known tupuna had been taken prisoner at Weraroa, near Waitotara river, fighting alongside Titokowaru.⁸⁰

Of the 300 or so men, women and children defending Orakau about 100 were “Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Te Kohera, with a few of Ngāti Tuwharetoa”, according to James Cowan.⁸¹ “Rewi Maniapoto was by common consent the chief in supreme control, but he consulted his fellow-chiefs on important questions. The principal men of the various tribes under Rewi’s generalship were: Ngāti Maniapoto - **Te Winitana Tupotahi**, Raureti Paiaka, Te Kohika; Waikato - Wi te Karamoa (Tumanako), Te Paewaka, Apopo, Te Huirama; Ngāti-te-Kohera, Ngāti Parekawa, and allied sections of Ngāti Raukawa - **Te Paerata, his sons Hone Teri and Hitiri te Paerata, Henare te Momo, Hauraki Tonganui**; Ngāti Tuwharetoa - Rawiri te Rangihiraweā, Nui, Rangi-toheriri; Urewera - Te Whenuanui, Piripi te Heuhue, Paerau, Hapurona Kohi; Ngāti-Kahungunu - Te Waru Tamatea, Raharuhi.” All those in bold were Ngāti Raukawa. Tupotahi, correctly described as Ngāti Maniapoto, was also Ngāti Whakatere; the Paerata whanau were Ngāti

⁷⁹ A. Dreaver, 'Te Rangihiwini, Te Keepa', DNZB, Te Ara, first published in 1990, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t64/te-rangihiwini-te-keepa> (accessed 23 August 2021).

⁸⁰ H. Arapere, Wai 2200 #4.1.7, Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry, Nga Korero Tuku Iho hui, Te Tikanga marae, Tokorangi, 20 May 2014.

⁸¹ James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Māori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1983, pp. 373-4.

Te Kohera, but also Ngāti Turanga; and the Te Momo whānau is well-known amongst Ngāti Whakare of Shannon.⁸²

Interestingly, Tupotahi brought back important knowledge gained from time spent mining for gold in Australia. “One of Rewi’s lieutenants, his cousin Te Winitana Tupotahi, was a man of enterprise and some adventures. He was one of several Maoris (sic) who had voyaged to Australia, attracted by the gold rushes of the “fifties in Victoria. Tupotahi worked on the diggings at Ballarat, and returned with a little hoard of gold....at the gold-diggings he had learned a good deal about shaft-sinking, tunnelling, and boarding-up, and this knowledge he turned to account in military engineering when the Waikato war began. Tupotahi was severely wounded at Orakau.” Tupotahi’s evidence in Waikato Minute Book 13, 1884, about the Amiowhenua in c1820 involving Ngāti Raukawa chiefs was supported by Rewi Maniapoto, as quoted in the previous chapter.

It is interesting to note that a Ngāti Raukawa man in the centre of the Horowhenua dispute, Watene Tiwaewae, and willing to fight against Muaupoko for our land there, may have also fought on the side of the Crown in Hawkes’ Bay in the 1860s, as Buller suggested to Hector McDonald in the Horowhenua Commission hearing in 1896 (though McDonald knew only that he had gone away).⁸³ As Watene’s Ngāti Kahungunu relatives on his father’s side were known to be ‘loyalists’, it is possible he fought alongside them in pursuit of Te Kooti.⁸⁴

Under the influence of the missionaries, Ngāti Raukawa had made a concession to Ngāti Apa allowing that tribe to sell land north of the Rangitikei river in 1849 and a concession to Rangitane in 1858 allowing it to sell land in the upper Manawatu (Ahuaturanga).⁸⁵ The Crown began to encourage earlier tangata whenua tribes to unite politically against Ngāti Raukawa to facilitate land sales. Ngāti Raukawa mana over the land south of the Manawatu to Kukutauaki (just north of Waikanae) had not been disputed when the New Zealand Company discussed a purchase with Ngāti Raukawa chiefs in 1842.⁸⁶ In 1852 Ngāti Raukawa chiefs proposed to McLean that this entire area, from Manawatu river to

⁸² Pers. comm. Te Kenehi Teira & Te Meera Hyde, 9 October 2021.

⁸³ Horowhenua Commission (Report and Evidence of the), *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1896, I, G-02, p114.

⁸⁴ He was from Tangoio (Pers. comm. T.K. Teira 2.9.21).

⁸⁵ Anderson & Pickens, 1996, p. 119.

⁸⁶ Cook, T.U. Otaki Minute Book 1, Ngarara hearing, 7/12/1872.

Kukutauaki, be made a reserve for our iwi.⁸⁷ But our expression of this proposal, which seemed entirely fair to our chiefs Nepia Taratoa and Ihakara Tukumarū, given the earlier concessions, was ignored by the Crown for its own expediency and seen as a willingness to forgo land north of the Manawatu. During its purchase negotiations for the 96,000 ha Rangitikei-Manawatu block in 1864-6, Featherston dealt primarily with iwi who had lesser rights to the land, ignoring the opposition of the Ngāti Raukawa hapū who occupied it.⁸⁸ Negative terminology began to be used by Government agents for those opposing sales eg Searancke describing Taratoa as a “sinner” and dishonest for his concern about loss of land and legitimate negotiations for reserves in the Awahou block.⁸⁹

From the British point of view, the Kingitanga movement was a threat to their plans for dominance - it was a form of organising resistance to colonial Government moves to subordinate Māori under British law,⁹⁰ and Governor Gore Browne saw it as aiming to establish “an independent Māori state under a Māori sovereign”.⁹¹ Legislation aimed at extending colonial law into Māori districts, and converting customary land to “native title” which could be sold, included the Native Districts Regulation Act 1858 and the Native Circuits Act 1858. Granting individual land title to chiefs was a way of “civilizing” or assimilating them into colonial society.⁹² In 1859-60, Searancke suspected that two thirds of the money from land sales (e.g. Te Awahou) was being spent on arms and ammunition, with large amounts going to the Kingitanga in the Waikato.⁹³ The war in Taranaki which began in March 1860, again involved a controversial purchase from a single chief and the imposition of martial law. A petition from Ngāti Raukawa to the Queen dated 13th March 1860, signed by 498 men and women, supported Wiremu Kingi in his claim to the Waitara land, condemned the actions of Governor Gore Browne in Taranaki, and called on the Queen to sack him for incompetence. Petitioners described themselves as having lived with the peace of the gospel under the Queen’s law for many years, and stated that those opposing the Crown forces were not law-breakers or disloyal

⁸⁷ Hearn, 2015, pp. 143-6.

⁸⁸ Patete, A. Tu Te Manawaroa Oral & Traditional Historical Report, Wai 2200, #A226, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2021, p. 285.

⁸⁹ Anderson & Pickens, 1996 p. 82.

⁹⁰ Kahotea, 2005, p14.

⁹¹ N.Z. Gazette, No. 25, P.135, 30 July 1860.

⁹² Kahotea, 2005, p. 136-7.

⁹³ Anderson & Pickens, 1996, p. 87.

to the Queen, they just wanted to hold onto the land of their tupuna.⁹⁴ Some Ngāti Raukawa eg some known within Ngāti Tukorehe, joined their Waikato relatives in fighting the Crown in north Taranaki, and some died there eg at Mahoetahi, between Waitara and New Plymouth, and at Huirangi, inland from Waitara.⁹⁵



The Huirangi cross, inland Taranaki, erected by the Government to acknowledge the men of Ngāti Haua, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Mahuta and Ngāti Awa who were killed “in the attack on no 3 redoubt”, 23rd January 1861. Photo: Collins & Teira, 22.1.2017.

The Kohimarama conference in Auckland over a month from July to August 1860 was an attempt by the Governor Gore Browne and McLean to brow-beat chiefs from around the country into subordination and ‘loyalism’ to Queen Victoria and the colonial government, by emphasising mutual interests, such as peace and material gain. ⁹⁶ Loyalty was promoted by the ideology of the special relationship between the Queen, or Crown, and Māori as British subjects which the Treaty promised.⁹⁷ Eleven Ngāti Raukawa chiefs attended including Te Ahukaramū,

⁹⁴ Patete, 2021, pp. 198-200; AJHR 1860 E-1A.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 201.

⁹⁶ Kahotea, 2005, p.139.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 138.

Matene Te Whiwhi, Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Ihakara Tukumarū. Reports of the speeches from the hui indicate it was successful, and some included a Christian element eg Te Ahukaramū was quoted as saying (Proceedings of the Kohimarama Conference, 16th July 1860): “all I have to say is this - God comes first, secondly the Queen, thirdly the Governor...I shall continue to be faithful to these three”. Horomona Toremi (Ngāti Raukawa) said that the wisdom of the Pakeha came from God, quoted the gospel of John 13.34, ‘ye shall love one another”, and stated his hope - “McLean it is my desire that we should participate and be protected by your mana” (similar to treaty principles understood today). Matene Te Whiwhi said that living “under the shadow of the Queen” was now a fait accompli, and hoped that such hui meant the chiefs’ views were being heard, and that an on-going relationship between iwi and the Crown would be of mutual benefit.⁹⁸ A system of justice involving runanga and kaiwhakawā (assessors) nominated by iwi, but under the government’s leadership or mana, was discussed there, and Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Matene Te Whiwhi and Ihakara Tukumarū became native assessors then or soon afterwards. The chiefs were also told that customary retention of land was a cause of strife and division. Sale of land was to be used for roads and bridges to facilitate trade, leading to wealth for all.⁹⁹ Nepia Taratoa stayed away from Kohimarama and kept his thoughts more private.

Wars in Taranaki (1860, 1865) and Waikato (1861-3), as well as the Kohimarama hui (1860), polarised and divided our people, unnaturally, into Kingites and Queenites. It put pressure on attendees to commit fully to the Queen, and comply with land sales, or be seen as disloyal and pay with loss of land i.e. either way, we would not retain the whenua. The Taranaki war also shifted the balance of power towards the earlier tangata whenua in the Ngāti Raukawa rohe, because they were armed by the Crown and proved their loyalty in battle.¹⁰⁰ Taratoa’s death in 1862 was significant, in that it led to a decline in the relationship between Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Apa, as Taratoa had shared rents with the latter, and after his death they demanded more and more. Disputes broke out after the sale of the Rangitikei-Turakina block when Ngāti Apa began cutting totara south of the agreed

⁹⁸ ‘Proceedings of the Kohimarama conference’, *Māori Messenger Te Karere Maori*, Vol. VII, Issue 14, 31st July 1860, p. 3.

⁹⁹ D. Luke, F. Te Momo & W. Winiata, ‘*He Iti Nā Motai: Te Hono Ki Raukawa Oral and Traditional History Report*,’ Vol. 1, Porirua ki Manawatu District Inquiry (Wai 2200), 2019, p. 296.

¹⁰⁰ Anderson & Pickens, 1996, p. 200.

boundary, the Rangitikei river. Aperahama Huruhuru established cultivations there, but was driven off by two waka loads of armed Ngāti Apa men. Ngāti Apa burnt off further Ngāti Raukawa crops. Meetings were held at which Ngāti Raukawa proposed sharing rents or land, but Ngāti Apa demanded Ngāti Raukawa withdrawal. Taking a determined stand against Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Raukawa built a pā named Kakanui near the farm of Mr Alexander, and with 200 armed men told him to pay his rent to them, not Ngāti Apa, or they would drive off his stock. Ngāti Apa built pā north of the Rangitikei river at this time, and Ihakara Tukumarū built three pā south of the Rangitikei river - Tawhirihoe, Hokianga and Makowhai.¹⁰¹ With the intervention of lawyer William Fox, both sides agreed to withdraw, and let the Government hold the rents until the matter was settled. When Native Secretary Shortland told Featherston to help negotiate a settlement, he moved towards purchase of the land. At a hui at Ihakara Tukumarū's pā at Tawhirihoe, Ngāti Apa rejected Ihakara's arbitration proposal, favouring Featherston's purchase proposal. The focus then shifted towards negotiating a sale. The Rangitikei-Manawatu sale concluded in 1866.

The Himatangi decision of the Native Land Court in 1868 caused dismay and protest within Ngāti Raukawa because it recognized equal interests and rights of both Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Apa at Himatangi, when Ngāti Apa had not lived there for decades, since before the Treaty. The court decided that the three Himatangi hapū - Ngāti Rakau, Ngāti Turanga and Ngāti Te Au - were entitled to less than half the land, when they told the court they had had "sole possession of the block for 33 years."¹⁰² Again the Crown was favouring its loyal Ngāti Apa friends. Crown counsel, former Prime Minister William Fox in this case had used "invective, sarcasm and innuendo" against Ngāti Raukawa, described the Treaty as a "great sham" and maligned and misrepresented Ngāti Raukawa non-sellers, eg Parakaia te Pouepa, and even missionaries such as Hadfield as "landsharks".¹⁰³ Tamihana Te Rauparaha described Ngāti Raukawa as "soldiers" and kaimahi for Te Rauparaha. Parakaia and his followers continued to contest the Himatangi decision. A petition of Henare te Herekau, Hare Heemi Taharape and sixty other Ngāti Raukawa people, including wāhine, was also sent to the Government protesting about the

¹⁰¹ Buick, 1903, p. 205.

¹⁰² Anderson & Pickens, 1996, pp. 122-23; Williams to Colonial Secretary, 7 May 1868, MA series 13/73B, pp 1-2, Archives NZ

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 115; R. Galbreath, (1989) Walter Buller, the Reluctant Conservationist. GP Books, Wellington, p72.

unfairness of the Native Land Court in relation to large Ngāti Raukawa land claims in the Rangitikei-Manawatu block, dated 13 November 1868.¹⁰⁴ Husbands lists those hapū in opposition to the sale as Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Ngarongo, Ngāti Kapu, Ngāti Maiotaki, Ngāti Tukorehe and Ngāti Whakaterere.¹⁰⁵ Later court decisions (Kukutauaki in 1872 and Horowhenua in 1873) also failed to recognize the rights of conquest and dominance achieved by Ngāti Raukawa, and stated that our right to occupy was with the acquiescence of the earlier tribes.

Ngāti Raukawa resistance to Muaupoko incursion (later land-court sanctioned) onto their land in the southern Horowhenua block came close to armed conflict between iwi in 1871. The local Muaupoko had been living peacefully for many years within the boundaries allocated to them by Te Whatanui, and balance had been achieved, with Muaupoko acknowledging the mana of Te Whatanui. Attacks on Ngāti Pareraukawa at Kouturoa south of lake Horowhenua by Kemp, Hunia and others of Muaupoko began in 1871. Elderly people and children were dragged out of their homes, and a house was burnt. Interpreter John Knocks reported that some of Muaupoko sided with Ngāti Raukawa, but that Hunia “has a strong desire not to let Ngāti Raukawa have any claim to the Horowhenua district, and is prepared to prevent occupation of disputed land by force of arms. They have built a war pā...”¹⁰⁶ Hence, through Hunia, Ngāti Apa and Muaupoko were involved in opposition to Ngāti Raukawa retaining ground at Horowhenua. Otaki magistrate Major Edwards tried to persuade the parties to take the matter to the land court. When that idea was rejected, a rūnanga was proposed, and accepted by both parties, on the condition that no-one would occupy the disputed land in the meantime. But threatening talk from Kemp and Hunia indicated they were not willing to wait for a rūnanga. This tension also affected Ngāti Huia north of lake Horowhenua, who built a defensive pā. Then Hunia agreed to an arbitration court of Europeans and Māori, and Matene Te Whiwhi was asked to nominate chiefs from Ngāti Raukawa. Native Department agent A Clarke was sent to the district to gather information, and tried to get Watene Te Waewae to leave, siding with Hunia and Kemp. But Ngāti Huia was able to mobilize a force as large as that of Kemp and Hunia, to defend land both north and south

¹⁰⁴ MA 13/73B, Archives NZ, pp. 302-307.

¹⁰⁵ P. Husbands, ‘Māori Aspirations, Crown Response and Reserves, 1840-2000.’ Ngāti Raukawa Historical Issues Report, Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, commissioned by Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2018, p. 56.

¹⁰⁶ Anderson & Pickens, 1996, p. 157

of lake Horowhenua, along with our Ngāti Toa and Te Atiawa allies. Tamihana Te Rauparaha, although a Queenite, also supported his whanaunga Watene and Ngāti Huia.

Ngāti Raukawa chiefs felt they needed to make a stand at Horowhenua, and support Te Whatanui's whānau there, or their rights to all land south to Kukutauaki would be in question.¹⁰⁷ While the opposing groups remained armed and ready to fight for three months, the tension eventually eased. No shots were fired, and Kemp and Hunia withdrew to Whanganui for the meantime. Hunia and Kemp were asked to give up their Government-supplied weapons.¹⁰⁸ Tamihana and Watene appealed to the Government for a hearing on the underlying issues. A Select Committee discussed the matter without input from Ngāti Raukawa and decided that Kemp himself could collect the weapons from his followers and that Watene should move off the land. Hunia refused to participate in an investigation of the matter by Travers, commissioned by the Government in November 1871. Kemp continued to make claims on the land north and south of that allocated to Muaupoko by Te Whatanui.¹⁰⁹ While both parties agreed to arbitration by a rūnanga of chiefs and government nominees, McLean failed to follow through on this proposal. Ngāti Raukawa was forced to resort to the Native Land Court, which once again proved biased to the "loyalist" earlier tangata whenua tribes. Further houses were burnt by Muaupoko at Otawhaowhao, south of the Mahoenui boundary before the Land Court hearing in 1873, Hura Ngahue later told the Native Appellate Court. Both Hunia and Kemp were given power to determine the boundaries in surveys in 1872-3, re-claiming land lost by conquest in the 1820s, against the interests of Ngāti Raukawa and contrary to treaty promises.

In an agreement between McLean, Kemp and representatives of four Ngāti Raukawa hapū at Waiwiri/lake Papaitonga in 1874, the four hapū were promised reserves, which would include their kainga, pā and cultivations. When these were not given, leaders of these four hapū pursued legal avenues for over 25 years to obtain them – through petitions, appeals for re-hearings and court cases.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid pp. 159-163

¹⁰⁸ Ibid pp. 157-164.

¹⁰⁹ The Horowhenua Block, Minutes and Proceedings of the evidence of the Native Appellate Court, AJHR 1898 G-2A

Hundreds of Ngāti Raukawa people (282 & 304 people) signed petitions about the injustice of the Horowhenua Native Land Court decision and the Rangitiki-Manawatu purchase. In 1880 four letters with long lists of signatories were sent from chiefs, including Matene Te Whiwhi, Waretini Tuainuku and Henare Te Herekau, and others to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, based in London. They stressed that these land court judgments breached the Treaty of Waitangi, and that the imperial government should take responsibility for investigating and providing relief. While the petitions did eventually reach the Secretary of State in London, he referred the matter back to the colonial government.¹¹⁰ Ngāti Raukawa petitions and court cases to obtain promised reserves, adequate for occupation and subsistence, continued into the 1890s and in some cases, into the twentieth century. Subdivision and on-going sales deepened the problem. For example, it was not until 1898 that the Native Appellate Court allocated a 210-acre block along the Waiwiri stream to four Ngāti Raukawa hapū (Ngāti Hikitanga, Ngāti Pareraukawa, Ngāti Parekohatu and Ngāti Kahoro) ie the Papaitonga reserves. This allocation was only a portion of that promised, as it did not encompass the kainga, cultivations and waterways which we had customarily used from the 1820s to 1873 when they were wrongfully allocated to other iwi.¹¹¹ Lake Koputara reserve was a case which continued into the 20th century. Crown failure to survey and allocate title in the 1870s was not rectified until 1964, by which time the environmental degradation was severe. Access had not been possible after Crown failure to provide it in the 1870s.¹¹²

However, some members of Ngāti Raukawa were also working towards positive engagement with the colonial government in the late 1890s. Wiremu Kiriwehi of Ngāti Kapu was an active supporter of the Māori parliament and Kotahitanga movement which met at Papawai (Wairarapa) between 1892 and 1902. The focus of the movement was the retention of Māori land and to gain legal validation from the New Zealand Parliament. In 1897 Kiriwehi was selected as one of four leaders of this movement “to come to Wellington to watch any native legislation which might be brought before Parliament, and to give the Native Minister and members of Parliament the benefit of their advice in connection therewith.” Others were selected from Hawkes Bay, Wairarapa and Bay of Islands. Wiremu was the Otaki sub-editor for the newspaper *Te Tiupiri* (Jubilee), which

¹¹⁰ Anderson & Pickens, 1996, pp. 229-230.

¹¹¹ Luke, Te Momo, & Winiata, 2019, p. 314.

¹¹² Briefs of Evidence, Ani Mikaere & Pat Seymour, Te Awahou block hearing, April 2021.

supported the Kotahitanga movement and distributed its news. In 1893, following the retirement of Hoani Taipua, Wiremu nominated Ropata Te Ao as member for Western Māori electorate. Aohau Nikitini also stood that year, but Ropata was successful and held the seat for three years. Ropata's parents were Te Aotutahanga and Raure, and he was of Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Akamapuhia.

A photograph (below) of Māori fighting men, some in army uniform, at Papawai with Premier John Seddon and Sir James Carroll in c.1900 indicates a close relationship with Seddon, and the willingness of the Māori community there (Ngāti Moe, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitane) to participate in wars on behalf of the Crown.



Uniformed men at Papawai marae, Greytown, Kotahitanga movement and Premier Richard John Seddon, c1900-1910, PA Group 00412, photo by Vosseler, F.W. ATL, PA Group 00412. Seddon is lying (right), Sir James Carroll standing (middle).

Seddon's willingness to advocate for Māori participation in overseas wars as part of the New Zealand forces was one of the reasons he was liked within our iwi. When he died in 1906, Ngāti Raukawa leaders who followed his body to the urupa included Heni Te Whiwhi, Ropata Te Ao, Hema te Ao, Kipa Te Whatanui, Aohau Nicholson, Raiha Waitohi and Karepa Kapokai (described as being of Ngāti Toa & Ngāti Raukawa).¹¹³

¹¹³ 'Nga Maori i aru i te tinana o te Hetana ki te urupa', *Pipiwaharauoa*, 1 July 1906, Papers Past.

2.5 CONCLUSION

Treaty promises were not kept - the desire of our tupuna to retain whenua was clearly expressed and yet it was lost, particularly at Rangitikei-Manawatu and Horowhenua. Promises of protection, partnership and participation were not kept. The Government used policies of deliberate disempowerment of Ngāti Raukawa to undermine our efforts to maintain rangatiratanga, our whenua and the balance of power achieved over the previous two to three decades. For example, Ngāti Raukawa efforts to settle disputes amicably by sharing land and rents with other iwi were used against us, as part of Crown policy to favour loyalist chiefs and give them land. The significance of the year 1840 as a point in time to which claims to customary title could be made was disregarded by Fox in the Native Land Court, e.g. in the Himatangi hearing, 1868.

Promises made by McLean and Gore Browne to Ngāti Raukawa chiefs at Kohimarama in 1860 were not kept. McLean had promised a stronger Crown commitment to a treaty partnership, a new system of justice, and greater authority being given to chiefs through a closer relationship with the Crown. Crown failure to support a rūnanga of chiefs and Europeans to try and settle the Horowhenua impacted heavily on our people, as the Native Land Court continued to show bias against Ngāti Raukawa. Grindell's statement that - "It was not the object of the Government to beggar them and render them homeless, but to improve their condition" - was proved false.¹¹⁴

Ngāti Raukawa was reduced from being united as the dominant military power in the region, well-resourced and healthy, to being reduced by illness, divided, pressured into further subdivision and sale of land, and struggling to subsist. The Crown relationship with Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga in the nineteenth century was very poor - disrespectful, demeaning and divisive.

And yet the fighting spirit of some of our leaders was evident in petitions, court cases, and political action. Te Kotahitanga, like the Kingitanga, was a multi-tribal movement supported by some Ngāti Raukawa which worked towards political partnership with the colonial government. The influences of Christianity, assimilationist rhetoric from politicians, and the dominance of British law and governance systems all contributed to a willingness by many of our men to fight as part of Britain's colonial forces in the

¹¹⁴ Anderson & Pickens, 1996, p. 174.

twentieth century. But for many, it was a chance for travel, adventure, and to prove their courage on the battlefield.

3.0 NGĀTI RAUKAWA PARTICIPATION IN WORLD WAR ONE - SACRIFICE, SCARS AND LEADERS LOST

3.1 THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BEGINS WITH A WAVE OF PATRIOTISM & PRO-BRITISH FERVOUR

As the focus of the New Zealand colonial government changed from stamping down the “Māori unrest” of the mid nineteenth century to supporting British imperialist interests overseas, in the face of threats from other “powers” in the late 19th and early twentieth century,¹¹⁵ there was no shortage of volunteers, both Pakeha and Māori. Voluntary military training at home involved riding horses in the Mounted Rifles and the use of weapons including rifles, grenades and even swords. Tournaments at racecourses included horse-racing, horse-jumping and tugs-of-war, both on horse and off.¹¹⁶ Some Ngāti Raukawa men took part in that training, some under the leadership of Rere and Te Aohau Nicholson of Ngāti Pareraukawa. From that experience and training came an opportunity to travel overseas in official performance parties, fight in the Boer War for some, and later to participate in World War One and World War II. As researchers who are also members of Ngāti Raukawa, we aim to write about these participants not just as individuals but as members of whanau, leaving behind siblings, parents, aunts, uncles, kaumatua; and risking their lives and fighting alongside brothers, cousins, uncles and nephews.

3.1.1 Anglo-Boer Wars

The first Anglo-Boer war was in 1880-81 and occurred after the British annexed the Boer South African republic of Transvaal in 1877. The Boers were of Dutch, German and French Huguenot descent and had been in the region for over 200 years. British rule meant pressure to change their way of life and they fought back. A wave of patriotic fervour, and support for the “Homeland” swept New Zealand after the relief of the 217-day siege at Mafeking by the British army, led by Colonel Robert Baden-Powell. Alternative voices, such as the National Council of Women, were publicly condemned. Criticisms of Baden-Powell’s methods included the fact that the food was given to

¹¹⁵ Department of Statistics, 1990, p. 117, <https://www.stats.govt.nz/> (accessed 6th September 2021)

¹¹⁶ ‘Military Sports at Ohau’, *New Zealand Mail*, 15 November 1900, p. 48.

Europeans while Africans in the town went hungry, and some starved to death.¹¹⁷ New Zealand's Government, under Premier Richard Seddon, offered support to Britain in the form of 200 mounted riflemen in 1899.¹¹⁸ Britain accepted, a training camp was set up at Campbell Park, Karori, and the first contingent embarked in late 1899. Seddon also advocated for the inclusion of Māori, at least 100 in the first contingent. Many Māori leaders supported him (see 1900 photo at Papawai in the previous chapter). But the British government declined, stating that "native races" should not be deployed in a "white man's war". This view was widely held and supported by newspapers e.g. *Evening Post* (27.12.1900). Seddon argued that the Treaty of Waitangi gave Māori equal rights as British citizens, so they should have the right to participate in wars. Some Māori men, particularly those with European fathers, got around this prohibition and fought in the Boer war anyway. Walter Callaway, aka Waata te Wahahuia Karawe of Ngai te Rangi, is credited as the first Māori to serve in the South African war.¹¹⁹ Experience in the mounted rifles helped them to gain acceptance.¹²⁰ While they would have recognized each other as Māori, and their shared experience of being Māori back home, there was no overt expression of Māori identity in this war.

3.1.2 Volunteer Mounted Rifles - many Ngāti Raukawa sign up

The volunteer mounted rifle movement in the Wellington district began in 1898, and in July 1900 a new mounted rifle battalion was formed on the west coast of the North Island, including the Manawatu Mounted Rifles (Levin), the Otaki mounted rifles and another in an adjoining district. The headquarters was at Palmerston North, and it was commanded by Major Dunk.¹²¹ Oddly, in June 1900, a Ngāti Porou officer was in charge of approval

¹¹⁷Robson, N., *Our First Foreign War, The Impact of the South African War 1899-1902 on New Zealand*. Palmerston North, Massey University Press, 2021, pp. 23-24.

¹¹⁸ 'Origins of the conflict', Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 6 March 2018, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/new-zealand-in-the-south-african-boer-war/a-brief-history> (accessed 6 September 2021).

¹¹⁹ 'Walter Callaway', Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 14 November 2017, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/walter-callaway> (accessed 9 September 2021).

¹²⁰ 'Māori and the war', Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 7 March 2018, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/new-zealand-in-the-south-african-boer-war/maori> (accessed 9 September 2021)

¹²¹ Our Defence Forces, *Evening Post*, Vol. LX, Issue LX, 17 July 1900.

of names of members for the Horowhenua Mounted Rifle Volunteers, ie Lt Col T Porter, also known as Tame Poata.¹²² In June 1901, a gathering in Wellington of volunteers (mounted rifles and infantry) from New Plymouth and Napier to Wellington, and including Westland, Marlborough and Nelson, numbered 3,500 men. At that time there were 50 men in the Manawatu Rifles, 53 in the Palmerston Guards, 44 in the Foxton Rifles, 39 in the Otaki Rifles and 35 in the Horowhenua Rifles. Those of Ngati Raukawa who joined the Otaki Mounted Rifles in 1900 include Corp Horo Karauti, buglers Te Whena Hakaraia and Whata Hakaraia; Kupa Hawea (Ngāti Huia), Henare Pumipi, Kipa Roera (Ngāti Kikopiri) and several Bevans (Ngāti Wehiwehi), Cootes (Ngāti Huia, Ngati Te Rā), Hakaraia (Ngāti Kapu & Wehiwehi), Ransfields (Ngāti Wehiwehi), Ropata (Ngāti Huia), A. Winterburn (Ngāti Kapu), Uma Taipua (Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Huia), and Horima Te Waru (Ngāti Pare and Ngāti Waihurihia).¹²³ When Horima died suddenly in November 1902, he was given a military funeral as a member of the Otaki Mounted Rifles. He was described in the *New Zealand Mail* as “the son of a noted local chieftain” of Otaki.¹²⁴ Hori te Waru (1850-1932) of Ngāti Pare and Ngāti Waihurihia was probably the chief, his father, referred to here.¹²⁵ Because of his senior whakapapa, Hori te Waru was offered the role of paramount chief of Ngāti Raukawa but declined in favour of his brother, Hema Te Ao. Hori Te Waru who was part of a group which worked to reconstruct Raukawa marae, Otaki in 1930.¹²⁶ In the Fielding Mounted Rifles, we know of Akuhata Himiona of Ngāti Kauwhata (Aorangi), who went on to serve in World War One.¹²⁷ We also had Ngati Raukawa men in the Horowhenua Mounted Rifles (eg W.Seymour, I.Wehipihana), the Hunterville Mounted Rifles (N.Karatea, N.Winiata), the

¹²² Archives NZ R24398858 AAYS 8638 AD1/357/aw D1900/2647)

¹²³ Otaki Mounted Rifles capitulation rolls, Archives R11169165 AAYS 8790 ARM41/56 1903/1d; Pers. comm., T.K.Teira, 23 September 2021.

¹²⁴ Otaki, *New Zealand Mail*, 5 November 1902, p. 25.

¹²⁵ R. Kerr, *Not Only Te Rauparaha and Hadfield, but also...*, Black Pony, Otaki, 2016, p. 141; Pers. comm., T.K.Teira, 23 September 2021.

¹²⁶ G.L Adkin, *Horowhenua, its Māori place names & their topographic & historical background*, Dept of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1948, p. 336.

¹²⁷ Archives R18048192 Akuhata Himiona army file.

Heretaunga Mounted Rifles (P.Ropata, Pehi Parata, Wi Katene, W.Kerehoma) and probably the Wellington Mounted Rifles.¹²⁸

Te Kenehi was told by uncle Iwi Nicholson that Rere (Eruera, Edward) Nicholson was involved with training the mounted riflemen in horsemanship - how to ride and care for horses. There are photographs of him leading an end-of-war parade and officiating at memorial events. A photo published in the *Otaki Historic Journal* (2004, below) shows his older brother Te Aohau Nicholson on a committee with Whanganui leaders advocating for Māori to join the Boer war.¹²⁹



(*Otaki Historic Journal* (OHJ), Otaki Historical Society (OHS), 2004, vol 26, p17)

An article in *Te Tiupiri* (1.2.1900) indicates that this committee, "hei Awhina i ngā hoia a te Kuini " was formed in February 1900, in support of sending Māori and other soldiers to the Boer War. The caption in the *Otaki Historical Journal* (above) reads, "An Example of the Loyalty of the Māoris: The Wanganui Native Committee of the "More Men" Fund. Although we are supposed to be employing no soldiers but those of British blood in this war, it has been found impossible to restrain altogether the loyal devotion of the Māori s

¹²⁸ Palmerston North City Library Archives, Wellington Mounted Rifles Volunteers, Series 1, Box 1. Nominal roll books, 1889-1920.

¹²⁹ Pers. comm, T.K.Teira, 26 August 2021; *OHJ* (OHS), 2004, Vol. 26, p. 17, Te Aohau Nikitini

and there are one or two of them in the NZ Contingents already dispatched, representatives of thousands who would be prepared to carry their tupara (rifle) to South Africa for the Queen and wear her Majesty's khaki". The photo was supplied to the Otaki Historical Society by the committee's secretary Waata Wiremu Hipango (top right), and the chair was Takerei Hori Kerei (seated middle). Te Aohau Nikitini (Ngāti Pareraukawa) is seated (far right). As well as appointing a committee, Māori in the district also collected £80 and presented two horses to the War Effort Fund. As stated in the previous chapter, Te Aohau Nikitini had recently run for Western Māori (late 1899), alongside some of these Whanganui men, including Waata Hipango and Takarangi Metekingi.¹³⁰ The successful candidate was Ropata Te Ao, of Otaki. The close relationship between Ngāti Raukawa Anglicans of Otaki and the Mihinare community of Putiki, Whanganui has also been noted.¹³¹

The Nicholsons are a well-known whānau within Ngāti Pareraukawa and Ngāti Raukawa. They descend from Te Whatanui's sister Hitau, whose grand-daughter Kararaina married Rhodes Nicholson, then later (after Rhodes returned to England) his brother Albert. She had children with both.¹³²

Military tournaments included horse races, tugs-of-war (on horseback and on foot) and jumping hurdles. They were often held at race-courses, e.g. the combined Horowhenua and Otaki Mounted rifles held a tournament at the Ohau race-course on 15th November 1900. Over 600 people attended, with entertainment from the Otaki Māori Band, led by bandmaster Tiku (Utiku) Hapeta. While the mounted riflemen were predominantly European, Ngāti Raukawa men were also involved, eg J. Ropata, Junior Ropata and S.Ransfield were in the team who won the tug-of-war (on foot). 'Trooper Horo Karauti' of Ngāti Tukorehe was also there and gained a leadership role. On 5th June 1901, at the

¹³⁰ *Auckland Star* (AS), 6 December 1899.

¹³¹ Pers. comm. Barb Rudd & Denise Hapeta, 17 September 2021.

¹³² Rhodes and Albert's father Thomas Nicholson acquired a significant property named Roundhay in Leeds, UK in 1803. When he died in 1823 it went to his half-brother Stephen, and then on Stephen's death, to William, brother of Rhodes. Albert. Rhodes' attempt to succeed to the property was not successful.

annual ball of the Otaki Mounted Rifles, Sgt Horo Karauti (Ngāti Tukorehe) was awarded a trophy for being “the trooper with the best turn-out”.¹³³

About 20 Ngāti Raukawa men were in the Otaki Mounted Rifles, two in the Heretaunga M.R. (P. Ropata, H.Wineera) and at last two in the Fielding M.R. (A.Himiona, T. Himiona). The Manawatu and Horowhenua Mounted Rifles would also have included Ngati Raukawa men, but details have not yet come to light.



Te Oneroaiokatia (Jack) Himiona, Fielding Mounted Rifles. Both Jack and his brother Akuhata were in the F.M.R. Photo: Akuhata Himiona Whanau Research Group, 7th Nov 2021.

3.1.3 Scouts and school cadets

Military training in schools for boys was made compulsory under the Defence Act 1909. Boys aged 12-14 (Junior Cadets), and those aged 14-18 (Senior Cadets) were both required to do 52 hours of training each year. This included Māori pupils at Native Schools and Native Mission Schools. Te Aute principal John Thornton was able to secure

¹³³ Military Sports at Ohau. *New Zealand Mail*, 15 NOV 1900, P 48; ‘Our Defence Forces’, *Evening Post*, Vol. LXI, Issue LXI, 5 June 1901, p. 5.

guns from the Government for the school's cadets, so rifle use was practiced there since the 1890s.¹³⁴

Of interest to note also is that Major Charles Thomas Tatum, who bought the Tatum Park property at Manakau in 1912,¹³⁵ was involved with the Otaki Mounted Rifles Volunteers and then the No 3 Wellington (Manawatu) Mounted Rifles. An article about the property and his life¹³⁶ states, “members of defence rifle clubs were on oath to serve if necessary. In exchange, ammunition and rifles were supplied at a cheap rate.” Before his death in 1942, Tatum bequeathed the property to the scout movement, which was associated with the cadet military training programmes in schools which had begun in the early twentieth century. “Voluntary cadet groups existed in many schools prior to 1909, when the Defence Act introduced compulsory military training. This act required nearly all boys aged between 12 and 14 to undergo 52 hours of physical training each year as Junior Cadets. Initially, this training was supervised by their teachers... While preparing boys for war is not part of the modern scouting movement, its founder, Robert Baden-Powell, had been a lieutenant-general in the British Army. His principles of scouting, published in *Scouting for boys* (1908), were based on his earlier military books. Rangi Royal became the first Māori scoutmaster in the country in 1912.¹³⁷ Otaki Māori Boys College had its own scout troupe, after it opened in 1909.¹³⁸ The movement aimed to teach boys ‘peaceful citizenship’ – moral values, patriotism, discipline and outdoor skills – through games and activities and to produce patriots capable of defending the British Empire. Children of the privileged elite practiced shooting with rifles e.g. cadets at Wellington College, and girls at a wealthy school in Auckland (Parnell).¹³⁹ Children were included in

¹³⁴ M. Soutar, *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Maori in the First World War*, David Bateman Ltd, Wellington, 2019, p. 32; ‘Te Aute College Cadets, Section Competition’, *Daily Telegraph*, 27 November 1900.

¹³⁵ This land was owned by Ngāti Rangitawhia, which is both Tukorehe & Wehiwehi. Waikawa stream is on its boundary.

¹³⁶ Tatum Park, *The News*, 15th June, 1988, www.horowhenua.kete.net.nz (accessed 9 September 2021).

¹³⁷ Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal & Tom Jamison. 'Royal, Te Rangiātaahua Kīniwē', DNZB, Te Ara, first published in 1998, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4r29/royal-te-rangiataahua-kiniwe> (accessed 9 September 2021).

¹³⁸ Pers. comm. T.K.Teira, 11.1.22; www.otakihistoricalsociety.org.nz/otaki-history.

¹³⁹ 'Turning boys into soldiers', Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 22 March 2017

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/turning-boys-into-soldiers> (accessed 13 September 2021); Robson, 2021, p. 50.

patriotic festivities (e.g. the relief of Mafeking in 1900), and teachers urged children to remain loyal to “their teachers, their school, their Empire and their Queen.”¹⁴⁰

Tensions between Pakeha and Māori related to: memory of the land wars, only 40 years prior; and beliefs held by Europeans that Māori should assimilate and put their unique identity behind them, and that Māori were naturally a labouring class and should not aspire to be professionals, managers or business people. An example is the history of Te Aute College, where a Royal Commission of Inquiry 1906 recommended to principal John Thornton that he discontinue teaching Latin, geometry and algebra, and switch instead to teaching agriculture and manual instruction.¹⁴¹

3.1.4 Non-fighting Māori contingents - to Australia and Britain (1900s)

Non-fighting Māori contingents had been included in New Zealand representative royal and Commonwealth support visits overseas since 1897. In 1897, a Māori contingent of 20 had supported Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee celebration in England; in 1901 a Māori contingent went to the opening of the Commonwealth Parliament in Melbourne; and then in 1902 a Māori contingent had joined New Zealand’s Coronation Contingent which went to England to support the Coronation of King Edward VII. The larger size and visibility of this roopu (33 men) was a Government concession arising from the calls by Māori politicians and other leaders for Māori participation in the Boer War.¹⁴² Ngāti Raukawa men who were in that contingent were Rawiri Tatana and Te Tahuri, both of Otaki.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Robson, 2021, p. 22, p. 63-4.

¹⁴¹ ‘Thornton, John’, DNZB, Te Ara, first published in 1993, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2t42/thornton-john> (accessed 13 September 2021).

¹⁴² C. Pugsley, *Anzac: the New Zealanders at Gallipoli*, Auckland, Hodder Moa Beckett, 1995, p. 13; Pugsley pers.com. 21 September 2021.

¹⁴³ Soutar, 2019, pp.14-16.



(Māori Coronation Contingent which went to England in 1902 to support the Coronation of King Edward VII. Photo: Wairoa Museum Collection, 96/115/83)

Rawiri Tatana is standing in the second to back row, second to right, and his relation Te Tahuri is seated, front, right. The Tatana whanau is well-known in Ngāti Huia. Te Tahuri was the son of Pera Anaru (Ngāti Kahungunu) and Kararaina Anaru nee Nicholson of Ngāti Pareraukawa. He was brought up by Rere (Eruera) Nicholson amongst Ngāti Raukawa.¹⁴⁴

While the New Zealand Government saw the inclusion of Māori as a way of testing their ability to behave respectfully and represent themselves alongside other New Zealanders internationally, the Māori contingent itself had other ideas. It took the opportunity to advocate for equal rights under article three of the Treaty and asked Premier Richard Seddon to present their address to the new king concerning the British refusal to allow indigenous troops to fight in South Africa. Further investigation is needed to find out whether this statement was given to King Edward VII, and whether the Māori contingent was able to meet the King and/or perform at his coronation. However, there is a report

¹⁴⁴ T.K. Teira, pers.com. 9 September 2021.

that it was invited to perform waiata and haka for Princess Louise (Duchess of Argyll) sister to King Edwards VII and daughter of Queen Victoria, who visited them at Alexandra Park in London with her husband the Duke, and other members of the British nobility. They were welcomed by Lt Col Pole-Penton and 27 members of the Māori contingent were asked to perform for them on the south terrace:

“Princess Louise had expressed a wish to see the Māori war-dance, so some 27 members of the Māori Contingent assembled on the south terrace, some in native costume, and sung a selection of their songs, as well as performing the haka. The visitors were extremely interested in watching the proceedings. Later, tea was given to the guests in the officers' drawing-room, and the Duchess of Argyll expressed herself as being delighted with the afternoon's entertainment.”



Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, c1900. Photograph by William James Topley (1845-1930), in Morgan, H, 1842-1913, Toronto, 1913. Wikipedia.

The article states that the “colonial officers” were then presented to Her Royal Highness, indicating that the Māori “performers” were not (the British class system prevailing insultingly). “The Māoris also entertained a crowded audience at the Alhambra last week by performing the haka, and they had a most enthusiastic reception from those present.”

Newspaper reports state that the contingent members were promised £20 to cover their costs but were only given £15 and the trip lasted six weeks longer than expected, so there were “grumbles”. The appearance of the Māori men was widely admired: “The contingent, under the command of Colonel Porter, C.B., consists of 10 officers and 158 non-commissioned officers and men, including a number of natives, and are an

exceptionally fine body of men, the Māoris in particular being splendid specimens of the race. The men, who are in neat khaki uniform, surmounted with slouch hats, pinned to their breasts the Coronation bronze commemorative medal, in addition to the medals worn for active service in South Africa.”¹⁴⁵

While the visit may have been frustrating and insulting in some ways, there were no reports of poor behaviour. The positive comments from Princess Louise and others helped pave the way for a Māori contingent to be formed in World War 1.

3.1.5 Ngāti Raukawa in the Boer War & a musical composition by Mere Symons (nee Cook)

Which Ngāti Raukawa men went to the Boer war? One from Otaki who fought in the Boer war was Martin (also known as Jim) Carkeek, brother of the well-known Rikihana Carkeek and son of the surveyor Morgan Carkeek and his first wife Hannah Lawton of Ngāti Whakare. ¹⁴⁶ Hannah’s mother was Rangitepuae Rotini, and Hannah’s other children were Nellie Carkeek (wife of Richard Bevan), and Arthur, among others. ¹⁴⁷ Morgan worked first for the Wellington District survey office (1864-74), then went into private practice with his brother Arthur. The two brothers surveyed much of the southern North Island, including the Tararua range, the Waitohu district, and the lower Otaki river. Morgan lived most of his life in Otaki, so Martin and siblings grew up there. Martin was born in 1880, and worked as a labourer before he joined the 9th Contingent (service no 7157), signing up at Raetihi when his father had a camp surveying there. ¹⁴⁸ He was described as ‘fair’ and left for South Africa on the ship *Devon* on 19th March 1902, aged 22. The war ended when peace was made in June 1902, so he probably returned later that year. He died aged 59, on 5th Aug 1938, and was buried at Omaka cemetery, near Hastings. ¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Coronation Contingent, *New Zealand Herald*, Vol. 39, Issue 12105, 27 October 1902, p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ Otaki Museum, wall poster, photographed 17 September 2021; Rikihana was a son of Morgan’s later wife, Raita Rikihana of Ngāti Koroki.

¹⁴⁷ K. Bevan, 22 September 2021.

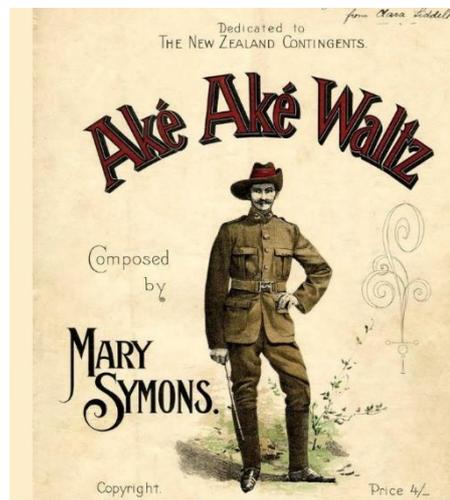
¹⁴⁸ Archives R20519147 - Carkeek, Martin, SA7157, Army.

¹⁴⁹ Auckland War Memorial Museum Online Cenotaph (AWMM, OLC), Martin Carkeek, (accessed 22 September 2021).

Another Ngāti Raukawa man who fought in the Boer war was Private Thomas Uppadine Cook, SN5060, who signed up as a Private with the 8th contingent, New Zealand Mounted Rifles, A company at Trentham on 5th January 1902. Thomas was born in Foxton in 1876 and was 26 when he volunteered. He was formerly a sheep farmer of Foxton. His father was George Te Oti Cook, son of Meretini & Thomas Uppadine Cook (senior). Meretini was a grand-daughter of Hapekituarangi, Ngāti Kikopiri and her marriage to Cook had been arranged by her uncles and step-father Te Rauparaha. Thomas' mother was George's second wife. Because his father George had no permanent address in 1902, Thomas stated his next of kin as his uncle Alfred Fraser. He left on the SS Surrey from Auckland, 1 February 1902. The war ended with a peace treaty in June 1902. After his return, still a Private in 1904, he was given an Imperial South African war medal at Koputoroa by the Chief Staff Officer. In 1907 he married Alatheia Stevenson in Wellington and the couple had three children Arthur (1908, born Taihape), Alethea (1909, born Ohakune), and George (1911, born Taumaranui) before he enlisted with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, in 24th January 1914.

Three of Thomas' cousins, including the writer's grandfather Ottie (James Mottershead) Collins and his brother Willie, had already served in the Boer War for the 'Imperial Yeomanry' by the time Thomas signed up in 1902. Ottie and Willie were sons of George's sister Annie Cook, daughter of Meretini and Thomas Uppadine Cook (senior) of Te Awahou Foxton. Annie had married James Mottershead Collins (senior) in Foxton, and after the birth of their first daughter Amelia or Millie 1876, had travelled to England with him, where they lived for 20 years. Ottie was born in Upper Norwood, known today as Crystal Palace, in May 1877. He had a privileged up-bringing as English middle-class, attending the historic Westminster School, next to Westminster Abbey in central London, and also learnt business skills in Stuttgart, Germany, before starting work with his father's fibre-broking firm - Collins, Bastone, Firminger. Perhaps seeking adventure, in about 1900 Ottie joined the 49th squadron of the Imperial Yeomanry, a volunteer mounted force of the British army, at Welshpool in Wales. But conditions were tough in Transvaal, with searing hot days and cold nights sleeping on the veldt, i.e. outside on the plain. At the end of 1900 Ottie transferred to the Johannesburg Mounted Police and did ten months service there before returning to his father's firm in London. Willie Collins, Ottie's younger brother also joined the 49th Company of the 9th Imperial Yeomanry (serial no 8282), leaving from New Zealand, probably Wellington. Willie had also attended

Westminster School, and was 15 when his father died in 1896. After her husband died, and after she had sold their London home, Annie had brought all her children (except Ottie) home to Foxton. For a time they lived with James' brother Charles and his wife Tilly (nee Symons, daughter of Charles Henry Simmons), in Union St and later Avenue Rd, before moving to Palmerston North. Willie played cricket for a New Zealand team against England about 1898. Willie and Ottie both left the Yeomanry at a similar time, with Willie returning to New Zealand in 1902. He became a businessman, married Mabel McGee in Dunedin and had three children. His grand-daughter Susan Hughes retains his medal (below), inscribed with the details "8282 Pte W.J. Collins, Boer War, 49th Coy, 9th Impl Yeo". Cousin John Annelsey Hickson, oldest son of Louisa Hickson nee Cook, died at the Boer War in 1900.¹⁵⁰



An aunt of Ottie, Willie, and Thomas was Annie and George Cook's sister Mary, who married Charles Symons and lived in Foxton. In 1901 she composed the "Ake Ake Waltz" (cover above) in honour of the New Zealand Contingent going to the Boer war, no doubt also aware of her nephews' involvement. The score was published in London by Charles Woolhouse. The Musical Heritage New Zealand organisation states it has three different versions of this song, a classical composition with no lyrics.

Joseph Jillett (SA5039), grandson of whaler Robert Jillett and Etera Morere of Ngāti Raukawa (associated with Ngāti Kapu at Pukekaraka), also served in the Boer War. He

¹⁵⁰ *Cook Reunion, Raukawa Marae Otaki 1989-1990*, Journal Compilation Sub-Committee, 1990.

joined the 8th contingent as a saddler, and later enlisted in WW1. His father John was secretary of the Otaki Racing Club and is buried at Pukekaraka.¹⁵¹

Because of their exclusion from the Boer War, Māori were on the back foot when it came to signing up for the first World War. Pakeha had gained experience and been promoted up the ranks, which supported those who thought Māori should not be given leadership roles in overseas wars, even over Māori contingents, let alone mixed or mainly European ones. The experiences of the few Māori who had served in the South African War had not prepared them for senior command.¹⁵²

While Otaki people contributed to New Zealand nurses going to South Africa, and 20 New Zealand women were also sent to teach Boer women and children in British concentration camps¹⁵³, we did not find any Ngāti Raukawa wāhine who went to South Africa. According to researcher Anna Rogers (2003), no Māori nurses served in South Africa, or overseas in World War One.¹⁵⁴ We note, however, that one of the trainee Ngā Puhi nurses who travelled Northland on horseback tending the sick and wore uniforms similar to the Boer War soldiers, was Lt G. Waetford, whom we have been advised was a descendant of Te Whatanui's daughter Rangingangana.¹⁵⁵ We have also found at least one Māori woman nurse who served in WW1, possibly two. They are Sister Ethel Pritchard of Ngā Puhi, and Margaret Bilton, who worked with Māori in Uruti, Taranaki.¹⁵⁶ But none from Ngāti Raukawa, until the 1960s or 70s when Borgia Hakaraia became an army nurse (see Appendix N, OHJ, 2014, vol 36),¹⁵⁷ followed by Georgina Parata-Turvey in 1988 (see Appendix O). Georgina worked as an army nurse for over 24

¹⁵¹ Kerr, 2016, p. 78; AWMM, OLC, Joseph Jillett: Nominal Roll Vol 4 (Roll 80), (accessed 21 September 2021), p. 13.

¹⁵² W. Gardiner, *Ake, Ake, kia kaha e! B Company Māori Battalion (1939-1945)*, Bateman Books, Auckland, 2019, p. 23

¹⁵³ Robson, 2021, p. 62-63.

¹⁵⁴ A. Rogers, *While You're Away, New Zealand Nurses at War 1899-1948*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2003, p. 7.

¹⁵⁵ Arapeta Hamilton, (Ngāti Manu, Ngā Puhi), 10 November 2021; Soutar 2019, p33 (includes photo).

¹⁵⁶ S. McNabb, *100 Years of New Zealand Military Nursing, New Zealand Army Nursing Service - Royal New Zealand Nursing Corps 1915-2015*, China, 2015, p. 159, p. 207. Sister Ethel Pritchard of Nga Puhi, Margaret Bilton, who worked with Māori in Uruti, Taranaki.

¹⁵⁷ 'Borgia Hakaraia, a life of nursing and whanau', OHJ (OHS), vol 36, 2014. See Appendix N.

years in countries including East Timor, Indonesia and Afghanistan and was awarded a Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit in 2006.



1899 Farewell to Boer War Volunteers at Raukawa Marae
Rawiri Rota Tahiwī (Ngāti Maiotaki) standing far left and Papi Nikora (Ngāti Pare) standing far right

Photo: *OHI* (OHS), Vol. 22, p. 19. The Otaki Maori community (Ngāti Raukawa) played a significant part in farewelling six Otaki Boer war soldiers, with haka, women waving green leaves, a march from the Jubilee Hotel to Te Rauparaha's monument, and speech-making at the Town Hall (see *OHI*, vol 26, p18-19). Research by Rupene Waaka indicates that the Otaki men farewelled in March 1900 were Bertram Penny, W.R. Franklin, Sheehan, W.M. Simcox, J.Pringle and F.Hall (none of these were Ngāti Raukawa).

3.2 WORLD WAR 1 - NGĀTI RAUKAWA PARTICIPATION STRONG

Some of the Ngāti Raukawa whānau names which carried through from the Otaki Mounted Rifles and/or Boer War to the first World War are Karauti (OMR), Carkeek (Boer), Tahiwī (OMR), Ropata (OMR), Royal (OMR), Bevan (OMR), and Uma (Te Umakaihau) Taipua (OMR). Our assessment is that there were at least 75 men of Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga who enlisted and served during World War One (Te Hokowhītu a Tū, ie the first Maori contingent, the Maori Pioneer battalion and others), with a further four “probables” (whakapapa uncertain, but probably linked families), and seven Ngāti Raukawa people from outside this rohe whose whānau had land in the south here. At least four died during service overseas. The first Māori contingent trained at Avondale, Auckland. While the three Ropata brothers were there, government officials took the advantage of their joint employment by the Crown, and persuaded them to sell whanau

land at Kapiti Island. This occurred on 14 January 1915, and involved Jack (Tutere), Jerry (Herehere) and Pahia Ropata.¹⁵⁸ The officials told the brothers they might not return from war, so the purchase money would help support their whānau.¹⁵⁹

3.2.1 Rikihana Carkeek

As stated, Martin Carkeek, who fought in the Boer War, was the older half-brother of Rikihana Carkeek. Rikihana Carkeek became well-known as a member of the Māori Contingent in 1914 who kept a detailed diary, now published, which became an important record of events, and with the permission of the whānau, he has been featured large in the current Gallipoli exhibition at Te Papa.

Rikihana (born 1890) was known as Bunny, due to the fact that his mother had died when he was a baby, he became “whanau-pani” and the name Pani was Anglicized to Bunny by a relative and stuck.¹⁶⁰ His father was the surveyor Morgan Carkeek, but he was brought up by his mother’s whānau. Educated at Te Aute College, he was working as a clerk at Parata & Co in Wellington (with Kingi Tahiwī) when war broke out in 1914. He was immediately keen to sign up and inspired others to join too. His leadership ability is evident in that before enlisting, in early October he helped to recruit men in Whakatane for 6 Platoon, D Company.¹⁶¹ “The Te Aute graduate called on his former schoolmates and their St Stephen’s College counterparts to enlist. Young men who had served in the Territorial Force, including as school cadets, were especially sought after,” states Gardiner. Carkeek enlisted by walking into the Avondale racecourse (by then a training camp) on 19th October 1914, joining A company’s no 4 platoon with other men from Horowhenua, Wellington and the South Island.

The following is the introduction to a book “Home Little Māori Home, a Memoir of the Māori Contingent, 1914-16”, published by the whanau in 2003 (Totika Publications), based on the diary of Pte Rikihana Carkeek Carkeek, 16/255:

¹⁵⁸ Soutar, 2019, p78.

¹⁵⁹ Kahu Ropata, 10th Nov 2021.

¹⁶⁰ 'Rikihana Carkeek Great War Story', Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 1 May 2020, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/rikihana-carkeek-great-war-story> (accessed 27 September 2021); Puawai Cairns, 'Carry on, boys - Part Two: Rikihana Carkeek', 7 August 2015, <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2015/08/07/carry-on-boys-the-stories-of-friday-hawkins-and-rikihana-carkeek-part-two-rikihana-carkeek/> (accessed 27 September 2021).

¹⁶¹ Gardiner, 2019, p. 21.

“Rikihana Carkeek was born in Otaki on March 23, 1890. His mother, Raita Carkeek, nee Rikihana, died when he was an infant and he was cared for by her family. Rikihana (Bunny) was educated at Te Aute College. On leaving school he worked as a clerk for Parata & Company in Wellington. On the outbreak of war, at the age of twenty-four, he enlisted with the First Māori Contingent and commenced training at Avondale Camp in Auckland. He then sailed with the contingent to Egypt, Malta and Anzac Cove, where he served in the Dardanelles Campaign. Rikihana was wounded in the battle of Sari Bair on August 6, 1915. After recovering from his wounds he returned briefly to Gallipoli until the depleted ranks of the contingent were posted to France in April 1916. From France, Rikihana was sent to military hospitals in England suffering severe influenza, later returning to the front line in France. Here the diary transcript in this publication ceases.



PTE. RIKIHANA CAR-
KEEK, Wounded.

Photo from Supplement to the
Auckland Weekly News 30
September 1915, p45

“Rikihana continued his diary until the end of the war and beyond. The story of the First Māori contingent is not widely known and this first person account, largely focussed on the costly and tragic blunder of the Dardanelles campaign, truly represents the spirit of these young Māori soldiers, their love of home, optimism and fatalism, and the shouldering of the burden they accepted without complaint when they enlisted. Iwi Māori articulated their own responses to this first great Imperial conflict. While men from the north, south, east and some western tribes enlisted enthusiastically at the outbreak of hostilities, Waikato retained its ‘splendid isolation’ and local policemen, the agents of the Crown, were strongly resisted by Princess Te Puea when conscription became general in

1917, (this notwithstanding the official debate at the beginning of the war about whether Māori would be permitted to participate in the conflict at all).

“The outcome of the debate... was that Māori would be part of the force sent to European theatres of war but would serve on garrison duties only. The official policy was rendered impracticable by the circumstances of the war, and the reality was that Māori trained in battle on Malta, and fought and died at the side of their Pakeha comrades in Gallipoli and France. These young men remained stoic, sanguine and light-hearted whenever the opportunity presented itself. Accustomed to death, they were unafraid of sentimentality. The words of the song, ‘Home, Little Māori, Home’, from which the title of this book is taken, evoke the spirit of that time.

“Rikihana Carkeek was promoted to corporal, eventually attaining the rank of second lieutenant in 1919, having been nominated in 1917 to participate in an officer training course in Cambridge. He also served for a time as batman to Capt Peter Te Rangihiroa Buck. Twice decorated, he survived to return home where he married Pareraukawa (Aunty Polly). Before returning to Otaki in the 1920s, the couple lived in Picton and Rangiotu while raising a family. Bunny worked on the land and also served as certified interpreter for the Māori Land Court. Rikihana Carkeek died on 24 January 1963, and was interred at Otaki, the distinguished son of a distinguished line.”

3.2.2 Māori MPs and some Iwi call for a Māori contingent

As soon as they heard England had entered the war in Europe, 4th Aug 1914, Māori MPs and iwi leaders from Te Arawa, Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Kahungunu at Wairoa had called for the formation of a Māori contingent. Further telegrams were received from other tribes, particularly the more loyalist tribes who had fought alongside the Crown in the previous century. While the British government initially said that indigenous people should not take part in the wars of a “white race against a white race”, it soon became known that Indian troops had taken part in the war in France, along with Algerians from Africa. Prime Minister William Massey supported Māori participation, saying “we must not forget that our Māori friends are our equals in the sight of the law. Why then should they be deprived of the privilege of fighting and upholding the Empire when assailed by an enemy?” (1st Sept 1914). The Governor sent this request for a Māori contingent to the Government of England, and the British Government agreed to a first Māori contingent of 200 to go to Egypt, and then soon afterwards, to a second Māori contingent of 250 to go

to Egypt and 250 to Samoa. Reasons given (in the description of events written by the Māori MPs in 1915) were that all races under the King of England had heard the call; the reputation of Māori for bravery; and because of the offer of some tribes to participate, because their ancestors had been ever ready to fight.¹⁶² However, because it was believed that Māori would not be able to sustain the numbers required for an infantry battalion, the Māori contingent was initially recruited as a “pioneer” battalion, to provide a skilled labour force to support the front-line troops - eg digging trenches, laying barbed wire, repairing communication lines, constructing buildings etc.¹⁶³ Well known Young Māori Party member Te Rangihiroa, Peter Buck (Ngāti Mutunga), after recruiting young men as MP for Northern Māori, himself enlisted in 1914 as medical officer, travelling to the Middle East with the Māori contingent in February 1915.¹⁶⁴ The Maori contingent became known as Te Hokowhitu a Tū.

3.2.3 Tahiwī whānau

The highest ranking Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga man to enlist in World War One was Pirimi Perarika Tahiwī (born 16.9.1890, Ngāti Maiotaki, Ngāti Whakaue), quickly gaining rank from having trained in the Territorial force since 1911 (7th Wellington West Coast regiment). Pirimi grew up in Otaki, attending Otaki state school, Otaki Native College, Te Aute College, and training as a teacher in Wellington. He became a teacher and resident master at the Otaki Native College, then principal. He was a keen rugby player, representing Horowhenua between 1901-12, and in 1913 became a Māori All Black. His father, Rawiri Rota Tahiwī can be seen in the photo above, the farewell to the Boer War soldiers at Raukawa marae, Otaki. His father was a leading speaker at Raukawa marae, interpreter, Native Land Court assessor, farmer and clearly a supporter of military participation.

Pirimi (known as Prim) enlisted in the Māori contingent of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and was selected as an officer during training at Avondale. He was

¹⁶² Pugsley, 1995, p. 20-22.

¹⁶³ Kevin Stewart, 'From a soldier's dug out somewhere in France', *Turnbull Library Record: On the War Trail*, Vol. 39, ISSN 0110-1625, 1 January 2006
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/TLR20060101.2.13> (accessed 27 September 2021), p. 85.

¹⁶⁴ M. P. K. Sorrenson. 'Buck, Peter Henry', DNZB, Te Ara, first published in 1996, updated May, 2002
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3b54/buck-peter-henry> (accessed 28 September 2021).

made a Sergeant in August 1914, and a 2nd Lieutenant the following month. In February 1915, he left Wellington with the Māori contingent on the *Warrimoo* bound for Egypt, as 2IC of the A Company (Northern Māori), West Coast North Island and South Island), and in charge of Platoon no 4, men of Horowhenua, Wellington and the South Island. The A company was led by his relation Capt Roger Dansey (Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa) and Capt Peter Te Rangihiroa Buck was the medical officer on board. Second Lt William Stainton, leading Platoon no 6 of the B Company (Rotorua and East Coast) was a friend, also a teacher, and they both led the musical band on board, putting on concerts to entertain the men. Pirimi wrote home to Otaki, “the boys are in excellent condition, all well and eating like elephants” and listed the instruments - euphoniums, tenor horns, trombones, basses, drums and cornets - obtained in Wellington. He described Stainton and himself as “musical directors and joint conductors”¹⁶⁵ Boxing, singing and smoking were also part of ship-board life. The following is an excerpt from a biography of Pirimi Tahiwī written by Reuben Waaka, for Te Ara Dictionary of New Zealand Biographies:

“The contingent arrived in Malta in February 1915 for garrison duties, and in April Tāhiwī was promoted to captain. In June 1915 the Māori Contingent sailed for Gallipoli. On 6 August Captain Roger Dansey and Tāhiwī led A Company in the battle of Sari Bair. They adopted Te Rauparaha's haka, 'Ka mate, ka mate, ka ora, ka ora', as their war cry and set about clearing the Turkish trenches. The following day Tāhiwī was seriously wounded in the neck and evacuated to hospital in England. While he was convalescing, the New Zealand high commissioner invited him and other wounded servicemen to convey New Zealand's greetings to Princess Mary on her birthday. He also led New Zealand troops in the first Anzac Day parade in London in April 1916. In November 1916 Tāhiwī left for New Zealand to assist in the training of Māori reinforcements. He embarked again in July 1917 with the 20th Reinforcements, Māori Contingent, arriving in England in September, and the following month he joined the New Zealand Māori (Pioneer) Battalion in France. From March to September 1918 Tāhiwī was officer in charge of the Māori (Pioneer) Details at the New Zealand Engineer Reserve Depot in Dorset, England. He then returned to the Māori Battalion in France and in December assumed command of D Company.

¹⁶⁵ Pugsley, 1995, p. 31; copy of letter dated 25.2.15 from Capt Tahiwī to his wife (held by Pugsley.)

The Māori Battalion returned to New Zealand in April 1919, and Tāhiwi was discharged the following month. He continued to take an active role in the Territorial Force and in 1929 was awarded the Colonial Auxiliary Forces Officers' Decoration. He resumed his teaching career at Ōtaki Native College, and also took up rugby again, representing Manawatu–Horowhenua in 1924. In 1927 he became an inaugural committee member of the Ōtaki Surf Lifesaving Club.’¹⁶⁶



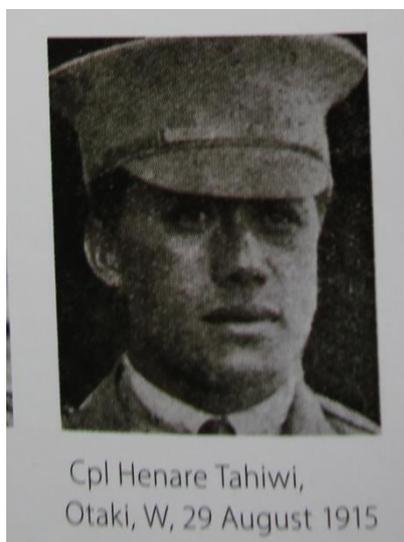
Capt Tahiwi, Lt Stainton and 2/Lt Pohio crossing the Atlantic in August 1917 with the 20th Māori reinforcements. Photo: R.Waaka collection

A recording of Pirimi Tahiwi, recorded in 1968 (6.46 min) talking about his experiences at Gallipoli can be heard on Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision website.¹⁶⁷ Some quotes from it are included in the following section (3.2.4), including the use of haka to terrorize the Turks. There is a collection of items associated with Capt Pirimi Tahiwi, including a Māori Pioneer battalion flag, a German Luger pistol and a walking cane, at the National Army Museum, Waiouru (see Appendix Q). The mere pounamu which he took to Gallipoli when representing the Māori contingent at the 50th anniversary at Chunuk Bair, (New Zealand Memorial) in 1965, remains in Te Papa today. Its provenance is unknown.

¹⁶⁶ Rupene M. T. Waaka. 'Tāhiwi, Pirimi Pererika', DNZB, Te Ara, first published in 1998, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4t1/tahiwi-pirimi-pererika> (accessed 30 September 2021).

¹⁶⁷ 'Captain Pirimi Tāhiwi who served with the Māori first Native Contingent talks about Gallipoli', Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision, 27 September 1968, https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=313028.

¹⁶⁸ There is also a photograph, held at the Army Museum, of Prime Minister Keith Holyoake examining the mere, also in 1965.



Cpl Henare Tahiwī. Photo:
AWMM, Auckland Weekly
News, 28 October 1915, p40.

Pirimi's older brother Henare Kima Tahiwī (bn 25.12.1885) also enlisted as a Private (16/298) in October 1914, after working for Bills and Moore as a grocery assistant in Otaki. He played for the New Zealand Māoris in 1910, playing eleven games in Australia that year. Martin Winiata (of Ngāti Raukawa) and Roger Dansey were also in the New Zealand Māoris in the same 1910 team.¹⁶⁹ Henare listed his next of kin as his sister Ria Tahiwī. The family were all musical and Henare became a bugler in November 1914. By February 1915 he had become Lance Corporal in the New Zealand Pioneer Māori battalion. He was wounded at Gallipoli - a bullet broke his leg (listed in the casualty list as "knee"). Having no stretchers, Buck had a make-shift stretcher made using two rifles and a Turkish overcoat. Buck wrote: "Tahiwī hoped that the bayonets would not work themselves loose while he was being carried downhill."¹⁷⁰ The wounded were left on a sheltered section of the shore near the Hospital Ships, but it was too dangerous to take stretchers back under fire.¹⁷¹ He was seen by the medical board in Rotorua in November 1916, and would remain a patient for some time. He was discharged from the army on

¹⁶⁸ Puawai Cairns, Te Papa staff, 15th Dec 2021; see photograph on Te Ara, DNZB, Capt P.Tahiwī biography.

¹⁶⁹ Soutar, 2019, p. 29.

¹⁷⁰ Soutar, 2019, p. 153.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p153.

13th December 1916. A relative of the Tahiwī whānau, Pte Rota Hohipuha (16/1256) joined the 3rd Māori contingent of the NZ Pioneer battalion in October 1915, and fought in Western Europe 1916-18. He was overseas for 3 years, 61 days. He suffered gassing in France in 1917, and was discharged in May 1919.¹⁷²

3.2.4 The Māori Contingent at Gallipoli - fighting with bayonets, ancestral spirits invoked

The Māori contingent went to Egypt, trained in Malta, where many of the wounded from Gallipoli were sent, and then went to Gallipoli itself, landing at Anzac Cove. They had been issued with rifles, ‘long magazine Lee-Enfields’ but used them mostly for defensive purposes e.g. trench guard duties.¹⁷³ After suffering sub-standard, rotten food on the ship from Malta, the conditions at Gallipoli were also appalling - unhealthy and scarce water and food, steep, harsh terrain, bivouacs and ‘dug-outs’ for sleeping, and heavy casualty and mortality rates. The Turks were well-armed with a range of sophisticated weaponry from the Germans, including exploding shells, and they were defending their home territory. The dead lay rotting on the ground. Dysentery, enteric illness, and diarrhoea were common; lice and flies were constant irritants.¹⁷⁴ Rum and tobacco were issued, to ease the stress. The Māori contingent was initially with the New Zealand Mounted Rifles (without their horses) under Brigadier-General Andrew Russell at No 1 Outpost, alongside the 10th Australian Light Horse regiment.¹⁷⁵ The men first did a haka there in response to a rousing speech by General Alexander Godley on their first morning on site. The Turks were only 100 yards away, within earshot, and were said to have been ‘bewildered’ by the sound. The Māori contingent established what became known as the ‘Māori Pah’ at No 1 Outpost. Work for the Māori contingent initially was digging trenches, tunnels, latrines, and carrying heavy loads, e.g. piles and water tanks, uphill, and always at risk of enemy fire. The men were also ordered to “man the trenches” for an hour before dawn, and also at dusk, which involved standing on the “fire step” with rifles loaded and bayonets fixed, in defensive position in case of attack. Jerry Ropata of Otaki

¹⁷² Archives R18048928 - Rota Hohipuha, 16/1256 Army. Rota Hohipuha was one of only two Ngati Raukawa men to get land under the Discharged Soldiers’ Settlement Act 1917 - more on that in Chap 5.

¹⁷³ **Soutar, 2019, p. 153.**

¹⁷⁴ Gallipoli exhibition, Te Papa; Māori Pioneer battalion official war diary, Archives NZ.

¹⁷⁵ Robert Tuhera Kiriona (aka Te Rauangaanga) enlisted later, 19.9.1916, in the 9th Australian Light Horse regiment.

was one of the first Māori contingent casualties from illness at Gallipoli, (7th July 1915). Suffering from pleurisy, he was sent to a New Zealand hospital in Cairo. He was sent home to NZ on the HMS Tahiti on 10th August 1915, with final discharge in January 1916.¹⁷⁶

The Māori contingent were keen to get an opportunity to fight the Turks, and the campaign to take the peaks of Sari Bair alongside other Anzacs and British forces in August was when they finally got to attack the enemy (firing occurred at Outpost 2, 3rd August). The Māori contingent took the right flank with the NZ Mounted Rifles under Russell; the British and Indian troops took the left, beginning with the foothills. The Māori contingent was considered relatively strong and fresh, compared with the NZMR at this time, and they were split amongst the various mounted rifle regiments. The A Company led by Dansey and Tahiwī accompanied the Wellington Mounted Rifles (WMR), with Tahiwī leading Platoon 4 (men from Horowhenua, Wellington, and South Island).

The initial attack in full force was to be silent, rifles not loaded (though they were issued with ammunition) and bayonets drawn. The Māori contingent attacked at Outpost no 1 on 5th August consisted of 13 officers, and 441 men. In their final karakia before battle, Rev Wainohu said: “it would be better for us all to lie dead in these hollows and on the tops of these mountains than for a whisper of dishonour to go back to the old people at home.”¹⁷⁷ The hymn ‘Au, e Ihu’ was sung with emotion, and a prayer of protection recited. The Auckland Mounted Rifles began bayoneting Turks at the Old No 3 outpost, and soon took several trenches. The A company led by Dansey, with the WMR captured a long communication trench and “Destroyer Hill”, but came under gunfire as they moved up towards Old No 3. Wire cutters were sent ahead to make a way through barbed wire entanglements. But they could not make a clear way through, and sadly Pte Pahia Ropata (16/199) of Waikanae was killed, shot in the torso while entangled in the

¹⁷⁶ Archives R20807614 - Jerry Ropata, WW1 16/291 - Army. Jerry was awarded the 1914/15 Star, the British War Medal & the Victory medal for having fought at Egypt & Gallipoli.

¹⁷⁷ Gallipoli exhibition, Te Papa (visited 1st Oct 2021).

barbed wire.¹⁷⁸ Family member and spokesman Kahu Ropata wrote about Pahia (file in Otaki Museum):

“Pahia was the son of Metapere Te Ngaru Ngaparapara Parata and Ropata Tuere Tangahoe. Both parents were descendants of leading Ngāti Toa chiefs who migrated to the south from Kawhia harbour in 1819. Metapere herself was the eldest child of Wi Parata a prominent leader, land owner and politician who was the first Māori elected to parliament representing southern Māori in the house of representatives. Pahia’s father Ropata Tangahoe was the son of Te Pane, brother of Tangahoe who fought in the battle of Waiorua against the original inhabitants of the area securing outright domination of Ngāti Toa over the local iwi. Tangahoe was one of Te Rauparaha’s lieutenants and close associates.¹⁷⁹ It is my understanding that Pahia, like my grandfather, was born in the meeting house Whakarongotai which at that time resided at the beach site in Waikanae known as Tuku Rakau. Pahia was one of 14 children born to Metapere and Ropata.... He was actually killed when taking point guard leading his men in a forward advancement against the enemy in WW1 Gallipoli. As far as I know the men of his infantry went back to find his body but was never found.”

After a rest and some work digging a new trench Dansey and Tahiwī decided to clear the trenches of Turks by fear tactics, using Te Rauparaha’s haka, “ka mate, ka mate” - Pirimi said it was Dansey, Hiroti, and Pirimi’s brother Corporal Henare Tahiwī who led the haka. “Perhaps they may have put the fear of God into them and cleared the trench for us...we didn’t have to put a bayonet through any of them...I suppose the haka was enough for them and they wondered who on earth these savages were.”¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Soutar, 2019, p. 128.

¹⁷⁹ Tangahoe died without issue. Te Pane inherited his brother’s land interests, and also gave his sons his brother’s name. (Kahu Ropata, e-mail 13 Dec 21)

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Pirimi Tahiwī, 27 September 1968, Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision.



Pte Tau aka Te Matau Paranihi, awarded a DCM for fighting off five Turks, Gallipoli. Wounded in the head and hand, he was discharged five months later, January 1916 & returned home to his whanau at Marton, and to his wife, Wairakau. He was given his DCM by the Minister of Defence in front of a huge crowd at Marton in March 1917, and carried aloft as a hero by a crowd of veterans (*Wanganui Chronicle*, 3 Mar 1917, p5).

A renowned incident involving Pte Tau Paranihi (16/407) of Te Tikanga marae, Tokorangi (Ngāti Waewae), pictured above, was that he fought off five Turks, who had surrounded him. After stabbing one with his bayonet, he had trouble extricating it, so punched and kicked two men, grabbed the rifle of his enemy, and ended up killing four of them, and capturing the fifth. He survived a gunshot wound to the head, and a bayonet wound to the hand during the night attack. He was invalided home in September, and later awarded a Distinguished Conduct Medal, the only DCM won by a member of the Māori Contingent at Gallipoli, and one of only four awarded to members of the NZ Pioneer battalion throughout WW1. The citation stated only that he had “seized an armed Turk and compelled him to surrender”.¹⁸¹ (Further re Tau Paranihi and his later life in Chapter 4.)

Fifty prisoners were taken at Old No 3 outpost, with losses to the two Māori platoons of two killed and five wounded.¹⁸² Table Top was further up, and difficult to reach. The WMR reached it at 10.55pm, catching many Turks asleep, and capturing about 100. Men from other platoons, having heard the A company use the haka so successfully, also began using it (e.g. Canterbury Mounted Rifles, reported by Tikao; and Ngapuhi). It “instilled the courage needed to kill”, said one soldier (Tahitahi).¹⁸³ The Māori platoons had certainly gained the respect of the mounted riflemen they fought alongside that night. British reinforcements landed at Suvla Bay the next day, boosting morale. Lt Pirimi

¹⁸¹ Soutar p. 129; *Dominion*, 3rd Nov 1915; *Wanganui Chronicle*, 3 Mar 1917; <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-CowMaor-t1-back-d1-d2-d1.html#name-130192-mention>;

¹⁸² Wellington Mounted Rifle War Diary 12 May to 21 August 1915.

¹⁸³ Soutar, 2019, p. 135.

Tahiwi was hit by a bullet - luckily Dr Te Rangihiroa Buck was nearby to stop the flow of blood. Tahiwi said the bullet, “shot me right through the neck and ...went right down the spine paralysing the whole of my right side...Dr Buck was alongside me and I can still remember...that he put his finger right through the hole in my neck...saying, ‘you’re alright Prim, don’t worry, you’re alright.’ Then I didn’t remember any more.”¹⁸⁴ Rikihana Carkeek’s comment in his diary on 7th August about Prim’s injury was “Captain Prim Tahiwi had just left with the other casualties, wounded in the neck, the lucky devil.”

Also, one of two Māori machine-gun sections, with British .303 Mk III Maxim machine guns which could fire up to 400 rounds per minute, joined the contingent at this time, under gun corporal Don Ferris and commander Australian Colin Warden. After Lt Col Malone had led the WIB (Wellington Infantry Brigade) from the Apex to the summit of Chunuk Bair, and taken it, the Māori machine-gun section, including Rikihana Carkeek, was brought up in support (7th August). But it was exposed to so much fire, Lt Warden, then Don Ferris were shot. After feeding the belt for Pte Hawkins, Carkeek then manned the gun. He wrote: “I also did not reign for long for I was shot through the body at the base of the neck and out under the left shoulder, and I fell back wounded and out of action.” He was bandaged and helped to a safe spot. Others kept working the gun, till they were recalled. Carkeek lay badly wounded in the scrub for about an hour, before crawling down the hill, taking cover when he could, to the first field dressing station about half-way down. Now out of firing range, he made his way slowly down, helped by a Kiwi engineer who gave him a nip of rum.

Finally, about 11am, he arrived at the Otago lines near the beach, to the dressing station and field hospital and his wounds were attended to and dressed. Making his way to the hospital ship after 4pm, the wounded were subjected to heavy shelling, and it was a relief to finally feel safe on the ship. “I was feeling much better now and my wounds were not paining me so much.” However, he was taken to a Lemnos island field hospital, which he described as a “hole”, crowded and uncomfortable, poor food, no beds (only hard ground to sleep on) or conveniences, and few medical officers. He stayed there six weeks, gained work there as a clerk, and sometimes visited Prim Tahiwi, who was in an Officers’

¹⁸⁴ Tahiwi interview, 27 September 1968, Nga Taonga Sound & Vision.

Hospital, which had much better facilities, on the hill nearby.¹⁸⁵ This offers interesting insights into the differing treatment offered to privates compared to officers, characteristic of the British army.

Pirimi also noted (in a letter home) the death at Gallipoli of his friend Corp Teira Metekingi from Putiki, Whanganui, who had enlisted with his brothers, Paki and Henare. Their grandfather Metekingi Paetahi had fought in the New Zealand Wars.¹⁸⁶ Metekingi was killed in the push from the Apex to Chunuk Bair. B company left the Apex, under heavy fire from the Turks. As noted in previous section, Lance Corporal Henare Tahiwī, had his leg broken by a bullet. Due to a lack of stretchers, Buck's team improvised a stretcher from a Turkish overcoat and two rifles, with sheathed bayonets. Buck and his men went back and forth taking the wounded downhill to field ambulances or aid posts. The summit of Chunuk Bair was taken about 3pm that day, but losses were heavy eg the WIB lost 690 men of 760. Luckily, Charles Rangiwawahia Sciascia (Ngāti Takihiku) of Manawatu was a member of the WIB who walked down unscathed. He distinguished himself later in France (see Chap 5, & Appendice K, Charles Sciascia profile, T.K.Teira).¹⁸⁷

The Māori contingent remained below the peak, at a position called "The Farm". They had no water and few rations there for 24 hours. As Turkish shellfire continued from above, Captain Dansey moved the A company to a more sheltered position in an old watercourse, and the medical team was overwhelmed by wounded. One example involved Harry Jacob of Ngāti Huia: "Sergeant-Major Hill, of A company Māoris, was carried over by Sergeant (Harry) Jacob, but was practically dead when he arrived, shot through the spine with shrapnel."¹⁸⁸ The Māori contingent and NZIB fought for three nights and three days with no sleep and little food and water. At last, early on 10th August, they were told to move down from Chunuk Bair, the Pinnacle and the Farm for a relief break. They were replaced by British regiments, but the Turks soon retook the summit, causing dismay and

¹⁸⁵ R. Carkeek, *Home Little Maori Home, A Memoir of the Māori Contingent 1914-1916*. Wellington, Totika Publications Ltd, 2003, pp. 79-82.

¹⁸⁶ Soutar, 2019, p. 152; Denise Hapeta, 17 September 2021.

¹⁸⁷ Soutar, 2019, p. 386.

¹⁸⁸ Soutar, 2019, p. 158.

frustration amongst the New Zealanders. Pakeha officers were full of praise for the Māori - eg Capt Twistleton: “they are amongst the best bayonet fighters in the world, and they are perfect sentries. As trench fighters you can’t beat them.” Some of the stories were no doubt exaggerated, but their courage and prowess had become legendary. The Māori contingent was now down to 350 men, having lost 138 men since landing at Anzac Cove. Further Māori , Anzac and British attacks took place at Hill 60, with little achieved.

3.2.5 ‘Shocking’ Attrition rates at Gallipoli

New Zealand Defence historian John Crawford and heritage advisor Matthew Buck’s recent study (2020) of the attrition rates amongst New Zealand troops at Gallipoli describes them as ‘shocking’. The average attrition rate (reduction of number by death, injury or illness) per month to September was 30% per month for infantry battalions, and 25% for mounted rifle regiments.¹⁸⁹ It was much higher than expected by the British and New Zealand governments and meant that reinforcements were being called for at a rapid rate. Most of those evacuated sick or wounded did not return. Of the 14 officers of the Māori contingent evacuated sick or wounded, only one had returned by 23rd September; of the 243 men of other ranks in the Māori contingent evacuated sick or wounded, 32 (13%) had returned by 23rd September.¹⁹⁰ For comparison, the WIB had 44 officers evacuated sick or wounded, and 14 return by Sept (32%), and of the 1,511 evacuated other ranks evacuated sick or wounded in the WIB, 436 returned (29%), ie about a third of both officers and other ranks returned. The Wellington Mounted Rifles also had higher rates of evacuated officers and other ranks return.

The Māori contingent was clearly suffering as much, or actually proportionately more, than other NZ regiments, despite much of their work being trench-digging and other labouring tasks. The British forces were positioned further south on the peninsula, further from the Turkish forces, and their attrition rate was much lower. They chose to send colonial forces as reinforcements to Gallipoli, not British forces.¹⁹¹ Even at the Western front where the British were also fighting in 1915, the British monthly attrition rate was

¹⁸⁹ Crawford & Buck, 2020, p. 114.

¹⁹⁰ Crawford & Buck, 2020, p. 84.

¹⁹¹ T.K. Teira, 11 November 2021.

much lower than the Anzacs, at 9.5 percent.¹⁹² British devaluing of colonial and Māori lives, in comparison with their own, is included as a grievance at the end of this chapter.

3.2.6 Māori contingent under threat of being broken up

Major-General Godley then wanted to split the Māori contingent up, with the platoons joining the four NZ infantry battalions. Number 4 platoon was to be attached to the Canterbury Infantry brigade. Godley wanted to boost the infantry battalions, and give the Māori a chance to fight alongside other New Zealanders. Godley sent home four Māori officers - including Capt Dansey, whom he thought was inexperienced, and not responsible enough; and Capt William Pitt, who had commanded the B company at Gallipoli and had argued with Lt Col Herbert, possibly even defied an order to lead his men on a “suicidal” mission.¹⁹³ Godley also sent home two of Dansey’s junior officers - 2/Lt Tom Hetet and 2/Lt Turu Hiroti, for unsatisfactory conduct. As the Māori Contingent Committee told the Defence Minister later, however, the trouble had arisen when CO Alfred Herbert had used belittling and insulting language to the Māori officers, and they had no confidence in him. Godley had tried to get a 2IC more knowledgeable at working with Māori, but then changed his mind when KS Williams made himself available. Aware that Lt Col Herbert had made negative reports about them, Hetet and Hiroti had requested an inquiry before their departure, but it had not happened. Dansey, Hetet and Hiroti left Port Said for New Zealand on 3rd September and arrived in New Zealand on the 11th October. Whanaunga back home believed that Godley’s decision was unfair, and were backed by the Māori language newspaper *Te Kopara*. Soldiers’ reports attested to the courage and ability of Dansey and the other two officers. Herbert was seen as short on praise, with too little sympathy or understanding of Māori, even possibly “racially intolerant.”¹⁹⁴

The Māori Contingent Committee in New Zealand took up the case, in defence of Dansey and the others, stating that Herbert was to blame. Pitt had written a petition signed by himself and other Māori officers, also in their defence, to Herbert. “From the way Capt Dansey personally led his men on the Friday night bayonet charges, when he personally

¹⁹² Crawford & Buck, 2020, p. 114.

¹⁹³ Soutar, 2019, p. 178.

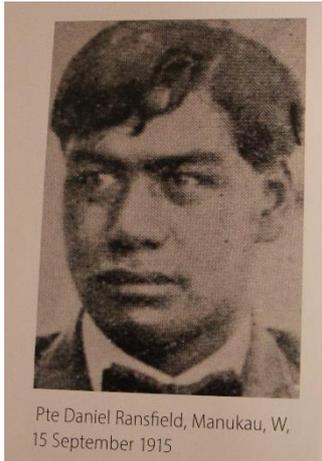
¹⁹⁴ Soutar, 2019, p. 180.

killed 3 Turks with the bayonet, and the way he conducted himself during the subsequent operations he has earned not only the respect of his brother officers, but also the respect and confidence of his men.” The MCC demanded an inquiry into the matter, and said they would not recruit further men from amongst the Māori tribes until it was granted. Having a separate unit had attracted many volunteers, and they were unhappy about being broken up, as some wrote from the trenches - “kua wehewehe matou!” The MCC demanded that the Second Māori contingent should be combined with the first as a separate unit. Defence Minister James Allen agreed, and persuaded Godley to take three of the men back. Dansey’s rank was temporarily lowered to lieutenant, but within five weeks of rejoining his unit, he had regained the rank of Captain. Allen also pressured Godley towards reconstituting a Māori contingent. The first and second Māori contingents were brought together, along with the Otago Mounted Rifles, in the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion. Buck was made 2IC, so he could advise the new CO. The MCC accepted the compromise and resumed recruiting. Even the Kingitanga was now expected to contribute men, since the Māori contingent had been re-formed. Despite the support of their men, and their proven experience, Māori officers were not given Commanding Officer positions for the rest of the war.

After recovering at Lemnos, Rikihana Carkeek returned to Gallipoli, to no 2 platoon.¹⁹⁵ Duties were again digging and manning trenches. Cold, rain and even snow were experienced there in November; many suffered frost-bite. At least by November there was a large camp at North Beach with hospitals, depots and a YMCA canteen, all in large tents.¹⁹⁶ Finally in December, the Anzacs and Māori contingent were evacuated from Gallipoli. By this time, the Māori contingent numbered only two officers and 132 men, less than 28% of the force that arrived in July. As above, the introduction to Carkeek’s published diaries describes the Dardanelles campaign as a “costly and tragic blunder”. Heavy attrition rates across the ANZAC forces, including the Maori contingent, have been discussed above. Carkeek went on to fight in Europe.

¹⁹⁵ Carkeek, 2003, p. 82.

¹⁹⁶ Soutar, 2019, p. 188. See image.



Pte Daniel Ransfield, AWMM,
Auckland Weekly News, 4 Nov
1915, p40.

3.2.7 Further Ngāti Raukawa casualties

Also listed as a later casualty at Gallipoli (15.9.15) was Pte Daniel Ransfield (16/588) above, of Manakau, Ngāti Wehiwehi, who had a gunshot wound to the eye. Daniel, whose father was Isaac Ransfield, had joined the first Māori contingent with his cousin Richard Ransfield, 16/288 (whose father was Simon or Haimona Ransfield), also of Manakau. Daniel was sent for treatment and convalescence in Cairo and Alexandria. He rejoined the Pioneer battalion to fight in France, but was hospitalized, this time with arthritis. He was discharged, no longer physically fit, in July 1917. Richard's brother Robert Taru Ransfield (16/711, also known as Jack) had joined the 2nd Māori contingent. In all, four sons of Haimona and Te Au Te Hiwi (Kuku) served in the Pioneer battalion - Richard (aka Manuriki), Robert Taru, Pte Kakakura Robert aka Kirby (19930), 21st Māori contingent, and Pte Te Ao Te Muri (aka Joseph, 19910), who joined the 22nd Māori contingent, from Ohau. Robert Taru Ransfield was wounded in the back at Estaires, France (14.6.1916). He had other spells of illness in early 1918, but rejoined the battalion in April 1918. Their relative, Sgt Matthew Bevan (16/252, Ngāti Wehiwehi), was severely wounded in the back (27 June 1916) in France, and sent home to recover, with Lt Stainton, in October that year. He remained with the army and trained recruits in New Zealand before returning to the battalion as a 2nd lieutenant, with the A company.¹⁹⁷

3.2.8 Ngāti Raukawa at Gallipoli and haka

To conclude this Gallipoli section - the Māori Contingent at Gallipoli became reknowned for fighting with bayonet and also for the use of Te Rauparaha's haka, "ka mate, ka mate". They fought mostly with bayonets, but sometimes also with grenades or bullets.

¹⁹⁷ Soutar, 2019, p. 392.

They may have fired bullets in defence or as snipers, but not in organised rifle brigade charges. Many showed significant prowess in fighting with bayonets eg Tau Paranihi, were widely recognized and celebrated. And also at times the haka “ka mate, ka mate” was enough to clear some trenches, and was significant in raising the morale of not only the Māori contingents but also many of the New Zealand troops who had heard it back home and took pride in Māori as part of our cultural identity as a nation. The use of the haka as a psychological terror tactic had been foreshadowed in the Boer War with a “war cry”, and was seen in full force at Gallipoli. The haka was an expression of the kaha - te ihi, te mana me te wehi o to tatou rangatira rongonui, Te Rauparaha - and was used to inspire commitment to battle, to the group endeavour, regardless of the cost to the individual. As Te Rauparaha was Ngāti Raukawa through his mother Parekohatu (Ngāti Huia), both Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa relate closely to the haka “ka mate, ka mate” which he composed, and it is still frequently practiced throughout our iwi today eg at graduations and tangihanga.¹⁹⁸ Dansey and the two Tahiwī brothers who led it were all Ngāti Raukawa. Later reports suggest that Wairangi’s haka, which starts, “ko te Aea o ia rangi”. also known as ‘Puhi kura’ was also used at Gallipoli - see Chap 4.



Sgt Horopapera Karauti. ATL, PA-Coll-8921, 1878-1932, photographs of family, Te Aute & WW1 soldiers.

¹⁹⁸ The context of Te Rauparaha’s first expression of the haka can be seen in Collins, 2010, p. 24-27.

3.2.9 Sgt Horo Karauti, Ngāti Tukorehe, Ohau - distinguished army career and large collection Alexander Turnbull Library

Horopapera Karauti (bn 29 Nov 1879), of Ngāti Tukorehe, Ohau, had a distinguished career in the mounted rifles before enlisting in the Māori Contingent in 1916. As stated, he was awarded a trophy for being “the trooper with the best turn-out” in 1901, suggesting regular attendance, commitment and attention to presentation.¹⁹⁹ When he enlisted for military service in October 1915, Horopapera Karauti was a dairy farmer, native agent and licensed interpreter, living at Ohau. He married Wai in December 1915, and received his commission as second lieutenant in April 1916. He left New Zealand with the Fourth Māori contingent, 4th May 1916, one of only two Māori officers in that contingent. He was following his brother Abraham Karauti (16/270) who had left with the first Māori contingent (A Company), listing his brother Horo as his next-of-kin. Abraham became ill at Gallipoli (enteric), was hospitalized in Alexandria (9.1.16), and recovered.²⁰⁰ Sgt Horo Karauti joined the New Zealand Maori Pioneers in France, where he was in charge of 14 Platoon, D Company. He served with the Pioneers for the remainder of the war, returning home with them in March 1919, having been awarded a Belgian Croix de Guerre.

The letters home to his wife Wai, which can be read on-line in the Alexander Turnbull Library, are long, poetic and beautifully written, eg “he roimata taku kai” (my only food is tears). They are written from the Western Front in Europe and also from Britain.²⁰¹ Also in the collection are three field notebooks, one of which was kept while he was leader of the 14th Platoon of the D Company, July to September 1918. Many members of this platoon were his Ngāti Raukawa relations. His notebooks include diagrams of trench layout and specifications, military rules and regulations, and notes about the work activities of the platoon e.g. deepening and widening trenches, repairing barbed wire, bridges and roads. But he also names the men who were machine gunners, bombers, runners and signallers.

They include lists of men in the platoon, including several Ngāti Raukawa men, involved in the D Company football teams, and whether they had paid their subs. Along with

¹⁹⁹ Our Defence Forces. *Evening Post*, Vol LXI, 5 June 1901, p. 5.

²⁰⁰ Te Kahiti o Niu Tireni, Pugsley, 1995, p. 423.

²⁰¹ Stewart, 2006, p. 5.

himself in the football team, also from Ngāti Raukawa, were Sgt H. Jacob (268), Sgt W. Wehipeihana, and Privates G.Cook (1299), R. Hohipuha (1256), T. Pohio (494), T.Roha (726), R.Ransfield (711), J.Timiuha, A.McGregor (16/1260) and W. Paranihi (16/699). He also notes (in no 1 sec, D company, no 16 platoon) - S.L. Cook (16/725), H. Royal (727), and W. Hapeta (16/266); and in no 2 sec - W.Royal (16/729), H.Wehipeihana (854), R.Winterburn (861), Corp R Carkeek (256), J. Te Kootu (751), and D.Simion (294); and further (mixed) H. Edwards, J. Flutey, W. Katene, R. Parata (16/282), A. Armstrong (250), H.Wilson (791), P.McGregor and H.Mohi (682) all known within Ngāti Raukawa. Bombers included Pohio, Roha, Mita and Te Kootu; gunners included Graham, Royal, Simion, Wehipeihana (H.), and Winterburn (R.); runners included G.Cook; and signallers W. Royal.²⁰² Karauti also refers to nos 3, 4 and 16 platoons, so he may have associated with others, and noted those he knew (again several are Ngāti Raukawa) in other platoons. The collection includes a series of photos, including some he took himself in Suez, Cairo and Egypt. There are photos of his whānau, including Karauti with his wife and son, and other wahine of his home district. It also includes ephemera such as postcards, certificates, concert programmes and newspaper clippings.

Horo's brother Abraham Karauti's army record viewable on Archway Archives NZ²⁰³ shows that after falling dangerously ill at Gallipoli, he survived but was no longer considered physically fit for service "on account of illness contracted on active service". He returned to New Zealand in March 1916 on the HMS *Maheno* and was discharged in September. In March 1915 he had achieved the rank of Lance Corporal, but lost it five days later. Before the war he had been a farmer, with his uncle R. George, Ohau. Sgt Horo Karauti also suffered serious health ill-effects from WW1 - further information can be read in sections 4.5, 4.6 and 4.8.

Ngāti Tukorehe and Ngāti Wehiwehi are closely related and neighbouring hapū in Horowhenua. The Ransfields and Bevans have been discussed above. The Wehipeihana men who enlisted included three sons of Roha Wehipeihana of Manakau or Ohau - Tau Roha (16/726), aka Taurua Wehipeihana; Heke Wehipeihana (16/854) aka Lionel Cavanagh; and also Whetu Wehipeihana (16/855). Even though the latter does not appear

²⁰² ATL, Ref MSX-7625, army notebook, Horo Karauti; See also MS-Papers-8456.

²⁰³ Archives R18055333 - Abraham Karauti, WW1, 16/270.

on the nominal list (published by Pugsley 1995), his army record at the National Archives shows he served in the Māori Pioneer battalion for three years, 201 days, was involved in action in Egypt and Western Europe, with another 125 days service in New Zealand. He received a Star, a British War Medal and a Victory medal. He later lived at Kuku, Ohau.²⁰⁴ Further on Whetu Wehipeihana and his later life in Section 4.6.

3.2.10 Royal whānau profile - 19th century, & World Wars 1-2

Te Ahukaramu, though involved with the establishment of the Kingitanga movement in 1858, expressed his loyalty to the Queen at the Kohimarama conference in 1860, as stated in previous chapter, and was a willing seller of land at Muhunua, Ohau. The caption under the painting of Te Ahukaramu's son Te Roera, now at the Horowhenua District Council office, explains how the whānau got the name Roera - "Te Roera was born in Otaki on 9 Nov 1841, the same day as Prince Albert Edward, who succeeded Queen Victoria. Because of this he was nicknamed the Royal baby, and then this became the family name."²⁰⁵

The loyalty of Te Roera's sons, including kaumatua Kipa Royal (Ngāti Kikopiri, Ohau) to the Queen was evident in that Kipa was amongst many Ngāti Raukawa people who gave financial koha to support the New Zealand troops supporting the British in Transvaal in 1900. The *Manawatu Herald* reported (15.2.1900) that Kipa Roera gave one shilling, his older brother Henare Roera gave 6d, and Hori Te Waru also gave a shilling. Kipa joined the Otaki Mounted Rifles on 23.6.1900, alongside his whanaunga Ngamouna Ropata. In 1911 the committees of the Kotahitanga movement, along with rangatira of the electorate, including Kerehi Roera, Kipa Te Whatanui and Rere Nicholson, supported Dr Maui Pomare, as MP for Te Tau Hauauru.²⁰⁶ There is also an article on Papers Past, *Evening Post*,²⁰⁷ 15th August 1913, about how Kipa Roera, Kerehi Roera and whānau were prominent in welcoming a group of sailors from a warship (HMS New Zealand) to Levin, and were invited to visit the warship in Wellington harbour in return. Lieutenant Jones,

²⁰⁴ Archives R22017538 - Whetu Wehipeihana, WW1, 16/855, Army.

²⁰⁵ Painting of Te Roera at "Papaitonga, Lake Muhunua", by Lindauer, c1895. The painting was donated by L.G.Royal and family.

²⁰⁶ He Panuitanga Tenei, *Puke ki Hikurangi*, 15 August 1911, p. 6.

²⁰⁷ Maori Chiefs Visit Warship, *Evening Post*, Vol. LXXXV, Issue 91, 18 April 1913, p. 8.

who had led the group at Levin, wanted them to meet Captain Halsey on board the ship. (article with uncorrected spelling below)

“The chiefs forming the party were Kipa Roera, Kerehi Roera, and Miss Ngahira Roera, Miss Amo Tamihana te Hoia, Rere Nikitini, Mr. and Mrs. Patuwaka Tauwhere, Te Kawe te Hatete, Piripi Hopo Henare, and many others. Lieut. Jones presented the party to Captain Halsey, Commander Grace, and other officers. After the girls of the party had performed a poi dance, a presentation of piupiu (garments of war) and pois were made to the officers. Rere Nikitini in addressing the officers said: "This ship bears the name of our islands. It was presented on behalf of the people to His Majesty by our Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward. We, the Māori people entirely concurred in the gift, and we realise that some part of its cost has come directly from the land of our ancestors. We are under the mana of England by special treaty—the Treaty of Waitangi. We are under the protection of England, therefore we give her a battleship. As to these garments let them be as sails for your ship, carrying you to distant shores, and even to the presence of war if that should happen - let there be a further inspiration to you at that awful day—if the day comes—when our ship should clear for action.” The party then gave their song of welcome, "Toia mai te waka." Captain Halsey in reply said the presence that day of the Māori chiefs was proof of their loyalty to the flag and Empire. He would keep the gifts and preserve them in remembrance of the kindness of the ‘Māoris’. The visitors were then hospitably entertained, and after viewing the ship, were taken to shore in one of the ship's small boats. Of the party Kipa Roera and Kerehi Roera remained in town to attend the luncheon given to Captain Halsey and the officers of the New Zealand.

Of course, it was Rangiatāhua Royal who became best known for his leadership of the B company (primarily Te Arawa) in WW2. He also served in World War 1. The following is an excerpt from biography of Rangiatāhua Royal, DNZB, by Tom Jamison and Charles Te Ahukaramu Royal (1998), which was also published in the Otaki Historic Journal, Otaki Historical Society, vol 22, 1999:

“Te Rangiatāhua Kīniwē Royal (Roera) was born on 23 August 1896 at Muhunua, Ōhau, in Horowhenua, the seventh of ten children of Te Kīniwē Roera Te Ahukaramū and Kēriata Hūnia Te Weu Tukukino. Rangī, as he was known, was named after Te Rangiatāhua, an ancestor of his Ngāti Raukawa hapū, Ngāti Kīkopiri. On his father's side he could claim descent from Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Huia, and was a great-

grandson of Hūkiki Te Ahukaramū, one of the leaders of Ngāti Raukawa's migrations. His mother's family had links with Ngāti Tamaterā and Ngāti Maru of Hauraki. His great-grandfather was Tukukino Te Ahiatāewa of Ngāti Tamaterā. Rangi also had close links with Te Whatanui of Ngāti Raukawa, Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa and Tāraia Ngākuti Te Tumuhuia of Ngāti Tamaterā.

“Rangi Royal spent his early years at Muhunua and Ōtaki and was educated at Ōtaki School. Later the family moved to Kōmata, near Paeroa, and he continued his schooling at Thames High School and Paeroa District High School. In 1912 he became the country's first Māori scoutmaster. On leaving school in 1916 he joined the Native Department. He enlisted in the army in 1917, and after a year in New Zealand served in France for eight months. He was discharged in 1919 with the rank of corporal.”²⁰⁸ Further on Rangi Royal's army career can be read in Chapter 5.

But before Rangi, his nephew Hukehuke Royal was one of three Royals who enlisted with the second Māori contingent in World War One (See whakapapa chart, Appendix A). Hukehuke (16/728) was the son of Turoa Royal of Thames (son of Kiniwe Royal, Ngāti Kikopiri) and joined the second contingent of the Pioneer battalion. The other two Royals who enlisted were Willie Royal (16/729, 45743), whose mother was Mrs Makareta Roera of Ohau; and his brother Hape Royal (16/727). Makareta Gilling married Kerehi Roera, brother of Kipa and Henare, as mentioned above.²⁰⁹ On Hape's file are letters from his brother Willie Royal, concerning his will, in which he also describes Huke as their cousin. Hape's father is shown as “Grace” (Kerehi) on pg 19 of his records, and on pg 1 it states that his father was deceased and his next-of-kin was James Royal.²¹⁰ However, Willie's file states that he was working as a farmer for his father, Kerehi, when he enlisted in 1915.²¹¹ According to the National Library records, their father Kerehi Royal died in 1918. After serving in Egypt and Western Europe, and being discharged in

²⁰⁸ Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal and Tom Jamison. 'Royal, Te Rangiātaahua Kiniwē', DNZB, Te Ara, first published in 1998. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4r29/royal-te-rangiataahua-kiniwe> (accessed 6 December 2021).

²⁰⁹ Luke, Te Momo & Winiata, 2019, p. 290.

²¹⁰ Archives R20808411 - Hape Royal, WW1, 16/727, Army.

²¹¹ Archives R20808416 - Willie Royal, WW1 16/729, Army; Not to be confused with William Royal, 45743, also in WW1.

May 1919, Hape died of tuberculosis six years later in November 1924.²¹² Though he was wounded in France, possibly by gas, a file note states that his death was unrelated to his time in the war.

Two of Hukehuke's brothers Tuari and Tukukino Royal also served in WW2²¹³. In addition, other WW2 participants of the Royal whanau were Horima Roera (Otaki) and Bertram Patrick Kuiti (Ohau). Horima Roera had had two years at Auckland Grammar School, listed his religion as Ratana and was a 'native agent' of Levin, aged 34, when he signed up in Palmerston North, January 1940. Horima (39527) stated that his NOK was aunt Mrs Oriwa Te Waru of Otaki. He was appointed an orderly room clerk for HQ, reached the rank of Corporal, and fought in Egypt and Crete, before being killed in action, Western Desert, on 27th Nov 1941. He is buried there, and was post-humously awarded the 1939 Star, Africa Star, Defence Medal, War Medal 1939-45, and the NZ War Service Medal. (Record viewed in Otaki Museum, 7th October 2021).

Bertram Patrick Kuiti's mother Ngahira (aunty Hilda) was the sister of Te Rangiataahua Royal. Hilda married her Ngāti Kikopiri relation, Robert Kuiti and they lived at Ohau. Bertram was born 11 Aug 1918, had worked as a labourer, and left for overseas service with the 28th Māori Battalion on 1 May 1940. He was reported missing on 18 May 1941, confirmed POW by the Red Cross, and died in Kokkinia POW Hospital, Greece, 19 May 1941, aged 22. He was buried at Phaleron War Cemetery, Athens.²¹⁴

²¹² Memo to the Under-Secretary, Dept of Internal Affairs, from Medical Officer (name illegible), Pensions Dept, Dated 2 April 1925.

²¹³ Pers. comm (e-mail), Charles Te Ahukaramu, 23 November 2021,

²¹⁴ Fletcher, 2020, p. 32.



Capt Roger Dansey & Te Rangihiroa Buck, digging trench at Malta. With 2/Lts Tikao and Hiroti. ATL, PA-Coll-7171-57.

3.2.11 The Dansey Brothers - Roger and Harry

Both Roger and Harry Dansey contributed significantly as officers during World War One - Roger with the Maori Contingent and Maori Pioneer battalion, and Harry with other contingents as well as the Maori Pioneer battalion. They were both engineers, and Roger was also a Māori All Black. As noted above, Dansey was closely associated with Prim Tahiwī at Gallipoli, and Harry was a machine-gun officer in France, became a Captain and was awarded a Military Cross. The following is an excerpt from the biography of the two brothers (Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa), on Te Ara - Dictionary of New Zealand Biographies, written by Jane Baxter, Juliet Robinson and Kath Boswell (1996):

“Harry Delamere Dansey and Roger Ingram Dansey were sons of Englishman Roger Delamere Dansey, a postmaster, and his wife, Wikitōria Ngāmihi Kahuaō. Harry was born at Tapuae-haruru (Taupō) on 7 November 1874 and Roger at Ōhinemutu on 19 April

1885. Their mother was the daughter of Īhakara Kahuaō, leader of Ngāti Rauhoto hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. She also had connections to Te Arawa and Ngāti Raukawa.

“Harry did his primary schooling in Rotorua, then went on to board at Auckland College and Grammar School. He joined the civil engineering section of the railway service as a cadet, his first posting being to Ngāruawāhia. He had a flair for languages and was regarded with awe by the other Māori there, who, taking him for a Pākehā, were continually astonished by the perfect Māori he spoke. He also spoke fluent French. Following his time in Ngāruawāhia, Harry transferred to the railway workshops in Christchurch and began studying at the School of Engineering, Canterbury College. He may well have been the first qualified Māori engineer.

“He then transferred to Dunedin as a draughtsman and was appointed engineer in charge of construction in the Otago railway district. The Dunedin railway station was constructed under his supervision. He married Winifred Mona Orr at Ashburton on 16 October 1906; she died at Dunedin on 19 February 1908. There were no children of the marriage. Around 1910 Harry Dansey went to Britain to continue his engineering studies and to work on underground railway projects, including the London Underground. He spent time at the University of Edinburgh and, later, in Germany. He had particular expertise in light railways and fuels, and on his return to New Zealand he was made responsible for the design and construction of the Auckland–Pukekohe line duplication.

“Like his brother, Roger Dansey left Rotorua for his secondary schooling, completing his education at Christ's College, Christchurch, in 1902, after which he became apprenticed for six years to a Dunedin engineering firm, John McGregor and Company. He then studied engineering at the University of Otago. His sporting ability earned him a place in the New Zealand Universities rugby team to tour Australia, and he became both an Otago and a South Island representative. He played for the Māori All Blacks in 1910 and 1911. Harry had been an athletics champion at high school and captain of the Canterbury College rugby team in 1899.

“On 18 January 1912 Roger Dansey married Sarah Daisy Millar at Dunedin and commenced a new career as manager of the Oban Hotel. Their only child, Roger Delamere Tāhere, was born in December of that year. The family then moved to

Wellington where Roger took control of a Lower Hutt hotel, remaining there until the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914. Roger sailed for Egypt in February 1915, as an officer in the Māori Contingent of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. After a week at El Zeitûn camp near Cairo he was detailed for garrison duty at Ghajn Tuffieha camp, Malta. A popular officer and natural leader, he was promoted to captain in October 1915. He was instrumental in the rushing of the trenches in the battle of Sari Bair at Gallipoli, and together with Captain Pirimi Tāhiwi introduced the haka 'Ka mate, ka mate, ka ora, ka ora' on the Gallipoli hills.

“Invalided to England after being gassed during the fighting on the Somme, in January 1917 Roger Dansey was given the responsibility of organising light railway operations in France. In December he was promoted to major. He was to remain overseas for nearly nine years after the war ended, assisting in the rehabilitation of Belgium.

Harry Dansey was nearly 40 years old when war broke out. Despite having a reserved occupation, he enlisted. He sailed in the second draft of the Māori Contingent, and held the rank of second lieutenant. On arrival in Egypt he was posted to the Otago Infantry Regiment as a machine-gun specialist. In the reorganisation that followed the Gallipoli campaign, he was transferred to the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion. Promoted to lieutenant, he served as a Lewis machine-gun officer in France.

“By January 1917 Harry had been mentioned in dispatches and was appointed second-in-command of a company in the field. His engineering qualifications were to prove invaluable. The following month, seconded for duty as II ANZAC Corps (later XXII Corps) tramway superintendent, he was placed in charge of railway construction and transport organisation for the battle area. The evacuation of wounded troops was also his responsibility. He was promoted to captain in April, and in January 1918 he was awarded the Military Cross for 'distinguished services in the field'. From 2 October until 26 December 1918 he performed the duties of bridging officer, XXII Corps.”²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Jane Baxter, Juliet Robinson and Kath Boswell. 'Dansey, Harry Delamere and Dansey, Roger Ingram', DNZB, Te Ara, first published in 1996, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3d2/dansey-harry-delamere> (accessed 4 October 2021).

3.2.12 Other Ngāti Raukawa members of the early Māori contingents

Other Ngāti Raukawa members of the first Māori contingent we have learnt about are Wetini Temuera (Ngāti Kapu, Te Arawa, 16/248) and Albert Winterburn (16/60). Wetini, born in Rotorua, was the son of Rev Temuera Tokoaitua and Te Hana Temuera. Rev Tokoaitua was the minister at Rangiatea church, Otaki since the 1870s. Wetini was wounded at Gallipoli and France, and was hospitalized several times. He died after his return, at the Otaki sanatorium, and is buried at Rangiatea. Wetini's brother Paora Temuera Tokoaitua became the minister at Rangiatea in 1916.²¹⁶ Pte Albert Winterburn was born in Otaki but was living in Wairoa²¹⁷ when he enlisted. His mother was a Perenara, and he married Doris Enoka. He fought at Gallipoli (no 8 platoon) and France, and was wounded in both thighs at the Somme in 1916²¹⁸. He died in 1922 and was buried at Te Pou o Tainui marae cemetery, Convent Rd, Otaki.

Ngāti Raukawa men in the second Māori contingent included Sgt Whetu Wehipeihana (16/855) and two of his brothers (Heke Wehipeihana and Tau Roha); their relation Robert Taru Ransfield; Hohepa Paramena Te Kootu, Ngāti Tukorehe²¹⁹; Pte Samuel Lichfield Cook (Ngāti Huia, on Archway as Leichfield) and his relation Henry Wilson (Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku); three nephews of Rangi Royal; and three Katene brothers, from Lyall Bay, Wellington. The second Māori contingent trained at Narrow Neck, Takapuna, beginning 1st July 1915; were farewelled at Wellington Town Hall, 18th Sept 1915, by Massey, Ward and Carroll, and went to Zeitoun camp, near Cairo in Egypt, to acclimatize and for further training. There were 311 men in this contingent. They were welcomed by a haka party of about 40 survivors of Te Hokowhitu a Tū at Moascar camp. Dr Te Rangihiroa Buck and Rev Wainohu spoke, and the men responded with waiata, led by Henare Kohere. The second Māori contingent was split up amongst the battalions of the NZIB, about 120 to each battalion. They practiced relentlessly long route marches in the desert, but still managed to uphold their reputation as rugby players.²²⁰ The New Zealand Pioneer

²¹⁶ Taepa, Rev. Canon H., *The Rangiatea Story*, 1966, p. 17.

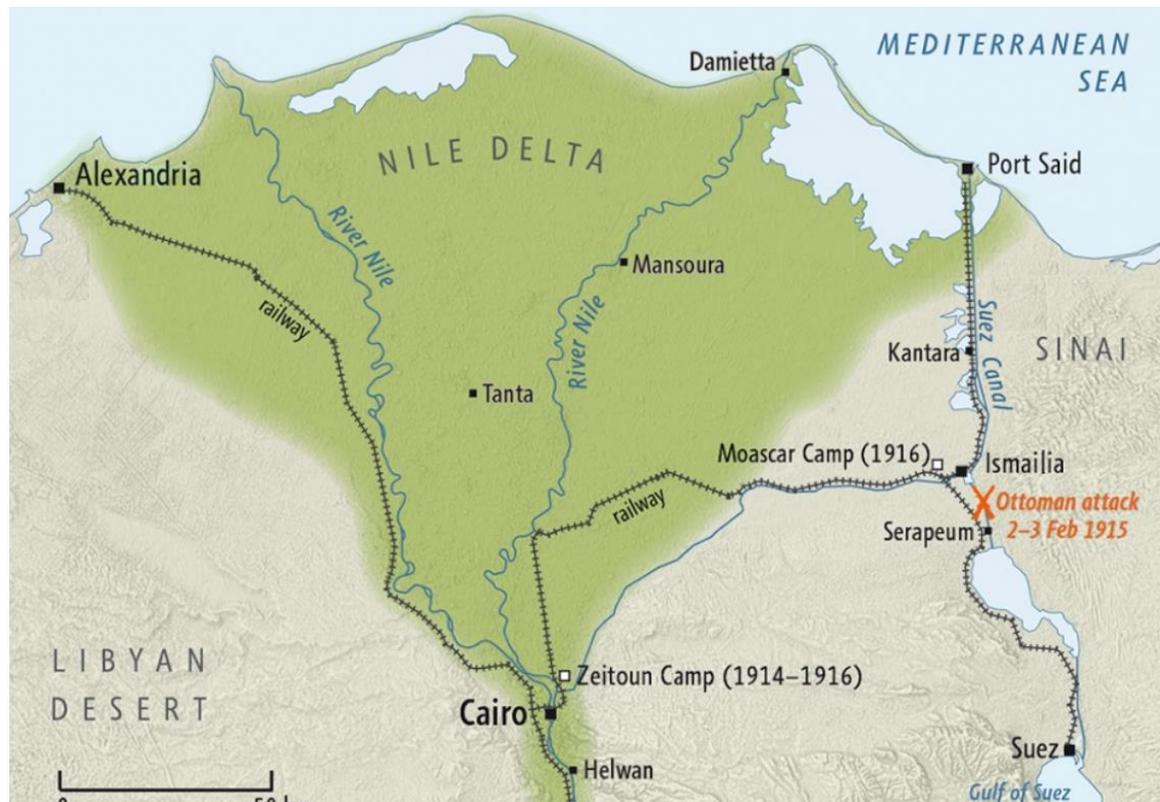
²¹⁷ Soutar, 2019, p. 49; See group photo, Wairoa District Volunteers.

²¹⁸ Soutar, 2019, p. 327.

²¹⁹ Pers.com. D.Taylor, 12 November 2021; His mother was Rangituia Te Tewe.

²²⁰ Soutar, 2019, p. 207.

Battalion, which included the two Māori contingents and the Otago Mounted Rifles, was formed on 1 March 1916. Together the two Māori contingents totalled 19 officers and 417 other ranks. Neither the Māori or the OMR were happy about being ‘pioneers’ with no opportunity to return fire. There was a headquarters and four companies. Capt Buck was 2IC to Major George King (soon to be Lt-Col).



('NZEF in Egypt 1914-16 map', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/nzef-egypt-1914-16-map>, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 2-Apr-2015)

The third Māori contingent was mostly Pacific Islanders, but included 112 Māori. It included seven Ngāti Raukawa men - Arona (Moses) McGregor, his brother Poutu, and their two cousins, Tutepourangi and Thomas McDonald, all of Koputoroa, Manawatu; Samuel Cook's brother George; Rota Hohipuha (a relation of the Tahiwi whānau); and Tauhia Te Wiata (uncle of the singer Inia Te Wiata). Tauhia was a compositor for Government Print (Mackey) in Wellington when he enlisted in October 1915, aged 27. The third Māori contingent arrived in Egypt on 17th March. A concert at Moascar, in various Pacific languages, Māori and English, was an enjoyable welcome for the third Māori contingent into the Pioneers. Roger Dansey became 2IC of the A Company, while

his brother Harry was 2nd Lt in the D Company. They trained at Moascar camp, between Cairo and Port Said.

On 8th April 1916, the Pioneer Battalion left for northern France by train to Port Said, and then on a liner ship, the HMNZT *Canada*, with a strength of 28 officers and 948 other ranks. One of our whanaunga left buried in Cairo was William Mira (16278), Ngāti Haumia (a hapu of Ngāti Toa), who had first suffered from enteritis in September 1915, and died of chronic phthisis and empyema in Egypt on 9th February 1916. He was buried in the English cemetery, Old Cairo, no D304 and his medals were sent to Mrs Heeni Morgan in Otaki. William's name is on the Otaki War Memorial, Mill Rd; as well as in the Ngāti Toa war memorial list in the Whiti Te Rā exhibition, Pataka Museum, Porirua. He was working as a labourer in or near Otaki when he enlisted.

3.3 WAIKATO RESISTANCE TO COMPULSORY CONSCRIPTION

In a process similar to the punishing of 'rebels' by land confiscation in the 19th century, the Government decided it would not tolerate the non-engagement of certain tribes, particularly Waikato, in the war effort and in June 1917 it decided to extend the provisions of the Military Service Act to include Māori. Though Taranaki tribes were also reluctant to support enlistment, it was Waikato tribes who were targeted. Despite many leaders being in favour of enlistment, many did not like the idea of making it compulsory, and Te Puea's spiritual appeal to honour the words of Tawhiao was influential. The Government policy was now that Māori men aged between 20 and 46, single or in recently-formed customary marriage relationships, would be conscripted into the New Zealand Expeditionary Force ('first division' list) out of which names would be drawn. If they did not enrol, they would be liable for prosecution and large fines. Police were expected to enrol Māori men they knew in that category, if they had not done so themselves. Imprisonment and being sent 'straight to the front' were also threats used against those who did not enrol.

A meeting was held at Te Reureu, Rangitikei, where the people of Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi were closely associated with the Kingitanga, to discuss whether enrolment would be supported. Tamiaho Herangi wrote about it in his diary, 10th February 1918: "Went to Rauhihi's place. We had a meeting for enlisting. Police said if we sign we won't have to go. But if we don't sign we'll go straight to the front. We decided not to go. Waiting for police to take us to jail." There is

no record that they were ever arrested (Hare Arapere 6 November 2021), but they must have been anxious times to make such a stand.²²¹

Māori men of that age knew how to make themselves scarce, to stay away from police, and with whānau, hapu and iwi support for non-enlistment, the Government had difficulty building its rolls. Many gave false or obscure names to elude pursuit. A booklet listing 420 Waikato-Maniapoto “first division” men, was sent to Māori leaders in the hope that they would help with conscription. Hare Taimana (aka Harry Symonds, Ngāti Matau, Ngāti Huia) was sent one while living in Halcombe, and said he had not lived in the Waikato for 7 years, and so could not help. Eight of his tribe were already at the front, and two others (Te Rua Papara and Tira Ngakao) had recently enrolled, he said. He implied that his hapū had contributed enough already, and did not want to risk further loss or casualty. If Fraser wanted to talk to his relatives “at Waotu, Otearoa (sic) or Wairaka”, he should go and talk to them himself.²²² When 200 of those 420 names were drawn for compulsory conscription, and published in the official Gazette in May 1918, and notifications sent to the men by post, some had left town, and some had gone to Te Puea’s pā where she struggled to feed them all. Some Taranaki people were also there, and suggested that the Pai Marire karakia would be appropriate to use in the context of the time. This led to a revival of the Pai Marire faith amongst the resisters, and provided spiritual strength. The philosophy was one of non-violence, as promoted by Te Whiti and Tohu at Parihaka in 1881. Defence Minister James Allen telegraphed Taingakawa of Waikato in the hope he would support enlistment, but he politely declined.

One of the King’s brothers, Tonga Mahuta had been fined several times (in 1914 and 1916), each time £5 for non-attendance at Territorial training, breaching the Defence Act. He was fined again in 1918, after compulsory conscription was introduced. The King’s youngest brother, Te Rauangaanga, aged 16, now came to the attention of military authorities. At that time, if you could not prove you were under 20 by producing a birth certificate, and you were medically fit, you had to go to camp anyway.

²²¹ Soutar, 2019, p. 251; Pers.com. H. Arapere, 6 November 2021. Diary of Tamiapo Herangi held by Hare Arapere.

²²² Soutar, 2019, p. 253; Archives NZ - STATS1 Box 31, 23/1/63, Harry Symonds to Govt Statistician, 4 June 1918.

A policeman with knowledge of the local people, Sgt Frederick Waterman, approached a big hui at Te Paina, Te Puea's pā at Mangatawhiri (Mercer). He and others entered the hall and, speaking in front of everyone gathered, he asked Te Puea to help them identify the men whose names were called out. Her reply was: "These people are mine...I will not agree to my children going to shed blood. Though your words be strong, you will not move me to help you. You can fight your own fight until the end."²²³ The names were read out, and there was no response. Waterman and two other constables moved to arrest Te Rauangaanga who was seated in the place of honour at the head of the room, with a flag in front of him as if for protection. The policemen stepped over the flag, picked him up, and carried him out of the building. Te Puea eased the tension by saying to her young cousin, "Be patient. Let the spirit of your father and also the spirit of your ancestors be with you. God bless you." She urged everyone to remain peaceful, as six others were taken out with him.

It was felt that at least a protest had been made by making the police carry them out. Tonga Mahuta was amongst those "first division" men whose names were drawn in the second ballot. Police began scouring the countryside for defaulters. Pomare and Te Puea went head to head, as he and Te Heuheu attempted to support the Government in the conscription process. When men and even one wahine showed their contempt by demonstrating the whakapohane, Pomare responded that the privileges of citizenship, as per article three of the Treaty, came with obligations and responsibilities. Tawhiao had not sheathed his sword permanently, but only until next needed, he said. He appealed to them to fight in the interests of the nation as a whole, and to Christianity. "It is our Christian duty to root out evil, and the greatest evil of the age is the German evil!" Waikato was not persuaded. Once in camp, however, Te Rauangaanga apparently became willing to serve, and was soon promoted to Lance-Corporal. Though his mother attempted an appeal for his release, he said he had decided to fight. But Waikato men generally continued to resist conscription.

The police arrived at Mangatawhiri to arrest Tonga Mahuta, but when he invited all 38 men who had been drawn in the ballot to accompany him to camp, they did so willingly. Pai Marire karakia, a brass band and the dipping of a flag were used to farewell them. Others went with them in support, to confuse authorities and slow the process. Those who

²²³ King, 2003, p. 89.

had been arrested, as a group refused to sign attestation forms or wear uniforms.²²⁴ Thirty four of them were sentenced to 21 days detention in harsh conditions at Devonport - mere bread and water, cold temperatures, and no mattresses to sleep on. Six men who refused to put on uniforms were court-martialled. Colonel Patterson called them ‘taurekareka’, denounced their elders as seditious traitors and sentenced each of them to two years’ imprisonment with hard labour. Attempts to goad Te Puea into making anti-conscription statements, so she could be arrested, were not successful. She said, “I am neither pro-German nor anti-British, I am simple pro-Māori.” The 32nd Māori Reinforcements included men from Ngāti Maniapoto, Waikato and Hauraki, eight of them drawn in ballots. This was the last contingent formed but did not reach France before the war ended. Tonga Mahuta won his appeal to the Military Service Board and was granted leave without pay in lieu of discharge. Te Rauangaanga and his whanaunga were discharged on 28th November and returned to Waikato. After an appeal from Te Arawa leaders, Māori prisoners were quietly released earlier than other conscientious objectors, but in the process, four of them had died of influenza, their bodies not returned to whānau.

The disciplined behaviour of these men, and their suffering during the eight months since first sentencing, led to Government consideration of the causes of their resistance - land loss, reduced resources and poverty. Taingakawa and others had sent many petitions to the Government on these issues before the war, but experiencing the peaceful resistance of Te Puea and her people, was the trigger for the Government to seriously consider these issues, Soutar states.²²⁵ It is interesting that both participation in WW1 and resistance to participation may have led to the Government giving stronger consideration to Māori rights.

3.4 IN FRANCE - HEAVY LOSSES CONTINUE DESPITE ‘COMBAT SUPPORT’ ROLE

Western Europe was the pivotal area of conflict in World War One, where the final outcome of the war would be determined.²²⁶ The first Pioneer killed in action in France

²²⁴ Sgt Alfred Cook, Ngāti Raukawa interpreter for the Medical Board, (Soutar, 2019, pp. 261-2) is not known within the Cook whānau of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga ie our Pte Alfred Cook had only just enlisted with the 18th regiment at that time.

²²⁵ Soutar, 2019, p. 273.

²²⁶ Wright, 2013, p. 258.

was on 21 May 1916, a non-Māori 2nd Lieutenant from Christchurch. Conditions in Armentieres, on the Belgian border were at least better than Gallipoli - the accommodation was small earthen or sandbagged huts, with four soldiers to each. Beds, chairs and other household items were acquired from nearby abandoned houses. The men were trained in constructing and maintaining trenches, use of machine guns, grenade, gas, physical and bayonet training. Pioneers were to have a “combat support role”, repairing and improving trenches and communications and running a timber mill, with night shifts in trenches. Sometimes local resources were commandeered eg puha and cherries from no-man’s land. Local villagers included women.²²⁷ But Armentieres was in range of enemy fire, so the men were always at risk of being shot or bombed. Étaples was the BEF (British Expeditionary Force) main base. The Pacific Islanders were soon sent home, as it was considered too cold for them and they suffered chest complaints. Nuieans were described by one soldier as “peace-loving”. Some entertainment was provided by a piano and a theatre. The battalion was re-organised into two Pakeha and two Māori companies - Māori were in A and C companies. D company was supposed to be Cook Islanders, but there were only 35, so the company borrowed 50 men from each of the other companies. Capt Dansey was 2IC of A company, with Saxby. On 8th June the Māori billets were shelled for 3 hours. Accidents occurred during bombing school. After the great Anglo-French offensive on the Somme on 1 July, there was more intense German shelling of Armentieres.

In July 1916, Capt Dansey led the Pioneers in a night raid to capture weapons, seize prisoners for information and kill others. It involved five officers, and 68 ordinary ranks. The ranks had no rifles, but officers carried revolvers, and it was a bombing party so all carried bombs and grenades. 2nd Lt Harry Dansey also helped plan the raid, making a scale model of the area on the ground, which he worked on for three days. From an aerial photograph, he had been able to pinpoint the critical junction of two drains. Only Māori was to be spoken, to confuse the Germans. But on the first night they went, the wire had not been cut by the artillery as they had hoped. There were some casualties on return. Another attempt was made the following night. As well as the Danseys, the raiding party

²²⁷ A amusing and suggestive popular song, still sung in our district, begins “Mademoiselle from Armentieres, parlez vous”, see ‘Lew Dite’ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hzb7yMOW5OA>.

included Ransfield (scout), Paranihi, Wehipeihana, Katene and Royal (base party).²²⁸ The party got through the barbed wire this time and reached the enemy's parapet. Then a scout saw 69 Germans crawling along to cut the Māori party off. Capt Dansey's party threw bombs. But then another bigger party of Germans was seen coming from another direction, and Dansey gave the order to retreat. Further bombs were thrown, but now grenades were coming at our party. Once back inside the wire, a flare was used to call for artillery support, and the enemy was hit hard. Capt Dansey's leadership during this raid was respected by his men as well as the Colonel.

On 21 July the senior Māori statesman Sir James Carroll, whose adopted son Tuahae had been killed at Gallipoli, visited the Pioneers at Armentieres. He was welcomed with a haka. Those who had passed on were remembered, and stories told about their deeds and those of the Māori contingent as a whole, including their gallantry (Buck recommended seven Māori Gallipoli veterans for military medals). Māori were said to have proved very good at digging - digging fast meant reaching safety sooner. A request came from the Māori Contingent Committee in New Zealand to send back experienced Māori officers to help with training, and then to return with reinforcements to the front. One officer and one NCO were to be sent back each month, from Oct 1916 - Feb 1917. Sgt Matt Bevan, October 16, after being severely wounded in his back on 27th June, was one of the first to return. On 7th Aug, at a sports day at La Motte, Poutu McGregor of Ngāti Takihiku excelled at tree-felling - "Poutu gave exhibition of felling French style." French style meant that no standing stump was left, the tree was cut level with the ground and the top of the stump rounded so it would not hold water.²²⁹ The Pioneers had three months in Armentieres, then went to join the great Allied offensive at the Somme. Robert Taru Ransfield was also wounded badly in his back in the Estaires sector, on 14 June 1916. Poutu's brother Arona (Moses) McGregor was wounded (in the face) at Estaires section, on 30th July 1916.²³⁰ (Photo below. For more on Moses McGregor, see Appendix C by T.K.Teira).

²²⁸ Soutar, 2019, p. 290-291.

²²⁹ Soutar, 2019, p. 296.

²³⁰ Soutar, 2019, p. 299.



Lt/Cpl Arona McGregor, Koputaroa,
Levin. Wounded, 31 July 1916.
AWMM, AWN, 11 Jan 1917, p44.

Accommodation at Staples was reasonably comfortable, but the second-hand boots they were given were not. Prim Tahiwī had returned from his time in New Zealand, and took over leadership of the C Company. Around the middle of 1917, the Pioneer Battalion was reorganised. The Otago men were replaced with around 470 soldiers, mostly from Niue and the Cook Islands. The battalion became known as the New Zealand (Māori) Pioneer Battalion.²³¹ Capt Buck was 2IC, with CO King in charge, and Major W.S. Pennycook led the D Company. Alcohol and cigarettes were cheap and readily available in estaminets, causing problems, and one accidental death. Nearing the front, disciplinary measures intensified. Responding to local interest in Māori, the men did a public performance of waiata and haka on the steps at Hotel de Ville. Pte Frank Hughes, a Pakeha infantryman was executed by firing squad for desertion. Rumour said he had not deserved his sentence, but it was a sobering exhibition of the extremity of discipline in the British army. In February 1918 a Ngai Tahu man who had fought in Gallipoli with the Otago Infantry battalion, been blown up at Armentieres and hospitalized, and suffered combat fatigue and shell shock in France, was executed by the British and New Zealand army for desertion, perhaps witnessed by our men, or least discussed. Spencer had also suffered 9 months in a military prison with hard labour in Rouen, after which he had left the army. He had been found living with a Frenchwoman and her two children. The execution order had come from a Field General Court Martial convened by acting

²³¹ 'Pioneer Battalion', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/maori-in-first-world-war/pioneer-battalion>, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 1 May 2020.

Commander NZ Brigade Lt Col A.E. Stewart, on 17 January 1918. Spencer told the court in his defence that his “nerve has been completely destroyed.”²³²

A swim in the Somme was refreshing for the men, before marching to the Front. Camping close to the front at Fricourt, the men could hear the continuous sound of the Allies’ heavy artillery. Their immediate task was to repair roads. A and B companies were sent to build a communications trench at Delville Wood. B company dug a trench 150 yards long and 4.5 feet deep in 1.5 hours. D and C companies followed up with further work on the trench the next day, under King, Buck and Tahiwī. One casualty was hit in the wrist. Trench digging continued for a fortnight. Sometimes the trenches were hit by shells, making them irreparable. Shrapnel shells and high-explosive shells sending bullets or metal fragments at targets, wounded or killed many men. Gas shells released phosgene. Phosgene, chlorine and mustard gas were all lethal weapons used by the Germans and Allies in this war, and were later constituted a war crime, as they violated agreements made in the Hague in 1899 and 1907 prohibiting the use of poison weapons.²³³ The German army was the most prolific user of gas warfare. Pte Huke Royal was amongst those hospitalized after inhaling gas near Fricourt on 1st September. One of the weapons the British used against the Germans at this time was a flame-thrower, sending a stream of burning fuel, 100 feet in length and 50 feet high. Forests were quickly destroyed. The New Zealand infantrymen were to make a big push on the Somme on 15th Sept. Sgt Horo Karauti arrived with a group of 40 reinforcements. Captain Tahiwī was moved to see him, and the two men hongi’ed and clasped hands. One of Karauti’s letters home relates this event in te reo.²³⁴

When Buck placed D company along Black Watch Trench, he found dead Germans and Englishmen lying in it, along its sides and in the open, “unburied and smelling fearful”. Under bombardment, he and Major Saxby jumped into a trench amongst the bodies.

²³² Soutar, 2019, p. 305; Pugsley 1991, p. 261; The five men executed were pardoned by the New Zealand government in 2000.

²³³ Sarah Everts, ‘A Brief History of Chemical War’, updated 11 May 2015, <https://www.sciencehistory.org/distillations/a-brief-history-of-chemical-war> (accessed 6 October 2021); The use of poison gas by all major belligerents throughout World War I constituted war crimes as its use violated the 1899 Hague Declaration Concerning Asphyxiating Gases and the 1907 Hague Convention on Land Warfare, which prohibited the use of “poison or poisoned weapons”.

²³⁴ Soutar, 2019, p. 312.

“Severest thing I’ve experienced...” As the camp moved closer to the shelling zone, the casualties increased - there were 16 casualties on 14th September - six men, including Henare Metekingi, killed outright. The communication trenches built by the Pioneers and Engineers enabled the 6,000 NZ infantrymen involved to get safely up to the front line. The Pioneers had suffered 50 casualties in the last fortnight, including 13 dead. The Pioneers’ task during the assault was to further extend the trenches after forward trenches had been taken. A and B companies worked under heavy fire, C and D companies repaired roads further back from the front. The New Zealand infantry took their objectives, but with heavy losses - over 600 New Zealanders were killed and 1,200 wounded or missing. Rain made for muddy conditions, but captured German dug-outs, comfortably fitted out, were a bonus. Souvenirs were also picked up, and some sent home to wives eg by Karauti.²³⁵

Sgt Charles Sciascia (Ngāti Takihiku) of Koputoroa, who was with the 10/518 battalion regiment, was in the Noutillerie Sector on 3rd February 1917, when he was in charge of the Scouts of a raiding party of 22 men of all ranks. The citation for the Military Medal awarded to him in relation to this event states: “He led his party with coolness and accuracy and contributed materially to the success of the raid. He had previously shown himself brave and capable both in Gallipoli and France.” (London Gazette, 12 March 1917). Sadly, he was killed in action at La Basse Ville, Belgium on 1 August 1917. He was buried by his comrades on the battlefield with full military honours. He is remembered at the Messines Ridge (NZ) Memorial in Belgium and the Levin Cenotaph (for further detail, see Appendix J).²³⁶

The NZ Division was involved in assaults on 25th, 27th September and 1st October 1916. Harry Dansey did a lot of dangerous night work, and was sent back early, followed later by Buck and others, but they were shelled as they went. Two died, and seven from C and D companies were wounded. Roger Dansey had suffered gas poisoning a week earlier (24 September). With no chance to wash or change clothes for nearly a month, the men were hoping relief would come soon.²³⁷ A final trench 450 yards long, was dug from ‘Turk

²³⁵ ATL, MS-Papers-8456-22.

²³⁶ Fletcher, 2014, p. 62.

²³⁷ Soutar, 2019, p. 322.

Lane to Goose Alley’, and it was completed from 8pm to 3am on 1st October, the day of the assault. Next day, 2nd October, the Pioneer battalion was told its job at the front was done. Since 28 August, 13,163 yards of trenches had been dug, brigade headquarters had been built four times over, and dressing stations three times. The Pioneers had also carried in many wounded British and German soldiers, their common humanity to the fore. Points along the biggest trench, Turk Lane, were named after places back home eg Rimutaka incline, and Paekakariki Bridge. Buck joked that tales of the trench length became exaggerated until he was telling some people it was ten miles long! There were two DCMs and ten Military medals awarded for the Pioneers at the Somme, as for each of the infantry battalions.

The men moved back to Fricourt, then a reserve camp at La Fontaine, and back to Armentieres. Our whanaunga Pte Huke Royal (16/728), a former farmer from Thames who had enlisted with the 2nd Māori contingent, was sent to the UK to convalesce, but continued to suffer ill-health and was discharged early, travelling home on the HMS *Marama*. He was awarded the 1914/15 Star, the British War Medal and the Victory medal. He must have recovered well eventually, as he died in Tauranga in 1960, aged 64. The Second, Third and Fourth Māori contingents experienced war in France but not Gallipoli. Bunny (Rikihana) Carkeek rejoined his old platoon at Sailly-sur-de-Lys, where they were housed in a stable. He had taken ill six months earlier in Estaires, and recovered in England (‘good old Blighty’). An innovation of Lt Dansey’s was to get his men to transplant trees to make an artificial avenue within which dugouts could be constructed.²³⁸

Rangi Royal had been working for the army for a year in New Zealand training men, and went to France with the 25th contingent. He served there for eight months, achieving the rank of Corporal by the end of the war.²³⁹

²³⁸ Soutar, 2019, p. 335.

²³⁹ Royal & Jamison, DNZB, 1998.



Drawing by Jenny Cooper from '*Le Quesnoy, the story of the town New Zealand saved*' by Glyn Harper, 2012, Picture Puffin.

3.5 TAKING LE QUESNOY, WHERE HARRY JACOB EARNED HIS MILITARY CROSS

The last place to be liberated from German occupation, and the place at which Lt Harry Jacob earned his Military Cross, was Le Quesnoy. Pushing east towards the Belgian border in November 1918, the New Zealand Division was holding the line in front of Beaudignies. The Māori Pioneer battalion moved to Beaudignies. As the infantry went ahead, the Pioneers repaired the roads behind them, often under sharp machine gun fire. The infantry had encircled the small medieval town of Le Quesnoy, an old fortress town, which had been occupied by the Germans for four years, with the French civilians still living there. A distinctive feature of Le Quesnoy was that it was surrounded by a moat and a 30-foot high ancient stone wall. It could not be shelled due to the risk of civilian casualties. Using scaling ladders supplied by the sappers (or engineers), some daring New Zealanders got on top of the wall and began exchanging fire with the Germans. Civilians cheered the New Zealanders on. Captain Malcom Ross, New Zealand's official war correspondent, stated that one of the first, if not the first up the ramparts was a Māori from the Pioneer battalion, whose rifle was thrown up after him. "The Māori was met with bombs", Ross stated. Winiata Tapsell received 14 days Field Punishment No 2 for neglecting to comply with an order.

One of the Māori Pioneer battalion who had also managed to attach himself to the New Zealand infantry, went through a hole in the wall, but forgot his rifle so went back to find one, found a “Hun one”, went back through the hole and shot at a German, who quickly disappeared, possibly wounded. He fired at another, missed, then realized he was out of bullets and withdrew. This was either Winiata Tapsell of Maketu or Anaru Anderson of Pipiriki. Two battalions advanced on the town from opposite sides. The Germans soon surrendered and many were taken prisoner. The New Zealand flag flown at Le Quesnoy after the capture of the town was one which school-children of Otaki and Levin had raised money for and sent to the troops, organised by the admirable English Nurse Ethel Lewis (see story in Home Support section below).



(New Zealand flag presented to the town of Le Quesnoy on the Town Hall, partly destroyed by bombing. Photograph taken ca late November 1918 by Henry Armytage Sanders. ATL, ½-013787-G. See also New Zealand War Memorial Museum Le Quesnoy France, www.nzwmm.org.nz)

The taking of Le Quesnoy was the New Zealanders' last major action in the war. To this day, the town of Le Quesnoy continues to mark the important role that New Zealand played in its history. Streets are named after New Zealand places, there is a New Zealand memorial and a primary school bears the name of a New Zealand soldier. Le Quesnoy is the site of one of the four New Zealand battlefield memorials on the Western Front (the others are at Graventafel and Mesen/Messines in Belgium, and Longueval in France). A New Zealander who was awarded a Military Cross for gallantry at Le Quesnoy was Lt

Leslie Cecil Lloyd Averill, who is described as being one of the first to scale the ramparts. He wrote that they had to scale several walls, one inside the other. Uncle Wattie Kereama, who fought later in Vietnam, told us that his wife Averill was named after this WW2 hero, who was a family friend²⁴⁰. From Ngāti Raukawa, our celebrated rugby player, Harry Jacob, was also awarded a Military Cross for his gallantry at Le Quesnoy (see below).



Lt H. Jacob, New Zealand Pioneer (Maori) battalion, AWMM. Photo: Kylie Coles.

3.6 HARRY JACOB (NGĀTI HUIA KI MATAU) - HONOURED IN WAR AND AS A RUGBY REPRESENTATIVE

Hohepa (known as Harry) Jacob (16/268) was one of the first Ngāti Raukawa men to enlist with the first Māori contingent in October 1914, and became the first to be awarded a Military Cross. He was well known as a rugby player, before, during and after World War One. At the time of his enlistment he was working for Hone McMillan on the Koputoroa farm Hone for his wife (and land-owner) Karaitiana Te Ahu (Ngāti Ngarongo).²⁴¹ Harry's mother Hoana was the youngest daughter of Rauti of Ngāti Huia

²⁴⁰ Hui at TANS, 19th Sept 2021; 'New Zealand Division liberates Le Quesnoy', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/new-zealand-division-liberates-le-quesnoy>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 14-Sep-2020 (accessed 5 October 2021).

²⁴¹ Pugsley, 1995, p. 86; Pers.com. T.K.Teira, 27 October 2021.

(Matau) and Henry Symonds.²⁴² Harry had undertaken full-time work early, as his father died when he was only 12 or so, and he had to leave school to help his mother milk cows and develop their small farm. Clearing stumps and cutting flax supplemented the family income and helped develop his strength. Aged only 19 when he enlisted with the army, Jacob was already a respected rugby player, having represented Horowhenua at sixteen and New Zealand Maoris at eighteen. Along with Jack Sciascia (Ngāti Takihiku) and Martin Winiata (Ngāti Pareraukawa), he had played for the New Zealand Maoris in a tour of Australia and New Zealand. He played briefly for the Shannon Club in 1914.²⁴³

His name was changed from Hohepa to Harry Jacob on enlistment, as suggested by an officer, because there was already a Hohepa Jacob on the list. Harry was tall, fit and confident, and his officer potential was recognized early, as within a month he was promoted to Sergeant. He underwent further training for six months, before embarking for Egypt on 14th February 1915. He fought at Egypt in 1915, Gallipoli and western Europe, became a 2nd Lieutenant in May 1918 and received the medals (1914-15 Star, British War Medal and Victory medal) for that service. But he was also awarded the Military Cross for service at the end of the war in France.²⁴⁴

After the push to take Chunuk Bair at Gallipoli on 9th August, 1916 Sgt Harry Jacob was noted as carrying a badly wounded man to an aid post manned by Dr Peter Rangihiroa Buck, as noted earlier – an indication of his strength and kindness.²⁴⁵ Jacob undertook further officer training at Trinity College, Cambridge, UK, returned to the Māori Pioneer battalion, and was wounded “slightly” at Messines, France, in June 1917. He did not require hospitalization and remained with his unit, continuing to serve with the Māori Pioneer battalion until the war ended. He played football with his Ngāti Raukawa relatives in France in 1918 (see Karauti section above) - e.g. Karauti, Wehipeihana, Cook,

²⁴² Pers.com. (e-mail), A. Mikaere, 31 October 2021. Harry’s father, as known to the whānau, was Hohepa Hakopa Taringa, of Te Whānau a Ruataupare, Tokomaru Bay.

²⁴³ Akers, C. *In Jacob’s Shadow, the Centennial History of the Horowhenua Rugby Union, 1893-1993*, Levin, Kerslake, Billens & Humphrey Ltd, 1993, p. 68.

²⁴⁴ Akers, 1993, p. 69; Archives R18052626, Hohepa Jacob - WW1 16/268; R24169663, Hohepa Jacob - WWI 16/268, 369, WWII 816237 - Army.

²⁴⁵ Soutar, 2019, p. 158; Cowan, 1983, p. 49.

Royal, Hapeta and Winterburn.²⁴⁶ Akers records that Jacob played nine rugby games with the Pioneer (Maori) battalion in 1919, scoring seven tries²⁴⁷. In December 1918 he was selected for a Divisional representative rugby team to tour England, but the tour did not proceed. In early 1919 Jacob was a platoon commander, probably under Capt Prim Tahiwī who was commander of the D company.²⁴⁸ He was discharged from the battalion on 4th May 1919, and was later (3/6/1919) awarded a Military Cross “for distinguished service in connection with military operations in France Flanders”, his army file shows.”²⁴⁹ The family believes it was for “carrying a wounded man to safety under fire”.²⁵⁰ He married Lucy Winiata of Hokio Beach, sister of rugby player Martin Winiata, after getting home in 1919.²⁵¹ In a letter he wrote to the army records office in May 1920, asking if it was official that he was going to get the medal, he said he had been recommended “for the above decoration during the battle of Le Quesnoy (France)”.

The Military Cross was finally presented to him by his Excellency the Governor General, Lord Jellicoe, at a public function at Levin, on 28th Nov 1921 - “in recognition of distinguished and meritorious service at a time of war.”²⁵² A festival-like celebration was organised by the town - Oxford St was ‘gaily decorated’, there were colourful flags carried by children, and a large crowd, including the Mayor and Mayoress, local MP W.H. Field, veterans and the Māori community all keen to celebrate the two war heroes - Sgt Jacob and 2nd Lt L.F. Carmichael. The Levin Band played the National Anthem, speeches were given, Miss Jean Matheson presented Lady Jellicoe with a posy of flowers, and Lord Jellicoe presented the two men with their honours, congratulating them both on their service in the field. The crowd cheered enthusiastically, Māori and Pakeha united in their common patriotism and recognition of distinguished war service.

²⁴⁶ MSX-7625, Army notebook, Horo Karauti.

²⁴⁷ Akers, 1993, p. 76.

²⁴⁸ Soutar, 2019, p. 451, p. 458.

²⁴⁹ Archives R18052626 - Jacob, Hohepa, WW1 16/268 - Army.

²⁵⁰ Pers. comm. Rachael Selby, 1 November 2021.

²⁵¹ AWWM, OCL, Hohepa Jacob, <https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/war-memorial/online-cenotaph/record/C34338>.

²⁵² Archives R24169663 - Hohepa Jacob, WW1/16/268, WWII 816237.

As rugby historian Aker described, after his return from war, Jacob continued to excel in his rugby career. In 1920 he became Horowhenua's first All Black and was selected for a tour of New South Wales. As the only Māori in the team at that time, he led the haka "ka mate, ka mate" at the first test game in Sydney. He also excelled on the field, scoring seven tries on the tour. In 1922, he was captain of the New Zealand Māori team when it toured Australia. Injury afflicted several players, but the Māori team fought back and won the final test. In 1923 Jacob withdrew from rugby for a period to help tend his sick daughter, but was persuaded to return as captain of the North Island team. In 1925 Jacob was elected captain of the Ranfurly Shield team Manawhenua, which combined Horowhenua and Manawatu unions. Manawhenua was undefeated in the 1925 season, and 1927, also successful, was his last season. By then, Jacob was 32 years of age. After leading his team to victory in the Ranfurly Shield, Harry and Lucy named their next baby boy Ranfurly. Akers described Jacob as 'perhaps the most outstanding sportsman (Horowhenua) has ever produced'. He continued to coach, referee, and was president of the Wanderers Club in 1929.

Jacob left farming and became the caretaker of the Otaki Māori Racing Club in 1930. When war began in 1939 he applied to be an army training officer but was rejected due to arthritis. Illnesses suffered during WW1 (dysentery and pleurisy) may have had long term effects along with rugby injuries.²⁵³ Rachel Selby: "He wanted to go to the second world war, but he couldn't jump off a chair. They told him to get up on a chair and jump off, and he couldn't do it!" He got involved with the Home Guard, and later became a Welfare Officer with the Department of Māori Affairs. Harry Jacob died from cancer with acute osteo-arthritis in 1955, aged 60.

His wife Lucy Jacob had been a strong supporter of his welfare work and rugby career. She had nursed the victims of the 1918 influenza epidemic at the end of the First World War. She was also active in organisations such as Plunket, Red Cross and the Patriotic Fund during WW2. Highly respected in Ngāti Raukawa as a Raukawa Marae trustee, at Rangiatea as a vestry member, and responsible for maintaining the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club buildings for over twenty years, she was also on the first Dominion Council of the Māori Women's Welfare League and became a life member. In 1956 Lucy was awarded

²⁵³ Archives R24169663 - Hohepa Jacob, WW1/16/268, WWII 816237.

an MBE for community work and service to the Māori people. Both Hohepa and Lucy Jacob are buried at Raumatangi overlooking Lake Horowhenua and the Hōkio Stream.

3.7 SUMMARY & DATA ANALYSIS - 1900 TO WW1

Patriotic and militaristic fervour began early last century with the influence of Government and the media on the advent of the Anglo-Boer War. Scouts, school cadets movements, and gung-ho teachers encouraged boys into military training as British successes were publicly and enthusiastically celebrated in Aotearoa New Zealand. So passionate was the majority community in favour of war that dissenting voices were quickly and insultingly dismissed. Non-fighting Māori contingents had been sent in uniform to represent Māori in royal Jubilee or Coronation celebrations in England (1897, 1902), which had included Ngāti Raukawa men, Rawiri Tatana (Ngāti Huia) and Te Tahuri (Ngāti Pareraukawa) of Otaki. The way they were treated there was probably experienced as offensive, as even when asked to perform haka, they were not invited to meet high-ranking guests. British social hierarchies were well-entrenched, based on a concept of racial superiority, and attitudes to Māori were patronising and demeaning. Despite this, our Ngāti Raukawa rohe in the south (eg south of the Manawatu) is close to Wellington, where decisions were being made about wars overseas, and many of our men volunteered for the Mounted Rifles (Otaki, Manawatu, Fielding, Heretaunga). Within Ngāti Raukawa they were encouraged by Rere and Te Aohau Nicholson (Ngāti Pareraukawa), keen horse-riders whose grandfather was an aristocratic Englishman. Being a mounted rifleman meant horse-riding, attending tournaments (racing, jumping, tugs-of-war, musical bands) and glamorous balls alongside Pakeha; and of course practicing the use of rifles, even practicing shooting from horse-back.

Despite their volunteer experience and training in the Mounted Rifles, the British Government refused Seddon's request to include Māori in the New Zealand contingent for the war in South Africa, infuriating our military advocates like the Nicholsons and Māori MPs. But well-educated Māori with European names were allowed to enlist, and these included at least five Ngāti Raukawa men. Several Ngāti Raukawa whanau names carried through from the Mounted Rifles and/or Boer War to the first World War. While horses were taken to South Africa, they were only used as transport to get to the front, fighting once at the front on foot. One member of the Cook whanau of Foxton died in the Boer War. Rates of attrition at Gallipoli, however, were much higher.

Māori MPs like Maui Pomare for Te Tai Hauauro, as well as Ngata and Carroll who promoted Māori participation in the first World War, hoped it would elevate the status of Māori in the wider New Zealand community to one of equality.²⁵⁴ Capt Pirimi Tahiwī had the most distinguished army career of our Ngāti Raukawa men in World War One in terms of leadership and outstanding ability, for which he was later given an officers' award. Beginning in the Territorials in 1911 (Wellington West Coast regiment), he was promoted to Sergeant in August 1914, and Second Lieutenant the following month. He appears to be the first of our men to enlist in the Māori contingent at Otaki in 1914, at a similar time to whanaunga Lt Roger Dansey (Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa), who was by then an engineer in Dunedin, and a former Māori All Black (1910,1911). After the contingent arrived in Egypt and went to Malta to train, in April 1915 Pirimi was promoted Captain, and retained that rank for the remainder of the war. Dansey was promoted to Captain soon afterwards, in October 1915. Together, Dansey and Pirimi led the A company of the Māori contingent in the attack at Sari Bair, Gallipoli, and led the haka (along with Pirimi's brother Henare Tahiwī) in its first use (in a world war) in terrorizing the enemy, as well as boosting the fighting spirit of our Ngāti Raukawa men.

Seriously wounded (in the neck and body) at Gallipoli the next day, Pirimi went to England to recover. While there he was asked, along with other wounded servicemen, to visit Princess Mary on her birthday, and also led New Zealanders in the first Anzac Day parade in London in 1916. He was involved with training men in New Zealand and England before returning to rejoin the Pioneer (Māori) battalion in France where he became D company commander. In 1929 he was awarded the Colonial Auxiliary Officers' Decoration. His brother Henare, already renowned as a rugby player (New Zealand Māori team, 1910, with Dansey) was also in the first Māori contingent, becoming a bugler, and then a Lance Corporal. He was badly wounded in the knee at Gallipoli, and returned to New Zealand to convalesce.

Rikihana Carkeek became renowned as a member of the first Māori contingent, keeping a detailed diary, and is honoured by his portrayal as a giant figure in the Gallipoli exhibition at Te Papa. A former Te Aute student then clerk, he became a machine gunner and fought in the battle of Sari Bair, Gallipoli, 1915. He was badly wounded there, being

²⁵⁴ Wright p. 259; Michael King, *Ngā Iwi o te Motu: 1000 Years of Māori History*, Raupo Publishing, Auckland, 1997, p. 89; Ngata et al, 2021, p67.

shot through the neck and body. He became a 2nd Lieutenant, and undertook officer training in England, but a fractured leg took him away from the front in 1918. His diary was published as a memoir, “Home Little Māori Home”, in 2003. As well as the haka, and the use of te reo amongst themselves, karakia were also important in maintaining morale, strength and unity amongst our men. The karakia and himene led by chaplain Rev Henare Waihonu were important. Waihonu, an ex-pupil of Te Aute, was well-liked. He emphasised the responsibility of the men to convey the honour of the Māori people by their courageous behaviour on the battlefield.

The most decorated of our Ngāti Raukawa men in World War 1 was Sgt Harry Jacob, who was awarded the Military Cross for his “distinguished service” at Le Quesnoy, the last German-occupied French town to be liberated by the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, with support from the Pioneer Māori Battalion. While they were technically on other duties, some Māori Pioneer battalion members joined the New Zealand forces as they surrounded the village, overpowered and captured hundreds of German troops.. Our northern relative Harry Dansey (Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Raukawa) was also awarded a Military Cross in 1918. Harry was an experienced engineer when he joined age 40, and was recognised for his work constructing railways, evacuating wounded, and helping to plan a night attack in France. Other Ngāti Raukawa men from our rohe who received honours were Tau Paranihi (Distinguished Conduct Medal) for his gallantry at Gallipoli in 1915; Lieut Horopapa Karauti who received a Croix de Guerre from the Belgian King (1919); and at least one was awarded a Military Medal - Charlie Sciascia, Wellington infantry battalion, 10/518.

Men went to war with brothers, cousins, uncles and other whanaunga, initially keen on adventure and a chance to prove their courage and skill on the battlefield. But the experience of Ngāti Raukawa men in World War One was a far cry from the excitement and enjoyment of their military training in the mounted rifles back home. Online access to WW1 files held at Archives has allowed us to study over 55 individual army files, of the 75 or so Ngāti Raukawa men we found who served in World War One. Estimating that the total population of Ngāti Raukawa at the time was about 3,000, and 1,500 were women and children, we sent about 5% of our adult men.²⁵⁵ Our analysis of the data and

²⁵⁵ Pers. comm. T.K. Teira, 10 November 2021.

reading of Soutar's important book on Māori in WW1²⁵⁶ provide harsh insights into the reality of conditions for those who suffered in their service with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force of the British army, mostly with the Māori contingents. Some got sick in Malta, eg Howard Roach (16/290) of Otaki (Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Kikopiri) and his relation David Cootes (16/258) who were taken to hospital in Egypt.²⁵⁷ Substandard food, water, and insanitary conditions led to diseases including enteric fever, tuberculosis, typhoid, influenza, dysentery and diarrhoea.²⁵⁸ There was incessant gunfire and bombing from well-armed Turks defending their home territory. The Anzacs including the Māori contingent were sent to a "precarious beachhead", closer to the Turkish forces than the British, and suffered a high rate of loss (sickness, injury and death) from the first day they arrived on 3rd July 1915.

Strategic planning was done by the British army, and the men must surely have been questioning how those decisions were being made. The New Zealand troops and Māori contingents were required to follow orders, in a situation where so many English had already died, that the colonials were being called on to make up the numbers in a suicidal mission doomed to fail. At least a fifth of the Māori contingent would be killed or wounded over the eight months they worked and fought at Gallipoli.²⁵⁹ One private estimated in September 1915 that half the contingent was sick, wounded or killed.²⁶⁰ While they were initially digging trenches and carrying loads etc to establish the Anzac force there, and holding rifles on trench duty overnight, always under fire, the Māori contingent was seen as 'fresh' and energetic, and was soon called on to fight in the Sari Bair campaign, initially with bayonets only in a stealthy night attack.²⁶¹ Sadly, Jerry's brother Pte Pahia Ropata (16/199) was killed on 6th August 1915, shot while attempting to lead his men, but becoming entangled in a barbed-wire barrier.

²⁵⁶ Soutar, 2019.

²⁵⁷ Soutar, p. 94.

²⁵⁸ Soutar, p. 189.

²⁵⁹ Sorrenson, DNZB, 1996.

²⁶⁰ Soutar, 2019, p. 186.

²⁶¹ Soutar, Chapter. 5.

Te Rauparaha's haka, 'ka mate, ka mate' was used, led by Dansey and the Tahiwī brothers, to terrify the enemy in this campaign. In the same campaign, Pte Tau Paranihi of Ngāti Waewae found himself surrounded and fought bravely for his life, killing four Turks and capturing the fifth, surviving to tell the tale. He was later awarded a DCM for this action, but suffered many years from a bayonet wound to his hand. Capt Pirimi Tahiwī, his brother Henare and Rikihana Carkeek were all seriously wounded at Gallipoli. Prim and Rikihana returned to join the Pioneer Māori Battalion, but the wound to Henare's leg was so serious he was soon sent home to New Zealand and was not considered fit enough to return. In total, there were at least seven Ngāti Raukawa men wounded at Gallipoli and one killed.²⁶² In this campaign they fought for days on end with scarcely any water, food or rest. Those hospitalized from illness at Malta or Gallipoli were: Roach, Cootes, Karauti, two Ropata brothers, Mira, and Ransfield.²⁶³ Some would not return to the front. William Mira (16/278, Ngāti Haumia, Otaki) died in hospital in Cairo of his illness (pepthis) and was buried there.²⁶⁴

Despite the praise and recognition gained by the Māori contingent at Gallipoli, particularly led by Dansey and Tahiwī, Major-General Godley wanted to split it up and send Dansey and three other officers (eg Hiroti from Whanganui) home for unsatisfactory conduct. While he eventually conceded, these events indicated the lack of understanding and tension between the British commanders and Māori, which no doubt included elements of racism and prejudice, but may have also included aspects of resistance from the Māori officers eg Pitt. Under pressure from the MCC, Defence Minister James Allen also called on Godley to reinstate the Māori contingent, with the second contingent which was on its way. The New Zealand Pioneer battalion was formed, which included the two Māori contingents and the Otago Mounted Rifles. Dansey's reputation remained high in the Māori contingent and he soon regained his rank as Captain. But despite the support of their men, and their proven experience, Māori officers were not given Commanding Officer positions for the rest of the war. This was one of the grievances bitterly felt by our

²⁶² Teira & Collins, Analysis of 45 army records - Archives.

²⁶³ Archives R20806305, H. Roach 16/290; R21897324, D. Cootes 16/258; R18055333 A.Karauti 16/270; R21375979 W. Mira, 16/278; R20804171 Pte D. Ransfield 16/588, wounded 15th Sept 1915; R20807613 Jack Ropata, 16/501.

²⁶⁴ While Ngāti Haumia is a hapu of Ngati Toa, Mira's name is on our memorial in Otaki, as he left from Otaki; it is also on the Ngāti Toa memorial, Pataka museum, Porirua.

people of Ngāti Raukawa. Many aspects of what happened at Gallipoli must have caused bitterness - the poor decision-making by the British, their demeaning attitudes, as well as the scale and horror of the carnage. One writer, Matthew Wright, described what happened at Gallipoli as a “charnel house for New Zealand, with a final official total of 7,453 casualties, of whom 2,721 were killed outright”. The defeat on Gallipoli had shattered pre-war expectations of battlefield glory, though a public relations exercise had insisted that “our boys had not died in vain”.²⁶⁵

Some of our men who were sent home sick or wounded after Gallipoli, and were able to stay home, possibly counted themselves lucky. “We were getting slaughtered over there, people were dying at a rapid rate. Koro didn’t go back,” said the mokopuna of one wounded Gallipoli man (Akuhata Himiona).²⁶⁶ There was important mahi to do at home, with the Spanish flu afflicting so many, and the need to rebuild and strengthen the home community, she said. Only about half of the Māori contingent men who had arrived at Gallipoli remained fit for service by the end of it - some of those from Ngāti Raukawa were Rikihana Carkeek, having recovered from his gunshot wound, Albert Winterburn also of Otaki and Rau Parata of Porirua (grandson of Wi Parata).²⁶⁷



Photo:

Akuhata Himiona, left in wheel-chair, at military hospital, possibly Cairo. Akuhata Himiona Whanau Research group, 7th Nov 2021.

²⁶⁵ Wright, 2013, p. 258.

²⁶⁶ Pers. comm. P. Simeon & A. Himiona, 28 October 2021.

²⁶⁷ Soutar, 2019, p. 187.

The second Māori contingent, which had trained at Narrow Neck, Takapuna, were welcomed with haka by the survivors of the first contingent at Zeitoun in Egypt. There were fifteen Ngāti Raukawa men in the second contingent, including Samuel Lichfield Cook, three Royals, three Wehipeihana (sons of Roha Wehipeihana), three Katene brothers, and Albert Winterburn's brother Richard. They were also joined by the third Māori contingent, with seven Ngāti Raukawa men, including Arona (Moses) McGregor and his brother Poutu. Roger Dansey was 2IC of the A company, and Peter Buck 2IC of the whole battalion, under Major King.

But western Europe was also a significant arena for war, and again, the carnage and horror there was on a vast scale. While there were at least occasional resources, such as puha, and accommodation was better than Gallipoli, the contingent was soon experiencing bombardment eg in billets in Armentieres. Roger Dansey led the Pioneers in a daring night bombing raid, which included four of our Ngāti Raukawa men, and involved getting through barbed wire barriers and reaching the enemy's parapet. Harry Dansey's planning was critical in this mission, and Roger Dansey's leadership respected. The speed and strength of the Pioneer Maori battalion here became evident, especially at digging trenches. After three months at Armentieres, they went to the Somme. Injuries from poison gas, further bombardment and the brutality of British military discipline were some of what our men experienced at the western front (1916-1919). Field punishments - involving being handcuffed, and walking shackled and fettered under an escort (FP no 2) or tied to posts for many hours each day (FP no 1), again hands and feet tied - were suffered by several Ngāti Raukawa men. This degrading, inhumane and damaging form of punishment was made illegal in 1923. The breaking of rules and difficulty maintaining discipline was likely to have been associated with combat fatigue and exhaustion due to long service and sometimes shell shock, for which there was no understanding or treatment at the time.²⁶⁸ In February 1918 a Ngai Tahu man who had fought in Gallipoli with the Otago Infantry battalion and suffered combat fatigue and shell shock in France, plus a period of hard labour and military prison, was executed by the British and New Zealand army for desertion. This was perhaps witnessed by our men, or least talked about. If our Ngāti Raukawa men developed bitterness and resentment towards the British and New Zealand army commanders who were giving them orders, it would not be

²⁶⁸ Pugsley, 1991, p. 173, pp. 182-184.

surprising. These mental, emotional and spiritual stresses added to the injuries caused by enemy attack, physical wounds and illness.

Most of the Ngāti Raukawa men whose files we studied in World War One were hospitalized at least once for illness or injury, and some were frequently in and out of hospital. One died of illness in France, another soon after returning home, and at least two were killed in action in France or Belgium (Timiuha 16/303, Sciascia 10/518) - further below. Some cases - Huke Royal (16/728, older nephew of Rangī Royal) suffered an injury from gas at the Somme, on 1st September 1916 and was discharged the following April. Gas caused blistering of the lungs, which was often long-term. He was declared “no longer fit for war service on account of wounds received in action”. Richard Ransfield, aka Manuriki Ranapiri, of Ngāti Tukorehe had enteric fever in 1916 and was gassed at the Somme in February 1917. He was sent home to recover, was discharged in August and died in October that year. He was buried at Kuku cemetery. He was one of four sons of Haimona Ransfield, who all served in the Māori Pioneer battalion. Daniel, shot in the eye at Gallipoli, was a cousin. Trench fever was another sickness suffered by some of our men in France, which was an infection spread by lice eg Tutepourangi McDonald (16/1258). Wetini Temuera (aka Te Muera, 16/248) son of Rev Temuera Tokoaitua of Otaki, was wounded at Gallipoli, wounded again at France, suffered periods of field punishment, contracted tuberculosis and was sent home early. He spent time at the Otaki sanatorium but died in October 1919 after the war ended. He was buried at Rangiatea, where his father was minister.

Deaths: George Cook (16/299) of Otaki suffered from bronchitis, gassing, and an injured finger slipping on a plank. He died of broncho-pneumonia, 12th Oct 1918, and was buried at Etaples, France. This was the BEF (British Expeditionary Force) main base, and there were many hospitals amongst the camps of soldiers there, waiting to go to the front, or returning sick or wounded. John Timiuha (wrongly spelt Timuiha on record, 16/303), whose mother was a Ransfield, was killed in action in France, 7th June 1917, and was buried at La Plus Douve farm, near Messine, in Belgium. Te Rauangaanga Kiriona, aka Robert Tuhera of Ngāti Huia was working on a farm near Adelaide in 1916 when he joined the Australian Lighthorse Brigade. This brigade joined a British and New Zealand campaign to fight the Ottomans in Palestine. Sadly, he died of pneumonia there on 12th

Sept 1918, and was buried at the Ramleh military cemetery, Ramla, now Israel²⁶⁹. Pte Taipua Cootes (19564) of Otaki, went to Europe with the Māori contingent in 1916, suffered a leg wound in action, was convicted of a crime, and died of pneumonia in a military hospital in England, 29th Oct 1919. He is buried in Weymouth. He left behind a wife and a son, who later enlisted in WW2. Taipua is amongst those remembered on the Otaki War Memorial, most of whom died either during overseas service or soon afterwards:

WW1 - Ngāti Raukawa hapū given (except Mira, Ngāti Haumia, who was based in Otaki)

Taipua Cootes	19564, Ngāti Pare, Ngāti Kikopiri
George Cook	16/299, Ngāti Huia ki Katihiku
Honi Wineera	John Jogle Naylor [aka Hoani Te Okoro Wineera] - Australian Imperial Force - Lance-Corporal, 18th Infantry Battalion, No.391 (R21047859) Ngāti Huia (Cootes)
Wiremu Mira	16/278, Ngāti Haumia. See also Ngāti Toaa war memorial, Pataka Museum, Porirua ²⁷⁰
Pahia Ropata	16/199, Ngāti Turanga, Ngāti Toa
Sam Pohio	16/286, Ngāti Huia (Cootes)
M Ranipiri	16/288, Ngāti Wehiwehi
Tauhia Tewiata	16/1266, Ngāti Te Horu, Ngāti Maiotaki
Tamuka Hapi	16/303, aka John Timiuha, Ngāti Tukorehe
Wetini Temuera	16/248, Ngāti Kapu, Te Arawa

²⁶⁹ Archives R21048559, Robert Tuhera, WW1 Army; A. Hayden, 2021, Brief of Evidence, Wai 2200, Wai 113H, Ngāti Huia ki Poroutawhao.

²⁷⁰ Te Whakaminenga o Kāpiti, Maramataka 2015/16: Planting and Fishing by the Moon, https://www.kapiticoast.govt.nz/media/20869/2015-16_maramataka_web.pdf (accessed 11 Oct 2021).

Rauangaanga Kiriona	Australian Lighthouse Brigade, Ngāti Huia ki Matau
Albert Winterburn	16/60, Ngāti Kapu

Wounds: In terms of serious wounds, Robert Taru Ransfield was wounded in the back at Estaires, France (14.6.1916). He had other spells of illness in early 1918, but rejoined the battalion in April 1918 and survived to the end of the war, returning home with his relatives on the HMS Westmoreland in May 1919. Relative Sgt Matthew Bevan (16/252, Ngāti Wehiwehi), was severely wounded in the back (27 June 1916) in France, and sent home to recover. Some further wounded were: Pte Samuel Lichfield Cook (16/572a), shoulder (28.11.17); Pte Henry Moller (20689), grandson of Kipa Te Whatanui, wounded in wrist (16.12.17); Pte Richard Waitoa (19760), wounded in thigh (31.12.17). These three all returned to the front and continued fighting till discharge in 1919. Lung injuries from inhaling gas were a serious issue on the western front, with long-term damage to at least seven of our men affected.²⁷¹

Some examples of serious wounds from the northern Raukawa/Kauwhata rohe are: Tau Paranihi (16/407, DCM) of Ngāti Waewae was wounded at Gallipoli, invalided home and discharged in January 1916. Akuhata Himiona (16/375) of Ngāti Turoa, Awahuri was shot in the knee at Gallipoli, invalided home and discharged in June 1916. He returned to a leadership role within his whānau and hapū (Ngāti Turoa, Ngāti Kauwhata) eg Oroua rugby and Māori wardens. Pte George Graham (20711), son of Raika Graham, Awahuri, died of pneumonia on the ship home to New Zealand in March 1919.

Some of the whānau in the north, particularly those linked to the Kingitanga at Te Reureu (Ngāti Pīkiahū, Ngāti Waewae, Ngāti Matakore and Ngāti Rangatahi), and some of whom had fought against the Crown in the land wars, supported Te Puea's call to resist compulsory military conscription in 1917-18.²⁷² About 30 Waikato men were arrested and held in detention for several months for refusing to enlist after their names had come up

²⁷¹ Ransfield (16/288), Royal (16/728), Wehipeihana (16/854), Wilson (16/791), Cook (16/572a), Hohipuha (16/1256) and Karehana (16/1500).

²⁷² Diary of Tamiapo Herangi, 1918; Hare Arapere, 6 November 2021.

in ballots. There is evidence that this resistance made the Government consider the wrongs done to Māori, and it can be seen as part of a continuous resistance movement which began with opposition to British colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1840s, eg Te Rangihaeata, and included the Kingitanga and Kotahitanga movements, and remains to the present day.

A serious grievance, a denial of our rights as British citizens under Article 3 of the Treaty, but also a decision based on racism, fear and distrust of our people as Māori, was the fact that on the whole, the Māori contingent, the Pioneer Battalion and the Pioneer Māori Battalion were not fighting forces. The attitude of the New Zealand and British army commanders was that Māori were 'naturally' labourers and subservient ie not to be given command roles or even rifles (except at Gallipoli when losses amongst the Anzac forces were so high the situation was desperate). "Imperial policy opposed the idea of 'native peoples' fighting in a war among Europeans. There were fears that they might turn on their colonial masters or cause embarrassment by expecting equal treatment with European soldiers."²⁷³ This caused smouldering resentment amongst our men, which added to the psychological, spiritual and physical stresses of war, and is often expressed at hui on the subject today. No doubt, word of the horrors of war brought back from the front, including the demeaning treatment of Māori by the British and New Zealand army leaders, was off-putting to many, and would explain why enlistment numbers dropped significantly from the 4th contingent to the 32nd contingents 1916-19. Unreasonable regulations like not accepting any Māori over 12 stone were also not conducive to more men enlisting²⁷⁴.

Those who enlisted from Ngāti Raukawa were, as Soutar says (p48), "generally the pick of their tribe's youth, while a handful had received little schooling and barely spoke English, many were well-educated products of the church-run colleges of Te Aute... Otaki Native". These were our much loved, fine-looking and outstanding young and mature men, fit and confident, who would have been the leaders of the future had the war not impacted on their lives. There were at least ten deaths during overseas service, either killed in action or of illness within three years of returning. Of the 55 army files we

²⁷³ 'Māori and the First World War', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/maori-in-first-world-war/introduction>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 26 March 2019.

²⁷⁴ Soutar, 2019, p. 48.

studied, most were ill or wounded, and less than half remained in service until the end of the war. Of those, several were declared unfit for active service on discharge, and probably all of them were seriously scarred from injuries, illness, the strain of battle, combat fatigue, shell shock and/or military discipline. While some, such as Capt Prim Tahiwī, Harry Jacob, Moses McGregor and Akuhata Himiona were able to return to leadership roles, they were the exceptions. When you look at the rate of casualty, illness and death, those who returned were lucky to escape the hell of war experienced on such a vast, industrial scale, particularly at Gallipoli and western Europe.

3.8 GRIEVANCES

As noted and discussed so far are:

- a) Māori not being seen as a fighting force, ie not a rifle battalion**
- b) Persuading the Ropata brothers to sell their land at Kapiti Island, while employed by the army, where obedience was emphasised, and away from whānau.**
- c) Māori not appointed as Commanding Officers, and being subject to ignorant and/or racist commanders like Lt Col Alfred Herbert.**
- d) Major-General Sir Alexander Godley trying to break up the Māori contingent after Gallipoli, & sending respected Māori officers home on inadequate grounds**
- e) The British decision to send more and more New Zealanders including Māori to Anzac Cove, treating them as expendable, while protecting their own troops from such heavy losses.**
- f) British military disciplinary measures including Field Punishments nos 1 and 2 which occurred in France and affected several of our men were inhumane and unreasonable, with insufficient understanding of combat fatigue, exhaustion, shell shock etc. Probable witnessing of execution of New Zealanders for desertion, including Ngai Tahu man Victor Spencer in February 1918.**
- g) The exposure to poison gas e.g. mustard gas. The use of these gases (phosgene, chlorine and mustard) by Germans and Allies was later found to have violated agreements made in the Hague in 1899 and 1907 prohibiting the use of poison weapons.**

h) Lack of care for returned servicemen and whanau post-war - insufficient support to apply for pensions and gratuities, many were declined - inequity between Māori and Pakeha pensions (formally) until 1915 and beyond (informally).

i) Insufficient support for Māori to apply for and gain land under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement scheme (see following chapter).

4.0 BACK IN AOTEAROA - FUND-RAISING, INFLUENZA, HOME-COMING & AFTER-EFFECTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

While the men were away at the war in Gallipoli and Europe, they were very much in the hearts and minds of whānau back home, who raised money to send comforts and treats. As Ngāti Raukawa, we wanted to know that our support was going specifically to our men, not the troops in general, as we knew their tastes and habits, and we wanted to give them a taste of home. The events we organised which featured Ngāti Raukawa cultural entertainment were often supported by local Europeans, bringing the community together at this time of mutual suffering and loss. Soldiers began arriving back home in mid-1916, and a few started to attend entertainment and other patriotic events. The spirited bayonet attack of the Māori²⁷⁵ contingent at Gallipoli, including the use of haka, was discussed and celebrated by the wider community. Those who had sacrificed their lives were also acknowledged. But illness at home was to be a growing concern.

4.2 FUND-RAISING TO SUPPORT OUR SOLDIERS & PUBLIC HONOURING OF NGĀTI RAUKAWA SOLDIERS

As noted in Chapter 3, fund-raising for overseas war efforts was supported by Ngāti Raukawa people since the Anglo-Boer war in 1900. Te Aohau Nicholson was a member of the Māori War Effort Committee with Whanganui leaders, who raised £80 for the South African war at that time.²⁷⁶ A patriotic Māori carnival held at the Basin Reserve in Wellington in March 1900 raised over £525 for the Transvaal War Fund. It involved Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Kauwhata, along with Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Kahungunu. About 10,000 spectators attended. One of the organisers was Katherine Te Rongokahira Parata of Ngāti Pukenga and Ngāti Pīkiao.²⁷⁷ There is a photo in the National Library (PA1-0-127-12 - below) of the Otaki Brass Band walking into Wellington to participate in this carnival event.

²⁷⁵ Note that macrons have been added on 'Māori' in this chapter to meet modern standards when they were not used at the time.

²⁷⁶ *OHJ*, (OHS), Vol. 26, p. 17, 2004.

²⁷⁷ Robson, 2021, p. 160; *Evening Post*, 29 March 1900, p. 5; *Evening Post*, 28 March 1900, p. 6.



Otaki Maori Brass Band arriving at Buckle St entrance of Basin Reserve, Wellington, to play at a Maori carnival, photo 28 March 1900, probably C.O.Rosenberg. ATL, PA1-o-127-12.

The mounted rifles events were supported by local bands and in Otaki that was a Māori band, for example, when the Horowhenua and Otaki Mounted Rifle Corps held a military tournament on the Ohau racecourse on 9th Nov 1900, it was supported by the Otaki Māori Band, led by Utiku Hapeta. Trooper Horo Karauti, two Ropata brothers and a Ransfield won prizes at this event.²⁷⁸ Pirimi's brother Kingi Tahiwī led the revival of the Otaki Māori Brass Band in 1912. "The Otaki Māori Brass Band, which was practically dead for some considerable time, is now being resuscitated by a number of enthusiasts", wrote the Otaki reporter of the *New Zealand Times*.²⁷⁹

Mr R.Ransfield of Manakau organised a hui including many Ngāti Raukawa from all over Waikanae, Ōtaki, Ōhau, Foxton, and Kererū in 1915 to set up a Māori Patriotic Fund, as distinct from the general patriotic funds. Hone McMillan supported the event and it was decided to grow potatoes to raise money for the war effort, as well as holding concerts

²⁷⁸ 'Military Sports at Ohau', *New Zealand Mail*, 1900, p. 48.

²⁷⁹ 'Otaki', *New Zealand Times* (NZT), Vol. 34, Issue 8013, 19 January 1912, p. 6.

and other entertainment.²⁸⁰ A Māori entertainment in Palmerston North in support of the Queen Carnival in 1915 also raised money for the Wounded Soldier's Fund. The Stage manager and Treasurer was S. MacDonald; and the General Manager was Kipa Roera.²⁸¹

In 1915 Miria Pomare (wife of Māori MP Sir Maui Pomare) and Lady Liverpool established a fund to support the Māori contingent, along with the wives of other Māori MPs - Lady Carroll, Rosie Henare, Arihia Ngata, and Katherine Parata. It was chaired by Te Kahui Grace (sister of Te Heuheu Tukino). Miria Pomare was honorary secretary and treasurer. Within months there were 28 Māori women's committees across the country in support of Māori soldiers.²⁸² In September 1917, "Mesdames Tuiti McDonald and Hoani McMillan, of Koputaroa, desire to acknowledge the following donations from European and Māori friends in regard to the Lady Liverpool and Mrs Pomare Māori Soldiers' Fund" and listed donations from names including Bevan, Ransfield, McGregor, and McDonald.²⁸³ A 'patriotic entertainment' evening organised by Mrs Pomare and Lady Liverpool at the Opera House in Palmerston North in October 1917 included 'poi and other dances by 18 Māori maidens', a haka named "Puhikura", 'calculated to stir everyone and gladden the hearts of returned soldiers, as well as a "Māori love drama"'. The organisers acknowledged a donation of £30 from Mrs McMillan and Mrs McDonald of Koputaroa committee, along with other donations from throughout the country.²⁸⁴

There is further evidence of Ngāti Raukawa support for Mrs Pomare and Lady Liverpool's Māori Soldiers' Funds from various places throughout our rohe, eg at Waikanae (Mrs T. Parata, Waikanae, £29.5s); at Otaki (Otaki Committee, selling flowers), £2; Ngāti Raukawa Committee (Otaki, £49 6s); and at Foxton (Awahou Committee, and Foxton £6 16s).²⁸⁵ This report (*New Zealand Times*, 29th May 1917)²⁸⁶ includes many known Ngāti Raukawa names: "The hon. secretary for Lady Liverpool's

²⁸⁰ Patete, 2021, p. 633-635; 'Patriotic Maoris', *Horowhenua Chronicle* (Horowhenua Chronicle), 7 May 1915, p. 3.

²⁸¹ Ibid p. 635; 'Maori Entertainment', *Manawatu Standard* (MS), Vol. 41, Issue 10106, 24-25 June 1915.

²⁸² Soutar, 2019, p. 400.

²⁸³ 'Maori Soldiers' Fund', *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 11 September 1917, p. 2.

²⁸⁴ 'Entertainments', MS, Vol. 42, Issue 10101, 8 October 1917, p. 6.

²⁸⁵ *Dominion*, Vol. 10, Issue 3167, 18 August 1917, p. 5.

²⁸⁶ 'Notes for Women', NZT, Vol. XLII, Issue 9672, 29 May 1917, p. 9.

and Mrs Pomare's Māori Soldiers' Fund acknowledges the following donations: —Per Mrs K. McMillan [Karaitiana Te Ahu], secretary to the Koputaroa Māori Women's Committee, £8;....; Heremia 10s; Mrs T. A. Ropiha, £1; H. McMillan, 12s 6c; Mrs K. McMillan, £1 1s; 11. Carter, Paino, Renata Te Hemara, Toroa Renata, 5s each; Tirinoa Raureti, Te Ata Piripi, Ngahuia Hita, Tiritana Himiona, Warena Kerehi, Rangituaia, Poni Matenga, Kerehi Roera, Himiora, Pupuha, Matehaere, Te Umu, Hekenui, Makareta, Rawa Te Hatete, J. M. Leavy, Kahiri, Ruwatiki, Aranui, Mere Koperu, Hirini Koperu, Heni Koperu, Tori Kawiri, smaller sums.”

The Ihakara-Koputaroa Patriotic Society held annual fund-raising events, and in 1918, raised over £300, with about a third of that sum raised from selling fruit and vegetables. The society also held a Baby Queen Carnival competition – the categories were Ihakara baby, Koputaroa baby, Maori baby and Levin baby. A report in the *Horowhenua Chronicle* in December 1915 stated that – “the Koputaroa Maori response to the appeal for more men is a highly creditable one for so small a hapu.” Also in December 1915, a farewell dance and social for seven of the local Māori boys leaving with the 3rd Maori reinforcements, and also members of the 9th reinforcements (European) was being held at Takihiku meeting house on 23rd December. Tuiti McDonald was chair of the management committee, and the Mayor would also attend. In 1916, the Mayor Mr C. Blenkhorn commented that he had been informed that “all the eligible Māori men in Koputaroa district had gone to the front.”²⁸⁷ In an Anzac Day 1916 speech, reported in the *Horowhenua Chronicle*, Mayor Blenkhorn spoke about the native race being assisted by the spirits of their ancestors, having fought bravely, being owed gratitude, and deserving higher standing.²⁸⁸

Similarly, there were newspaper reports of ‘social and dance’ events at Aorangi, Fielding in June, August and September 1915 raising money for soldiers. The June event raised £26 6s, all of which was donated to the War Fund.²⁸⁹ Organisers included Mrs J. Merrett and Miss M. Karehana (Ngāti Kauwhata). The August dance was in support of the Taonui Queen Carnival and the Wounded Soldiers' Fund.²⁹⁰ A report of a year's work for Mrs

²⁸⁷ Local and General, *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 21.12.15, p2; Local and General, *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 22.12.15; Twentieth Reinforcements, *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 18.8.16, p3; Annual Fund-raising event, *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 28.3.18, p2.

²⁸⁸ Anzac Day, *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 26 April 1916, p2

²⁸⁹ ‘Aorangi Acknowledgements’, *Feilding Star*, Vol XI, Issue 2743, 15 June 1915, p. 3.

²⁹⁰ *Feilding Star*, Vol. 11, Issue 2736, 7 June 1915, p. 3; Pers. comm. P. Simeon, 28 October 2021.

Pomare and Lady Liverpool's Māori Soldiers' Funds in October 1918 stated that it sent 1,000 parcels to France each month, including tins of toheroa and pipi, cases of mutton birds, sweets and woollen items like socks, scarves, and balaclavas.²⁹¹

A Māori Patriotic Social Entertainment evening was held at Poroutawhao on 31 July, 1917, presided over by Mr Rere Nicholson, chair of the West Coast Māori Patriotic Association, which had authority from the Minister of Internal Affairs to raise funds for Māori wounded soldiers. "The funds collected from the natives of Otaki, Levin, Koputaroa, and Rangitikei are about £400; it is expected to have raised about £4,000 by the end of the year."²⁹²

These 'patriotic entertainment' evenings were well attended by Pakeha and Māori, united together in the spirit of supporting soldiers overseas, and included Māori cultural performances. For example, a notice for an event to be held at the Palmerston North Town Hall in late August 1917 stated:²⁹³ "The best Native talent in the Wellington district will take part. The programme will include songs and choruses, ancient Māori games, the famous **Puhikura war dance, as performed by our Māori soldiers at Gallipoli when they captured the Turkish trench.** This haka will be performed by 20 Natives." We have listened to a recording of the haka 'Puhī kura', spoken by Arapeta Awatere (recording held by University of Auckland)²⁹⁴ and note that it is part of Wairangi's haka (see Chapter One, section 1.3) of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tuwharetoa. This indicates that Wairangi's haka was also performed at Gallipoli and western Europe during WW1.

Hence there is evidence that the courage and success of the Māori contingent in fighting alongside Anzac troops at Gallipoli was celebrated and discussed not just by the Anzac officers and soldiers themselves,²⁹⁵ but also by the wider community back home. There was an increased level of respect for Māori people and culture, which had been gained from putting their lives on the line for common cause. While surely elements of racist attitudes remained among many, the positive press given to Māori about their

²⁹¹ 'Woman's World', *Dominion*, Vol 12, Issue 18, 16 October 1918, p. 2.

²⁹² 'Patriotic', *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 31 July 1917, p. 3.

²⁹³ 'Maori Soldiers' Fund', *Manawatu Herald*, Vol XXXIX, Issue 1750, 23 August 1917, p. 3.

²⁹⁴ E-mailed on request from the Archive of Māori & Pacific Sound, Auckland University, received 23 November 2021.

²⁹⁵ Soutar, 2019, pp. 161-164.

participation in the war influenced the hearts and minds of many towards placing a higher value on Māori people and culture as distinctive and unique to New Zealand.

Patriotic events included returned servicemen, and a particularly significant one was held at Levin on 6th August 1918, a “war anniversary” which also honoured Sergeant-Major Charles Sciascia of Koputoroa who had distinguished himself before being killed in Belgium in 1917. His Military Medal was presented to his mother Mrs Riria Sciascia. *Horowhenua Chronicle* (6th Aug 1918):²⁹⁶ “The evening meeting was made martial by the presence of returned soldiers, territorials and cadets, who marched to the Century Hall to the strains of music supplied by the Levin Band under Bandmaster Geo. Davison. A MĀORI WELCOME. Immediately the Ministerial party arrived in the afternoon, they received a Māori welcome opposite the Post Office, where a huge flag was suspended. On the arrival of the Ministers, accompanied by the Mayor, a haka of greeting was spiritedly given. Then Mr Rere Nicholson expressed the pleasure of the Māori people at seeing the Hon. Mr Herries present for the first time in his capacity of Native Minister. He assured him of the warm feeling of the Māori race and said **the Ngātiraukawa were proud that it was the deeds of one of their tribe that had brought him here.** The Hon. Heuheu Tukino, of Taupo said he was pleased to be present on such an occasion and his further remarks were listened to with evident appreciation by the Maoris present. The Hon. W. H. Herries, said the deeds of **the Ngātiraukawa before the pakeha came to New Zealand were well known. Everyone knew also that there was no braver man in the ranks of the Allies than the Māori warrior. 'The blood of our children,' he continued, 'has been mingled on Gallipoli and in France.** Henceforth we are one people against the enemy. The English nation has been very glad to have the assistance of the Maori people. Your name is great among those who stand before the King, and why should it not be." The Minister said he would reserve what he had to say about **the brave young Ngātiraukawa** whose memory they had come to honor for the evening. After mutual greetings the ceremony, which had been arranged by Mr Tuiti Macdonald, came to a close.”

The event was followed by an evening gathering, at which the Military Medal awarded to Sgt Major Charles Sciascia was presented to his mother (Riria), the National Anthem was

²⁹⁶ ‘War Anniversary.’ *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 6 Aug 1918, p. 3.

sung, and further patriotic speeches were made, including a promise from local MP Mr Field that war veterans would be cared for by Government. While the speakers were being positive about Māori, **racial slurs** were also made, for example suggesting Māori had previously been lazy - the Mayor hoped that “Māori would throw off the sloth that had clothed them” and continue enlisting in large numbers.”

The article is further quoted at length - my bolding for emphasis - because it was attended by Native Minister W.H. Herries, two other MPs, the Mayor of Levin and borough councillors. As well as making a renewed commitment to support the war, the Minister also promised to do everything possible to support veterans on their return. It is also rare to see recognition of Ngāti Raukawa courage in battle specifically recognized, and includes a reference to Charles Sciascia getting only two days off duty in two years of service - an indication of the poor standard of care for our men during their time in the army.

“The evening gathering was the largest in the history of the local war celebrations, the Century Hall being packed to its utmost limits, many being unable to obtain seating accommodation. On the stage were the local Borough Councillors, representatives of the County Council, relatives of the late Sergt. Major Sciascia, and other representatives of the native race. The Hon. W. H. Herries (Native Minister) represented Cabinet and made the presentation of the Military Medal to Mrs Sciascia, while the Hon. Heuheu Tukino and Mr H. Parata, M.P represented the Māori legislators. Mr Balnevis made an efficient interpreter for the Māori interpreters (sic). After the singing of the National Anthem, the Mayor (Mr C. Blenkhorn) said the purpose for which they were met was twofold; first, the passing of the customary patriotic resolution on the war anniversary and second, the presentation of the Military Medal won by her son to Mrs Sciascia. The Mayor then moved the following resolution: That on this, the fourth anniversary of the declaration of a righteous war, this meeting of citizens of Levin records its inflexible determination to continue to a victorious end the struggle - in maintenance of those ideals of Liberty and Justice which are the common and sacred cause of the Allies....

“After expressing his pleasure at being present Mr W. H. Field, M.P., said all were proud of the part New Zealand had taken in the struggle. We had sent more men in proportion to our population than any other part of the Empire (applause). The magnificent spirit displayed by our boys was a source of pride also, and Mr Field eulogised the manner in

which they had sustained their part in the struggle. We at home had suffered, but that was nothing compared with what our boys had suffered (Hear, hear). Their main thought appeared to have been for those whom they had left behind them—that they might lessen their anxieties. "New Zealand must not forget also those noble ones who had laid down their lives. Mr Field... considered that from the news just received, the end of the war was in sight, and it would not be long before they would have their boys home again:... **It behoved the Government to see that everything possible was done for these war-worn veterans and that the mistakes of earlier wars were not again perpetrated.**

“The resolution was carried with great enthusiasm. The Mayor, in introducing the second part of the evening's business pointed out that the late Sergt. Major Sciascia went from New Zealand as a private with the Main Body and at his death had attained the rank of Sergt. Major. **Out of two years' service he was only off duty two days**, a splendid record (Applause). The manner in which he carried out his duties was evidenced by the fact that he had won a coveted distinction. The Mayor expressed the hope that the Maori race would **throw off the sloth that had clothed them**. It had been said that it was a shame to make soldiers of them but the Mayor did not think so. It would be distinctly to their advantage. He then expressed regret that they could not have Sergt. Major Sciascia with them and asked the audience to show their sympathy with Mrs Sciascia by standing, which was done. Captain Furby, of the Defence Staff, Palmerston North, then read the Royal Proclamation, instituting the Military Medal "to be awarded to officers and men for individual or associated acts of bravery.”

“Hon. W. H. Herries then came forward and amid great applause led Mrs Sciascia to the front of the platform, where he expressed the Dominion's **sympathy with the mother in the loss of her son** and congratulated her on his splendid bravery, at the same time presenting the coveted distinction. Mr Herries expressed his pleasure at being present on such an auspicious occasion. There was a singular coincidence, he said, in that the late warrior represented, on the one side our brave Allies, the Italians, and on the other side one of the noblest races that ever lived, the Maori people. (Applause). They were all proud of the way the Maoris had risen to the occasion in this great struggle. Sergt. Major Sciascia came of a warrior people, **the Ngāti Raukawa, who were always first in the field when there was any fighting on**. Mr Herries declared that there was nothing that would sooner bring about the unification of the two races, combining the best qualities of

both than the volunteering of the natives to mingle their blood with their pakeha brothers on the fields of France.”

Researcher Anthony Patete (2021), wrote about the Tu te Manawaroa hapū (Tukorehe, ngā hapū o Kereru, ngā hapu o Himatangi) and their war effort: “It is abundantly clear from newspaper reports that TTM hapū actively supported the war movement in World War One. For instance, in May 1918, hapū from the Horowhenua-Manawatū sent some £282.9.1 (c.\$30k in 2020) to the King George V along with a covering letter, which included: “The following are the names of the places which have contributed to this gift: Otaki, Manakau, Ohau, Horowhenua, and Parautawhao [sic], and following are the tribes concerned in contributing this gift: Ngātiraukawa, Ngatiwehiwehi, Mateawa, Ngātikapu, and Ngātihiuia.” King George passed it onto the Red Cross, to support their work with soldiers.²⁹⁷

Preparations for a reception to welcome back the Māori servicemen began in early 1919. Arrangements were under way for the Māori Pioneers to attend a local hui at Matarapa, although this appears to not have gone ahead.²⁹⁸ Motuiti Māori were reported arranging a tug-of-war match between the ‘different [flax?] mills’, involving farmers as well.²⁹⁹ On the weekend of the concert, a parade down the main street was followed by a concert in the Town Hall, attended by several hundred people. A sports gathering planned for the Foxton racecourse was, though, called off due to bad weather³⁰⁰ – which presumably put paid to the much vaunted tug-of-war.

4.3 HEALTH CONTEXT AND INFLUENZA EPIDEMIC 1918

Sadly, it was in late 1918, before the end of the war, that the influenza epidemic struck our region with force, and Ngāti Raukawa was hit very hard. Ngāti Raukawa had been exposed to European epidemics and illnesses (measles, influenza, and tuberculosis) since the 1840s. An influenza epidemic in 1855 caused the deaths of 200 Māori people along

²⁹⁷ Patete, 2021, p. 642; Māori War Gift to the King’, *Manawatu Herald*, Volume XL, Issue 1827, 16 May 1918.

²⁹⁸ Patete, 2021, p. 1012; Maori Battalion’, *Manawatu Herald*, Volume XLI, Issue 1961, 5 April 1919, p. 3.

²⁹⁹ Peace Celebrations’, *Manawatu Herald*, Volume XLI, Issue 2003, 15 July 1919, p. 3.

³⁰⁰ ‘Local and General’, *Manawatu Herald*, Volume XLI, Issue 2005, 22 July 1919, p. 2.

the Manawatu river, out of the thousands who lived there.³⁰¹ Further influenza epidemics were reported at Horowhenua and Otaki in the 1860s. An outbreak of typhoid occurred in Otaki in 1853-4, and reports noted a decline in health at Otaki and neighbouring areas in the 1870s, partly due to tuberculosis and typhoid.³⁰² Infant mortality was high. Doctors were scarce and there were no hospitals in the region, and it was not until the 1890s that Government subsidies supported the appointment of doctors at Manawatu and Ohau. The Native Health Nursing service began in 1911 and continued to the 1930s in Otaki, providing a community-based health education service. For many years, the nurse providing this service was a short but determined and effective Englishwoman named Ethel Lewis, who became known as ‘Otaki’s little nurse’ (see photo p134).

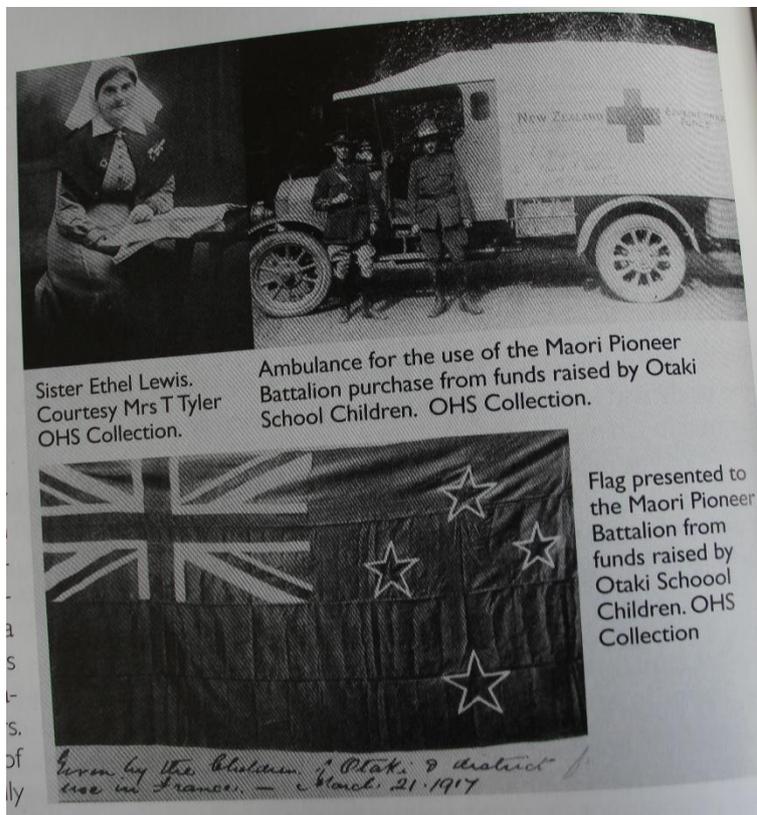
Nurse Ethel Mary Lewis (1880-1966) was born in Cornwall, England - her father was a curate or minister. She trained as a nurse in Bristol, graduating in 1905, and emigrated to New Zealand in 1912 to join the Native Nursing Service. Because she was unable to ride a bicycle or horse, she walked throughout the district, as far as Hongoeka (Plimmerton) and Ohau if it was an emergency. She also ran a clinic for Europeans in Otaki. She was much liked and respected amongst our three iwi (Ngāti Raukawa, Te Atiawa, Ngāti Toa). She returned to England in May 1914 and when war broke out in August she became an army nurse, serving in Belgium (where she was wounded, and awarded the Belgian Croix de Guerre), and also in the Serbian mountains where she supported 400 people in their attempt to cross the mountains, suffering frostbite in the process. She was awarded the Serbian Red Cross and Order of St Sava. In 1916, Ethel joined the New Zealand army nursing service in Walton-on-Thames, England and returned to New Zealand and the Otaki community. She was welcomed at the railway station, “with great enthusiasm”, by both Māori and Pakeha, young and old, reported the NZ nursing magazine *Kai Tiaki* in 1916. In fact, the shops and schools were closed so everyone could welcome her back, it states.

Wanting to raise funds for soldiers overseas, nurse Ethel organised Otaki and Levin children and others to sell flowers at railway stations, among other activities, raising hundreds of pounds to buy an ambulance and two New Zealand flags. The ambulance

³⁰¹ T.L. Buick, *Old Manawatu*, Buick & Young, Cuba Street, Wellington, 1903, p. 153.

³⁰² Lange, 2000, pp. 26-27; McDonald, p 93; AJHR, 1872, F-3, p. 15; AJHR, 1877, G-1, p. 21.

was bought in England, and the two New Zealand flags were made there, then consecrated and sent to the Māori Pioneer battalion and New Zealand infantry. When the New Zealand and Māori troops defeated the Germans at Le Quesnoy, in France, it was one of these two flags which was raised up high on the town hall (see section 3.5 above). After the war, the flag bought by Otaki School was returned, but the Levin one was not, because it was still being flown at Le Quesnoy. In May 1917, nurse Ethel decided to work at the convalescent home for soldiers in Rotorua, and in the Waikato. Later that year, she returned to England and worked in the no 3 New Zealand General Hospital at Codford, where she treated many of our men, sick and wounded after service in France and Belgium.³⁰³



Sister Ethel Lewis.
Courtesy Mrs T Tyler
OHS Collection.

Ambulance for the use of the Maori Pioneer
Battalion purchase from funds raised by Otaki
School Children. OHS Collection.

Flag presented to
the Maori Pioneer
Battalion from
funds raised by
Otaki School
Children. OHS
Collection

*Given by the children of Otaki District
for use in France. - March 21. 1917*

Nurse Ethel Lewis, ambulance for use of Maori Pioneer battalion, and New Zealand flag, purchased from funds raised by Otaki school-children. Photographs OHS, compilation R.Kerr, 2016, p84.

In terms of Māori health initiatives, Young Māori Party members from Te Aute, including Maui Pomare (Western Maori MP), had set up district Māori councils aimed at improving the health of Māori communities, under the Māori Councils Act 1900. Cleanliness and sanitation were the main focus, and whānau could be fined if they failed

³⁰³ Fletcher, 2014, p. 233; Kerr, 2016, pp. 83-84; OHJ (OHS), January 2014.

to meet certain standards, or even if found gambling or playing billiards. The first members of the Raukawa Māori Council were: Pape Ranapiri of Ōhau; Kipa Te Whatanui, Pitiera Taipua, Tereturu Hamahona, Weretā Pineaha, all of Ōtaki; Kerehi Roera of Muhunua; Nēpia Te Rau of Poroutāwhao; and others of Horowhenua, the Hutt, and Porirua. By 1911, the members were Rere Nicholson, Hēma Te Ao, Grace Royal, Patara, Hawa te Hātete, Albert Hiwi, and N. Tatana.³⁰⁴ But the Government's Native Health officers were poorly funded and limited improvements were made.

Our community was poorly prepared for the deadly influenza pandemic which began in October 1918, and worsened in late October- November, killing not only children and the elderly, but also adults in the prime of life. "Death often occurred because of secondary bacterial infections of the respiratory system, particularly pneumonia. Antibiotics had yet to be invented," wrote Patete. While the general population suffered heavy losses (about 0.8%), the Māori community was hit harder, losing about 5% of their population of the time (51,000). Making it worse was the fact that many doctors and nurses were serving the armed forces overseas. There were at least 50 deaths between Poroutawhao and Foxton. Kuku and Ohau were badly hit, and the mass graves which resulted are still known about today. Some of the whānau affected were Te Hiwi, Ransfield, and Hukiki. At least four died at Motuiti, Himatangi. According to the obituary of Pitihira Tawaroa, he dedicated himself to caring for the sick, but eventually had to bury nineteen of them.³⁰⁵ There were reports that in some houses, there was no-one well enough to care for the ill. Nurse Gilroy was one of the nurses who worked for the people of our community, concerned not only for the Māori community but also to halt the spread of illness in the wider community.

Lucy Jacob was also recognized for her work amongst those suffering from influenza in 1918. Aged 22, she would travel in her horse and trap to Tukorehe, to help those suffering, said mokopuna Rachael Selby (phone 1.11.21). Poroutawhao and Himatangi hapū, along with Motuiti (Ngāti Whakaterere) and Matararapa (Takihihi, Ngarongo) were also affected. Tipu McGregor quoted his father as saying Matararapa was badly hit: '[Sam McGregor] told of how the Spanish flu devastated the pā along the River and of

³⁰⁴ Patete, 2021, p. 650; 'Raukawa Maori Council', *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 27 March 1911, p. 3.

³⁰⁵ Patete (2021) pp. 1065-1066; Lange, 2000, p. 63, citing 'Obituary, *Manawatu Herald*, 2 February 1954.'

one particular time when they rode into one of these pā. They heard a baby crying. It was the only person still alive.³⁰⁶ Bob Rore and Mr F. Robinson worked to ease the suffering at Motuiti.³⁰⁷

Many soldiers also died from influenza and other illnesses, some while in training in New Zealand. Diane Taylor reports (2.12.21): Pte Pitiroi Te Hiwi (84450) of Kuku, a trainee for the Māori Reinforcements, enlisted at Palmerston North 17 July 1918 and was stationed at Narrow Neck, Devonport from 22 July 1918. Pitiroi came back to Kuku for a tangi at the end of September 1918 and on 1 October 1918 he was admonished for overstaying his leave by 3 days. He became sick and died of pneumonia on 7 November 1918. His war grave is at O'Neill's Point Cemetery, North Shore, Auckland.³⁰⁸

An outbreak of typhoid also hit the Ngāti Kikopiri community at Ohau in 1921. A temporary hospital was set up at Muhunua after people expressed reluctance to go to hospital in Palmerston North. A sixth death at Muhunua pā was reported on 14-15 October to a whānau who had already lost two members because of typhoid.³⁰⁹ Hence, entry to and exit from the district were prohibited by the Medical Officer of Health at the time. Māori children from kainga at Levin and Ohau were told to stay home from school, while the European children still attended.³¹⁰ Hoani Kuiti lost three daughters and a son in this typhoid epidemic, he told guests at his 50th wedding anniversary in 1938.³¹¹

4.4 HOMECOMING FOR OUR NGĀTI RAUKAWA MEN

Finally the war ended, and the surviving members of the Pioneer Māori battalion were coming home on a ship named the *Westmoreland*, arriving early April 1919. Captain

³⁰⁶ Patete (2021), p. 1064.

³⁰⁷ 'Influenza Epidemic', *Manawatu Herald*, Volume XL, Issue 1905, 21 November 1918, p. 3.

³⁰⁸ Diane Taylor, 2.12.21; Public Area, Row F, 132.

³⁰⁹ 'The Sixth Death', *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 14 October 1921, p. 3; 'Personal Paragraphs', *Manawatu Times*, Volume XLVI, Issue 1947, 15 October 1921, p. 4.

³¹⁰ 'Personal Paragraphs', *Manawatu Times*, Volume XLVI, Issue 1947, 15 October 1921, p. 4.

³¹¹ 'Māori Golden Wedding', *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 28 February 1938, p. 4.

William Pitt, who had fought at Gallipoli but come into conflict with commander Herbert and been sent home, had an executive role in the Māori Soldiers' Fund (supported by the Government) on the East Coast and planned a large welcome home ceremony for the Pioneer Māori battalion at Gisborne, as reported in the *Otaki Mail*, 27 January 1919.³¹² Nearly half of those returning home were from eastern Māori tribes. However, Defence Minister Allen decided that the returning ship would dock first at Auckland and the Māori Pioneer battalion would be welcomed there. Three hundred Māori would be invited to set up camp in the Domain towards the homecoming. Captain Te Reiwhati Vercoe would travel around and invite iwi to attend, but as time was short he only got as far as central North Island and the East Coast. Groups from Te Arawa, Waikato and Tuwharetoa were there. Sir Maui Pomare spoke on behalf of the West Coast electorate. Joyful reunions with whānau members occurred at the Auckland domain on 6th April 1919, at Wanganui on 7th April 1919, and at Gisborne on 8th April 1919. Sgt Horo Karauti, who had recently been awarded the Belgian Croix de Guerre (*London Gazette* 4th April 1917) was acknowledged at the time.³¹³ He returned on the *Westmoreland* with others of Ngāti Raukawa. An article in the *Manawatu Times* (8 April 1919) listed those from the Manawatu returning on the *Westmoreland* as including names we have identified as Epiha Werata (72733), Lt Carkeek (16/256), Mita Hori (16/603), Capt Pirimi Tahiwī (16//304), Albert Mita (16/679), Whetu Wehipeihana (16/855) and Cook (2), Hapeta, Royal (2), Ransfield (2), McDonald, McGregor and McMillan (Koputoroa).³¹⁴ Further welcome home ceremonies occurred at Gisborne, Rotorua and Levin.

The soldiers from the Western and Southern Maori electorates left Auckland soon after the East Coast men had left on 6th April. On 7th April, 196 men from the western and southern districts left together on a special train for Wanganui, accompanied by Maui Pomare (MP for Western Māori), Hopere (Billy) Uru (MP for Southern Māori), Te Rangihiroa Buck and his wife Margaret.³¹⁵

“Maori Heroes Return”, was the headline in the *Horowhenua Chronicle* on 8th April, 1919, when it reported that: “The local draft of the Māori Battalion will reach Levin this afternoon by the New Plymouth express at 4.30. The troops will be met on arrival and

³¹² ‘Maoris Coming Home’, *Otaki Mail*, 27 January 1919, p. 4.

³¹³ Soutar, 2019, pp. 476-479; Stewart, 2006, p. 5.

³¹⁴ ‘Maori Soldiers’, *Manawatu Times*, vol XLIII, issue 14177, 8 April 1919, p4; D.Taylor research.

³¹⁵ Soutar, in Ngata et al, 2021, p85.

will be given a formal welcome home in Oxford Street, and afterwards entertainment and refreshments. A big welcome home social has been arranged in the Druid's Hall tonight. The local committee has been busy in preparations for the event, and a successful time is being anticipated and a characteristic welcome accorded the 'boys'."

While there must have been many 'welcome home' events throughout our rohe, one held at 'Mr Hone McMillan's hall' at Koputoroa in October 1919 was reported as follows (with Pte Jack Sciascia acknowledging the loss of his brother Charlie and others):³¹⁶

"One of the most enthusiastic welcome home socials that has taken place in Koputaroa for a long time eventuated on Friday with a large gathering of district residents, numbering nearly 200, assembled in Mr Hone McMillan's hall. No less than 24 returned boys responded to the invitation to be present, showing how well the district had answered the call of King and country." Private J Sciascia was one of two speakers for the veterans. H.Pene was amongst the ladies on the committee which organised the supper, and evening of song and dance."

A report of a 'welcome home' dance event held at Bright's Theatre in Otaki in October 1919 acknowledged that about 18 Otaki veterans had returned home since the last event, but few could be present (due to illness, injury or other reasons). The event was organised by the Otaki Patriotic Society and was "most successful." "A banner bore a drawing of the R.S.A. soldiers' badge, and the following wording: "Welcome home! Otaki R.S.A. Nau Mai! Your comrades welcome you!" Music was provided by Miss L. Rikihana."

Also at this event, Captain Tahiwī spoke humbly on behalf of the soldiers, and thanked the Otaki Patriotic Society for sending parcels to the men and the front. He supported a proposal to erect a memorial to fallen soldiers and stated that the Māori community had already collected a sum of £5,000 for a memorial to Māori soldiers. An article in 1916 stated that Tuwharetoa had given £800 towards a memorial to Māori soldiers in Wellington.³¹⁷ A photograph published in the Otaki Historical Society Journal (vol 17, 1994) shows that the Otaki Brass Band performed regularly for patients at the Otaki sanatorium, perhaps post-WW1. It included Prim Tahiwī, Henare Tahiwī and Puka Rikihana.

³¹⁶ 'Koputaroa Welcome Social', *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 7 October 1919, p. 2.

³¹⁷ 'Monument for Maori Soldiers', *Evening Post*, Vol XCII, issue 89, 12 October 1916, p. 8.



Postcard, Ken Atkin series, showing Otaki sanatorium, Haruatai Park, Mill Rd (date not shown). Horowhenua Historical Society, Kete Horowhenua. Otaki historian Rex Kerr informed us (15.1.22) that during and after WW2, as well as this sanatorium, soldiers were also sent to the Otaki Health Camp site.

4.5 ON-GOING MILITARY SERVICE BETWEEN WARS

Military service continued for some of our Ngāti Raukawa men after they returned from World War One. Rangi Royal, for example, who had achieved the rank of Corporal during World War One, joined the Territorials in 1920, becoming 2nd Lieutenant with the 47th Company, senior cadets in Rotorua. He was also with the Hauraki regiment in 1925.³¹⁸ Harry Jacob, who was ranked Sergeant at the end of WW1, joined the Territorials on 27th Oct 1919 with the rank of 2nd Lieutenant.³¹⁹ His Military Cross was finally presented to him in November 1921, after he had written a letter asking if or when he would receive it. He became custodian of the Otaki Racing Club. Prim Tahiwī, who had been in the Territorials before the war, became a Captain in WW1, and was also active in the Territorial Force after the war. In 1929 was awarded the Colonial Auxiliary Forces Officers' Decoration. He returned to teaching at Ōtaki Native College, and also took up rugby again, representing Manawatu–Horowhenua in 1924. In 1927 he became an inaugural committee member of the Ōtaki Surf Lifesaving Club. Rangi Royal, Prim Tahiwī and Henare Tahiwī all served in both the first and second World Wars. Henare,

³¹⁸ Archives R24201514 - Rangi Royal, WW1 19654, WW2 5096 - Army.

³¹⁹ Archives R24169663 - Hohepa Jacob WWI 16/268, WWII 816237 - Army.

with limited use of his left knee from his war injury, worked for several months at the NZ Army Ordnance Corp in Trentham in 1919 and worked as a Māori recruiting officer with the Māori War Effort Organisation 1942-44.³²⁰

Horo Karauti, who was a Lieutenant in WW1, also joined the Territorials for a year or two. He became a judge for the Otaki Racing Club, and was active in the Horowhenua Rugby Union as a referee.³²¹ But his health had been badly affected by the war, his eyesight was failing, and he died in 1932, only 53 years old. His brother Abraham, who had fought and been wounded at Gallipoli, was still alive at that time, as were Horo's wife and two daughters.³²² His daughter Lettie became known in the region as a representative tennis and basketball player and later became a teacher.³²³ Moses McGregor (Lance Corporal in WW1) was in the Territorials prior to WW1 at Porangahau, had trained men during the war, and post-war went back to the flax industry (cutting flax and in the mills)³²⁴.

4.6 POST-WAR ILLNESS & INADEQUATE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

Some of our returned servicemen who died of illness (mostly war-related) soon after return, or within a few years, were: Tauhia Te Wiata - died pneumonia, cardiac failure, Wellington, December 1919; Wetini Temuera - wounded Gallipoli and France, died after return, 23.10.19, buried Rangiatea; Herewini Karehana - discharged no longer fit for service, died pneumonia, 12.5.1928, buried at Awahuri; Albert Winterburn - wounded, discharged early, died 1922, buried at Tainui; David Cootes - came back ill, died 1929; Thomas Pohio - died illness Otaki 1933; Sgt Whetu Wehipeihana, long term pulmonary TB, died 1931.³²⁵

³²⁰ AWMM, OLC, Henare Tahiwī; Archives R24207716 - Henare Tahiwī WW1 16/298, WW2 5/5/484.

³²¹ 'Rugby Referees Meet', *Shannon News*, 12 July 1921, p. 4; 'Refereeing Trouble Over', *Shannon News*, 20 June 1922, p. 2. ,

³²² 'Obituary', *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 23 Feb 1932, p. 4.

³²³ 'Tennis', *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 29 March 1934, P2; 'Horowhenua Basketball', *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 18 July 1938.

³²⁴ Pers. comm, T.K. Teira, 16 November 2021.

³²⁵ Archives NZ individual army files, accessed digitally, see Bibliography.

The situation of Sgt Whetu Wehipeihana (16/855) was particularly dire - he suffered for eight years from pulmonary tuberculosis, separated from his wife and child and while his illness may not have been proven to have caused directly by his war service, it was no doubt a factor, and the Government showed very little duty of care to a suffering veteran. He received minimal support from both the Government and the National War Funds Council. Both Rere Nicholson and the Catholic priest Rev Father J. Riordan (Otaki Catholic Mission) wrote to the Native Department requesting more support for him. The file title includes the term "indigent circumstances". An application by Rere Nicholson to the Native Department on 18th July 1927 resulted in the amount of £1 per month "relief" money being allocated to Whetu (£12 per year), "out of civil list, native purposes", which was administered by the Levin Patriotic Society and a policeman. Nicholson (te reo translated): "He went to the war, when he returned he received a certificate that he was physically fit. Not long after that he married. He has a child. He then contracted consumption. He went to the Waipukurau Hospital. He does not drink intoxicating liquor. He is separated from his wife. As far as I can see, his coffin is not far from his bed...(te ahua o tana mate, kaore i tana kawhena i tawhiti atu i tana tinana na konei au)". Nicholson had requested £1 per week, but only £1 per month was given.³²⁶

Riordan wrote to Native Minister Apirana Ngata (18 October 1930) about Whetu's situation on behalf of the Levin Patriotic Society: "He is slowly wasting away from an incurable disease. He is highly educated, of refined disposition and intellect beyond the ordinary. His voice has almost gone so that he can no longer engage in conversation." The £1 per month he got from the Native Department was not enough - "This hardly meets the medical and incidental expenses. I would be grateful if special consideration can be given to him so that his few remaining years can be as pleasant and carefree as a returned soldier deserves." But the reply from Mr R.N. Jones, Under-Secretary of the Native Department (7th Nov 1930) was as follows: "The funds at my disposal are so limited that we are compelled to exercise the strictest economy in our grants to enable the available amount to be spread over the very large no of claims made on it. I'm very sorry indeed that it is not possible to increase the grant made by this Department."³²⁷

³²⁶ Archives R22410201, MA 1, Box 1420, Record No 1927/214, Indigent circumstances, Whetu Wehipeihana; Letter 18th July 1927, Rere Nicholson to Honorable Mr Coates, Native Minister.

³²⁷ Ibid.

The Horowhenua County Patriotic Association wrote (12.12.29) requesting more financial support from the Native Department for both Whetu Wehipeihana and Horo Karauti, both of Ohau. "Both men are returning soldiers and have developed sickness of a declining nature since their discharge, and are now practically destitute. For the last six months the National War Council have granted them £1 week each, and as a result of the writers' visit to these men last week, the Council was asked to continue the grant, as the cases had not improved and they would be utterly without means if the said grant is discontinued. The War Funds Council have agreed to continue this grant to February next, after which their situation will be serious unless something comes along from some quarter," wrote secretary F.P. Walkley.

The reply from Mr Jones (19 Dec 1929), said that a report from police on Horo Karauti's situation would be passed to the Native Minister, but declined the request for Whetu, stating that he was already in receipt of £1 per month and **there was not enough money to meet demand from around the country**. The Levin Returned Soldiers' Association had been concerned that Whetu was not being supported by the West Coast Māori Returned Soldiers' Association, and had written to the Native Department about it. The department had sent a letter in te reo to Rere Nicholson (29th Sept 1928) asking about this, and he had written back in te reo (2nd Oct 1928), including the statement that the fund was "mo nga hoia Māori e hoki ahua mate ana te whawhai". It said that the question about who administered the fund should be put to the Defence Department, that there was £1,000 in the fund, and that £50 had been forwarded to the hospital at Waipukurau for the care of Whetu Wehipeihana. Rere Nicholson thanked the Department for supporting Whetu with the amount of £1 per month. Another letter from the Native Minister to the Levin Returned Soldiers' Association notes that the West Coast Māori Returned Soldiers' Association money (at that time nearly £1,000) was now administered by the War Funds Council. Bell, on behalf of the Native Minister, suggested he write to that body.³²⁸

Relevant to this story too, is another file which includes a letter written by Whetu Wehipeihana (31.7.1910) to the Native Department soon after leaving Te Aute, applying for a position there. "I have been third assistant Master at Te Aute College for the last two years, resigning the position at the end of the last term 30 June 1910. Trusting that you

³²⁸ Ibid, FHD Bell to H G Mackay Esq, 25.10.28, re support for Whetu Wehipeihana.

will be able to offer me the position as soon as possible.”³²⁹ Whetu was admitted to hospital twice during his service overseas ‘sick’ (1916), and ‘varicose veins’ (1917). When he enlisted he stated he was a clerk for auctioneers Hitchings, Hankins & Co Ltd, Levin.³³⁰

An entry about veterans’ assistance on the Manatu Taonga Ministry of Culture and Heritage website Te Ara, written by Mark Derby, states that it was not until 1915 that Māori received the same rate of military pensions as Pakeha veterans. The 1866 Military Pensions Act was passed after the New Zealand wars and rewarded loyalist Māori troops, but at a lower rate than Pakeha. The amount of each pension was calculated on the basis of the soldier’s rank and the degree of their disability, or death. A panel of doctors also decided whether the veteran was “deserving” of a pension. The pensions were generally low, and many veterans and their families were excluded from receiving them. The same pension scheme was used after the Boer war in 1899-1902. The large numbers of New Zealand troops taking part in the First World War, and the heavy casualties they suffered, required a more comprehensive war pension scheme. The War Pensions Act 1915 set up a network of war pensions boards to decide whether a veteran’s death or disability was due to their military service. The requirement for veterans to be ‘deserving’ was dropped, and Māori veterans received the same pension as Pākehā veterans.³³¹

The War Pensions Board set up in 1915 heard applications from veterans and their relatives. If it found that the veteran's death or disability was due to military service, it awarded a pension (a lifetime award) or an allowance (a shorter-term payment). A newspaper article dated 7th February 1916 (United Press Association) stated that in the previous week the War Pensions Board heard 57 applications - 41 from veterans and 16 from dependents. Of the soldiers, nine were granted awards and 21 were granted allowances. Of the dependents, 15 were granted pensions or allowances. (Note - the article stated 14, but 41 makes more sense). Since the commencement of the war, pensions have been granted as follows: soldiers (93), £4,805 per annum; wives (103),

³²⁹ Archives R22403189, MA1, Box 1026, letter from Whetu Wehipeihana to Mr Fisher, Native Dept, applying for a position.

³³⁰ Archives R22017583, Whetu Wehipeihana, WW1 16/855.

³³¹ Mark Derby, 'Veterans’ assistance - War pensions', Te Ara, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/veterans-assistance/page-1> (accessed 11 October 2021).

£9,092 per annum; other dependents (337), £10,240 per annum.³³² Based on these figures, only about 25% of soldier applicants were granted lifetime awards, and about half were granted short-term payments. A quarter of them were declined. Most of the dependents' applications were accepted, but many were also short-term payments. After his discharge in 1916, Henare Tahiwī was said to have suffered a twenty percent disability, from his wounded left knee, and was awarded a pension accordingly.³³³

There are at least two files which indicate that gratuities for war service, for veterans and widows, were sometimes available for those few who knew how to apply for them. The file of Pte Epiha Wereta (72733) Awahuri, Ohau³³⁴, shows he was paid a gratuity of £22 for 302 days service overseas. Most of his time overseas appears to have been in England. The widow of Pahia Ropata (Pearl) had applied for and received a "separation allowance" of 1s a day in 1916 when she was living in Sutherland Rd, Wellington. In 1916 she received the £6 he had saved from his pay that year, and in 1920 she applied for and received a "gratuity" related to his death - "killed in action". She had remarried (to Mr Hori Rongo) and was living in Wyndham, Southland when she applied for the gratuity in 1920.³³⁵ As Pahia's grandfather was MP Wi Parata (though he died in 1906), and as Pearl was living in Wellington, she was perhaps relatively well-informed of application processes and funds available. Many others were not so fortunate, particularly those most traumatized by the war, who found it hard to settle back to civilian life on their return, and would surely have struggled with bureaucratic processes.

Kerr states in his history of the Otaki RSA (2006): "When soldiers went off to war they were given often-magnificent farewells, while serving supported by various patriotic groups, and when they came home warm welcomes then **left to their own devices**."³³⁶ From the first meeting called to form an Otaki branch of the RSA on 4 July 1919,

³³² Mark Derby, 'Veterans' assistance - War pensions', Te Ara, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/artwork/31958/war-pensions-board-1916> (accessed 12 December 2021) (accessed 11 October 2021).

³³³ AWMM, OLC, Henare Kima Tahiwī.

³³⁴ Archives R22017868 Epiha Wereta WWI 72733 - Army

³³⁵ Archives R20807658 Pte Pahia Ropata WWI 16/199 - Army

³³⁶ Kerr, 2006, p. 7.

involving Prim Tahiwī, there was concern about the low level of support from Government for returned servicemen, eg financial via gratuities, land etc. In September 1919 many returned servicemen demonstrated outside Parliament for better recognition of their needs, and in October an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Otaki RSA was called to petition the government over the payment of gratuities for all men killed in action. However, the motion was not passed, as it was believed government was already considering the gratuities to family members other than wife, children, and parents already receiving such assistance, as long as they were dependent on the income of the soldiers killed in action.³³⁷ If gratuities were hard to get for Pakeha, they were surely even harder to get for Māori, many of whom were less well-educated, less well-informed and under greater strain financially and with whānau responsibilities.

Anthony Patete's report for Tu te Manawaroa has a section on returned servicemen (pp641-6). As well as stating that Tukorehe believes that some of their land at Kuku was taken by the Crown to settle Pakeha veterans on land under the Discharged Soldiers' Settlement Act (see section 4.7), and that none of their own veterans were assisted this way. He also states in relation to rehabilitation: "the Discharged Soldiers' Information Department was set up in 1915 to deal especially with the problem of obtaining employment for returned soldiers discharged from further military service. Terry Hearn (2018) stated that it was not clear if and how many returning Māori veterans registered with the department for assistance.³³⁸ Of more importance to this claim, or kaupapa, was the establishment of a Repatriation Department in 1918. It set up repatriation boards to cater for the need of returned servicemen. It was proposed, nevertheless, to appoint a Māori member to each of the boards in centres where a number of Māori veterans resided as 'Representatives of the Māoris have stated that they do not think the needs of the Māori soldiers will be understood by the ordinary boards.' Several Māori veterans were appointed to local boards on the west coast, including Lieutenant Horo Karauti of Ōhau for the Levin Honorary Committee, Captain Tāhiwi for the Ōtaki Committee, and Lieutenant Carkeek of Levin for the Palmerston North Local Committee.³³⁹

³³⁷ Kerr, 2006, p. 14, p. 17.

³³⁸ Terry Hearn, 'The economic rehabilitation of Maori military Veterans'. Commissioned by the Waitangi tribunal for the Military Veterans Kaupapa Inquiry, May 2018, Wai 2500 #A248, p. 90.

³³⁹ Patete, 2021, p643; Hearn, 2018, p. 101; 'Māori Soldiers', *New Zealand Times*, Volume XLIV, Issue 10281, 16 May 1919, p. 8

Hearn further comments: “While Māori were appointed to three repatriation boards and some to local committees, the Government of the day **did not consider appointing field officers whose task it would have been to contact every Māori veteran, ascertain their needs, familiarise them with the rehabilitation benefits available to them, assist them to navigate the procedure involved in completing application forms, and support them through any hearings process.** No evidence was located that would indicate that Māori veterans, especially those residing in isolated communities or eking out a living on the gum-fields, were ever contacted formally by an officer of the Government.

Rather, the evidence suggests that where Māori approached State agencies for guidance and assistance, they **were actively discouraged from lodging applications.**³⁴⁰ There was no evidence located on whether TTM war veterans sought and/or were provided assistance upon their return, Patete states. This research has quoted the cases of Horo Karauti and Whetu Wehipeihana, post WW1, referred to above. As part of this project, we have also interviewed Pat Hakaraia (28th October 2021) who has spoken passionately of the lack of support given to his father Peter Hakaraia (5142), who returned in 1945 after suffering four years in a Nazi POW camp in Austria, Stalag 18A (see Chap 6). This issue related to his health, employment and finances.

Gardiner (2019) refers to the “less than satisfactory” experiences of fathers and uncles (veterans and their whanau) after World War 1.³⁴¹ There was also discrimination against Māori eg in 1930 Māori old age pensioners received £2.14s a week, 71% of the amount paid to Pakeha (£3. 15s per week). Akarana (Auckland) Māori Association said there was no logical reason for the discrimination. In its annual report in March 1930, George Graham stated that its main objectives should be to remove the anomaly between Māori and Pakeha old-age pensions, and to seek the return of Waikato lands.³⁴² It also had

³⁴⁰ Hearn, 2018, p. 104.

³⁴¹ Gardiner, 2019, p14

³⁴² Gardiner, 2019, p33; *Auckland Star*, 15th Feb 1930; *Auckland Star*, 28th March 1930.

concerns about Māori health and called for centenary recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1940.³⁴³

4.7 WHENUA - MORE MĀORI LAND TAKEN AND GIVEN TO PAKEHA (VETERANS)

While the Crown had told Māori in the nineteenth century that the transfer of land from communal to individual ownership would result in greater prosperity for all, in fact it resulted in greater prosperity for Europeans, and poverty and vast land-loss for Ngāti Raukawa. The Europeans achieved market dominance in the 1860s to 1870s, e.g. they took over the flax trade in the lower Manawatu and the land for crop production. Prior to that our rates of crop production had been similar or higher than Europeans, and we had our own flour mills and trading ships. Those Māori who still held land communally were excluded from political representation by the property qualifications of the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852. Hence the rise of nationalistic Māori movements like the Kingitanga and Kotahitanga.³⁴⁴ Reserve land held in our communal ownership was minimal, for example 697 acres reserved for Ngāti Raukawa from the entire Rangitikei-Manawatu block.³⁴⁵

Government support in terms of allocating units of land for farming to WW1 veterans went primarily, or 98.5% of it,³⁴⁶ to Pakeha veterans. Under the Discharged Soldiers settlement Act 1915, land was allotted by ballot mainly to Pakeha soldiers, as Māori veterans were assumed to have tribal land available to them, wrote Wira Gardiner. The Native Land Amendment Act 1917 allowed Maori landowners to gift land to Government for Māori soldier settlements. By the mid 1920s, over 10,500 veterans had been allotted farms throughout the country, while some 12,000 had been helped to buy a house in urban centres.³⁴⁷

³⁴³ ‘Dominion’s Centenary’, *Auckland Star*, Vol LXI, no 32, 7 February 1930, p10; ‘Health of Maoris’, *Auckland Star*, Vol LXI, no 77, 1 April 1930, p. 9.

³⁴⁴ H. Petrie, *Colonisation and the involution of the Maori economy*, Paper presented at Session 24 of the XIII World Congress of Economic History, Buenos Aires, 2002.

³⁴⁵ Lange, 2000, p. 11.

³⁴⁶ See page 132 for further estimate.

³⁴⁷ Gardiner, 2019, p. 35; M. Derby, Te Ara, ‘Veterans assistance, rehabilitation’, 2012; A.N. Gould, ‘*Proof of Gratitude? Soldier Land Settlement After WWI*’, Doctorate in Philosophy, Massey University., 1992, p. 320.

Soutar wrote that by the time the *Westmoreland* carrying our Māori Pioneer battalion men returned home, the government had acquired 500,000 acres of Māori land for soldier settlement, and nearly 600,000 acres more a year later. Almost all of this land was settled by Pākehā returned soldiers.³⁴⁸ Patete states (2021, p644-5), “to add to the offence, Māori had provided land for soldier settlers.’ The latter certainly happened for Ōhau land holdings. Yvonne Wehipeihana and Diane Taylor identified the following local Pākehā returned servicemen who received land for settlement: Arthur Holder, Val Hunter, Harry Nicholas, Ray Stratton, Eric McLeavy, and Henry White. Yvonne stated, ‘Eric McLeavy gave up his share & divided between Ray Stratton, Bill McLeavy & Arthur Holder. They were given a 99-year lease with the option to purchase.’ In relation to Kuku, the purchase was under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Amendment Act 1915 whereby the government advanced the purchase money by way of first mortgage against title. There may have been two sets of returned servicemen: those from World War One, being the two McLeaveys, Stratton, Horn and Coles (although Coles does not feature on any of the settlement maps on the settlement files); and then those from World War Two; Hunter, Page, Nicholas, and White (although the archives online records of returned servicemen indicated that Nicholas and Hunter were World War One soldiers, but may have also fought in World War Two).³⁴⁹

Gould’s (1992) PhD thesis on soldier land settlement after WW1 has a useful appendix titled “Land settlement for Māori soldiers”.³⁵⁰ Gould quotes several historians e.g. Claudia Orange (1987), Michael King (1981), and Graham Butterworth (1972)³⁵¹ as stating that the Government did not include Māori veterans in rehabilitation and land settlement schemes after WW1. There was also opposition from local farmers to Māori applying for Crown lands.³⁵² The *New Zealand Herald*³⁵³ had quoted Massey as saying in

³⁴⁸ Soutar, 2019, p. 495.

³⁴⁹ Patete, 2021, pp. 644 - 646; Yvonne Wehipeihana to Anthony Pātete, 29 October 2019.

³⁵⁰ Gould, 1992, p. 308.

³⁵¹ Ibid, p. 308; Orange, 1987, p. 231; King, 1981, p. 297; Butterworth, 1972, pp. 165-6.

³⁵² Gould, 1992, p. 315.

³⁵³ *New Zealand Herald*, 30 March 1922, p. 6.

1922 that Māori were treated “exactly the same as Pakeha under the Soldier Settlement Act.” Apirana Ngata stated in Parliament in 1919 that he believed that there was a prejudice against Māori for Crown lands, and called for specific land areas to be set aside for Māori. On the East Coast, he was able to do so, and some Māori contingent veterans benefitted. In comparison, the West Coast of the North Island was neglected, and there were certainly no blocks of land allocated specifically for Māori veterans - though an email from Charles Royal (23.11.21) stated that Rangi Royal was considering making a whānau block of land, Tutangatakino near Otaki, available to Māori veterans after WW2, and organised meetings to discuss the idea. Further research is needed.³⁵⁴

Gould attempted a thorough search for any Māori allocated whenua under veterans support legislation - he looked at the register of Crown leases of soldier farms held at National Archives, and out of 4,100 names he noted 20 with Māori names. He also stated that of about 1,800 Māori returned servicemen, thirty acquired farms under the settlement schemes. Of interest in our rohe, there were two Māori soldiers who obtained mortgage finance under section 2 of the 1917 Discharged Soldiers Settlement Amendment Act to purchase private freehold land near Waikanae, he wrote.³⁵⁵

After viewing the Wellington Land Board file he referred to (finding it with help from Anthony Patete under the term ‘Wastelands Board’), we can state that four Ngāti Raukawa men were able to get land under the above Act. The application of Hohepa Paramena Te Kootu of Tukorehe (for rural land under Section 2) was heard by the Wellington Land Board on 30th July 1919, relating to 58 acres in the Kaitawa block (section 14, block III). It was recommended and approved, subject to valuation. Researcher Diane Taylor advised us (2.12.21) that she believes he obtained discharged soldiers land at Te Waka Rd, Te Horo - opposite the Marino farm.³⁵⁶ Hohepa Paramena Te Kootu was known amongst Tukorehe as Gobo Moses and is on their Honours Board under that name (with H.P.Te Kootu in brackets). He died on 14 May 1936 and is buried at Kuku. His father Moihi Paramena Te Kootu and mother Rangituia Te Tewe were also

³⁵⁴ Pers. comm (e-mail), C.T.A. Royal, 23 November 2021.

³⁵⁵ Gould p. 312; Archives R6286491, L & S-W 12/18 Wellington Land Board Minutes, p. 188.

³⁵⁶ Diane had been told this by Raumahora Broughton, who lived there. Raumahora passed away in July 2021.

buried in the same urupa. His whakapapa line was from Kapumanawawhiti, which is part of Tukorehe.³⁵⁷ Hohepa had further good fortune in 1922 when he married a widow with land across the road - Annie Marino, formerly Annie Silberry McDonald. However, his fortunes took a turn for the worse as sadly in 1927 he applied for bankruptcy.³⁵⁸

Also of interest in the Wellington Land Board minutes, in July 1919 Mr C.R. Nicholson and Mr L.B.Barron applied (under section 27 of the Public Reserves Act 1908) to occupy 1,080 acres of Crown land (formerly Ngāti Pareraukawa land) in the Horowhenua no 6A block, but were declined due to the possibility of the Crown milling timber from the land. There was also an application by Mrs M. Webley to transfer 183 acres at Kaitawa to Wharerari (Wharerau aka Rau) Parata and Piri Ellison, which was approved. Both Rau Parata and Piri Ellison have Ngati Raukawa whakapapa.³⁵⁹

In the following month, 27th August, the Wellington Land Board heard the application of J.M. Johnson and 'Rata' Hohipuha, for 184 acres at 'Ngakarora'. It seems this was a misspelling of Rota Hohipuha (aka Slot) and the Ngakaroro block, south of the Otaki river.³⁶⁰ Reuben Waaka states that there was a discharged soldiers' block of land there, and said that J.M.Johnson was probably John Martin Johnson who had a connection by marriage to the Hohipuha whānau.³⁶¹ The application was approved, subject to valuation, 'exam and papers in order'. A history of the Ngakaroro block by Walghan partners (2017) shows that J.M. Johnson and Rota Hohipuha gained title to the parts 1A8 & 3D1s7A & 7B of the block, transferred 26 January 1920 from H.A. Bockett after getting a mortgage from the Crown. In October Johnson alone raised a mortgage with the Crown. Sadly, on 2 October 1929 the block was transferred by Johnson and Hohipuha to the Crown.³⁶² In 1930 Rota Hohipuha and whānau (wife and six children) were described as being in 'indigent' circumstances, with further financial support needed. An amount of 25

³⁵⁷ Reuben Waaka advised, 2 December 2021; R.Waaka, 12.1.22..

³⁵⁸ 'General News', *Manawatu Times*, Vol LII, no 3514, 25 January 1927.

³⁵⁹ Archives R6286491, L & S-W 12/18, Wellington Land Board minutes, p. 188.

³⁶⁰ Pers comm, R.Waaka, 2 December 2021.

³⁶¹ Pers comm, R.Waaka, 2 December 2021.

³⁶² Walghan, 2017, Block Research Narratives, Vol. IV, Part III - p. 211, Ngakaroro; Supplied R.Waaka.

shillings per month in stores was approved by the Native Department in 1930, but discontinued in 1937 as Rota was working on unemployed relief work.³⁶³



Rota Hohipuha, photo supplied
R.Waaka, 2.12.21.

The Wellington Land Board minutes 1919 reveal that there were further discharged soldier settlements at Manchester block (Feilding), Oroua, Waitohu, and that town sections were also allocated - in Palmerston North, Awahuri, Tokomaru, and Sanson (Carnarvon). Approvals to subdivide Oturoa, Kairanga and Cloverlea blocks were made in 1919.

At a rough estimate, about 60 of our men returned from war fit enough for farming, and even if two Ngāti Raukawa veterans were able to get mortgages for land with assistance from Government in our rohe (or that of Te Atiawa), and two by transfer, that is meagre assistance indeed. There was insufficient on-going support and the farms were not financially successful. From national figures supplied by Gould (1992) we can determine percentages - of the 1,800 Māori veterans who returned to New Zealand, only 30 have been traced as acquiring land under discharged soldier settlement schemes - ie 1.6%. And of the 4,100 soldier farm leases allocated by the Crown for WW1 veterans in total, only twenty, ie less than 0.5%, had Māori names. Admittedly, there may be more who did not

³⁶³ R22411884, MA1 1542, 1929-37; file supplied R.Waaka, 2.12.21.

have Māori names, so we could revise those figures up a little.³⁶⁴ Gould also offers percentages - he says that 10% of Pakeha veterans got farms, compared to 2% of Māori veterans. It is likely that many Māori soldiers were not made aware of the repatriation services available to them, and that very few were actively encouraged to apply. Representatives of the Discharged Soldiers Information Department, later named the Repatriation Department, went on board most returning ships to ask if they needed help and tell them what was available, but this may not have happened on the *Westmoreland* which brought home the Maori Pioneer battalion. A Māori soldier said while they may have been equally eligible, “the pakeha did not come to tell us.” Lieut Arthur Te Waata Gannon of Gisborne wrote to the *Dominion* on 28 April 1919 advocating for a special rehabilitation department in Wellington for Māori returned soldiers, but his request was ignored.³⁶⁵

Gould: “The actions of the Government including Māori soldiers in general schemes smacked of a continuation of the assimilationist policies pursued by the Reform government since coming into power in 1912. Repatriation assistance specifically for Māori soldiers was in practice piecemeal, and it appears, aimed at those tribes with influential speakers.”³⁶⁶ Tribal areas which provided the bulk of the troops received the most assistance. While Ngāti Raukawa’s contribution was significant, it was largely invisible, and scarcely noticed. Invisibility is an issue our iwi has been facing since the land loss of the 1870s.

We have studied files or documents relating to settlements at Kuku (1920-1950), Mākowhai (acquired 1916-17, also refers to 1937-48)³⁶⁷, Kairanga (1919-20, 1937-52)³⁶⁸, and Oturoa and have seen only European/Pakeha names - no known Māori or Ngāti Raukawa names.³⁶⁹ These areas of land were traditionally occupied by (respectively) Ngāti Tukorehe, Ngāti Parewahawaha and Ngāti Pareraukawa, ngā hapu o Himatangi and

³⁶⁴ Gould, 1992, p. 311.

³⁶⁵ Ibid p. 314.

³⁶⁶ Gould, 1992, p. 327.

³⁶⁷ Archives files, R22602153, 1916-17; R22602152, 1937- 48.

³⁶⁸ Archives files R3204307, 1919-20; R21033327, 1937-52.

³⁶⁹ A. Hayden, 2021, BoE; R6286491-L & S-W 12/18 (includes lists for Kairanga & Oturoa).

Ngāti Huia and we believe had been wrongfully taken from our iwi (further research required to document details). Evidence viewed so far is that they were mostly used for small diary units, and were marginally economic. However, while they may have struggled to pay their rent and rates at times, particularly after the 1929 slump when diary prices dropped, the files indicate that some were increasingly asset-rich eg Frank Verry, acquired 31 acres at Kairanga, beside the Taonui stream, in 1919. His initial loan was followed by another in 1924 – his house was insured for £665 (1920); he had life insurance £300 (1936); the capital value of his property reduced from £2,985 to £1,770 in 1923 (for reduced rates); he had a wife and two children, all healthy.³⁷⁰ Another Kairanga ‘soldiers’ advances’ record stated - George Guy, 32 acres, selected the property in 1919, recently built a cottage for £350; seeks an advance for purchase of a milking plant; remission of rent 1923.³⁷¹ Ten Pakeha veterans were placed on land at Kairanga (Barnhill, Beazley, Guy, Harrison, Lewis, Morris, Mugford, Muir, Passey, Verry). The standard of living for these Europeans, though they may have struggled to pay rent and rates at times, was clearly much higher than most Ngāti Raukawa whānau. Crown support for these small-scale farmers was repeatedly forth-coming if they were regarded as good, hard-working practical men.

There were also soldiers’ settlements at Kopane (near Kauwhata marae) and Cloverlea (now a suburb of Palmerston North) on former Ngāti Kauwhata lands,³⁷² at Heatherlea near Levin, as well as Ngakaroro near Otaki, as mentioned. If there were an average of fifteen men supported onto farms for each soldier settlement, that is at least 105 Pakeha veterans helped into farming, that we know of within our rohe, and many more were also allocated town sections. This is probably a significant under-estimate. A 1920 summary of private estates acquitted by the Government and offered to discharged soldiers as small farms states that in the Wellington region there were 24 discharged soldiers’ settlements, totalling 33,017 acres, with a total capital value of £587,697. There were a total of 264 subdivisions. The average capital value per holding was £2,100, and the average size of

³⁷⁰ Archives R21033327, soldiers’ advances, Kairanga.

³⁷¹ Archives R21033022, soldiers’ advances, Kairanga.

³⁷² Gould, 1992, p. 187; Archives R21032747, soldiers’ advances Cloverlea

holdings was 170 acres.³⁷³ In terms of assistance to buy houses, 1,865 discharged soldiers were supported to buy or build houses in the Wellington region. The scale of the giving to Pakeha veterans was huge, with on-going concessions when they asked for further loans, rates or rent relief. In contrast, the lack of caring for our Ngāti Raukawa veterans is heart-breaking to hear and read about. For most of our men, poorly paid work in market gardens, or short-term public works contracts, became the default option. Large whānau, poor housing conditions and high infant mortality remained the norm in contrast to the small diary farmers on land settlement blocks building their assets as noted above.

More heart-warming, however, is a story we heard of a kind Pakeha man, Mr Harry Edhouse of Otaki, who understood the injustice of the system, generously giving land to a Ngāti Raukawa veteran, Peter Hakaraia, after winning it in a discharged soldier's ballot. This happened after WW2 and will be discussed further in the next section.³⁷⁴

In looking at the Wellington Land Board minutes for 1947, we see applications to freehold land at Kuku (50 acres, J.G. Horn) and Makowhai (75 acres, A.H. Hartley); a new tenancy approved at Tangimoana (85 acres adjoining Ferry Reserve); applications to shoot on Crown land at Pukepuke and Tangimoana; and transfer of town sections in Levin and Foxton. Settlements at Horowhenua and Heatherlea are referred to. No Ngāti Raukawa names can be seen, though some may have connections eg Gardiner.³⁷⁵

4.8 HEALTH IMPACT OF WAR & PIECEMEAL, POORLY PAID WORK - WHĀNAU STRUGGLED

The fact that our leaders (Henare Te Herekau, Nepia Taratoa 1872; Ihakara Tukumarū 1879) were commenting on the alcohol problem amongst our people from the 1870s is understandable.³⁷⁶ Ngāti Raukawa men were given employment on roads, railways and

³⁷³ Archives R1602595, lands available for discharged soldiers, monthly reports 1920-21.

³⁷⁴ Interview Pat Hakaraia, Otaki, 28 October 2021.

³⁷⁵ R628515, Wasteland Board Minutes, 1947, ADXS 19502, LS-W12/42.

³⁷⁶ Lange, 2000, pp. 98-99; James Booth, 12 Sept 1872, *AJHR*, 1872, F-3A, pp. 36-37; *AJHR*, 1879, Session I, G-1B, p. 5.

timber-felling from about that time, but at lower rates than Pakeha. They continued to compete with Pakeha for short-term public works contracts into the twentieth century. Work on farms (mostly belonging to Europeans) included bush-felling, fencing, shearing, draining, flax-cutting etc. Market gardening (particularly owned by Chinese) became important in the Otaki area in the 1920s after railway development meant improved transport between the Otaki/Ohau and Wellington regions. Rates of pay in market gardens were basic, Lange reported (2000):

“In 1929 between twenty and thirty Otaki Māori (and many more in the busy season) were working in six Chinese market gardens. Very few Māori worked on the six market gardens operated by Pakeha. The labourers were paid about seven or eight shillings a day, or between 1s.3d and 1s.6d per 100 lb sack for digging potatoes. At Ohau there were about fifteen Chinese market gardens, most of them employing Māori women and some men - at least fifty altogether - at a rate of 10s a day and 1s to 1s.6d a sack of potatoes. At Foxton one of the three Chinese gardens employed a few Māori from time to time, paying between six and ten shillings a day.³⁷⁷

While trade training for Māori had been talked about by Seddon in 1900, few of our soldiers who served in World War One had trade or office skills. Most of those whose files we studied were either labourers, farmers, or farm-hands with some other occupations listed as flax-mill hands (A.McGregor, T. McDonald) clerk (R.Carkeek, H.Roach), grocer’s assistant (H.Tahiwi), and engineer (P.Ropata). Most were therefore vulnerable in the market-place on their return, many with compromised health, competing again with Pakeha for short-term contract work. One or two worked as licensed interpreters, eg Kingi Tahiwi (1906 - 1913). Samuel Ngawhare Cook (father of three servicemen but not a veteran himself) had moved from Otaki to Morrinsville to work as an interpreter and land surveyor there.³⁷⁸ Also Rangi Royal (Royal & Jamison, DNZB biography):

“During the 1920s Rangi Royal took over the role of attending to family land issues from his uncle, Kerehi Roera Te Ahukaramū, handling their land interests at Muhunoa and at Kōmata.

³⁷⁷ Lange, 2000, p. 90; Report of the Committee on Employment of Māoris on Market Gardens, *AJHR*, 1929, G-11, pp. 2-3.

³⁷⁸ Cook Whanau Reunion 1989-90 p. 13.

About 1931 he was stationed at Rūātoki, where he worked as a supervisor for the Native Department, responsible for the district from Whakatāne to Cape Runaway. He worked closely with Apirana Ngata in unravelling and consolidating titles to ancestral lands and assisted greatly with their development. On his return, in 1935, to the Native Department in Rotorua, Royal worked as a clerk with the Native Land Court and Waiariki District Māori Land Board. He also acted as a consolidation officer, farm officer and interpreter.”

Combat fatigue, exhaustion (emotional/physical/spiritual) and shell shock found no sympathy within the British high command, particularly for Māori.³⁷⁹ Experiencing the loss or wounding of friends and relatives, sometimes a brother or uncle, with minimal ceremony or tikanga was an on-going issue. “I am absolutely fed up and I think the majority are (of) the same opinion,” wrote 2nd Lt Pohio, in December 1917³⁸⁰. Military historian Christopher Pugsley (1991) wrote about the mental and emotional stresses of war: “Combat fatigue was the inevitable result of too many days’ front-line service. It was the cumulative effect of lack of sleep, exposure to the elements, and the ever-present threat of death from gas, artillery or bullet. Every man had his breaking point. Most never reached it, but a number did, and all of those retained mental scars.”³⁸¹

Sometimes these kinds of stresses, including long periods with no leave,³⁸² led to the breaking of rules, followed by methods of military discipline including “field punishment” nos 1 and 2. To be so mistreated by brutal punishment by the British army, for whom you were fighting, must have been hard to stomach and certainly added stress to those already suffering from shattered nerves. Shell shock or “neurasthenia” as it was also called then was viewed with “deep distrust” by the British High Command and was not seen as a reason to avoid disciplinary action. All cases of “nerve failure” were to be kept in the field to be investigated for possible court martial procedures, General Haig directed. He did not understand that humans can only stand so much, and feared that his

³⁷⁹ The file of Heeni’s grandfather, Darcy Preston of Wanganui (non-Maori, 25937), clearly states that he had shell shock caused by being buried in a trench twice within five minutes. The fact that we did not see this on any of the files of Ngāti Raukawa men suggests that it was harder for Māori to get such a diagnosis.

³⁸⁰ Soutar, 2019, p. 405; 2nd Lt Pohio to Finchman, 17 Dec 1917.

³⁸¹ Pugsley, 1991, pp. 183-184.

³⁸² ‘War Anniversary’, *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 6 August 1918, p. 3; As above, it was noted that Charles Sciascia had only two days off duty during two years of service.

armies would dissipate if threats of severe disciplinary penalties were removed.³⁸³ At least five of our Ngāti Raukawa men suffered field punishments, ie being handcuffed and shackled (no2) or even hand-cuffed, shackled and tied to a post or wagon-wheel in view of their co-soldiers for days, and sometimes also within enemy range (no 1). One of these men, from Otaki, was known by his family to be in a lamentable mental state on his return from the war, which manifested in violence, drinking, and “going bush” with his son for two years after an outburst. This family had lost a brother to the war in France, and their father had been so heart-broken he had died within a year, so the two surviving brothers returned from war and grieved both a brother and a father. Whanau of those lives were lost or shattered were hit hard.

Alcohol had been an issue amongst Ngāti Raukawa since the arrival of the Europeans in the 1840s and the establishment of hotels, initially associated with river-crossings when transport was by coach eg Otaki river mouth, Ohau/Waikawa river mouth, Manawatu river mouth. The Government maintained control over these places through a licensing system, and many of our people became addicted to intoxicating drinks which were harmful to their health - even more so when doctored with poisonous substances.³⁸⁴ The Raukawa Māori Council worked at controlling the intake of alcohol and imposed fines for supplying alcohol at a tangi, and for excessive drinking at a tangi. They had some limited successes eg in 1906 the Council led by Peter Taipua, with the support of Dr Peter Te Rangihiroa Buck, successfully managed the tangi of Wi Parata. “Not a sign of drink was noticed yesterday, and throughout the week the only cases have been those who have obtained liquor in excess outside the camp, and those were dealt with in a firm manner,” wrote the reporter for the *New Zealand Mail*.³⁸⁵

The Licensing Amendment Act 1904 had prohibited Māori from buying take-away alcohol in much of North Island and police enforced this law enthusiastically. Pakeha were also sometimes charged with illicit supply of alcohol to Māori.³⁸⁶ Patete cites an interesting example of Māori leaders limiting alcohol access, relating to Matarapa in

³⁸³ Pugsley, 1991, p182-183.

³⁸⁴ Patete, 2021, p. 653.

³⁸⁵ The Passing of a Chief, *New Zealand Mail*, Issue 1805, 10 October 1906, p. 36.

³⁸⁶ Gardiner, 2019, p. 31.

1920: “In December 1920 a trespass warning was placed in the local newspaper, warning Pākehā ‘against trespassing on Māori property at Matararapa, during the Native meeting’, and warning further of prosecution if any persons were found taking alcohol to the kāinga.³⁸⁷ Ben Keys described the level of drinking and drunkenness in Otaki in 1920 as “shocking” and “disgraceful”, though he blamed the publicans who were too keen on profits to care, and admired Ngāti Raukawa as “a tribe rich in traditions. As a people they are even now more dignified, more cultured ...and with higher mentality than any other tribe. Drink is their failing...”³⁸⁸

Alcohol was distributed by the British army to manage and control the behaviour of its soldiers and the Māori contingent, Pioneer battalion and Māori Pioneer battalions were no exception, for example at Sully in France, the men were issued with rum three times a week, which Karauti described as a “popular preventative” for coping with winter chill.³⁸⁹ After their return, it was often alcohol that our men turned to, to cope with emotional/spiritual/mental health difficulties resulting from the war. The Government then used the drinking as an excuse to judge men when considering them for pensions.³⁹⁰ Availability of alcohol has long been a feature of Returned Servicemen’s Associations, though at times the Associations have also advocated for better Government care for veterans. Most hotel owners were European, though we also note that Hakaraia Te Whena, a 45 year old former farmer was in 1897 the proprietor of the 17-roomed Central Hotel in Otaki (one of five in the town).³⁹¹ Gambling was also seen as a problem issue amongst our community, because money was at stake. ‘Two-up’ had become a popular game played by soldiers during the war, but there was a law against it back home in Aotearoa New Zealand in the interests of protecting men and their whānau.³⁹²

³⁸⁷ Patete, 2021, p763; Local and General’, *Manawatu Herald*, Volume XLII, Issue 2219, 23 December 1920, p. 2.

³⁸⁸ ATL, Ben Keys, diary, 23rd March 1920, p. 96; Lange, 2000, p. 99.

³⁸⁹ Soutar, 2019, p. 341; Karauti to Waiwera, 17th Dec 1916.

³⁹⁰ R22411884 - WW1, 16/1256.

³⁹¹ Lange, 2000, p. 91.

³⁹² Gardiner, 2019, p. 32.

4.9 CONCLUSIONS

After the men left for war, there was a large-scale community effort within Ngāti Raukawa to send them as much aroha and comfort as possible. Fund-raising events supporting soldiers occurred throughout our Ngāti Raukawa rohe. Soldiers began arriving back home in late 1915, and a few started to attend entertainment and other patriotic events. The spirited bayonet attack of the Māori contingent at Gallipoli, including the use of haka, was discussed and celebrated by the wider community. Those who had sacrificed their lives were also acknowledged. But before the war was over, and probably associated with returning soldiers, the influenza epidemic hit the home community hard. Our whānau, who had struggled without leading men away at war, continued to struggle with health and poverty issues after their return. A loss of cultural transmission within whānau, resulting from the loss of fathers and uncles in war, or the damage to their well-being, is also acknowledged by some. Disparities between Maori and Pakeha remained, or worsened.

We support the view, as others have expressed before us, that the New Zealand government should have taken more responsibility for providing financial support, counselling, skill-training and employment for our Ngāti Raukawa veterans suffering the ill-effects of war. A specific and well-funded Māori veterans rehabilitation department, if established, could have improved the lives of many.

The scant inclusion of our veterans from discharged soldiers' settlements is also a major grievance - the figure nationally was that only 1.6% of land allocation to veterans went to Māori veterans. It was effectively another Pakeha land-grab, and the way that the contribution made by our Ngāti Raukawa veterans was ignored smacks of racism. Instead of giving land to those most in need, the Government gave it to the privileged, who had the capital to establish the farms and grow an asset. Disparities between Maori and Pakeha remained or worsened, despite the rhetoric of the politicians prior to the war who had said that fighting would bring about greater equality; and their promises that veterans would be looked after.

5.0 KEY PEOPLE AND EVENTS - NGĀTI RAUKAWA WORLD WAR TWO

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Between 1939 when the war started until 1945 when it ended, according to the data collected in this report, nearly 150 Ngāti Raukawa men and women enlisted - over half of those were in the 28 Māori Battalion, and others were in the 2nd NZEF, air force and other divisions. While most of those in the 28 Māori battalion were in the D company, which was made up of men from Waikato, Taranaki, Wanganui and Wellington (including our west coast rohe of Ngāti Raukawa), we also celebrate Capt Rangi Royal as our most decorated and senior Ngāti Raukawa participant in World War Two. Although he was commander of the B company, which was mostly Te Arawa, there were also other Ngāti Raukawa men alongside him in both the B and D companies, and we offer insights into the two key action points for which he was awarded the Military Cross and Bar, in Crete and Libya.

We also acknowledge that Capt Pirimi Tahiwī also served in WW2, and his nephews Remana Te Hana and Kingi Te Ahoaho Gilling Tahiwī lost their lives during active service. Two further nephews Sam Whatumairangi and Barney Lumsden served in the 28 Maori battalion and survived the war. Haane Manahi, DCM, was of Te Arawa and Ngāti Huia descent. He was honoured for taking a rocky outcrop named Takrouna in the Western Desert from the Germans in 1943. We also acknowledge Thomas Tulloch, DCM, Ngāti Kapu, of Ōtaki. His citation relates to an attack on Cassino in March 1944. Thirty two of our men were lost, died from wounds were or killed in action in WW2, and eight suffered for years in POW camps. The trauma of war affected many long-term.



Portrait of Major Rangi Royal,
Auckland Weekly News, 4 Feb 1942.
Auckland Libraries Heritage
Collection, AWNS-19420204-24-1.

5.2 CAPT RANGI ROYAL & THE FIRST BAYONET CHARGE OF THE WAR, AND MALEME AIRPORT, CRETE

To quote from 28maoribattalion.org.nz: “It was a baptism of fire in the ancient lands of the Mediterranean. The Allied defence of Greece and Crete against German attack in April and May 1941 was to end in crushing defeat. The New Zealanders suffered heavy losses, but in ferocious hand-to-hand fighting at Maleme and 42nd Street, the legend of the Māori Battalion was born.

“In late March 1941 the Māori Battalion, part of the NZ Division's 5th Brigade, was sent to defend northern Greece against a possible German invasion through Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. When that offensive began on 6 April, Commonwealth and Greek forces were quickly outflanked. The Māori Battalion first saw action at Olympus Pass on the 15th, when four men were killed. The Allies then fell back to defend the Thermopylae Line, but on 21 April 1941 the British command decided to abandon Greece. Most of the

Māori Battalion was evacuated from the Athens area to Crete aboard the *Glengyle* on the 24th. They left behind 10 dead and 81 prisoners of war.”³⁹³

Te Kenehi (28.11.21) likes this point for its humour: “When they were at Olympus Pass and they were retreating, Rangi Royal was in charge of the checkpoint, and in order to detect German soldiers sneaking through pretending to be Greek soldiers or civilians, he used Māori place-names as passwords. Cody - “if the challenge, ‘Halt! Timaru!’ was not answered by ‘Waipukurau’ it would be safe to assume the challenged was no New Zealander.”³⁹⁴

(28maoribattalion.org.nz) “They came from the sky – on 20 May 1941 thousands of German paratroopers and glider troops swooped onto Crete in one of the world's first-ever airborne assaults. Two days later, as enemy reinforcements poured in, the Māori Battalion took part in the belated Allied attempt to wrest back control of the key Maleme airfield. They used the bayonet to good effect in a spirited night attack, but were forced to withdraw as daylight approached, leaving 33 dead behind.”

This is a letter by Capt Rangi Royal to his wife Puhi (held by Tom Jamison), telling the story of the B Company’s leading of the first bayonet charge of the war, on their way to meet with the 22 battalion at Maleme airfield:

“10.6.41

“Sweetheart,

“I sent you a cable on our arrival in Egypt from Crete, after a most strenuous campaign, which knocked the stuffing out of us. While the show lasted, weariness, lack of food and sleep was not felt, owing to the excitement of the fight etc, but when we got off and back to Egypt, reaction set in and we all marvelled that we were able to stand up to what we did. I supposed by now you would have heard and read that the name of the BN has become a by-word here and that our Pakeha brethren are very proud of us, and rightly so too, na matou i pupuri te mauri i kore ai i whati nui te pakeha. Na matou i tauira i mau ai te Manawa o te pakeha. Ahakoa nga mea whakamataku a te hoariri, pau katoa te homai, me te tu, me te hinga o tena o tena o matou, mau tonu te B co ki nga wahi i homai ki a ia.

³⁹³ 'Greece and Crete', 28th Māori Battalion, <https://www.28maoribattalion.org.nz/story-of-the-28th/greece-and-crete> (accessed 18 Nov 2021)

³⁹⁴ Cody, 1956, p. 49.

Homai ana, hoatu ana hoki. Yes, and it was a campaign in which every fashion was brought into play, gas only being the exception. Our training in England was just the sort that suited us, we were more or less at home in that type of warfare that took place.

“I sent you those letters from Crete and in my last letter I told you that we were waiting for the Hun to come over and that he was going to get here when he came. Well, he got here and so did we. The Blitz started on 20th May when he dropped his para troops all around except in our area. From my observation post and battle headquarters, my staff and myself counted 2,900 troops landing in an area being manned by about 1500 of our troops. These were dealt with very effectively, but in the afternoon they dropped gliders and crash landed troop-carrying planes everywhere and in the same area near us, so by that evening he had gained control of the aerodrome, about 5 miles from us. My Coy was detailed to make a forced march and go to the assistance of one of our BNs who was getting a rough time of it at the aerodrome. Although our route was set out for us, it was such a roundabout one that would take hours before we got there, and would have knocked up the boys by the time we arrived, so I decided to keep to the main road and fight if forced to. At 7 o’clock that evening we set out, and by judicious use of cover, we were able to keep out of sight of planes which were buzzing about overhead. Much of this area had been cleaned up during the day but about an hour before, I had noticed para troops being dropped in an area through which we had to pass.

“So to be safe from surprise I threw my small column into an attacking formation and then approached the area warily. We had not gone 200 yards when the Ngati Whakaue section under Pine Timihou ran into a scattered lot, which they cleaned up without trouble. Another 200 yards on, the same section ran into the main mob and were held up. The right section under Miha and with whom Sonny Vercoe was moving had overshot the left section by about 50 yards, so I stopped them and went forward with Henby’s section along the road to cover by fire the advance of N’ Whakaue (sic). As I stood up to give the boys the tip that they could come on, I spotted 5 yards from me a Hun all ready to pot me; he never fired and I shot my first Hun and then another. That started the fireworks and with a yell and a roar the boys charged. The Huns got up and ran, making for a tree some 20 yards away. By then some of the No 11 platoon had come up to re-inforce. Our boys chased them to the trees where we could hear them singing out “we surrender!” and then threw a bomb which caught Haane and Midwood, and the boys got in with “surrender be buggered!” and the bayonet. Then followed squeals mixed with curses and grunts while

those actually engaged were doing a dance and slapping (?) the others with good, sound, though merciless advice. 24 were accounted for in this charge.

“A machine gun which was troubling us further back was also dealt with and when the show was over 32 dead were counted with two of our boys wounded. I sent them back and carried on. That is the history of the first bayonet charge of this war as far as the NZ Div was concerned. There was no active charge in Greece although the Boys got ready for one when Fritz turned tail and ran.”

Cody in his official account (1956),³⁹⁵ includes the detail that the men not fighting were doing haka to support the action and distract the Germans away from those fighting:

“The 22nd Battalion, hard-pressed at Maleme, had asked for help and Col Dittmer was instructed to send a company to Headquarters 23 Battalion, where guides would be provided for the rest of the journey to 22 Battalion. B Company was given the job but Capt Royal, who had returned from hospital two days earlier, did not know the suggested round-about route and decided to use the main road and fight if forced to. The Arawa Company left at 7 p.m. and was unmolested until close to 23 Battalion area, when 10 Platoon (Lieut Vercoe) encountered a few paratroops who were cleaned up without much trouble. Very soon afterwards a larger body was met and the platoon was held up until 11 Platoon (Lieut Pene) reinforced it. The Germans, who had concentrated around a tree, shouted ‘We surrender’ and at the same time a grenade was thrown which wounded two Maoris. That grenade was the signal for, as far as is known, the **first use of the bayonet by New Zealand troops in the war**, for with a yell of ‘Surrender be...’ the Maoris charged and killed twenty four Germans. Those not actually engaged assisted with hakas. A pocket a little further on yielded another eight dead Germans, after which B Company reached 23 Battalion without further incident.”

Further on that night, towards joining the 22 Battalion who were “hard-pressed” in holding onto Maleme airport, a section of 5 Field Ambulance also joined the B Company. The route was first south onto the ridge where 21 Battalion was dug in. Because Germans could be anywhere, Captain Royal told his men to use Māori language so they could

³⁹⁵ J.F. Cody, 28 (*Maori*) battalion, *Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War, 1939-45*, War History Branch, Dept. of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1956, p. 93.

identify each other, and not shoot their own men. Cody (1956): “21 battalion was amazed at the clamour, but amused at the explanation.”³⁹⁶

Our forces were trying to stop the Germans from taking Maleme airfield, but it was already “half-lost” on the second day of the invasion, according to Cody. The situation was worsened by inadequate and disorganised communications from General Freyberg.³⁹⁷ According to Rangi Royal’s mokopuna Tom Jamison, the B company had secured the airport, and were frustrated at being ordered to withdraw. Jamison: “It was at a gathering (of veterans in Rotorua), and Manahi and the other guy, were lamenting the fact that they had taken the airport, Maleme, and then the orders came through to withdraw. And they were going, ‘we’ve accomplished what they had set out to do, against all the odds, then someone decided, no, we’re out of here!’³⁹⁸

Tom Jamison also holds a letter from Lt Col Dittmer to Rangi Royal (dated 18th June 1950), beginning “my dear Rangi” asking him to detail the events of 20/21 May, particularly at Maleme airport, and on whose orders they withdrew; and also what happened the next two days 22/23 May, so he could report to ‘Kip’ (Kippenberger). “Do not make it a long story, be as brief as you like as long as you mention where you were, and with whom you moved or operated. Be absolutely fair with me so I can make the history read well from all angles, and so that there will be no come back on 28 Bn, or B company. What you tell me I will keep to myself. Also Rangi, if you were at Maleme, who told you to go back to Platania and with what Unit if any did you move....Rangi, I must get the history back to Kip by about Mon or Tues 26th or 27th of this month so do reply urgently. Good luck to you Rangi and your good lady, Yours very sin., G. Dittmer PS If you were up there at Maleme, did you see what happened to 20 Bn after its attack broke down?”

Gardiner (2019): “The Germans were delighted to find that the New Zealanders had abandoned the airfield and Point 107 during the night.” (20/21 May).³⁹⁹ Freyberg then decided the airfield should be retaken the next night in a counter-attack. B Company’s role was to clear the Platania riverbed and secure the high ground beyond it. They left at 3.30am but a lack of coordinated effort reduced the chance of success. Lt H.J. McDonald

³⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 94.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 95.

³⁹⁸ Tom Jamison, 19th Oct 2021.

³⁹⁹ Gardiner, 2019, p114

reported how the Maoris had come down the hill to attack the Germans, yelling so loud that most of them bolted. Gardiner also notes: “In the afternoon, significant numbers of parachutists landed in the battalion’s area for the first time. **D Company had the job of disposing of them, and had largely succeeded by nightfall.**”⁴⁰⁰ Official histories noted the “conspicuous élan and valour” of the 28 Māori battalion that day, but by the end of the day, there were over 100 casualties.

Interviewed after the war, Rangi Royal had said, “We found ourselves at a gap in the wire which appeared to surround the aerodrome. There we were challenged by a German sentry who spoke English and said in a guttural voice, ‘I’m coming to get you’. I warned the men to go down, just before he threw an ‘egg bomb’. This sentry then blew his whistle and German whistles appeared to be blown right along the wire both towards the coast and up the ridge inland where one of the 22 Bn HQs had been...the boys of B Coy wanted to fight and tackle the Germans on the drome but I said ‘no’, that our job was to find 22 Bn and that if a battalion could not hold the aerodrome than a company had no show...The Germans were lying in gun and other pits around the drome wire. My Sgt Maj. got three of them in one pit with a grenade.”⁴⁰¹

Gardiner quotes Rangi’s letter replying to Dittmer (24th June 1950): “if the attack had moved at the original start time, I have not the least doubt that Maleme would have been taken. Even if ...23 Bn had counter-attacked on the evening of the 20th, the position at Maleme could have been restored. I say this because of the ease with which I reached and entered the drome on that night.”⁴⁰² Losing the Maleme airfield was very significant in the German take-over of Crete, because their attack was primarily from the air.

On 23rd May, the 28 Māori battalion was told to hold the rearguard while 5 NZ Brigade retreated to Platania. Capt Royal was in command of the withdrawal, with 2nd Lieut Charles Bennett. By 26th May, the fighting capacity of 28 Maori Battalion was severely depleted, with ‘approximately 140 killed, wounded, missing and left behind in over-run dressing stations; much of its equipment...was gone and the only thing plentiful was fighting spirit.’⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid

⁴⁰¹ Gardiner, 2019, p.113.

⁴⁰² Ibid., p.116; Letter Royal to Dittmer, WAI1 180 DA 68/10/24 ANZ.

⁴⁰³ Cody, 1956, pp. 114-145

5.3 BAYONET CHARGE AT 42ND STREET

The enemy was attempting to break through to Canea, and the 18 Battalion and the Petrol Company first bore the brunt of the attack, followed by the 20 Battalion and then 23 Battalion. The 28 MB was ordered to stand by for a counter-attack at dusk. Galatas was lost and regained by the 23 Battalion at bayonet point, but the Māori battalion was not involved. About 9pm that night, the 28 battalion was moved forward behind the 4 brigade and warned to prepare for a counter-attack. But then a decision was made to hold off, as “the Maoris were our last fresh battalion and if used now we would not be able to hold a line tomorrow”, William George Gentry (the G1) told a brigade conference.

The next day, 26th May, 5 Brigade would be holding the front line, with 21 battalion on the coast, 19 battalion centre, and 28 battalion left, with its left flank resting on Alikianou-Canea road. Low-flying planes were attacking from above, nerves were stretched. It was nearly dark when the B Company was alerted that a group of German soldiers was coming marching along the road. They prepared for an ambush. Cody (1956): “The platoon was told not to fire until Lt Stewart at the far end of the line gave the word, which would be a blast from his tommy gun. The Maoris hidden above the bank watched at about ten paces while the Germans, four abreast, swung into the ambush. As soon as the head of the German column was opposite him, Stewart gave the signal, and the platoon came into action with captured spandaus and grenades and its own tommy guns and grenades. The ambushed Germans were almost annihilated. The survivors took shelter in houses on the roadside but were ferreted out and dealt with.”⁴⁰⁴

An order to withdraw meant following a route across country, then back to a main road east of Canea. After moving towards Suda Bay, they turned off on a road known as 42nd Street. It was known to locals as Tsikalarion Rd, after the village at its southern end, The road was unsealed and lined with olive trees. Sunk below the level of the surrounding land, with an embankment on its western side, it became the setting for one of the most memorable actions by 28 Maori battalion. Australian divisions defended the northern end of the road, and New Zealand battalions further south, with 23 battalion in reserve on the east. On 28 Maori battalion’s front, A company was on the right flank in touch with 21

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, p116

battalion, B Company in the centre, and C company on the left flank in touch with 19 battalion. Battalion headquarters and D company (in reserve) were to the east.⁴⁰⁵

Te Kenehi summarizes (29.11.21): “They didn’t realize where the paratroopers were gathering, and by the time they realized where they were, they were only 200m down the road.” Gardiner (2019): Moving aggressively towards 42nd St were 3 battalions of 700 German soldiers each (GJR 141), 5 Mountain Division. The regiments’ commander, Col Maximilian Jais, had been awarded an Iron Cross for bravery in WW1, clearly an experienced leader.⁴⁰⁶ Cody (p120) “A, B and C Companies jostled for starting positions in the confined area of 42nd Street, now immediately in front of the battalion; B Company, led by Captain Royal brandishing a bamboo walking pole like a taiaha in one hand, and a revolver in the other, and C Company following Capt Scott got into 42nd Street first and deployed across the battalion front. By this time the Germans were within 200 yards of the sunken-road start line and advancing in sections dispersed in frontage and depth.

“The appearance of a line of yelling Maoris sent them to ground and they opened heavy defensive fire which caused casualties in B Company. Meanwhile, A Company had left 42nd Street and was quickly in the van of the attack, with units on each flank of the battalion in full cry. A few stray Greek soldiers added their Hellenic yells to the blood-curdling din. Section after section of the enemy was over-run as the Maoris fanned out and swept around them, and then went in for the kill. Some used rifle and bayonet, some threw grenades, and some rushed forward with spandaus at the hip while their mates ran alongside carrying the belt containers. Casualties still continued, including Lt Stewart killed.”⁴⁰⁷

Gardiner’s account states that C company, led by Hemara Aupouri, did a haka on the embankment before charging in after B company had taken the brunt of the first attack. He also says that Capt Royal first attempted to start the B company charge with a whistle, and when that had no effect, a man named Sam O’Brien “started to ‘mea’ with his rifle...use like a taiaha”, and then when Rangī raised his staff and pointed at the enemy

⁴⁰⁵ Gardiner, 2019, p.118.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Cody, 1956, p120

and said “charge!” with Sam next to him doing the wero, “everybody just got up and into it!”.⁴⁰⁸

Cody (1956): The clearing of the creek-bed about 800 yards from 42nd Street was practically the end of the German resistance for those still alive threw away much of their equipment and disappeared westwards. ...Over eighty dead Germans were counted on the battalion sector for the loss of 10 kills and 14 wounded. Unfortunately, the Germans had used a group of Cretan civilians as a screen, and several were killed by the Maori companies. Lt Bennett reported that he had shot a policeman he knew from Platanias, who had smiled in recognition while dying and remained ‘on our side’. “Not only were these people used as a screen but as pack horses for the transport of their heavy equipment.”

The victory at 42nd Street was only a temporary reprieve, however. Crete was effectively lost. Evacuation would occur from the south coast on Royal Navy ships. Again, Captain Royal would lead a rearguard detachment of A and B companies, assisted by a body of Commandos about 100-strong and led by a Canadian captain. The Canadian asked Royal to help hold a key strategic bridge until it could be blown up to delay the Germans, and he sent 2nd Lt Ruhi Pene with two platoons to do this. Royal’s force was at risk of getting cut off by the Germans, and a company of commandoes was surrounded and captured. At 11am, the remaining commandos broke and followed the main Māori force.

Royal organised stretcher parties to carry the wounded to Stilos, accompanied by those wounded who could still walk. “With characteristic Ngā Puhi brashness”, Gardiner wrote, the A Company walked straight down the road with their wounded and reached their destination unscathed. The B company stayed off the road and took much longer to reach Stilos. When two of the wounded said they should be left behind to allow the party to reach safety, the stretchers were abandoned and the men were carried.

Gardiner (2019): “Royal now had to decide how to lead the rest of his force to safety. After the war he remembered having a vision of a tuatara with its head pointing towards the cliff face behind the plateau they were holding. Just after midday he led his men down this cliff face, which was difficult to negotiate. They crossed countryside, streams, canals to the village of Armenoi, 2 miles east of Stilos, where they came under fire from an

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., p.120; Sonny Sewell, quoted in Soutar, p147-8.

advanced German unit. By now tired beyond belief, Royal came up with an audacious plan. He boldly marched his men through the village, flanked by Bren guns and with Spandaus to the rear.⁴⁰⁹

Cody states (1956): “Royal led the column from the centre of the road with three tommy-gunners in arrowhead formation on either side of him.” Only as the tail of the column reached the end of the village was there any firing. This and a German motorcycle section which appeared on the scene were dealt with by the Spandaus.”⁴¹⁰ After a ten-hour trek over the 3,000 foot high White Mountains, they reached Sin Ammoudhari on the Askifou Plains. Their escape was described as “miraculous” and confirmed Royal’s outstanding leadership qualities. The D and C companies also had a tough 15-mile march to Stilos, and then an exhausting climb over the White Mountains. Some men were walking in their sleep, reported Pte Tame Tamou of Whanganui.⁴¹¹ Dittmer was pleased with the number of active men taken out of Greece and Crete, and by the end of the month, Rangi Royal had been promoted to Major. He was later awarded the Military Cross for his courageous work related to evacuation from Crete, and the Bar in relation to events in Libya.⁴¹²

Te Kenehi refers to various stories in Cody’s official history (1956) to illustrate his belief that Rangi Royal was deeply knowledgeable in the Māori and Pakeha worlds, with knowledge of te reo, tikanga and martial arts such as taiaha, as well as traditional strategies:

“Rangi being a very cultured and articulate speaker in both Māori and English was often called upon to make speeches eg the presentation to Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Hill, Commodore of the convoy and Commander A. Alderton, master of the *Athlone Castle* ship, after the eight weeks at sea going to Egypt⁴¹³. He presented the two carved paddles that were carved during the journey by Second-Lieutenant Henare Toka who in the 1960s lead a group of Ngāti Raukawa carvers in carving Parewahawaha meeting-house at Ohinepuhiawe Marae, Bulls. His fluency in te reo is evidenced in the letters he wrote to his wife Puhi, who was clearly also fluent enough to understand them.⁴¹⁴ He was later invited onto a committee involved in revising H.W. Williams Dictionary of the Maori

⁴⁰⁹ Gardiner, 2019, p122

⁴¹⁰ Cody, 1956, p127

⁴¹¹ Gardiner, 2019, p. 123; Tamou to Dept of Social Welfare, 1987, family archives.

⁴¹² Tom Jamison, 28th Oct 21.

⁴¹³ Cody, 1956, p. 37.

⁴¹⁴ Gardiner, 2019, p. 152.

language and made contributions to the *Ngā Moteatea* publications, with Apirana Ngata.⁴¹⁵

Rangi was well versed in English literature and was at times recorded using his knowledge to quote to his company eg Royal rebuked them (B Company) in Greece by quoting some lines of ‘Charge of the Light Brigade’ to hurry them with their breakfast. “Yours is not to reason why, but to do or die.”⁴¹⁶ Rangi was knowledgeable of the various forms of Māori martial arts eg the companies of the 28 Maori Battalion assembled at 42nd Street and B Company led by Captain Royal brandishing a bamboo walking pole like a taiaha in one hand and a revolver in the other ... the appearance of a line of yelling Maoris [doing haka] sent them [German 141 Mountain Regiment] to the ground⁴¹⁷.

Rangi used Māori warfare procedures eg the rearguard action was used and avoidance of being captured in rearguard manoeuvres⁴¹⁸, and taking his men down the apparently sheer cliff face.⁴¹⁹ At Armenoi, when they walked through the village, Royal led the column from the centre....with three tommy-gunners in arrowhead formation on either side of him⁴²⁰. This formation is called the ‘kawau maro’, states Teira.

When others were embarking, Rangi was also 2IC of a group of six officers and 144 other ranks who would stay behind to protect Force Headquarters, another rearguard action. With characteristic Māori generosity, many volunteered to remain, including 2 officers and 26 other ranks of the B company and 2 officers and 22 other ranks of the D company. As they neared the time to embark, the group being called the ‘Suicide Company’ formed the inner cordon on the beach while the 22 Battalion formed the outer cordon, limiting the number departing, as Dyer’s orders were that no more than 150 Māori were to embark.⁴²¹

Along with Rangi’s matatau knowledge of te reo Māori and its uses in combat he also had a great knowledge of kōrero tuku iho and tikanga Māori eg the appearance of a tuatara as a tohu or sign to indicate a way down the cliff⁴²². Tom Jamison referred to Kataore, the lizard kaitiaki of Hinemihi, the tūpuna at Tarawera. This story was known to Rangi, who

⁴¹⁵ Royal & Jamison, DNZB, 1998.

⁴¹⁶ Cody, 1956, p. 66.

⁴¹⁷ Cody, 1956, p. 120.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., p. 126.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., p. 127.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., p. 130.

⁴²¹ Ibid., pp. 130 - 132.

⁴²² Ibid., p. 127.

had Te Arawa whakapapa (Ngāti Pikiao, Ngāti Rangitihī⁴²³) as well as Ngāti Tamaterā and Ngāti Maru. Te Kenehi comments that there were several other Ngāti Raukawa men in the B Company with Rangi, eg Horne, O’Brien, Mahima, Wehipeihana and Whareaitu. Some but not all were also linked to Te Arawa.



Rangi Royal’s mokopuna Tom Jamison of Otaki with his koroua’s World War Two tin trunk.

Capt Rangi Royal was awarded the Military Cross in December 1941 “for leading a bayonet charge against German paratroopers at Suda Bay, Crete”⁴²⁴. His citation indicates the honour was also about having the courage and leadership ability to accept a rearguard defence role, and leading his B company men and other commandoes out safely when he assessed the situation was beyond hope: “For initiative, coolness and general good work. Throughout the whole of the campaign in Crete this officer set a very fine example in coolness and on at least two occasions he was required to use initiative of a very high order. At Beritiana on 26 May 1941 when the brigade withdrew from Suda Bay, he was left with two companies, totalling 140 other ranks, to guard and hold the main road to the brigade resting area. A considerable number of the enemy worked round behind Capt

⁴²³ Puhī Campbell, 4 Dec 2021

⁴²⁴ Royal & Jamison, DNZB, 1998.

Royal and his party, and prepared to attack; this was about midday. As the enemy were between Capt Royal's party and the brigade, this officer showed good judgement in deciding to withdraw at once. The job of leading his party out required great initiative and courage, and was done so well that only five or six casualties (which were brought back) were sustained. Although the battalion, unknown by Capt Royal, had moved on, Royal again using his initiative, was able to join up the following night. This officer has always done an excellent job of work in the battalion."⁴²⁵ Under his good leadership, the name Suicide Company was a mis-nomer!

5.4 LIBYA - EVENTS AT GAZALA

Royal also received a Bar to the Military Cross for his actions at Gazala in Libya, also in December 1941. The citation reads: "Captain Royal, a senior officer and company commander of the 28 (Maori) battalion, has continuous records in Greece, Crete and Libya of bold and fearless leadership. In the last action at Gazala (Libya) he led his men in the night attack at Pt 181. After sweeping through the first fort, he reformed his men to the right and went through the main fort taking the troops resisting A company in the rear. He was then left in charge of organising the position against counter-attack. This he did effectively, himself occupying the most forward and dangerous position, where during the next day he was wounded. His gallant resistance to Von Rommel's column at Musaid is well known."⁴²⁶

To gain a fuller understanding of what happened in Libya, we turn to Gardiner (2019): In December 1941, the 28 Maori battalion marched 14 miles west to Menastir, to help surround the port of Bardia, just inside Libya, to prevent the enemy force communicating with Tobruk. 2 NZ Division suffered serious losses at Sidi Rezegh and Belhamed, after the failure of British tanks to arrive. The battalion positioned themselves just north of Bardia-Tobruk Rd, near two other battalions (23 and 22). That night they captured members of a German reconnaissance patrol. On 3rd December, an enemy column entered the defence line, and was **ambushed by D company**, with well-sited machine-gunners. A company also attacked and cleared two German posts, with support from 22 battalion. German vehicles loaded with ammunition were set on fire. German losses that day were:

⁴²⁵ Fletcher, 2020, p122 ; National Archives UK, ref WO 373/27/425

⁴²⁶ Ibid, p122; the National Archives, UK, ref WO 373/19/383

two officers and six other ranks wounded; with 5 officers, and 226 other ranks missing. Fifth Reinforcements who had arrived recently were involved.⁴²⁷

D Company's 17 platoon were "mopping up after the action", and found 15 supposedly dead Germans in a "fold in the ground". Pte Harper Takarangi (who had fought in Greece and Crete) fired at them, "whereupon the dead men came miraculously to life." Takarangi felt a lesson had been learned, and "lectured the others" on taking dead Germans for granted. The German column was virtually wiped out in this action.⁴²⁸

The battalion was then ordered back to the Sollum/Capuzzo area. D company led the way, in desert formation. Rangi Logan⁴²⁹ remembered how the company was "blithely going along, ruminating on the previous day's success and the weapons and other useful equipment we had captured, when suddenly without warning, everything went black". The lead elements of the **D company** had been attacked by an Indian regiment who had mistaken them for the enemy. Logan's vehicle was hit, his driver seriously wounded (dying a week later of his wounds). The Germans had tightened their encirclement of Tobruk and thought they had destroyed 2 NZ Division, but they had only knocked it back. The Germans also suffered heavy losses.

On 7 December, Major Humphrey Dyer arrived to relieve Love of his command of the battalion, and the Japanese attacked the US Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbour. Rommel's German-Italian force began withdrawing from Tobruk to Gazala, 40 miles to the west. 5 NZ Brigade came under command of 70 Division and prepared to move forward, and the rest of 2 NZ Division withdrew to recuperate. The brigade's task was to push against Gazala Box, but avoid serious fighting if the enemy was there in strength. No 4 Indian division was to outflank Gazala to the south, and return to the coast further west. Early on the morning of 11 December, with the 23 battalion in front, the Māori battalion was attacked by shells - at Sidi Mgherreb - a slight rise and a small hill in the desert. Shells began dropping on the Māori trucks, which sped off to escape. Dyer's car was put out of action, and he jumped into an artillery signal truck which chased the battalion.

"When Rangi Royal and B company charged the anti-tank guns, they were still registered to fire on the points where the Māori should have got off their trucks and gone to ground.

⁴²⁷ Gardiner, 2019, 168-9

⁴²⁸ Cody, 1956, p.160.

⁴²⁹ Major, France Te Rangi Ao Nui Logan, OBE born Hastings, 3 July 1916 died Wairoa, 24 July 1999.

Flummoxed, the enemy stopped firing and B company collected about 200 prisoners. The Māori were fortunate that the Italians had been in the process of withdrawing, as many British dead were found in and around the Italian positions. The battalion had “bagged” more than 1,100, at the cost of 5 killed and 11 wounded.”⁴³⁰

Further advancing towards Gazala on 13 December, the B and C companies were in the lead. Ordered to take Point 181 at first light, Dyer asked for and got permission to delay until nightfall. He decided to attack the horse-shoe shaped position from its flank, at 3am, after an artillery bombardment, with B and A companies coming from the north; C and D companies from the south. “After all the objectives were reached, Royal with B company decided to go further forward and captured more enemies in trenches close by. Then at first light another enemy group appeared to be surrendering, but suddenly turned and manned some guns behind them. B company took cover and were unable to rejoin the battalion. Royal and Lieut Stewart were wounded by the same mortar shell, and Lieut Fred Bennett took command. B company remained cut off during the day. The battalion was planning an attack, with D company advancing to the right of the Poles to give covering fire to A company assaulting Point 154,⁴³¹ when a shell killed nine men of C company, and Lieut Pine Taiapa⁴³² was brought up from the Pioneers to command the platoon.

Lieut Porter then devised an unorthodox plan, inspired by the fact that the Italian truck used to bring forward rations for the men was never fired at. He used it to bring a hot meal, got the men to put their bayonets away, sling their rifles and get their rations (kai). When it was time to move forward, the whole company straggled forward in extended order, eating their hot meal as they did so. As they neared Point 154, they formed three ranks and charged with fixed bayonets. Point 154 fell without a shot fired and without casualty.

At Point 181, A company had charged the enemy without being ordered to do so, with the loss of 58 dead or wounded. This action, described by Gardiner as ‘brave but foolhardy’, had broken up the enemy counter-attack and bought Dyer time to re-organize. By the morning of 17 December, the enemy had abandoned the Gazala defences, and the

⁴³⁰ Gardiner, 2019, p170

⁴³¹ Cody, p.172.

⁴³² Lieut, Pineāmine Taiapa, 1901-1972, Tikitiki; reknowned carver, carved Raukawa meeting house post-war.

battalion was able to take time to acknowledge and mourn its fallen. “During the Crusader campaign the battalion had lost 64 men killed, 14 died of wounds, 151 wounded, and 13 prisoners of war, 10 of whom were wounded. These 242 casualties represented nearly half the fighting strength of the battalion.”⁴³³



Gunner	Jack
Seymour,	photo
supplied	by

Jack Seymour (60935) of Tukorehe, a gunner in the NZ artillery, 7 anti-tank regiment, was aged 28 when his truck was hit by a shell in the Western Desert on 13th December. He was so seriously wounded that he died the next day. Jack’s brother Bill, who was also there at the time, wrote to their father, stating what had happened (nephew Pat Seymour told us), ie that on 13th December Jack was so badly wounded that doctors had decided to amputate his leg. He did not survive the shock of losing his leg.⁴³⁴ Bill and Jack were the sons of Whareao and Delia Seymour (nee Richardson) of Ōhau. Jack’s next of kin on enlistment was his cousin Miss P. Holder. He was buried at Knightsbridge War Cemetery, Acroma, Libya. His death was reported in the *Manawatu Times*, 23 Dec 1941, and he is remembered at the Levin RSA, on the Memorial Wall in Remembrance Park, Levin and the Ōhau School Honours Board. The welcome home ceremony for Ngāti Raukawa 28 Maori battalion men at Tukorehe marae after the war included the unveiling of a monument at Te Rau o te Aroha urupa, Kuku, acknowledging the death of Jack Seymour. His brother Bill and Rangiatea minister Paora Temuera presided over this event.⁴³⁵

Several more of our Ngāti Raukawa men also died in action in the Western Desert - two were Cpl H. Roera (d. 27 Nov 1941) and 2nd Lt E.J.Ropata (d. 26.11.1942). Both were in

⁴³³ Gardiner, 2019, p.173.

⁴³⁴ Interview with P.Seymour, 8th Jan 2022.

⁴³⁵ Patete 2021, p637; P. Seymour 8th Jan 2022.

the 28 Maori battalion and are buried at El Alamein War Cemetery, Egypt. Others of Ngati Raukawa in the 28 Maori battalion who died there were Ropert Ropiha (d. 23.11.41), Edward Te Whatanui Leonard (died 16.12.41), Duncan Turoa Gotty (d. 5.1.43), Te Aorere Sutherland (d. 17.2.42), Rakaherea Hakaraia (d 7.4.43) and Dudu Goffe (d. 5.1.43). Leslie John Sciascia, 27 Machine Gun battalion, died in the Western Desert on 5th July 1942, and is also buried at El Alamein cemetery, Egypt. See Appendix I for a list of those of Ngāti Raukawa who were killed in action or soon after from wounds (32), seriously wounded or taken POW in Greece, Italy and elsewhere.

5.5 CAPT PIRIMI TAHIWI & NEPHEWS - WW2

When the Second World War broke out Pirimi Tāhiwi again volunteered for military service. He entered Trentham Military Camp in November 1939 and became adjutant to the 28th (Māori) Battalion. In May 1940 he was appointed to the New Zealand Temporary Staff with the rank of captain, and became a company commander in the Training Battalion at Papakura Military Camp. In August 1943 he was posted to the retired list.

5.5.1 Corporal Remana Te Hana (802232), 28 Maori Battalion - nephew of Pirimi and Henare Tahiwī - excerpt from biography by Deanna Rudd, AWMM, OLC)

“In 1943 Remana Te Hana was called to active service and sent to Waiouru and Kaikohe for training before being deployed to Italy, arriving in October 1943 as part of the 28th Māori Battalion. Remana’s maternal uncles Pirimi Tahiwī and Henare Tahiwī had been members of the New Zealand (Māori) Pioneer Battalion who had fought at Gallipoli. As part of the 28th Māori Battalion, Remana fought at the battle of Cassino, before heading north to Florence, Rimini and Faenza. Remana was killed in active service in 11 April 1945 less than a month before German forces capitulated in Italy on 2 May 1945.

“Remana was one of 230 of the 28th Māori Battalion soldiers killed during the Italy Campaign. Following his death on 11 April 1945 aged 25, Corporal R.K Te Hana, 28 NZ BN 2 NZEF was buried in the Forli War Cemetery in Italy. Remana was posthumously awarded the 1939-45 Star for the Battle of Britain, the Italy Star, the War Medal 1939-1945 and the NZ War Service Medal. His mother Hopaea was offered the New Zealand Memorial Cross issued to widows and mothers of NZ servicemen who were killed or died as a result of active service during WWII. A memorial stone was later laid just outside of

the door of Rangiātea Church within Rangiātea urupa Ōtaki next to his sister, by his family.

“Remana’s name and memory lives on through other whanau members who have borne and continue to bear his name including: Remana (Lemon) Wehipeihana, Kiriwai Roiri, Kiriwai Williams and Remana Rudd-O'Sullivan. Kei warewaretia tātou i a rātou, lest we forget.”

5.5.2 Kingi Te Ahoaho Gilling Tahiwī (411951), broadcaster and pilot

Kingi Te Ahoaho Gilling Tahiwī (411951), son of the well-known Ngāti Poneke founder and leader Kingi Tahiwī, was a popular 2ZB radio announcer before joining the New Zealand Airforce (RNZAF, 203 Squadron) on 23 March 1941. He became a Flying Officer. In late September 1942 he was tragically lost, missing in action during a flight in active service near Greece. He is acknowledged at El Alamein cemetery, Egypt. Kingi Te Ahoaho was featured on the cover of the New Zealand Listener (Journal of National Broadcasting Services) magazine dated 25 Sept 1942, vol 7, no 170, broadcasting from London on the BBC’s ‘Calling New Zealand’ programme only days before he went missing. He was pictured with pilot officer Des Lock from station 1Zb and Miss Noni Wright of the BBC, who came from Auckland. He had married Phyllis Gretchen Tahiwī before going overseas, and has descendants.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁶ AWMM, Online Cenotaph, Deanna Rudd & whānau 17 Sept 2021, Arini Loader 2 Dec 2021.



The recordings of Pilot Officer Kingi Tahiri on BBC's "Calling New Zealand" programme in 1942 can be heard through this link:

https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=206483

There were two recordings broadcast - 6 July 1942, and 7 August 1942.

5.6 HAANE MANAHI - DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT MEDAL - (TE ARAWA, NGĀTI RAUKAWA & SCOTTISH)

The following biography, published on the Dictionary of New Zealand Biographies (Te Ara – Encyclopedia of New Zealand), was written by Norman Bennett (2000):

“Haane Te Rauawa Manahi was born in Ōhinemutu, Rotorua, on 28 September 1913, the youngest son of Neti Mariana Insley and her husband, Manahi Ngākahawai Te Rauawa. Haane’s father belonged to Te Arawa and Ngāti Raukawa and his mother was of Te Arawa and Scottish descent. Haane, better known to his friends as Jack, was educated at Rotorua High School. After leaving school he worked in road gangs and on Māori farm development schemes and assisted his uncle, Matiu, in the timber and building trade. As a young man Manahi was a promising sportsman: he excelled in swimming, and enjoyed rugby, athletics and boxing. He also loved the outdoors and was a natural huntsman and a

keen trout fisherman. Manahi joined the 28th New Zealand (Māori) Battalion shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War. Before going overseas he married Rangiwatea Te Kiri on 24 January 1940 at Rotorua. He fought in Greece, Crete and North Africa, and it was during the North African campaign that he confirmed his attributes as an outstanding leader and soldier.

He was in a platoon from the Māori Battalion that was ordered, in April 1943, to capture and secure the Takrouna feature – a steep, rocky outcrop rising almost a thousand feet above a group of olive groves. It was occupied by 300 Italian and German troops, who were causing havoc to the advancing Allied army. The assignment was extremely dangerous and difficult due to heavy mortar and small arms fire, and by the morning after the initial attack on 20 April, Manahi's platoon of around 30 men was reduced in strength to 10. Manahi then led a party of three men up the western side of the pinnacle. In order to reach their objective they had to climb some 500 feet – the last 20 feet almost sheer. After a brief fight, some 60 enemy soldiers surrendered. Manahi and his party were then joined by the rest of the platoon and the pinnacle was secured.

The area they held was subjected to severe shell fire from the considerable enemy force still holding the Takrouna village on the northern and western slopes of the feature. Manahi's commanding officer was killed, and he now led the platoon. He and his men held the position, and with rations and ammunition running out, he returned alone to his battalion's base for further supplies and reinforcements – the whole time under heavy fire. During the afternoon the enemy counter-attacked in force, some of them gaining a foothold. However, in the face of grenades and small-arms fire, Manahi personally led his men against the attackers and after fierce hand-to-hand fighting the enemy were eventually driven off. Shortly after this, Manahi's party was relieved.

“On the morning of 21 April the enemy had once more gained a foothold and Manahi led one of two parties which attacked and drove them back, despite concentrated mortar and heavy machine-gun fire. Late in the afternoon Manahi, on his own initiative, led a small party round the north-eastern side of the feature and with cool determination captured the enemy's machine-gun and mortar posts. This courageous action led to the ultimate collapse of the enemy defence and the capture of the whole Takrouna feature, together with over 300 prisoners and an array of heavy artillery.

“The battle of Takrouna had been the scene of so much dogged fighting and individual gallantry that the men who survived the struggle were regarded by the rest of the division with something akin to awe. Following the battle, Manahi was recommended for a Victoria Cross, but was instead awarded a Distinguished Conduct Medal. He returned to New Zealand in July 1943. (He was later honoured by being invited by the Government to attend the Victory Parade in London at the conclusion of the war.) On his return Manahi joined a government-sponsored rehabilitation carpentry course at a training centre in Rotorua, after which he was employed at Rotorua Hospital. He later joined the Ministry of Works as a vehicle surveyor.

“Haane Manahi’s interest in swimming continued in the post-war years and he coached many promising swimmers from Rotorua. He was a foundation member of the Springfield Golf Club, a vice president of the Waikite Rugby Football Club and a patron of the Rotomahana Anglers’ Club. After the death of his wife in 1976, Haane Manahi retired to Maketū in the Bay of Plenty. On 29 March 1986 he died in a car accident in the Te Puke area. He was buried at the Muruika cemetery at his marae in Ōhinemutu, Rotorua. He was survived by two sons. A campaign to have Manahi’s DCM replaced by a VC continued in 1999.”⁴³⁷

5.7 SGT THOMAS TULLOCH, NGĀTI KAPU, DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT MEDAL

The official DCM citation for Sgt. Thomas William Tulloch was as follows⁴³⁸: “Sergeant Tulloch was a Platoon Sergeant in the 25th New Zealand Battalion during the attack on Cassino on 15 March 1944. During the early part of the attack his Platoon Commander was wounded, and Sergeant Tulloch himself was wounded by grenade splinters. He immediately took charge of his Platoon and personally contacted a nearby tank and organised tank fire support which enabled him and his Platoon to overcome the nearest enemy strongpoint. By this time his total strength was reduced to 12 men and he was beyond the limit of further tank assistance. He re-organised his Platoon, and with his Platoon weapons alone, assaulted the next enemy strongpoint about 75 yards away. He

⁴³⁷ Norman Bennett. 'Manahi, Haane Te Rauawa', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2000. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5m30/manahi-haane-te-rauawa> (accessed 13 December 2021)

⁴³⁸ <https://www.angelfire.com/rnb/taiuimarae/tulloch.html>

and his Platoon were driven back and he was again wounded. He then led the remnants of his Platoon around the flank of the strongpoint and established them in a strong position. The strongpoint consisted of a group of strongly-fortified houses at the base of Point 193. Sergeant Tulloch kept his men aggressively employed against this strongpoint, and by his tactics partially neutralised it. He stayed with his men until ordered by his Company Commander to report to the Regimental Aid Post, from which he was evacuated. Despite severe casualties suffered by his Platoon Sergeant Tulloch, by his aggressive tactics and personal example, he led and encouraged his men to keep them in the highest spirits."

Tom was born in Otaki on 12 December 1916 and was educated at Ōtaki Convent School and St Pats College where he excelled at athletics. He represented Horowhenua in rugby four times during 1935 and 1936. Tom embarked with the 4th Reinforcements 8 November 1940; he returned to NZ 11 June 1944; and was discharged 19 November 1944. He re-enlisted in the Regular Force on 14 October 1948; and was discharged again on 7 November 1953. He died on 6 September 1956 and is interred in the Ōtaki RSA cemetery.

5.8 SGT TUMATA (TOI) GRAHAM, 67779 WW2- RODNEY GRAHAM TELLS TE KENEHI ABOUT “THE MONKEY BRIGADE”.

Before the war, Toi was a labourer, of Awahuri (Ngāti Kauwhata), and he enlisted in Palmerston North. Toi joined the 28 Maori Battalion. Others from Ngāti Kauwhata such as Waki Lewis and Waka Kingi who were in the 28 MB with Toi, told Toi’s son Rodney that he was a member of a group of soldiers referred to as the “monkey brigade”.

According to Rodney, he was told that Toi was one of the men who was expected to climb trees and buildings, often dilapidated, to act as snipers, marksmen and scouts.

These men provided cover for battalion members who were in the front ranks that challenged the enemy, eg 42nd Street battle on Crete. When 10,000 paratroopers landed in Crete, this group of men were deployed to shoot them before they landed.

Toi was also a driver of Te Rau Aroha, the Māori battalion canteen truck. The truck was a large target for enemy fire and the contents of the truck were also a prize to be protected for all the men of the battalion. After serving in North Africa, Crete, Greece and Italy, he returned to his whānau at Awahuri, Aorangi Rd, Feilding, with several of his relatives in

the battalion. He named one of his sons Charles after Charles Bennett, who was one of their commanding officers in North Africa; a driver of Te Rau Aroha also had the same name. Toi appreciated Charles Bennett's leadership, according to Rodney Graham.

5.9 WHAT WAS THE CHARACTER OF D COMPANY? BY TE KENEHI TEIRA

D Company was aptly nicknamed "Ngāti Walkabout". The name came from being known for walking here and there to do tasks that they were either given as orders or sometimes took on their own initiative.⁴³⁹ Cody gives an example when describing an exploit of Pte Charles Te Amaru Sciascia, when D company planned to take Casa Bianca in northern Italy: "Private Scia Scia had an exciting few moments. He was searching haystacks near the *casa* when he fell into a weapon pit that was already occupied by a very large German who seized him from behind. Scia Scia leaned back against his adversary and hitting him over the head with his steel helmet, forced the German to release his hold. When Scia Scia had finished with him he was dead."⁴⁴⁰

The D company was made up of soldiers from many iwi and places, including Waikato, Taranaki, Manawatu/Horowhenua, Otaki, Wairarapa, Hawkes Bay, Wellington and all of the South Island. They were sometimes placed in a rearguard or reservist role but mostly found themselves replacing the depleted ranks of the other companies while in the field. They were often given roles/orders that required them to guard enemy prisoners and jobs like digging trenches, repairing roads, driving provisions or ammunitions and laying explosives. Individuals of D Company were selected for their propensity for or enjoyment of blowing things up, for being crack marksmen and snipers, for being scouts on reconnaissance (see account of Tumata Graham above) and running orders through the battlefield.⁴⁴¹

Sometimes D Company were ordered to take a full-frontal attack or advanced occupation of a strategic point. In O'Connor's book on Bunty Preece (2012) he describes the action - D Company was ordered to take Brocco village, which overlooked a strategic bridge, where the Allies needed to cross the Fribeno River. They thought they would need to

⁴³⁹ Gardiner, 2019, p68; Te Kenehi advised that Wi Huata told him this about the name in 1983, at Motuiti marae.

⁴⁴⁰ Cody, 1956, p440

⁴⁴¹ O'Connor, 2012, p61

wade across, but Bunty could see it was too deep so organised a platoon to go out scouting at night to find a safe way across. They knew they could get hit by a German sniper at any time. Bunty, with difficulty, persuaded an Italian farmer to lend them a boat so they could cross the river. From where they were hiding in an old house, they could see Germans across the river and then saw a party of them laying mines. Rather than attacking themselves, Bunty and the others “called in a mortar attack which killed or wounded most of them.” The boat was used, shortly afterwards, to take eight men at a time across the river. “We finally got across and put the flame-throwers on.” The advance on Brocco village got underway the next morning.

Thus began the trek to Florence through several villages and battles. Because of the depleted number in the battalion, D Company ended up seeing as much front-line action as the rest all the way to Florence, in about seven small battles, states Te Kenehi. An example of being sent over the top, and leading out the charge, was when leading an attack across the Senio River. After crossing the river, Bunty witnessed one of his men, again Charlie Sciascia, in a charge that he ordered, firing his Bren gun at the enemy from his hip.⁴⁴²



⁴⁴² O'Connor, 2012, p60-62

Maori battalion HQ members including Kiwi Cribb (left), and Whiwahi Winiata (rear, left) at Sora, Italy. Photo: George Kaye, ATL DA-06147-F. Soutar (2008) described them as “mischievous and risk-takers, the descendants of Maui, the legendary trickster”.⁴⁴³ The resourcefulness of these soldiers is apparent!

5.10 J-FORCE & MORE - INCLUDING RUTH HOWELL, THE ONLY NGĀTI RAUKAWA WAAC TO SERVE OVERSEAS

Japan’s unconditional surrender was announced on 15th August 1945. Though New Zealanders would not fight in Japan, the 2 Division including the 28 Maori battalion would contribute a brigade to the British Commonwealth Occupation Force in southern Honshu. Māori volunteers helped form a 270-strong D squadron of the Divisional Cavalry Battalion, commanded by Lt Col Duncan MacIntyre. D squadron was organised on tribal lines, similar to 28 (Maori) battalion, with 2nd Lt Hinga Grant in charge of the B company platoon. They trained in Florence until February 1946, and arrived in Japan in March.⁴⁴⁴ Cleaver states clearly (2018): “Maori served in an all-Maori unit within Jayforce.”⁴⁴⁵ From our own data analysis (see Appendix J), over thirty Ngāti Raukawa men chose to remain with the 2 New Zealand Division, twelve from the 28 Maori battalion, who remained in tribal groups in the D Squadron to participate in the occupation.

⁴⁴³ Soutar, M. *Nga Tama Toa, the Price of Citizenship, Co Company 28 Maori battalion 1939-45*. Rakino Publishing Ltd, Auckland, 2008, ;369.

⁴⁴⁴ Gardiner, 2019, p.339.

⁴⁴⁵ Cleaver, 2018, p31



Ruth Ransfield, WAAC,
Wellington & J-force. Photo:
D.Taylor

The J-force was to include **the only Ngāti Raukawa wahine to serve overseas**, Pte Ruth Howell (nee Ransfield, 816240), of Ngāti Wehiwehi (see photo above, and Appendix H). Zimmerman, a US serviceman who met her in Otaki, described her as “Ruta Ransfield, a sturdy, self-reliant girl from Otaki.”⁴⁴⁶ Ruth joined the army in 1942, and worked for the artillery school and the Women’s Auxilary Army Corp in Wellington for over four years before signing up for J-force (Aug 1947 - May 1948).⁴⁴⁷ She became a driver for the New Zealand brigade commander in Japan, according to her son Mark Howell, and that was how she met her husband-to-be, Andrew Howell, who was a Temporary Sergeant there.⁴⁴⁸ Ruth married Andrew Howell (24092) in 1948 - he was from Hokianga (Ngā Puhi), a farmer’s son, who had become a Corporal in the 28 Maori battalion. The couple lived in Auckland and had eleven children together. Ruth died on 11th Nov 2003, aged 83. They are both buried in Auckland. Their son Mark also had a long army career, and is now retired.

Twelve of our men served in Korea and at least six in Malaya or Thailand (see biography of Brian Poananga below). Many more served in Vietnam (not all listed due to time constraints). We remember Peter Rauhihi of Ngāti Whakatere, who died in service in Vietnam on 24th November 1969. One of 10 children, Pete grew up in Shannon and

⁴⁴⁶ Zimmerman, 1946, p.57

⁴⁴⁷ Ruth’s army file was provided by the NZ Defence Force, 8 Dec, in consultation with the whānau.

⁴⁴⁸ Mark Howell, 4th Dec 2021 (phone)

became a prefect at his local primary school. After completing his infantry training at Burnham, he was posted to 1RNZIR at Terendak, Malaysia in November 1968, and then to Vietnam with V4 Company in May 1969. On 24 November 1969 he and three other members of V4 were on patrol with an ARVN platoon when they were ambushed. In the ensuing contact, Pete (who was the M60 machine gunner) was mortally wounded and Jerry Barrett killed. Two other New Zealanders – Ray Davidson and Patrick Smith – were wounded. According to Online Cenotaph, Peter was killed by shrapnel from a claymore mine explosion.

5.11 BRIAN POANANGA 824356, - FIRST MĀORI CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF, NZ ARMY,

Major Gen Brian Poananga, chief of General Staff; Ngāti Kauwhata; J-force, Korea, Malaya, Borneo, Indonesian, Vietnam; Honours - MB, CBE, OBE, MBE. Died 1995.

The following biography of Brian Matauru Poananga was written by Henare Matauru (Pon) Poananga for Te Ara, the Dictionary of New Zealand Biographies:

“Brian Matauru Poananga was born in Palmerston North on 2 December 1924. His father, Henare Matauru Poananga, was the great-grandson of Wikiriwhi Matauru, a noted warrior of Ngāti Porou, who had fought for the Crown against the Hauhau. A lawyer, Henare was a protégé of Apirana Ngata. Brian’s mother, Atareta Pareautohe Te Matakū, had been adopted at birth by the prominent Rangitane family of Tamihana Te Awe Awe, and was related to the leaders of Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Porou. Brought up as a Mormon, Atareta Tamihana, or Adelaide Thompson, as she became known, gained a degree in commerce from the University of Utah. It is thought that she was called back from the United States by Ngata for the express purpose of marrying Henare.

“Brian attended Baines School in Manawatu and Hiruharama Native School (East Cape). In 1939 he followed his elder brother, Bruce, to Palmerston North Boys’ High School, where both distinguished themselves in sport and study. Brian captained both the First XV and the First XI in his final year. Blessed with the patrician handsomeness of his

parents, he had a forthright, engaging personality, coupled with a fierce determination and strong physique.

“Poananga’s attempt, while a 15-year-old schoolboy, to join the Royal New Zealand Air Force on the outbreak of war in 1939 failed because of his age. Three years later, realising that he was colour-blind and not wanting to jeopardise his officer cadet training, Brian memorised, with the help of his sister Honoria, the entire set of colour plates that made up the eye test. Apirana Ngata’s call for Maori to be included in the officer cadet training scheme resulted in first Bruce (1943), then Brian (1944) enrolling at the Royal Military College of Australia at Duntroon.

“At Duntroon the Poananga brothers (‘big Po’ and ‘little Po’) continued to excel at sport. Brian dominated heavyweight boxing in all three years as well as representing Duntroon in rugby, cricket and basketball. Both brothers were also selected to represent Australian Capital Territory in rugby in 1945–46. On graduation from Duntroon in 1946, Brian took up a posting as a lieutenant with Jayforce in Japan. Initially with D Squadron at Hikari under his brother Bruce, he later held staff appointments in Ozuki, Yamaguchi and Tokyo. Poananga represented the New Zealand army in rugby and cricket and was the occupation forces’ light-heavyweight boxing champion. While in Japan he met Doreen Mary Porter, a nursing sister with the British army. They married in Palmerston North, on 28 May 1949.

“Brian Poananga’s first assignment back in New Zealand was as area officer in Wanganui; his eldest son was born there. After several staff and training appointments, and now with the rank of captain, he was sent to Korea as part of New Zealand’s contribution to the Commonwealth reinforcements. Serving initially as a staff officer with the First Commonwealth Division HQ, he was seconded to the Third Royal Australian Regiment in June 1952; his enthusiastic patrolling earned him a mention in dispatches.

“On his return to New Zealand in March 1953 Poananga was appointed adjutant, 1st Battalion, Hauraki Regiment, based in Tauranga and shortly after was posted to the same position in the Northland Regiment in Whangarei, taking over from Bruce. In Whangarei he began his lifetime association with golf, while still playing competitive rugby and cricket. Poananga’s family by this time included another son and a daughter. Late in 1954

they accompanied him to his posting as deputy assistant adjutant and quartermaster general at the New Zealand High Commission in London.

“In 1957 Poananga attended the Staff College at Camberley, having gained entrance with a scholarship that topped all other New Zealand candidates for that year. In April 1958 he was appointed chief instructor at the Tactical School, Waiouru Camp. The following year he attended an ANZUS conference in Hawaii as a guest of the United States Army. Later that year, with the rank of major, he assumed command of B Company, 2nd Battalion, New Zealand Regiment, based at Taiping, Perak State, Malaya. He led his company for months on end in some of the roughest jungle country in North Malaya, and was appointed an MBE for his services. During this time Poananga began to develop what was to become his speciality: counter-insurgency and jungle warfare. His experiments in air portability, night assaults and defensive works in jungle conditions gave B Company an enviable record. His tactical expertise and exercise writing formed the basis of counter-insurgency manuals that proved invaluable to the New Zealand Army in Borneo and, later, Vietnam.

“In 1961 Poananga became a general staff officer at Army HQ, Wellington. He returned to the United Kingdom in 1964 for a brief period at the Joint Services Staff College and was then briefly stationed again at Army HQ, Wellington, as director of personnel administration, with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was given command of 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment, and returned with them to Malaysia in 1965. In the anti-terrorist confrontation in Borneo and against Indonesian incursion, he put into practice the tactical skills and theories he had developed in Korea and North Malaya; he was again mentioned in dispatches.

“In joint services exercises within the Commonwealth forces, the New Zealand battalion’s performance owed much to Poananga’s unorthodox use of men and machines. He delighted in outmanoeuvring his opponents (especially the British contingents) and designed elaborate schemes to foil ‘enemy’ objectives while advancing his own. Poananga visited the Republic of Vietnam in 1966 to investigate the suitability of New Zealand infantry involvement there. The first infantry to serve in Vietnam were chosen from his battalion in 1967, and his initiative, drive, and innovation led to the contingent’s

being prepared at very short notice. For his services in Borneo and Malaysia, Poananga was appointed an OBE.

“On his return to New Zealand in 1968 he was appointed director of training and cadets, based at Defence HQ, Wellington. During this time he conducted a short seminar and tour on counter-subversion for SEATO. He was then appointed director of services intelligence at the Ministry of Defence. In June 1970, with the rank of full colonel, Poananga took command of the army’s largest training establishment, the Army Training Group at Waiouru. He remained in this position until the end of 1972, when he attended the Royal College of Defence Studies in London.

“On his promotion to brigadier in 1974, Poananga was asked by the prime minister, Norman Kirk, to head New Zealand’s first diplomatic mission to Papua New Guinea. He succeeded in establishing New Zealand’s relations on a firm and friendly basis, and developed close working relationships and lasting friendships with many of the country’s leading figures.

“On completion of his diplomatic mission in November 1976, Poananga was appointed deputy chief of the general staff and, in 1978, with the rank of major general, he became the first New Zealander of Maori descent to be appointed chief of the general staff. He guided the army through a period of major reconstruction and actively promoted a closer relationship between the regular and territorial forces and the civilian community.

“Poananga retired in 1981 to his deer farm at Taupo. He served on a committee of inquiry into defence in 1985, and for a brief period was honorary colonel of the Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment. For a time he was a serious contender for the role of governor general, but was diagnosed with Alzheimer’s disease in 1988. This protracted illness ended with his death in Taupo on 5 September 1995 and he was buried with full military honours at the family cemetery at Turangarahui, near Ruatoria, East Cape. He was attended there by his wife and children, iwi representatives and a large gathering of senior military personnel. In 1997 Bruce Poananga presented the Royal Military College of

Australia with a tokotoko (staff) in his brother's honour; it is used ceremonially by the commandant when dealing with matters with a New Zealand content.⁴⁴⁹

5.12 CONCLUSIONS

Ngāti Raukawa provided many of our leading and fit, young and mature, men as participants in World War Two, and several provided out-standing and distinguished service. We have identified 109 Ngati Raukawa members of the 28 Maori battalion, and 181 Ngati Raukawa participants in total who served overseas in WW2. Captain Rangi Royal was awarded a Military Cross for his leadership in Crete, in relation to a bayonet charge, and a rearguard defence; and a Military Bar for leading his men in a night attack at Point 181 at Gazala, Libya. Royal was born at Ohau, and continued to have whanau and land interests there. Haane Manahi was awarded a DCM for capturing and securing a rocky outcrop named Takrouna. The Manahi whānau is well-known in Ngāti Huia ki Poroutawhao. Both men played significant roles in the history of the 28 Maori battalion. Lt George Katene of Porirua was awarded a Military Medal for his actions at Petras Pass, Greece. On 16 April 1941 he led his men in inflicting heavy losses on enemy armed fighting vehicles and machine guns. Sadly, he was killed at Orsogna, Italy, 1943.⁴⁵⁰

More recently, Brian Poananga of Ngati Kauwhata had an exceptionally long and distinguished army career in Japan, Korea, Malaya, Borneo, Indonesian, Vietnam, became the first Maori Chief of General Staff, and was awarded numerous honours (MB, CBE, OBE, MBE). While celebrating their courage, leadership and the Māori aspects of their service, we also acknowledge the loss of many lives, and the serious long-term impact suffered by many who returned. The next chapter considers some of the factors which led to the enlistment of Ngati Raukawa men and women, how they were treated after discharge, and whether any benefit was gained from their service and sacrifice.

⁴⁴⁹ Henare Matauru (Pon) Poananga. 'Poananga, Brian Matauru', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2000, updated March, 2020. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5p32/poananga-brian-matauru> (accessed 13 December 2021)

⁴⁵⁰ Gardiner, 2019, p97, 159-60; AWMM, OLC - George Katene

6.0 NGATI RAUKAWA IN AOTEAROA BEFORE, DURING & AFTER WW2

6.1 TOWARDS ENLISTMENT - PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

The 1930s were depression years. The Great Depression affected the entire western world and was caused not only by the 1929 Wall Street stock market crash but also the costs of the First World War and other factors. New Zealand was affected by a drop in its export prices to Britain. Historian Matthew Wright (2013) stated: “the hurt, hunger and dreary hopelessness of it certainly defined mid-century New Zealand...estimates suggest that in 1933 perhaps 30 percent of the workforce was unemployed.”⁴⁵¹ For Māori men, the figure was 40 percent or higher. ‘Many of the families are at times almost starving ... The condition of the natives is fast becoming desperate ... Most of their crops of potatoes and maize are already mortgaged to the storekeepers ... For some time past the natives have been offering to work for their food’, an official reported to the Native Trustee.⁴⁵²

For some years after 1931 money from the government fund for unemployment relief was made available to the Native Department to pay Māori employed in bushfelling, scrub-cutting, ploughing, draining and fencing on the land development schemes that were getting under way at that time. This both accelerated the schemes and relieved Māori unemployment.⁴⁵³ In some places, however, Māori resented this policy of directing relief labour on to Māori land, since the workers often earned less there than on other schemes.⁴⁵⁴ In our rohe resentment was no doubt also caused by the fact that the whenua being worked had been wrongfully taken from Ngāti Raukawa, and the make-work schemes, though subsidized, would benefit European farmers in the long run, and reduce the mahinga kai of Ngāti Raukawa eg the draining of wetlands. A deputation representing unemployed Māori in Horowhenua went to see the Minister of Employment in 1933 to complain that about disparity in rates of pay. They said that not only were land rents often not being paid by Pakeha tenants, but the former communal style of Māori living had

⁴⁵¹ Wright, 2013, p301

⁴⁵² Lange, 2000, p. 142 - 143; James Campion to Native Trustee, 6 Apr 1931, MA 1 11/528 Part 1.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., p. 143; *AJHR*, 1931, G-10, pp xxi-xxii; 1935, H-35, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁴ Orange, p. 66.

broken down, and natural food supplies (kereru, eels and so on) had been decimated by the progress of settlement. The result was widespread malnutrition among Māori children.⁴⁵⁵ When the Labour Party was elected into power in 1935 this differential in pay was quickly ended - an action that Māori still remember with gratitude.⁴⁵⁶

There was so little land remaining in Ngāti Raukawa ownership in the Manawatu (and other parts of our rohe) that the Native Department used its contracted unemployed Māori labourers on leased land. In other parts of the country they were used on Māori-owned land, which meant workers had higher motivation levels. In 1935-6, 202 Māori workers (with 513 dependants) in the Manawatu and Horowhenua were paid £5,425 for work on unemployment schemes, though this number decreased sharply in following years. Unemployment funds were also used for Māori labour on housing construction projects.

Deforestation in the 19th century had caused pollution, erosion and loss of resources.⁴⁵⁷ Drainage of wetlands and lowering of lakes affecting eel fisheries had begun in the early 20th century and continued unabated into the 1950s and beyond. Māori could have made legal claims about loss of fisheries but were not advised or encouraged to do so.⁴⁵⁸ Some of the vast wetlands affected were Tuwhakatupua (ngā hapu o Himatangi), Makerua (Ngāti Whakaterere), Moutoa (Ngāti Whakaterere, ngā hapu o Himatangi), Tapuiwaru (Awahou/Foxton, Ngāti Ngarongo, Takihiku), and Taonui (Ngāti Kauwhata).⁴⁵⁹ River control and flood protection schemes such as stopbanks and river-straightening also impacted on our fisheries. The Labour Government of the 1930s supported large-scale flood-control projects, such as the Whirokino Cut approved in 1941, which drastically

⁴⁵⁵ Lange, 2000, p. 144.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid; Butterworth, p.178 - 180; Orange p. 64.

⁴⁵⁷ Knight, C., *‘Ravaged Beauty, an environmental history of the Manawatu’*, Totara Press, Pohangina Valley, Palmerston North, 2014, 2018, p 101

⁴⁵⁸ Alexander, D *Ownership and Control of Inland Waterways within Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry District, #A217*, a report Commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal for Porirua ki Manawatu Inquiry, Wai 2200, 2019, p. 157.

⁴⁵⁹ Pers. comm, T.K Teira, 1 December 2021; Luke, Te Momo & Winiata, 2019, p. 290.

changed the flow of the Manawatu river and impacted heavily on the Matararapa kainga (Ngāti Takihiku, Ngāti Whakare), eg reducing access. Hone McMillan (Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Ngarongo) of Koputoroa was paid to work with the owners on the project, but tangata whenua consent was not considered necessary for it to proceed.⁴⁶⁰ Discharges into streams and rivers were increasing with the growth of towns, agriculture and industry, and attempts by our tupuna to advocate for customary rights in rivers, lakes and streams in the 1920s and 30s had achieved only limited short-term success.⁴⁶¹ Our ability to sustain ourselves from our local land and waterways was declining fast.

Poverty led to poor health and sanitation. For instance, in one health Inspector's report for the Manawātū County for June 1937 there were 23 cases of infectious disease that included 12 cases of TB, four of scarlet fever, two of diphtheria, three of infantile paralysis, and one of spinal meningitis. The report noted that a water supply for Motuiti was still needed, and it commented that: 'there was a constant cry among the Māoris of poverty and no work.' Poor housing only exacerbated the situation.⁴⁶² State housing construction had virtually ceased due to war-time shortages, 1942-1944, but in 1948 a Māori state housing scheme was established, managed by the State Advances Corporation and the Department of Maori Affairs. This was positive for our whānau, though Labour lost the 1949 election to National, which was less committed to state housing.⁴⁶³ Most Māori state houses were urban, under assimilationist 'pepper-potting' policies, with few being built on rural whānau or hapū land at the time (Poutu McGregor at Paiaka, Koputaroa was a rare example, being able to build on a section of individualized whānau land).⁴⁶⁴

Typhoid and tuberculosis continued to be experienced in our communities into the 1950s, worsened by poor and over-crowded housing. Lange (2000, p137): In 1950 the Medical Officer of Health in Palmerston North estimated the incidence of tuberculosis in his district (which included Hawkes Bay) to be about 34 to 35 per 1,000 for Māori (as against

⁴⁶⁰ Alexander, 2019, p. 33.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 435 - 442; Knight, 2018, pp. 425 - 428.

⁴⁶² Patete, 2021, p. 1067.

⁴⁶³ www.nzhistory.govt.nz

⁴⁶⁴ Pers. com. T.K.Teira, 12.1.22.

fewer than 5 cases per 1000 for non-Māori). In 1953 there were stated to be 235 Māori tuberculosis cases in the region (compared to 561 non-Māori): there were 40 in and around Marton, 20 at Feilding, 31 at Palmerston North, 12 at Shannon, 30 at Foxton, 64 at Levin, and 29 at Otaki. Respiratory infections and skin diseases, both of which are indicators of unsatisfactory housing conditions, were also common. An example of a poor housing situation was at Motuiti (Himatangi), when in 1938 a whānau of eight was found to be living in a small one-roomed ‘dwelling’, with one child having been hospitalised with tuberculosis. By the 1940s, the housing standards at Motuiti were still poor. One report from the Medical Officer of Health of August 1944 told of 20 persons ‘living in a small meeting house at Motuiti pā, without proper facilities.’⁴⁶⁵

Discriminatory laws related to the drinking and purchase of alcohol were put in place by the Licencing Amendment Act 1910, under which North Island Māori males could purchase alcohol at licenced premises but only for immediate consumption (South Island Māori had more drinking freedom). Māori women married to Pākehā males were accorded full drinking rights; others, however, were forbidden to drink even in public bars. Hotel and bar staff were fined for selling alcohol to Māori for consumption off-premises. Patete described these laws as “paternalistic”; and whereas the Raukawa Māori Council and Kurahaupo Māori Council worked to manage problems caused by alcohol, they were under-funded and had limited success.⁴⁶⁶

While New Zealand’s politicians often stated in the 1940s that our race relations was “the world’s best”, this was a myth which obscured the reality of racism and discrimination experienced by Māori in this country at the time.⁴⁶⁷ A confidential report written by government on race relations in 1961 referred to by Bartholomew (2020) cites many examples of discrimination against Māori in previous decades - in shops, cinemas, housing, employment and even public toilets. There were segregated public toilets for Māori and non-Māori in Kaikohe until 1958, and in Tauranga Māori were being excluded from the public toilets so blatantly that they asked for a separate facility. Not only private

⁴⁶⁵ Patete, 2021, p. 997 ; ‘Housing of Māoris’, *Manawatu Standard*, Volume LXIV, Issue 226, 22 August 1944, p. 6; Patete, 2021, p. 1061.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2021 pp. 1053-1054.

⁴⁶⁷ Bartholomew, 2020, p. 3; Quoting Harris, in Anderson et al, 2015, pp. 324 - 342.

employers were reluctant to employ Māori, but even government departments were against hiring Māori for positions where they would ‘meet the public’. Even the New Zealand Navy restricted the ratio of Māori accepted to one in fifteen (the ratio of the general population), despite having more Māori applicants than those of other ethnic backgrounds, and restricted the roles available to them. Businesses feared that having Māori apprentices would lose them customers, and no Māori were employed in banks or insurance offices, at least in Rotorua and South Auckland. In Wellington only the Reserve Bank employed any Māori, stated the report.⁴⁶⁸

Purchase of land specifically for Māori veterans with funding from the Māori Soldiers’ Fund had occurred on the East Coast, under schemes led by Ngata and Carroll after WW1,⁴⁶⁹ but not in the west coast rohe of Ngāti Raukawa. Of our Ngāti Raukawa WW1 veterans only two (Hohepa Paramena Te Kootu and Rota Hohipuha) were able to navigate the bureaucratic process and meet the criteria required to get land with mortgages under the discharged soldiers’ settlement scheme, and they were not large blocks or communal schemes. One made his application with a Pakeha friend. Neither were able to make much economic gain from the properties, and the land was soon lost again.⁴⁷⁰ Piri Ellison (Ngāti Kapu) and ‘Wharerari’ [Wharerau] Parata (Ngāti Turanga) obtained some land under the scheme also, after it was transferred to them by Mrs M. Webley in 1919⁴⁷¹. By contrast, over 33,000 acres of rural and town land in the Wellington region had been allocated to Pakeha veterans, with on-going financial assistance to help them get established. Despite cash-stream problems at times, many of these veterans became asset-rich over ensuing decades (see Chapter 4).

With the election of the Labour government under Michael Joseph Savage in 1935, there was greater commitment to equality of treatment for Māori, particularly relating to economic opportunities and the payment of welfare assistance. Philip Cleaver, writing on Māori and Military Service for the Crown, 1946-2017, for the Military Veterans Kaupapa Inquiry (2018) stated: “The contribution of 28 (Māori) Battalion and the wider Māori war

⁴⁶⁸ Bartholomew, 2020, pp. 129 - 133.

⁴⁶⁹ Gould, 1992, pp. 320-321.

⁴⁷⁰ R6286491 - Lands and Survey, Minute Book, Wastelands Board, 12/18, 1919.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid, p188.

effort helped to hasten the rate of change. Within the Social Security system, for example, the practice of paying Māori lower benefit rates was brought to an end in 1943. Outside of government, the Battalion's role during the war also motivated some Pakeha to oppose discrimination against Māori in the post-war years. Former Pakeha servicemen who had fought alongside 28 (Māori) Battalion were prominent among these individuals. Kippenberger, for example, who after WW2 became editor-in-chief of war history for the Department of Internal Affairs and president of the RSA nation-wide, was opposed to Māori exclusion from the All Blacks team to tour South Africa in 1949. Māori had fought for, and earned their citizenship, he said. His view was supported by Southern Māori MP Eruera Tirakatene, and unions, including the New Zealand Waterside Workers Union. Not all RSA branches or Pakeha-servicemen agreed, however. The issue emerged again in 1960, and Māori organisations including the Kingitanga and Māori Women's Welfare League who opposed Māori exclusion from teams to South Africa were united on the issue with unions, church organisations, students' associations and some civic and professional bodies.⁴⁷²

Social security benefits, providing pensions (equal for Māori and Pakeha) for all those unable to earn a living for whatever reason, had been introduced in April 1939, just prior to the war, but were not immediately accessible to all. "In September, 1938, the Social Security Act was passed, providing for much wider scope in the payment of pensions, and the Pensions Department was absorbed by the newly-created Social Security Department. Social Security benefits, which came into operation on April 1st, 1939 are designed by the government to safeguard the people of New Zealand from disabilities caused by age, invalidity, widowhood, orphanhood, unemployment, sickness, or other exceptional conditions."⁴⁷³ Those in small towns, rural areas, and the less literate, ie many if not most of our Ngāti Raukawa people, would have been less aware of its availability and the application processes etc, than those in Wellington and other cities.

⁴⁷² Cleaver, 2018, p. 23 - 24; 'South African Rugby Tour – Exclusion of Māoris – Protest by Sir Howard Kippenberger', *The Press*, 1 September 1948, p. 4.

⁴⁷³ How Social Security Operates, *Otaki Mail*, 17 November 1943, p. 2.

6.2 MĀORI BATTALION FORMED 1939- 1940 - MANY NGĀTI RAUKAWA MEN ENLIST

War was declared on 3rd September 1939. On 4th Oct 1939, the Minister of Defence announced a Māori rifle battalion - single men aged 21 to 35, which began recruiting on 9th October. Training began in Palmerston North. Māori who had enlisted in first echelon could transfer. The new Māori unit was added to the Order of Battle, and moved between the brigades of 2 NZ Division, until it became part of 5 NZ Brigade in mid 1942. It was officially given the title of 28 (Māori) Battalion in Jan 1940. The Order of Battle of 2NZEF as at 17 Apr 1941 gave the title 28 Māori battalion, official abbreviation 28 (Māori) Bn.⁴⁷⁴

So despite having heard stories from individuals about the horrors of World War One (the rate of slaughter at Gallipoli, life in the trenches, poison gas in France etc), there had also been much positive comment from politicians, media coverage and local communities to counter-act those stories. Researchers believe that during World Wars I and II, Māori who volunteered to serve were motivated substantially by a desire to affirm the Treaty partnership and secure greater equality of status with Pakeha, as promoted by leaders such as Apirana Ngata.⁴⁷⁵ Our iwi, like others, also liked the fact that a distinctive Māori Pioneer battalion had been formed in WW1, so men could fight alongside their relatives and use te reo me ōna tikanga (eg karakia, himene, haka). As Cleaver wrote, “where possible, and linked with broader aspirations, Māori generally sought to retain some autonomy while serving for the Crown.”⁴⁷⁶ Knowing there would be a Māori unit as a fighting force (with rifles) in this war would have been a positive “pull” factor. The prospect of overseas travel, a chance to prove their courage and ability to fight alongside their relations and men from other iwi also had appeal. As “push” factors, economic, environmental and social factors combined, resulting in many Ngāti Raukawa men (and some women) voluntarily enlisting with the army, navy and air-force in World War Two. They were accustomed to hardship and their options in life were limited. Some chose to join the regular forces, rather than the Māori unit or battalion, for whatever reason e.g. being brought up with Pakeha and having Pakeha friends.

⁴⁷⁴ Gardiner, 2019, p. 47.

⁴⁷⁵ Cleaver, 2018, p. 6; Quoting Webb.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

Between 1939 when the war started until 1945 when it ended, **nearly 150 of our people enlisted**. This was a significant proportion of our men, especially the prime young and mature men in good fitness and health. An indication of our population level in 1949 can be gauged from the electoral rolls which recorded people's hapu affiliations. Researcher Anthony Patete compiled this population data for the Tu Te Manawaroa hapu for his Oral and Traditional report (2021). The adults who enrolled to vote in the Western Māori electorate who stated their hapu as either Ngāti Te Au, Ngati Turanga or Ngati Rakau totalled 54; for the Kereru cluster (Ngati Ngarongo and Ngati Takihiku, the total who enrolled in Western Māori was 36; the total enrolled from Tukorehe that year was 54, from Ngati Kapu 38, and for Te Mateawa just five. When those living outside the Western Māori electorate are included, the numbers are boosted (by half or more again). Apparently many people had left the district, due to lack of land and other economic factors, but retained their hapu connections back home.⁴⁷⁷ These numbers represent those members of the whānau, which often had large numbers of tamariki and rangatahi, who were eligible and interested in voting. According to the census, the total Māori population in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1921 was 52,751, an increase of nearly 3,000 on the previous census in 1916.⁴⁷⁸ According to the NZ History website, nearly 16,000 Māori enlisted for service during the Second World War.⁴⁷⁹

An amusing story from Pat Hakaraia, about his uncles Paul and Kopa Hakaraia, and how they were able to sign up: “Uncle Kopa had a dicky heart, and Paul had a gammy leg. When they lined up, they took each other's injury, so they got through. They wouldn't have got through without it! If uncle Paul had got up and said I've got a crook leg, he wouldn't have got on. Nor would uncle Kopa with his heart. So they swapped (names), that's how they got through.”

⁴⁷⁷ Data compiled May 2019, supplied by email.

⁴⁷⁸ AJHR_1921_I-II_H-39a%20 Census.

⁴⁷⁹ 'Māori and the Second World War', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/maori-in-second-world-war>, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, updated 1-May-2020.

A personal story about his uncles signing up and why is provided by Rewi Roach of Otaki (Otaki Historical Journal 2014).⁴⁸⁰ His uncles were Corp Pahia (aka Bosun) Roach, 39530; and Corp Clement D'Estouteville (aka Duckie) Park (62686), who enlisted with the 28 Māori battalion in 1940. Cousins Bosun & Duckie were grandsons of Haehae Roach nee Skipwith, and both lived with Duckie's mother Maggie Park (nee Roach) and their grandmother Haehae at Waerenga Rd, Otaki. The Roach family is well-known within Ngāti Kikopiri, and it was Haehae's brother Kipa Te Whatanui, who opened the Kikopiri wharenuī in 1897.⁴⁸¹ Roach writes that the household income was inadequate for their needs. "They received meagre infrequent income from properties secured in the Native Land Court by their talented brother Kipa Te Whatanui, but quite insufficient to support either family."

"Although Bosun and Duckie had completed primary school and customarily spoke English, the language of the Roach household was primarily Māori, especially in the presence of the matriarchal Haehae. The boys identified themselves as Māori, which was a distinct disadvantage in the competitive job market when racial discrimination was thriving and work was a scarce commodity. The result was that the unemployment rate was slightly less than 100 percent in Otaki, apart from the seasonal work offered in the Chinese market gardens. Payment came in cash at the end of the day on a piece-work basis, such as sixpence for a tin of peas and very much less for digging and separately picking up potatoes. Whatever the work it was excruciatingly back-breaking. On a good day they might earn five shillings each, which was not bad with bread at 6p a loaf."

"One year the boys tried digging the difficult-to-work heavy soil at the back of Grannie's vacant lot, but abandoned the idea and were forced back to the market garden in desperation just to achieve subsistence..." Fortunately, "Aunty Maggie was a dab hand at exploiting the free products of the land, such as puha, watercress, and pipis and infrequent eels when needs must." When war was declared, and despite "the dispiriting news of defeats in Greece and Crete, and with no other end in sight, they were offered the opportunity to escape from the drudgery," Roach wrote. Bosun and Duckie enlisted with the Māori battalion in 1940 and trained in Papakura, before heading for Egypt and the

⁴⁸⁰ R. Roach, 'Mates who went to the war - they were only kids', OHJ (OHS), Vol. 36, 2014, p. 46.

⁴⁸¹ Collins, H. *A Treasure for Generations to Come*, NZ Historic Places, Nov 2001, p19

western front. By the time they returned, their mother/aunt and grandmother had both passed away.

6.3 WAR EFFORT ON THE HOME FRONT

After the departure of the soldiers, the mutual effort made by marae, hapū and iwi towards supporting our Māori and New Zealand soldiers overseas was noted in the media and helped raise the status and morale of Ngāti Raukawa and other Māori in the Wellington region. Concerts to raise money for the soldiers were held throughout our rohe, supported also by visiting groups from other regions, eg the concerts of Tuini Ngawai's travelling group Te Hokowhitu a Tū, from Tokomaru Bay are warmly remembered by whanau in Foxton and Shannon.⁴⁸²

Patete's Tu te Manawaroa report (2021) states that in August 1940, a concert was put on by a 'party of Motuiti Māori entertainers, who were trained by a committee at Motuiti.' The initial intent of the concert was to raise funds for the 'Sick and Wounded Fund', but as that fund had closed, the £25 collected was 'to the men overseas.' The concert was reported as 'one of the best amateur entertainments produced locally for some time.' The concert was under the direction of Messrs H. McMillan, C. Rōpiha, and W. Neville, with Mrs P. Kauri at the piano. Kathleen Hēmi recalled the fund-raising efforts for World War Two – Matarapa had a concert party that travelled to different places, she said.⁴⁸³ Te Kenehi states that this group was led by WW1 veterans Moses and Poutu McGregor, with their sister (Te Kenehi's kuia) Ngapera McGregor.

⁴⁸² Pers. comm, T.K. Teira, 5 December 2021.

⁴⁸³ Patete, 2021, p. 1013; 'Foxton', *Manawatu Standard*, Volume LX, Issue 234, 31 August 1940, p. 5; Kathleen Hēmi synopsis, 30 June 2018.



Photo - Takihiku cultural group, (1930s) private collection T.K.Teira, from Ngapera McGregor (centre, second row), who led the group. Her brother Moses is far left (middle row) and Poutu is beside her (viewer's right). The whare is Te Aputa ki Wairau, Matarakapa.

Te Kenehi states that the Pierrot style of costume was brought back from Europe by Moses and Poutu McGregor, and was common for entertainers in the period between the wars. The group, named the Takihiku cultural group, would do a series of European-style skits, comedy and songs, as well as a kapahaka bracket. Fund-raising was for soldiers, memorials and local buildings.⁴⁸⁴ The Takihiku Cultural Group, like others in Otaki, Fielding and Poneke, fund-raised for Ngati Raukawa's war effort during and after WW2. They provided support to the Raukawa Maori War Effort executive committee, the Ngati Raukawa tribal committees and the Raukawa Tribal Executive Committee chaired by Mason Durie Snr, eg fund-raising for the Māori Battalion Hall in Palmerston North, from 1946 (see Appendix M).⁴⁸⁵

The Raukawa Maori War Effort executive committee was first formed to assist with recruitment of Māori for the war, and also with organising manpower for factories etc. In 1945 the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act was passed, merging the Maori

⁴⁸⁴ Pers. comm, T.K. Teira 5 December 2021.

⁴⁸⁵ Pers.comm.T.K.Teira, 12.1.22.

War Effort organisation into the Native Department, and also further legalizing the tribal and executive committees which already existed under the Maori Councils Act 1900. There were 14 tribal committees within Ngāti Raukawa and Rangitane (11 Ngati Raukawa, 2 Rangitane and 1 Muaupoko) which contributed to the Māori Battalion Hall.⁴⁸⁶ Lange describes “the persistent Maori quest for rangatiratanga (autonomy) and the equally enduring desire of successive New Zealand governments to resist or appropriate such an aspiration.”



Fund-raising for a Maori hostel and memorial hall in Palmerston North began in 1946, under the Raukawa Tribal Executive Committee, led by Mason Durie Snr of Ngati Kauwhata, with Atareta (Adelaide) Poananga-Moore (Ngati Kauwhata, Rangitane), George Kereama (Ngati Manomano, Ngati Takihiku) and others. The 28 Maori Battalion, of men from iwi throughout the motu, was formed and trained in P.N. in 1940.

Mr Mason Durie (senior) of Ngāti Kauwhata, Feilding, played a leading role in the Māori War Effort organisation, which involved iwi from throughout the motu. See following article (*Manawatu Times*, 18 June 1943):

“The great work of the Māori Battalion in Greece, on Crete and in Libya and later in the victorious rout of the Axis forces in Tunisia is an illuminating reflection of the Māori War Effort’s organisation which is the official body representative of all the tribes in New Zealand. This body was constituted shortly after war broke out when

⁴⁸⁶ Forrester, H., 2000, p11-12; Lange, 2006, p1.

the Māori people expressed a wish to be identified with the overseas forces. The framework of the organisation embraces the whole of the Māoris and is represented in 351 tribal committees and 41 tribal executive committees who are associated with special recruiting officers, the Māori members of Parliament and linked directly to the War Cabinet. Discussing the work of the organisation yesterday, Mr. Mason Durie, of Aorangi, who has played an active part in furthering the war effort of the Māori people, stated that up to January last a total of 4,844 Māoris had enlisted for service overseas. In addition, a total of 2,040 had enlisted in the Territorial Force for duty in New Zealand, and a further 9,875 had joined up for service with the Home Guard. These figures gave a total of 10,759 Māoris in the services, while a further 10,825 had been posted to essential industries. These figures gave a grand total of just about 28,000, which represents a worthy achievement.

“The activities of the Māori War Effort organisation embrace every phase of war service, including the direction of men and women into essential industries, the stepping up of primary production, as well as the problem of absenteeism. In the matter of primary production targets had been set and the response had been excellent, increased supplies of maize, kumeras (sic), potatoes, peas, beans, green vegetables and pumpkins have been made available. In the case of agar seaweed the estimated quantity to be realised was put down at 17,000lbs., whereas a total of 32.2 tons have been harvested. Even better results were now being aimed at. The organisation also handled all local problems and provided funds for Christmas cheer for the Māori Battalion and provided the substantial hostel in Auckland. Social work was also being tackled. The tribal committees were now very active in assisting and certain financial aid was necessary and this was largely raised through organised social gatherings, dances, etc, all of which were proving very popular.”⁴⁸⁷

With its flat, fertile land, Horowhenua became an important war effort vegetable-growing area, helping to feed the armed forces, particularly the thousands of US servicemen in camp at Paekakariki (between June 1942 and mid-1944), wrote Fletcher (2020).⁴⁸⁸ They were known as Services Vegetable Projects or SVP units. Headquarters for the project was in Bruce Rd, Levin, established in early 1942. About 280 acres of land was leased

⁴⁸⁷ ‘Māori War Effort Makes History’, *Manawatu Times*, Vol. 68, Issue 143, 18 June 1943, p. 6.

⁴⁸⁸ Fletcher, 2020, p. 264.

compulsorily, from east of Bruce Rd near Boulton Rd, to west of CD Farm Rd. Other units were on the Otaki racecourse and domain, Birdwood Garden (corner of Boulton and Bruce Rds), and growers at Opiki were also contracted to feed the soldiers. Much of the land was in the earlier Central Development Farm 1894-1928, which we understand was originally part of the “State farm” in the Horowhenua block, which the Crown had taken from Ngāti Raukawa and wrongfully allocated to Kawana Hunia in 1873.⁴⁸⁹ During the war, the Levin Manpower Committee could direct people to work in any essential industry, and non-compliance was a criminal offence punishable by fines, jail or military service.



(Workers at a Services Vege Production Project near Levin, Pascoe, J.D. ATL, ¼-000258-F. This 1943 photo shows mainly wahine of various ages, one with a baby in a pram, associated with the work in the SVP.)

Main crops were cauliflowers, cabbages, carrots, parsnips, tomatoes and onions. Officers of the American marines would arrive in jeeps to inspect the crops, and sometimes supply seed for their preferred vegetables. Fletcher quotes from the memories of former gunner

⁴⁸⁹ Luke, Te Momo, & Winiata, 2019, p. 314.

Francis Corrison Swanwick (76131, 2NZEF) who was directed to be a ‘ganger’ or overseer in the Levin SVP unit. Most of the work was done by hand by Ngāti Raukawa and other locals, as there were few machines or mechanical tools provided. After the Americans left, large quantities of vegetables were still grown for the market. The caption for the photograph above published by Fletcher states that the Māori people working in the market garden were under the direction of the Māori War Effort Organisation, set up to organise recruitment and patriotic activities among Māori.

Similar to what occurred during World War One, comforts sent to the troops included “Māori delicacies”, such as tinned toheroa, pipi and tuna, which were provided by their Ngati Raukawa relatives.⁴⁹⁰ Other local war effort activities included the Home Guard, and there was initially a Home Defence Māori battalion force mustered, as well as the Territorials - *Manawatu Standard*, 5 March 1942:

(Press Assn.) WELLINGTON, March 4 “An appeal to voting Māori men to join either the special Home Defence Māori Battalion to be recruited from volunteers for overseas service or the Territorial Force, was made by Mr P. K. Paikea, in an address this evening. Mr Paikea, who spoke first in English and then in Māori, said he was sure the formation of a Māori Battalion in New Zealand would foster extra keenness in the Māori war effort. The job of keeping the battalion at full strength lay with the Māori people, with the elders, with every able-bodied man, and with the mothers of their Māori youths.⁴⁹¹

The following article (*Manawatu Standard*, 1 May, 1943) gives an indication of the numbers in the Māori Home Guard: WANGANUI, Ap. 30. With the object of giving some indication of the progress being made by the Māori war effort in various districts, between 600 and 700 Māori Home Guardsmen in the area from New Plymouth to south of Otaki and the Wanganui River will take part in a rally to be held in Wanganui on Sunday. The Prime Minister will review the Home Guardsmen in Cook’s Gardens. Elders

⁴⁹⁰ ‘Two Months’ Return’, *Evening Post*, Vol. CXXXVI, Issue 147, 18 December 1943, p. 8; ‘Over £100,000’, *Evening Post*, Vol. CXXXVIII, Issue 103, 28 October 1944, p. 8; Pers. comm, T. K. Teira, 5 December 2021.

⁴⁹¹ ‘Māoris’ War Service’, *Manawatu Standard*, Vol. LXII, Issue 81, 5 March 1942, p. 3.

of the tribes will visit Putiki Pa to discuss important matters relative to Māori affairs and the operation of the Māori war effort for presentation to the Prime Minister on Sunday.⁴⁹²

A decision by the War Cabinet in 1942 to form exclusively Māori units, with Māori officers and NCOs had raised enthusiasm within our iwi and others. Hon P.K. Paikea (Ngāti Whatua, Ratana, MP Northern Māori) was the Minister in Charge of the Māori War Effort (Manawatu Times, 29 August 1942):

“Hon P.K. Paikea stated tonight that this had been received with the utmost satisfaction and delight by Māori people throughout the Dominion. The Māoris, said the Minister, felt in this movement an appeal to their racial pride, an opportunity to accept responsibility in keeping with their past traditions and a right to express themselves in their own Māori ways. This must not be construed as a reversion to obsolete methods of organisation, but, on the contrary, as an adaption of modern methods based on that outstanding and ancient characteristic of the Māori, to co-operate with one another in the attainment of a common object.

Once the Government had authorised the establishment of the Māori war effort organisation, continued the Minister, encouraging and satisfactory progress had been achieved in putting into operation the measures and principles involved. Tribal committees were being established rapidly all over the Dominion and their duties would be to cooperate in recruiting Māori men of eligible military age for the third Māori battalion and other Māori units and in the campaign for increasing production...

The Minister said the revival of leadership in the Māori people, whether it be in the fighting services or in their settlements, might be calculated to prove of vital importance to the future development and welfare of the race. On the production side of the Māori war effort, the Minister concluded that the response of the Māori people had been most enthusiastic. Preparations were being made for the production of additional vegetables and other foodstuffs in order to meet the abnormal war demands.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹² ‘Maori War Effort’, *Manawatu Standard*, Vol. LXIII, No. 129, 1 May 1943, p. 4.

⁴⁹³ Regrouping of Māori Armed Forces, *Manawatu Times*, Vol. 67, No. 206, 29 August 1942, p. 4.

Paikea had become a member of Cabinet, ie the Executive Council of Government in 1941, and his work in forming the Māori War Effort organisation on a national basis was significant. In early 1943, he was already working with Tirakatene and others to ensure the Māori War Effort would continue with a Māori development focus after war's end. For more detail, see his Biography on DNZB (A. Ballara 1998). Sadly, Paikea died in Wanganui in April 1943.

Ngāti Kauwhata have recognized their WW2 Home Guard members on their Honours Board – I.Lawton, B.Cowan, L.Lawton, M.Rakatau, J.Simeon, S.Teoka, J.Kokiri, S.McDermott, L.McDermott, and M.Terangi. Also R. Durie was an officer of the Manawatu Battalion Home Guard (1940-43), and J.Sciascia (possibly Jack) was an officer of the Levin Home Guard in 1943.⁴⁹⁴

6.4 KINGI TAHIWI & NGĀTI PONEKE - AWARDED AN OBE FOR WAR EFFORT WW2



Kingi Tahiwī, c1935, photo by S.P. Andrew. ATL, PA Coll-3739. ½-043370-F.

⁴⁹⁴ <https://manawatuheritage.pncc.govt.nz>; <https://horowhenua.kete.net.nz>.

Kingi Tahiwī, older brother to WW1 veterans Captain Pirimi and Henare Tahiwī, made a significant contribution to the War Effort during WW2 and was also close to key leaders in Government, sometimes hosting them in Otaki. Having been schooled at Otaki and Te Aute, he first joined the school staff, then became a licenced interpreter. He and his wife Jane (Jean) Armstrong, of Ngai Tahu and Ngāti Raukawa married in 1909 and had two children, Kingi Te Ahoaho Gilling Tahiwī and a daughter Kahurangi. They also raised a niece, Mereana. During WW1 Kingi worked as a clerk and interpreter for the Waikato-Maniapoto District Native Land Court in Auckland, and then at the Aotea District Land Court in Whanganui in 1920-22.

The following biography excerpt, from Te Ara – Dictionary of New Zealand Biographies is by RupeneWaaka (1996): “It was in this position that he became interpreter on many occasions to the prime minister and many members of Parliament. He attended national functions such as the 1934 visit to Rotorua of the duke of Gloucester, translating the duke's speech into Māori; and the opening of the Raukawa meeting house at Ōtaki in 1936, where he translated Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage's speech into Māori and the Māori speeches into English. During the Second World War he censored letters written in Māori by members of the 28th New Zealand (Māori) Battalion. He continued at head office until his death, accumulating nearly 33 years' service in the Native Department (later the Department of Māori Affairs)....

“Raised in a musical family who were prominent in a Māori brass band and a choral society at Ōtaki, Kīngi Tāhiwī was a tenor in St Paul's Choir. In 1937 he founded the Ngāti Pōneke Young Māori Club, subsequently becoming chairman and choirmaster. He composed songs such as 'He puru taitama', 'To ringa e hine', 'Kaore he wahine', 'Takiri atu takiri mai', and 'E whiti te marama', and composed Māori lyrics for the Brahms lullaby. Some of his music was composed on a long-necked five-string banjo, then others would adapt the music for piano. During the war the Ngāti Pōneke Young Māori Club flourished. It provided a meeting ground for Māori in the capital, and held regular concerts for American servicemen. Tāhiwī was also chairman of the Ngāti Pōneke tribal and Wellington executive committees.

“Kīngi Tāhiwī was a Freemason from May 1929. In 1946 **he was appointed OBE in recognition of his contribution to the organisation of the Māori war effort.** His wife, Jane, died on 3 January 1942, and on 15 May 1946 at Wellington he married Elsie

Winifred Loader (formerly Duley). There were no children of the marriage. Kīngi Tāhiwi died in Wellington on 20 December 1948 and was interred at Rangiātea cemetery, Ōtaki. He was survived by Elsie, his daughter and his niece. His son, an officer in the Royal New Zealand Air Force, was presumed killed in action during the Second World War.”⁴⁹⁵ (See Chapter 5)

Zimmerman (1946) wrote about how for years Kingi retained hope that his son, Kingi Te Ahoaho Gilling Tahiwi, was still alive. “For Kingi’s son, a fine young man who had been the outstanding scholar of his year at the university, had disappeared in the sea near Greece in the dark days of Greece and Crete, when the Maori battalion, with its companion troops, was fighting bitterly for every foot of land. He was a fighter pilot, and since no definite proof of his death was found, old Kingi hoped, fiercely and persistently, that he would come back. And all of us, knowing in our hearts that young Kingi was gone, supported him in his hope and never voiced the faintest of doubts. And the girls, each of whom had a relative to mourn, sang a song for Kingi, and because it is, in itself, a lovely thing and because of its associations, I give it here as it was sung there, with a translation.

Haere ra, e tama!

Haere ra, e tama, ka hoki mai,

Kei wareware, e te ipo, e!

Kei hei ra kua ngaro nei

I te ao, i te po.

Mapu kau te manawa,

E te tau, kua ngaro nei.

E tangi ra te manawa -

Tenei ra, e tama, te aroha, e!

Goodbye son.

⁴⁹⁵ Rupene M. T. Waaka. 'Tāhiwi, Kīngi Te Ahoaho', DNZB, first published in 1996, Te Ara, updated April, 2000, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3t1/tahiwi-kingi-te-ahoaho> (accessed 6 December 2021).

Goodbye son, come back again,
Do not forget who loves you
And who is lonely for you
By night, by day.
My heart sighs for you
Who have gone away.
And my heart cries out,
Here, son is my love.”⁴⁹⁶

6.5 28 MĀORI BATTALION SUCCESSES CELEBRATED

Again, as in World War One, there was positive press about Māori fighting ability and the use of the haka in WW2, in this case relating to the campaigns against the Germans in Greece, Crete and Libya, as in the article below - ‘Modern Māoris can now Laugh at Rommel’, *Otahi Mail*, 17 Feb 1943:

“...Trained again to fight, this time with the weapons of 1942, the Māori has still a predilection for close-range combat. Old Māori weapons were always light, suitable for agile action. Raiding parties in New Zealand’s dense bush had little use for long-range arms. A short, sharp-edged club, made of bone, stone or wood, and a light spear that was wielded like a quarter-staff, were capable of fearful carnage in the hands of fearless, active warriors to whom fighting was almost as natural as breathing. The history of Māori conflict with the Europeans who invaded his land reveals a pattern of bravery, treachery, gallantry and cruelty as fine and as base as any other war.

“Frederick Edward Manning, New Zealand’s earliest author, spoke up for the- Māori of the Dominion’s first days. He said: ‘As a consequence of their warlike habits and character, they are self-possessed and confident in themselves and their own powers, and have much diplomatic finesse and casualty at command. Their intelligence causes them theoretically to acknowledge the benefits of the law which they see established among us, but their hatred of restraint causes them practically to abhor and resist its full development among themselves.’ More than a century later, Māori warriors are again expressing their “hatred of restraint” in their fight against the darkness of Axis Fascism.

⁴⁹⁶ Zimmerman, 1946, p166-7

To-day's Māori soldier is no untutored savage. His education and his intelligence is as good as that of his white comrades in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. His training, pay, equipment, discipline is identical. He knows, as well as any white man, what he is fighting for, and the enemy he is fighting against. If he is more efficient than some at deadly sorties in the murk of the desert night, he takes it as no reflection on his fierce ancestry. Because the Māori, as the white man found him, was a cannibal, does not mean the Māori of to-day is a scalp-hunter. That is as silly as saying that to-day's battle dress irks the Māori soldier in the Middle East, because his ancestors fought in flax skirts.

“The wild snatches of battle song as the Māoris go into action have terrified Germans in Greece, Crete, and Libya, but they are only vestigial traces of the elaborate war dances and chants of 150 years ago. The much-publicised Māori haka, which so impresses tourists, is nothing but an anaemic version of the real war dance that was the highlight of ancient battle ceremonial. To make an error in its intricate vigorous ritual, was considered then a forerunner of terrible calamity. Now it is just another part of the colourful historical background that helps every Māori soldier forge another link in his tradition of fierce courage. A Māori leader in New Zealand the other day- said Rommel's nonsense about unfair tactics made Māori returned soldiers laugh. He said: “Tell Rommel we are proud of our boys overseas, and there are plenty more here waiting to have a crack at him. Don't tell him how many; just say there are plenty.”⁴⁹⁷

See also “Heroes of Tobruk”, *Manawatu Standard*, 24 March 1943,⁴⁹⁸ an Australian account, which included: “Men who were interviewed had particular praise for the New Zealanders, who were regarded as the most experienced troops in the Middle East, and particularly for the Māoris, whose valour was a byword among all fighting men.”

In October 1943 an article published in the *Manawatu Times* stated that the Māori Home Guard Training Schools were being closed down. Major General Bell announced the decision, stating: “This means that your military effort is not required for the time being in the way you have been giving it, but it also means that when you go back to your homes you will be asked to work even harder than in the past toward maintaining the divisions of the fighting fronts and the hard hitting air force and in providing foodstuffs

⁴⁹⁷ ‘Modern Maoris Can Now Laugh at Rommel’, *Otaki Mail*, 17 February 1943, p. 2.

⁴⁹⁸ ‘Heroes of Trobruk’, *Manawatu Standard*, Vol. LXIII, No. 97, 24 March 1943, p. 5.

and clothing for the services and other countries. It is in this direction that your effort is now needed."⁴⁹⁹

6.6 SCALE OF NGATI RAUKAWA LOSS IN WW2

We know of 33 Ngati Raukawa men who were killed or missing in action in World War Two (over a fifth of the total who went), and at least eight who endured years of detention in Prisoner of War camps in Germany, Austria, and Poland. Tragically Bertram Kuiti (4286) of Ngati Kikopiri (Ohau), was taken captive in Greece and died on 19th May 1941 of wounds in a hospital while still a prisoner of war in Poland (Stalag VIII, Lambsorf). He was a Lance Corporal in the 28 Māori battalion, and aged only 22. Charles Te Amaru Sciascia lost his legs from a mine explosion in May 1945, near the end of the war,⁵⁰⁰ and Rewi Maniapoto McDonald lost an arm, which he is said to have thrown at the Germans in self-defence. Others were left with long-term disabilities.⁵⁰¹ We have referred above to the loss of the young radio announcer Kingi Te Ahoaho Gilling Tahiwī, missing in action during a flight in active service near Greece.

6.7 INSUFFICIENT CARE FOR MEN RETURNING FROM WAR

6.7.1 Discharged Soldier Settlement Land

Historians say that the Māori soldier did better after WW2 than WW1. But the Government policy after WW2 in relation to eligibility for land under Discharged Soldiers settlement legislation was much the same as in 1919. The Under Secretary of the Native Dept stated in 1943: "I have discussed this matter with the Lands Dept and we agree that any Māori will be eligible to apply for Crown lands and provided he meets the full requirements demanded from the other applicants and **can show that no Native Lands are available to him** he will receive equal treatment to that given to the Pakeha soldier. As Crown lands will be in limited supply it is hoped that all Māoris requiring land will be rehabilitated on their own tribal lands."⁵⁰² For Ngati Raukawa men, having to prove that he has no land must have been a barrier - what kind of paperwork is needed for

⁴⁹⁹ Māori Home Guard Training Schools Closed Down, *Manawatu Times*, Vol. 68, Issue 251, 22 October 1943, p. 4.

⁵⁰⁰ Second N.Z.E.F. Casualties, *Manawatu Times*, Vol. 70, Issue 110, 11 May 1945, p. 4.

⁵⁰¹ Eg. Tahiwī (122149) and T. Royal (67399).

⁵⁰² Memo to Director of Rehabilitation 2 Dec 1943; Gould, p. 329; L & S file, 26/1/12, NA.

that? The Manawatu-Rangitikei purchase, for example? The 1873 Native Land Court decision on the Horowhenua block? And for those who had small shares in small blocks, like Bosun & Duckie above, the meagre income it provided did not go far enough to even feed the whānau.

Further analysis is needed, but the Kairanga and Makowhai files indicate that, while some transfers to other Pakeha names occurred, Government assistance to the WW1 veterans given land (1917- 1919), continued after WW2, in the form of extended leases, and rates and rental remissions. Some assistance to these veterans appears to have been given under the Rehabilitation Act 1936, which related to mortgages on town and country sections.⁵⁰³ Patete (2021) states that at Kuku, there may have been two sets of returned servicemen who were allocated land there - one group from WW1 and another group from WW2. However, two of the four names he lists as WW2 veterans may have also fought in WW1.⁵⁰⁴

6.7.2 The Maori Soldiers' Fund

The Maori Soldiers had been established during World War One, inspired by Apirana Ngata, under the War Funds Act 1915. Initially the focus was on helping East Coast Maori veterans into farming through employment and training, but any profits were to be made available to all Maori veterans nationwide. In 1932, PM Forbes reported that until 1925, of the £58,000 collected, only £500 had been spent on relief for Maori soldiers. In 1954, the Trustee had begun to distribute funds, **any indigent Maori veteran from WW1 was eligible**. Grants of up to £50 appear to be the rule to pay for needy cases or funeral or other expenses.⁵⁰⁵

Te Ao Hou observed in 1954⁵⁰⁶ of 63 applications received, 47 were granted, not to help with housing, farming or establishing businesses, but purely to alleviate stress. “Some East Coast Maori may have benefited from training and employment on the properties at various times, but the impression is left that the soldiers had been denied the true benefit of the money raised, because of poor initial investment in, and administration of, the

⁵⁰³ ‘Rehabilitation Act’, *Waikato Times*, Vol. 120, Issue 20078, 26 December 1936, p. 4.

⁵⁰⁴ Patete, 2021, p645-6

⁵⁰⁵ Gould, 1992, p326.

⁵⁰⁶ Te Ao Hou, Vol. 6, 1954, p. 56.

stations, and the apparent less-than-honest use of the fund by the Trustees. Had the fund been disbursed to all returning Maori soldiers, each would have received approximately £30.”

After 1957, scholarships have been made available for descendants of Maori World War One veterans (around the motu) from the Sir Apirana Ngata Memorial Scholarship fund, created by the Maori Soldiers Trust Act 1957. Funding for the scholarships comes from the Hereheretau Station, Wairoa, which is the major asset of the Maori Soldiers Trust. Scholarships are available for tertiary students (eg Polytech, wananga, university) with preference given to descendants or close relations of Maori WW1 veterans. The scholarships are administered by Te Tumu Paeroa, the office of the Maori Trustee. In the 20 years prior to 2017, it granted about 400 scholarships worth close to \$700,000.⁵⁰⁷ More effort could be made to ensure Ngāti Raukawa is aware that these scholarships are available.

6.7.3 Ngāti Raukawa Prisoners of War

There were 200 Māori prisoners of war released from a camp in Germany in October 1944. Speaking at a Māori conference in Wellington, Minister of Defence Mr Jobs said that altogether 3,342 Māoris (sic) had gone overseas, of whom 500 had lost their lives. The Māori battalion had some splendid leaders, said Mr Jones. There were 400 people at the Māori hui referred to, and its focus was improving the welfare of Māori people. Among those attending was Hon W.Moffat, MLC, of Palmerston North.⁵⁰⁸

What were the mental health issues for men released from years in Prisoner of War camps? Pat Hakaraia talked with us about his father Peter Hakaraia (5142, POW 322), who was in Stalag XVIII A, Lavamund camp, Austria for four years, doing hard labour under the Nazi regime. The lack of care on first release is indicated by the following: “, Dad got sent back to England, and got locked up again. He escaped twice, and got drunk. His friend John Winterburn had to go looking for him, and found him in the middle of a punch up. So it must have been traumatic, or the first beer didn’t go down too well and it reacted! (laughs). To lock Maori up? No. So he got back and he just went bush for a long

⁵⁰⁷ <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/top/330846/veterans-farm-has-done-its-job-now-return-it-iwi>

⁵⁰⁸ Māori Prisoners of War, *Manawatu Standard*, Vol. LXIV, Issue 277, 20 October 1944, p. 4.

time, he just disappeared to get his head around (what had happened)...he would stay in his bedroom in Otaki here at his father's place.”



Peter Hakaraia, 5142 (standing),
with John Winterburn (left) and
R.Smith, c1939. Photo:
P.Hakaraia

A web-site produced by survivors of Stalag XVIII A from around the world has been set up (<http://www.stalag18a.org>) which shows photographs of life in the camp. Surprisingly, there are photos of sports teams, musical groups and church notices. It was a huge camp, with a total work strength of 31,667 men. In August 1941 there were 814 New Zealanders in the camp, including 320 Maori. A typhus epidemic swept through the camp in December 1941 - March 1942. Feelings of frustration and disempowerment would have been felt daily.

August 1942 (<http://www.stalag18a.org>): *“All the huts have many fleas and bugs and a steam disinfection apparatus operates continuously, 40 men passing through every hour. The water supply installation is very precarious and there are no drains.”*

Pat: *“When you look at the photos of Dad in the rugby team, he looked pretty physical, quite well built, but from what I can gather there was never enough food. They were doing hard labour, they were building a dam. And so there's never enough food when*

you're doing hard labour, for anyone. He said, yeah we were well fed, but you think about the cold and the confinements, I don't think any food would have been enough".

Pat Hakaraia said his father was aware of the discrimination against the Māori soldiers as soon as he got off the boat in Wellington. Was he bitter about it? -*"Yeah, he said that war was not the place to go, because of how you're treated afterwards. When they got off the boat, they weren't allowed to go and drink alcohol, on the wharf with their mates, after they came back. There were so many restrictions on different Māori, on our Māori men. That's what grieved Dad in a way, he'd gone away, spent all this time, and it was just wasted time, virtually five years of his life wasted, and to come back and be treated second class or third class, or even lower! He came home to absolutely nothing in his bank account."*

Pat's sister, Helene Hakaraia lives in Christchurch, and is involved with the Military Veterans Kaupapa Inquiry (Wai 2500). She is primarily concerned with the treatment of soldiers in Malaya as experienced by her husband Paora Tau, but she also wrote in her Brief of Evidence (Wai 2502) about their father Peter Hakaraia⁵⁰⁹, and provides further insights:

*"My father, Peter Hakaraia, of Ngati Raukawa ki te Tonga, fought in the Second World War. He was born in 1915 and passed away in 2008. He left for war when he was in his early 20s. He fought as part of the 19th Battalion. Before he returned home he spent four years as a prisoner of war in a camp in Germany. This was from 1940. From the time that he was captured, he had **been presumed dead**. This is what my whanau back home were told. My aunt though had a dream where she saw my father with a korowai above his head and a tohunga told her he was still alive.*

"For the four years while he was a prisoner of war, all of his payments for his service stopped. When he was finally rescued from the prisoner of war camp it is our understanding that he was then transferred to custody in England and his payment was resumed. He escaped the compound three times, mainly to have a jug of beer. There is an expectation that a man will come home from the war and provide for his family, but this is not what happened in the case of my whanau. He was sent back to New Zealand traumatised by the war and with no money. He thought his family had spent his earnings

⁵⁰⁹ Veterans Support Act 2014 (Tau and Rarere) Claim (Wai 2502).

during the four years of imprisonment. Most days were spent in his room, at night; he would join the family for short periods of time. There was no help provided for his rehabilitation back into the community.

“My father met my mother after returning from the war. He was very lucky to have met her. He would be an alcoholic if it wasn't for our mother. My older cousins say that my mother saved his life. He was a good man but he just couldn't cope after what he had experienced. He would often lose the plot, not unusual amidst veterans of WWII. As his best friend here in Christchurch, a veteran who he spent time in prisoner of war camps with, also periodically lost the plot. I have heard some stories about my father at war, but only at various tangihanga I have attended. He himself did not talk about the war. My father kept a kutu⁵¹⁰ in a match box and traded it with other prisoners of war for a part of a book or piece of bread. This was because if you found a kutu on yourself, and could show the guards, you got to spend the day cleaning out your bed and clothing. This was a luxury in the camp.

“My father was another example of a veteran who did not have his conditions recognised or the support he needed when he returned from war. Some time after his return from war, my mother wrote letters seeking recognition of my father's conditions and some of these were eventually recognised and provided for by the government.”

Pat tells us more about their father's post-war life: “He just worked all sorts of little jobs that he had. McGlaughlins' roading company, worked for the concrete places, worked for Allensons. I guess in my lifetime he probably had three or four jobs. He would get tuna from the Otaki river. We would bike from Te Horo to the Otaki river with whitebait net. We'd burn a stick, sharpen it, or with hooks. Its quite neat, David Bishop's down there fishing, and we always had this memory of my Dad and his Dad and all the older ones that were there, there were always a lot of the old people. Aunty Bonny, Libby's grandmother, uncle Wehi Royal's mum Rato. You know you're old when you know all those people and others don't, and I actually sat on the river and whitebaited with them.

“In 1952 he met my Mum, which everyone says was the blessing for him, because she was pretty stable and she managed to hold him together I guess. They went through 50 years of marriage together. One of the things he was grateful for was that, because they

⁵¹⁰ Body louse.

came back (to Otaki) and we lived up the top of the Ramp there for a long time. So then we got a house out at Te Horo, which was brand new. And then later in years, Dad said, **oh if it wasn't for Harry Edhouse, we wouldn't have this house. I said to him, what happened there? He said, I wasn't allowed to be in the ballot. I wasn't allowed to be in any ballot for land, when I got back. But what Harry Edhouse did was, he put his name into the next ballot that came out, for sections and he won the ballot. And then turned around and gave the ballot to Dad.**

Mr Harry Edhouse was a World War One veteran who had received a discharged soldiers' loan to build a home in Kilbirnie, before moving to Otaki to set up a drapery business. He is remembered by many for his generosity in not pressing locals for payment of accounts during World War II, wrote Rex Kerr,⁵¹¹ and recalled by Pat Hakaraia. He became a Lieutenant in the Home Guard during WW2, and was deeply committed to the RSA, both locally and nationally, for which he was eventually awarded a Gold Star. Pat Hakaraia and his neice Libby, through the success of "Maoriland" film festival and arts hub, ended up buying the drapery business building formerly owned by Edhouse, and they continue to hold his name with very high regard there. Pat: *"So we have a thing at Maoriland, within the hierarchy of it, that the Edhouse name must always stay within the building. As an acknowledgement of what they've done for a lot of the whanau here, we weren't the only ones. It was all of the whanau that would have been treated that way."*

Edhouse would have known what Peter Hakaraia had suffered during the war, and sympathized. Peter himself said very few words about it to his family, suppressing his feelings, and sometimes turning to alcohol. Pat: "He didn't want to go to RSA, he wouldn't wear his medals, but he enjoyed a drink. We didn't want to go near him when he was drunk - he was on fire, wanted to fight you."

"Dad refused to get his medals, then just one day they turned up, there were his medals, and we were quite proud of that. We managed to keep them, but they always stayed at the back of the cabinet. They were never brought out unless we got them out. If he saw them, he wanted them put straight back in there, leaving them alone. I don't know that he ever got to wear them, I don't think he did. Or I think probably once. If he went to a funeral, or say uncle Sam Tahiwī, it was always on parade, he was always standing at attention,

⁵¹¹ Kerr, 2016, pp. 64 - 65.

straight back, he'd do everything the sergeant or whoever was in charge would say. I think it's that respect for the man. Respect for the person, for what he has done. He went to most of the tangi for war veterans.

“Dad got really sick, and I tried to get some help. I had to jump through all these hoops. I said isn't his number, reg no 5142, the fact that he went away in the 1st echelon, you must have all that on file? Isn't that enough reason to just say yes? Instead now we have to go to a doctor, then we have to ask to go to a specialist, then we have to go to a hospital and be analysed. And all we want is you to pay for his hearing aids! Nothing. So I said, are you waiting for my father to die, so this problem will go away? I said, if you are, then that's sad. All you're doing as a person at Veterans Affairs is putting up barriers! And not doing your job properly.”

The whanau tried to get help to get him hearing aids, and he also suffered from a hernia for many years. He also had some years in the Levin Home for War Veterans home, where the level of care could have been improved with better support from the Government, Pat believes. He and the family have requested a copy of their father's file from Veterans' Affairs, and they have been waiting six months to receive it.

6.7.4 Pensions - Scarce since 1915, better during & after WW2, except J-force

The War Pensions Act 1915 set up a network of war pensions boards to decide whether a veteran's death or disability was due to their military service. The requirement for veterans to be 'deserving' was dropped, and Māori veterans received the same pension as Pākehā veterans.⁵¹² The War Pensions Act 1943 improved pension rates and made it easier for war veterans and their families to receive compensation for death, disability or financial disadvantage. From 1951 this pension scheme was integrated into the social security system, and veterans qualified for extra benefits such as free travel. Veterans' associations and the media campaigned for further veteran assistance, and a commission of inquiry recommended a range of improvements in pension rates and conditions. These were incorporated in the War Pensions Act 1954. **However, veterans of Jayforce were**

⁵¹² Application processes and a lack of assistance were barriers, see Chap. 4.

only granted the same pensions and benefits as Second World War veterans after many years of lobbying.⁵¹³

6.7.5 Army employment and rehabilitation

At least one of our senior respected uncles was given some employment and financial support after his injury at Gallipoli, and apparently to the end of his life in 1955. Lance Corporal Henare Tahiwī (WW1, 16/298, WW2 5/5/484), older brother of Pirimi and former bugler, was shot in the left knee at Gallipoli, and suffered an on-going disability, assessed by a Medical Board as about 10-20 percent limitation of movement. He was a patient for several months in Rotorua before his discharge in February 1916. He had a period of some months of employment in the New Zealand Army Ordnance office, Trentham in 1919, and was on the Reserve of Officers list between the wars. He worked for the Artillery 2nd battalion Wellington region for 9 months, at Fort Dorset then School of Artillery from 1941 to 42. He then enlisted with the army in July 1942 as Temporary Staff, Honorary 2nd Lt, as a storeman and clerk; and served as a Māori Recruiting Officer until 14th August 1944. Prior to enlisting in 1942, he had been on a Returned Soldier pension. He applied for and received a War Service Gratuity for his time working for the Maori War Effort Organisation 27.7.42 to 17.8.44, i.e. both periods - as temporary staff and Maori Recruiting Officer. Henare and his whanau lived at Seatoun Rd, Kilbirnie. He received a permanent pension, as at 31 Mar 1946, based on a disability of ten percent. He was awarded two medals for his WW2 service - the War Medal 1939-45 and the New Zealand War Service Medal. He died of sickness, 22 April 1955, with his posting to the Retired Officers list (Hon 2nd Lt) being published in 1957 in ignorance of his death. It was posted in the New Zealand Gazette of 31st January 1957, but deleted soon afterwards.⁵¹⁴

Cleaver (2018) states, “After World War II, service opportunities were much greater than in the pre-war years. Notably, within all three services – the Army, Navy, and Air Force – the number of regular personnel (those who served on a paid, full-time basis) was significantly higher. This situation has continued, with some fluctuation of numbers. Both the Army and Navy began to actively encourage Māori recruitment and, partly as a result,

⁵¹³ Mark Derby, 'Veterans' assistance - War pensions', Te Ara, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/veterans-assistance/page-1> (accessed 7 December 2021).

⁵¹⁴ Archives R24063921, R24207716 - Henare Tahiwī WW1 16/298, 379, WW2 5/5/484.

Māori, from about 1960, would become over-represented in both forces in comparison to the proportion of Māori in the population as a whole. Maori have been underrepresented among officers throughout the whole period covered.”⁵¹⁵

Two rehabilitation files have been viewed. Pirimi Tahiwī’s nephew Whatumairangi aka Sam, who served in the Middle East, was wounded in the neck and returned to New Zealand in August 1944. He was given training in carpentry in Petone from May 1945 to April 1947. He then got a job building state houses in Foxton. He was also able to get a state house for himself and whanau in Otaki in 1950.⁵¹⁶ The other, Pte Tukukino Royal (67399), who returned from Italy in June 1944 with a serious shell wound to his right thigh, wanted to learn boot repair, and so did leatherwork initially, and then trained in Wellington in book-binding. He stayed at the National Service camp, Hataitai. In October 1953, Royal was employed with Hemline Shore Co, and apparently satisfactorily, though not keeping strict hours.

6.7.6 Any benefit gained from participation in WW2?

Ngata wrote in 1943 “What is the gain for so much loss? Can the former be gauged in clear terms of compensation? The Māori in the last war was denied a place in the forefront of the battle; not because he was not deemed worthy or efficient, but because of a sentiment that he should be spared the slaughter and decimation of war. In this war he asked to take his full share in the front line, and in this he has been fully indulged. Has he proved a claim to be an asset to his country? If so, he asks to be dealt with as such. An asset discovered in the crucible of war should have a value in the coming peace.”⁵¹⁷

Patete (2021)⁵¹⁸ wrote: “World War Two provided a turning point after which many Māori who had served in the forces, and others in rural areas, migrated to urban areas to undertake essential work. This effectively changed the status of Māori. The Licensing

⁵¹⁵ Cleaver, 2018, p. 7.

⁵¹⁶ R14894215 - Whatumairangi Tahiwī.

⁵¹⁷ Ngata, 1943, p. 18.

⁵¹⁸ Patete, 2021, p. 1053.

Amendment Act 1948 repealed earlier statutes and eliminated distinctions based on race. Under it, Māori consumers of alcohol were put on an equal legal footing with their Pākehā counterparts. Māori women were now allowed to drink in public bars, Māori men were entitled to equal access to liquor away from licensed premises, and several other racially based discriminations regarding consumption were repealed. The interventionary power of the Māori Wardens in effect continued a separate surveillance and enforcement regime for Māori, given that they were especially charged with controlling alcohol intake and suppressing liquor-related disorder.”

Population growth amongst Māori in our rohe was steady from 1926 onwards as health and employment measures improved. To give an idea of numbers, the total Māori population of Rangitikei, Manawatu, Kairanga, Oroua, Horowhenua, increased from 4,129 in 1926 to 6,634 in 1961. The number of Pakeha increased also, particularly in Levin, Feilding and Palmerston North.⁵¹⁹ By mid-century the connection between high Māori TB rates and poor standards of housing was widely recognised, and this was a factor in the support of Māori leaders for housing improvements. In 1947 a Māori representative at a meeting with officials at Otaki pointed out that improved access to medical services (since the introduction of Social Security in the 1930s) had uncovered the true extent of TB, since ‘prior to its advent the Māoris were not able to pay for medical attention and just lingered on and died’. He argued that treating TB without attending to the poor housing situation was ‘useless.’⁵²⁰ Public health researchers Black and Dickey investigated the incidence of TB amongst Māori in Otaki in 1939, and how their living conditions were related. People with TB would be sent to the sanatorium in the 1940s, and the Health Department also began supplying “hutments”, ie small huts that people could have in their gardens so the sick could stay close to home, but separate.

Urbanisation began during WW2 and increased in post-war years, particularly 1956-61. Many went to Wellington, the Hutt valley and Palmerston North. The population at Koputoroa declined from 84 to 23, but Motuiti, Hokio, Manakau and Waitarere stayed much the same. Population increases had out-grown available land resources. There were

⁵¹⁹ Lange, p. 136.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., p. 142.

better job opportunities in the cities. A tobacco factory began in Otaki, and there were other factories, a hospital, health camp and college where work could be found. The New Zealand Woolpacks plant at Foxton employed many Māori. By 1960, many Māori were finding employment with the Ministry of Works, the railways, the freezing works or in forestry. While our people were still mostly in unskilled work, and many jobs were still insecure, at least most were now in paid employment.⁵²¹

In the 1930s the flax industry was renewed and a processing factory was established at Foxton, where it continued to be a big employer until the 1960s and beyond. Māori land development schemes began in Manawatu in 1931, following Apirana Ngata's East Coast tribal land development projects, and aimed at making more productive use of Māori land, and raising living standards of owners. The Matararapa land development scheme of small diary units, consisted of 271 acres in nine small blocks, with another 34 acres (two sections) later added. Unemployed men worked on drains, stopbanks and clearing gorse and scrub, but when work picked up in the flax industry and the Whirokino cut, finding labour became difficult. Māori farmers were also assisted at Manakau and Himatangi. The Whirokino cut, completed in 1944, had eased the problem of flooding, but caused access difficulties and share-milkers began to leave. It was eventually leased to one Pakeha who eventually bought the land from the Māori owners. Most of the Māori owners moved across the loop to Foxton in the 1950s. A second Māori land development scheme in our region at this time was Ohinepuhiawe, near Bulls, was gazetted in 1933, and consisted of 96 acres. A third scheme was in the Reureu valley, 309 acres near the Rangitikei river, which became independent of Government in 1950s. The schemes were considered economically successful for some years, but in the 1950s small diary farms became less viable. Overall, there was still too little land, and even less of good quality. (Lange, p160). Schemes to support Māori to grow vegetables on land at Otaki and Ohau were small-scale and eventually abandoned. However in the late 1940s there were 12 Māori in a Māori Growers Assoc, supported by a Raukawa Tribal Executive, who had benefited from a Government sponsored nursery on 4 acres of land at Otaki. But by 1951, the Government had decided to end the programme.⁵²²

⁵²¹ Ibid., p. 176.

⁵²² Ibid., p. 160.

International bodies, such as the International Labour Organisation, and its 1957 Convention on International Indigenous and Tribal Populations, added to the pressure on the NZ government to reduce discrimination against Māori, which was widespread throughout the country. New Zealand wanted to be viewed around the world as a country with positive race relations.⁵²³

As previously noted in Chapter 5, the national organisation of Maori in tribal committees as part of the Maori War Effort organisation, was used as the basis for the establishment of Government agencies who would work to advance Maori interests - social, cultural and economic development. Matua Rangi Royal, former commander of the B company, had a role at the heart of this mahi in the Native Department in Rotorua and then Wellington (see excerpt below from his DNZB biography):

“After the war, an administrative reorganisation saw the Māori War Effort Organisation absorbed into the Native Department and more attention given to Māori welfare and housing. In 1944 Royal was appointed chief welfare officer and in 1946 controller of Māori welfare, based in Wellington. In 1944 he wrote a report on the poor housing conditions of Māori living in Auckland. This report revealed the seriousness of the situation and offered him a firsthand look at the changing circumstances of Māori.

Royal’s inclusion in the senior ranks of the Native Department, along with Tipi Rōpiha, its under-secretary, signalled a change in the style of the department, which had hitherto excluded Māori from senior positions. As controller of Māori welfare, Royal became heavily involved in many Māori development initiatives. He played a significant role in the development and implementation of the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945, and was influential in pursuing tribal self-determination through the establishment of some 500 tribal committees formed to consider issues relating to education, health and employment. Following the election of the National government in 1949, Māori welfare officers were brought under the control of the Pākehā district officers of the department. Royal considered that he was being reduced to a figurehead. He travelled the country speaking on health and welfare issues. In 1955 he travelled for

⁵²³ Cleaver, 2018, p. 29.

three months to speak on marae about the effects of alcohol consumption and to raise debate about its effect on Māori people.

“Rangi Royal laid much of the organisational groundwork that led to the establishment of the Māori Women’s Welfare League in 1951. He recognised the value of the organisation in meeting the needs of Māori women and threw the full weight of his office behind it. Many members of his family held office in the league. In 1955 his wife, Puhi, was elected as one of two vice presidents and his sister, Naki Swainson, was a member of the first executive. His first cousin, Ruiha Sage, was elected president in 1964.

“Royal’s considerable knowledge of the Māori language was recognised when he was invited to join the committee to revise and edit H. W. Williams’s Dictionary of the Māori language. He also made contributions to *Ngā Moteatea*, the monumental collection of classical Māori waiata compiled by Apirana Ngata. Like Ngata, Royal developed a style of working through personal influence, and keeping in close contact with the traditional elements in Māori society. He retired from official positions in 1956 and in 1964 was appointed an OBE for his services to the Māori people. He died at Rotorua on 8 July 1965 and was buried at Muruika Soldiers’ Cemetery, Ōhinemutu. He was survived by his wife and five children: three daughters and two sons”.⁵²⁴

6.8. CONCLUSIONS

Our research has identified 83 Ngāti Raukawa men who participated in World War One, 109 who joined the 28th Maori battalion in World War Two, and a total of 181 Ngāti Raukawa men and one woman who participated in World War Two and served overseas. Participation in both wars shifted public opinion towards supporting Māori to retain distinctiveness, as opposed to assimilation and strengthened the case for Māori rights at a high level, and. There are many examples of positive media coverage of the Maori contingent, Maori Pioneer battalion and 28 Maori battalion, and their courage and tactics in war, which can be read on Papers Past (see Sections 4.2, 4.4, 6.5). Speeches for those fallen extolled the virtue of fighting side by side, Maori and Pakeha, and emphasised unity but also the significance of the haka in lifting morale for all soldiers. And that participation also shifted the hearts and minds of politicians, who started to see the

⁵²⁴ Royal & Jamison, DNZB, 1998.

benefits of retaining Maori culture and distinctiveness, and having their own organisations working to benefit Maori. Continued advocacy for Māori rights, which had been evident in the 19th century (Kingitanga, Kotahitanga, Pai Marire movements) was evident also in the 20th century with Te Puea's resistance to compulsory military conscription. We note again, Monty Soutar's statement that Te Puea's resistance triggered a serious consideration in Government of Māori land loss and poverty.⁵²⁵ So we argue that it is not just participation in war, but also consistent and continuous activism for our customary and treaty rights (land, reo, education, political representation) which have resulted in long term gains for Māori people nationally e.g. the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal and treaty claim settlements. Benefits for Ngāti Raukawa include (limited) Government support for Kohanga Reo, kura kaupapa Māori, marae development grants and the eventual recognition of Te Wananga o Raukawa.

These initiatives have been formed through our own determination and sacrifice (tino rangatiratanga), from a vision named Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (Generation 2000) conceived by Whatarangi Winiata and adopted by the Raukawa Marae Trustees in 1975. Land in Otaki, gifted by Ngati Raukawa to the Christian Missionary Society in the nineteenth century, was initially used for the Otaki Maori College (boarding school), and remains under the authority of the three iwi (Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toa and Te Atiawa) and the Anglican church. It began to be used by the wananga (for all three iwi) in the mid-1980s. The Otaki and Porirua Trust Board, which owns the land and includes representatives of the three iwi, also provides tertiary scholarships.

Another positive benefit of participation in both World Wars was the whakawhanaungatanga between men of our iwi and other iwi, through their shared experience in situations of conflict overseas, Te Kenehi believes. Their whanau and descendants have taken pride in their collective display of courage and fighting ability, and this has linked veteran families, bringing them close in a way which has sometimes led to inter-marriage and shared offspring. New classes of rangatira have been formed, and old hapū and inter-tribal animosities forgotten. Some outcomes after WW2 were pan-tribal Māori nationalism, new fervour for Christian churches, boarding schools, farm skills, army careers and higher educational aspirations (eg tertiary), says Te Kenehi. Pirimi Tahiwī stated on his recording (Ngā Taonga): "The Māori Battalion was formed

⁵²⁵ Soutar, p. 273.

and composed from members of every tribe in the country. Every tribe in New Zealand was represented, beginning from the far north right down to Invercargill including Stewart Island and the Chatham Islands.”

Invisibility, however, has been a long-term issue for Ngati Raukawa. Since losing our land in the 1870s, national and local Governments have chosen to ignore our voice, as one they would rather not hear. For example, those tribes who have already completed treaty claim settlement processes have been more often recognized and consulted by local authorities. We hope this report goes some way to making clear who we are as an iwi, and our contribution and experience in the major wars of the 20th century. A major grievance has been the on-going loss of land, to Pakeha veterans among others, which participation in the wars did little or nothing to halt or alleviate. We hope this report helps prove the value of iwi-based military research, as a way of contributing to Maori military history nationally. The participation of whakapapa experts - Rupene Waaka, Te Kenehi Teira, Tata Lawton, Diane Taylor and Kahu Ropata - has proved invaluable in setting parameters for the research, ie defining who is Ngāti Raukawa and who is not.

Due to time constraints, we regret we have not been able to write more about Ngati Raukawa experiences in Japan, Korea, Malaya, Vietnam and elsewhere. One senior whanaunga, however, Helene Hakaraia (Ngāti Wehiwehi, Ngāti Kapu), has extensive knowledge of these wars, and states that there are many grievances related to army lack of care for Māori and other veterans in relation to both World Wars, as well as J-force, K-force, Vietnam, and Malaya.⁵²⁶ Turoa Karatea (Ngāti Matakore, Ngāti Pīkiahū-Waewae) has also spoken publicly about the impact of Agent Orange, the defoliant used during the Vietnam war, on himself and others.⁵²⁷

Te Kenehi, after considering the korero of Georgina Parata-Turvy of Ngāti Manomano, Angela Hayden and others, offers the following policy considerations towards improving army life and care for Māori army staff:

⁵²⁶ Phone interview, Turoa Karatea, 5th Dec 2021.

⁵²⁷ Te Aniwa Hurihanganui, ‘Māori war veteran’s skin still peeling 50 years after Agent Orange exposure’, *RNZ*, 3 June 2021, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/in-depth/443953/maori-war-veteran-s-skin-still-peeling-50-years-after-agent-orange-exposure>.

- Education levels have been a barrier to entry to the armed forces specialist and/or technical skill positions
- Selective positions, or quota, for Māori wanting to do trade training and professional training eg nursing, have been lacking.
- Lack of consistent protocols and policy for the return of deceased and sick soldiers from overseas.
- No support for families of soldiers who are killed while in service - for their health and housing.
- Little support has been provided to Māori staff in the armed services when seeking advice on superannuation, tax and benefits.
- The possibility of having a specific Maori unit in the army could also be discussed, towards development of cultural strength, and support of Maori identity within the army.

N.B. Note that there is considerable scope for more research on the topic of Ngāti Raukawa and 20th century wars – eg a fuller analysis of the Karauti notebooks and letters (if appropriate consents are obtained); the collection at the National Army Museum, Waiouru; further analysis of individual World War Two army files (few have been accessed, as the only files with unrestricted access are those of men who fought in both wars (see Appendix R for more information on accessibility policies, NZ Defence Force and Archives NZ)⁵²⁸; and the Wasteland Board minute books (there are 41 minute books, 1866-1947, in Archives NZ). The latter contain detailed histories of a multitude of land blocks, described as “wasteland”, ie bought as vast areas by the Crown under questionable circumstances in the 19th century. By 1947 various organisations are referred to, eg the Waikanae Plunket Society, the Wellington Boys’ Institute, even the ‘ancient society of Druids’ – clearly no longer just veterans. The lack of Māori names, and the secretive nature of these minutes (often ‘in committee’) suggests discrimination in favour of Pakeha, albeit also ‘public good’ organisations.

⁵²⁸ The only WW2 file provided by the Defence Force for this research was that of Ruth Ransfield, WAAC, J-force, received by courier post, 8th Dec 2021.

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2. Meetings (Zoom hui) - with Tata Lawton, a member of the team associated with Manatū Taonga, the Ministry of Culture & Heritage, to research D Company history, May to Nov (see dates below)
3. Ngāti Raukawa War Effort Committee (Tata Lawton, Te Kenehi Teira, Rupene Waaka, Diane Taylor, Turoa Karatea and Heeni Collins) - Zoom hui of 28th May, 11th June, 23rd August.
4. Tukorehe & wider military historian Diane Taylor, 2 hours on phone, 10th Sept (recorded & transcribed)
5. Tahiwī whānau, Taringaroa, Barb Rudd, Denise Hapeta, Deanna Rudd, Hawea Hapeta, 17th Sept, 2nd Oct (recorded, notes written)
6. Rikihana whānau - Rawiri Rikihana, Queenie Rikihana (21st July, 29th July, 5th Aug)
7. Carkeek whānau - Te Waari Carkeek (21 July, 17th Nov, phone) Hemaima Carkeek, 15th Nov (phone),
8. Royal whānau, Puhī Campbell (27th July, 19th Oct), Charles Te Ahukaramu Royal (9th Sept Zoom) Tom Jamison (visit, Otaki, 19th Oct), Rob Kuiti (13th Nov)
9. Hui at Te Awahou Nieuwe Stroom, Foxton, 19th Sept 2021 – George Te Whatanui Kereama, Jerald Twomey, Jess Kereama, Pip Kereama-Stevenson, Diane Taylor, Betty Taylor, Tainui and Rangi Woodmass, Puhī Campbell, Mr J.Campbell; and on Zoom, Turoa Karatea, Tata Lawton, Pat Hakaraia,
10. Karauti whānau - Mary Lomas (visits 21 July, 30th Nov), Hemi Rangiuia (20th July, at Runanga Whaiti, Levin)
11. McGregor whānau - Lani Ketu, Robert Ketu (6th July, 23rd Nov), Heemi Te Peeti (25th Nov, Te Awahou Foxton); Huataki Whareaitu ; Alan McGregor, siblings, children, (4th Dec, at Koputoroa);
12. Sciascia whānau - Viv Bould & sister Bev Sciascia (2nd Oct, visit, Paraparaumu, recorded)
13. Te Reureu whānau - Turoa Karatea, Vietnam veteran, Fielding (12th - 15th July), joined Ngāti Raukawa War Effort Committee, 25th July; Bruce Smith, Paranihi sisters, Hare Arapere (6th Nov, recorded)
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15. Cook whānau - Mark Wilson (6th Oct, phone); Aroha Cook, Troy Cook, Nanette Wirihana, Mary-Anne Wirihana, Mary Cook, Heeni Wilson (7th Oct, Otaki visits, phone)
16. Bevan whānau - Kelly Bevan, Lorraine Nikera nee Bevan- 11th Oct (phone), 13th Oct (visit to Wgtn)
17. Pohio whānau - Roimata Kirikiri, 18th Oct (phone); Pep France, 26th Oct (phone); Pep France & Areta Greening nee Roiri, 1st Nov (visit to Takapuwahia, Porirua), Miriona Johnson, 1st Nov (phone)
18. Ropata whānau - Kahu Ropata (met 10th Nov, at cafe in Paraparaumu)
19. Hakaraia whānau - Pat Hakaraia, 28th Oct (visit, recorded interview Tainui marae, Otaki); Helene Hakaraia, 4th Dec (phone)
20. Tatana whānau - Mickey Tatana (13th Sept), Xavier Forde (4th Aug, 20th Aug).
21. Jacob whānau - Rachael Selby (21st Sept, 1st Nov, phone), Ani Mikaere (1st Nov, phone), Pataka Moore, emails.
22. Hapeta whānau & Ngāti Huia - Angela Hayden (19th July, 4th Aug, Dec), HIRAMA Tamihana (Zoom, 9th Sept).
23. Heritage librarian, Kiri Pepene, Te Awahou Foxton, Horowhenua District Council (Te Kenehi, 30 Aug)
24. Pugsley, Chris - military historian 21st Sept, visited his home, Waikanae (Te Kenehi & Heeni).
25. Simeon whānau - Patience Hinepare Simeon, Tracey Robinson, 28th October (hui at TANS, Foxton); also Patience Simeon, phone, 16 Jan 2022.
26. Ransfield whānau - Sandy Johnson (29th Oct, 1st Dec), Mark Howell (4th Dec), son of Ruth Howell, J-force.
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Taylor, Te Kenehi, Kevin Emery, 27th Nov. Whānau – Lawton, Simeon, Graham, Emery.

33. Army nurse, Kereama whānau - Georgina Parata-Turvey, (27th Nov, visit by Te Kenehi, korero partially recorded)
34. Otaki Museum volunteer - Sue Carroll (17th Sept), with access to veteran files and OHJs.
35. Ngāti Wehiwehi, Kororangi Hakaraia (visit, 23rd Nov), e-mail 11th Dec.
36. Kaumatua, re Te Whatanui descendants in north, Arapeta Hamilton (16th Nov).
37. With Massey University scholarship students Bella Pollock & Ruiha Bishop (TWOR, Otaki), we met with Paul Diamond (National Library); Polly Martin (National Archives); Paul Meredith & Honiana Love (Nga Taonga Sound & Vision) and Puawai Cairns (Te Papa) – (15th Dec); assistance with formatting & typing of Appendices.
38. Meeting with Otaki historian Rex Kerr, at his home 5 Knights Grove, Otaki, 15th Jan 2022.

B. Archives New Zealand

Individual army record files for World War One soldiers are now available on-line, and were used extensively in this research .World War Two soldiers' army records are restricted, but the files of some soldiers who fought in both world wars are digitally accessible, covering both wars (see table below).

	Archives Ref No	Name - WW and army no	Date (s) Accessed (approx)
	1 st Maori Contingent		
1	R24066071	Lt Pirimi Tahiwī WW1 16/304, WW2 802676	Aug/Sept/Oct
2	R22276089	Sgt Matthew Bevan WW1 16/252	Sept/Oct
3	R18052626; R24169663	2nd Lt Hohepa Harry Jacob WWI 16/268, WWII 816237 - Army	Sept/Oct/Nov
4	R18055462	Herawini aka Herewini Karehana WW1 16/393	Sept/Oct
5	R24063921	Henare Kima Tahiwī WW1 16/298, WW2 5/5/484	Sept/Oct/Nov
6	R21892192	Cpl Rikihana Carkeek	Oct/Nov
7	R21897324	David Cootes WW1 16/258	Oct
8	R16791382	Wiremu Hapeta WW1 16/266	Nov
9	R18048192	Akuhata Himiona, WW1 16/375	Nov
10	R18055333	Abraham Karauti WW1 16/270	July/Aug

11	R21375979	William Mira WW1 16/278	Oct
12	R20804171	Daniel Ransfield WW1 16/588	Oct
13	R20804174	Richard Ransfield	Oct
14	R20806305	Howard Roach WW1 16/290	Oct
15	R20807613	Corp Jack Ropata WW1 16/501	Nov
16	R20807614	Jerry Ropata, 16/291	Nov
17	R20807658	Pahia Ropata, WW1 16/199	Nov
18	R22013734	John Timiuha, WW1 16/303	Nov
19	R21383733	Pte Tau Paranihi	Oct
20	R20801817	Thomas Pohio, WW1 16/494	Oct
21	R20801816	Samuel Pohio	Oct
22	R7824863	Wetini Te Muera, WW1 16/248	Sept/Oct
23	R22021443	Albert Winterburn. WW1 16/60	Sept/Oct
24	R24054175	Alexander Armstrong, WWI 16/250, WWII 805566 - Army	Nov
25	R22017583	Sgt Whetu Wehipeihana, WW1 16/855	
26	R21896964	Pte Samuel Lichfield (see Leichfield) Cook, 16/572a	Oct/Nov
	2 nd Maori Contingent		
27	R18055363	Pte Rangi Wi Katene, 16/363	Oct
28	R18055364	Taku Katene, WW1, 16/635	Oct
29	R2084176	Robert Taru Ransfield, WW1, 16/711	Sept
30	R20807503	Tau Roha, WW1, 16/726 - army	Sept/Oct
31	R20808411	Hape Royal, WW1 16/727 - army	Sept/Oct
32	R20808412	Huke Royal, WWI 16/728	Sept/Oct
33	R20808416	Willie Royal- WW1 16/729 - Army	Sept/Oct
34	R22017537	Heke Wehipeihana, WW1 16/854	Oct
35	R24064728	Henry Wilson, WW1 16/791, WW2 2/2/838	Oct
36	R22021470	Richard Winterburn, WW1, 16/861	Oct/Nov
37	R7824767	Hohepa Paramena Te Kootu, 16/751	Oct/Nov
38	R21383734	Winiata Paranihi aka Paranaki, 16/699	Oct/Nov
	3 rd Maori contingent		
39	R10921686	Lnce Corp Arona (Moses) McGregor, WWI, 16/1260, army	Nov
40	R21896844	George Gray Cook, WW1, 16/299	Oct
41	R18048928	Rota Hohipuha, WW1, 16/1256 - army	Oct/Nov
42	R10923750	Tutepourangi McDonald, WW1, 16/1258	Nov
43	R10921700	Poutu MacGregor, WW1, 16/1323	Nov
44	R10921611	Thomas Pirimona McDonald, WW1 16/1259	Nov
45	R7825048	Tauhia Te Wiata, WW1 16/1266	Oct
	4 th Maori contingent		
46	R24169799	2nd Lt Horo Karauti, WW1 16/1308	July
47	R18055461	Martin Karehana, WW1, 16/1500	Oct
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49	R16787823	Pte George Graham, WW1, 20711	Oct
	Later contingents		
50	R10923601	Hugh McDonald, WW1, 16/19465	Nov
51	R21897352	Taipua Skipwith Cootes, WW1, 19564	Oct/Nov
52	R21003684	John Flutey, WW1, 16909	Oct/Nov
53	R24064321	Rota Waitoa, WW1, 19734, WW2 817234	Dec
54	R21896786	Alfred John Cook, WW1, 19663	Oct
55	R20521098	Joseph Jillett, SA5039, WW1 69601	Nov
56	R20810130	Charles Sciascia, WW1 10/518	Nov/Dec
	Further WW1, WW2		
57	R22017868	Epiha Wereta, WW1, 72733, army	Nov
58	R24063059	Rangi Royal, WW1 19654, WW2 5096	Nov/Dec
59	R24207716	Henare Tahiwai, WW1, 16/298, 379, WW2 5/5/485	Nov/Dec
60	R20995205	Roger Ingram Dansey, WW1, 16/317	Dec
61	R20995204	Harry Dansey, WW1, 16/1017	Dec
62	R21000923	Piri Ellison	Jan 22

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Date viewed	Title	Archives Ref no
2020-21	Petitions claiming Tatarua block - Matene Te Whiwhi & others	R239041421
2020-21	Ngatiraukawa Tribe – Petitions, correspondence in Māori and translated	R20248704
16 th June 2021 - (DT)	Nominal rolls - K-force disembarkation lists	R22440265
16 th June 2021 - (DT & HC)	Formation of 2 nd NZEF units - Korea	R22437832
16 th June 2021 - (DT & HC)	Formation of 2 nd NZEF units - Korea	R22437827
15 th July 2021 (HC)	K-force broadcasts 1951-5;	R18662387
15 th July 2021 (HC)	Officers - general - K-force;	R20218443
15 th July 2021 (HC)	War Graves - responsibility of Commission re war deaths of K-force 1950-54	R12322618
15 th July 2021 (HC)	Staff officers - K-force.	R22438879
28 th July 2021 (HC)	Wgtn district - Applications for units who were	R22601762

	successful in other Districts	
28 th July 2021 (HC)	Wgtn: Makowhai settlement property acquired, 1916-17	R22602153
28 th July, 3 Aug (HC)	Wgtn: Makowhai settlement property acquired, 1918-33	R22602154
28 th July, 3 Aug (HC)	Wgtn: Makowhai settlement property acquired, 1937-48	R22602152
28 th July, 3 Aug (HC)	Register-Gen of lands, re discharged settlers Acts & Registers, 1916	R3204106
2 nd Aug 2021 (HC & TK, from AP)	Wgtn: Kuku Settlement, Ohau, block Waitohu SD, 1919-1937	R22602185
15 th Sept	Mortgages, discharged settlers act, Kairanga	R3204307
15 th Sept	Soldiers, advances, sec 1s, Kairanga settlement	R21033327
15 th Sept	Soldiers, advances, sec 8s, Kairanga settlement	R21033025
15 th Sept	Soldiers advances, sec 4, lot 2, sec 5, Kairanga Settlement	R21033023
15 th Sept	Soldiers advances, sec 2, Kairanga Settlement	R21033022
22 Sept	Otaki Mounted Rifle Volunteers, capitation rolls, 1901	R11169165
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1 st Oct	Whetu Wehipeihana, application for employment	R22403189
13th Oct	Samuel Cook (not ours)	R22349718

13 th Oct	Speech notes, Kingi Te Ahoaho Tahiwiri, OBE	R22937717
1 Dec	Wastelands Board 1919, Lands & Survey, 12/18	R6286491
1 Dec	Lands Available, discharged soldiers, monthly reports 1920-21	R1602595
1 Dec	Tukukino Royal, rehabilitation	R14892373
2 Dec (supplied by R.Waaka)	Re Rota Hohipuha, indigent native 1929-37	R22411884
10.12.21 (supplied by A.Patete)	2NZEF 28 Maori battalion office records - tribal returns	R20109213
15 Dec 2021	Soldiers' advances Cloverlea	R21032747
22 Dec 2021	Wastelands Board minutes 1947, LS-W12/42	R6286515

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APPENDICES

- A. Whakapapa a) Tahiwī whanau b) Royal whanau c) McGregor whanau
- B. World War 1 - Ngati Raukawa soldiers, data spreadsheet (2 pgs)
- C. McGregor whanau profile (Te Kenehi Teira)
- D. Cook whanau profile (Heeni, approved Mary Cook & Sam Cook 5.12.21)
- E. Ropata brothers profile
- F. Ngati Raukawa in WW2 & on - table (21 pgs)
- G. Biography of Hohipuha Cook (R.Waaka)
- H. WAAC - photos & info, D.Taylor
- I. Ngati Raukawa - KIA, POW & serious wounds
- J. List - Japan, Korea, Vietnam
- K. Charles Sciascia - profile (Te Kenehi)
- L. Turoa Karatea and Agent Orange, Radio NZ,
- M. Maori Battalion Hall report, Te Rau Aroha, by Helena Forester (2000)
- N. Army nurse - Borgia Hakaraia, a life of nursing and whanau, OHJ (OHS), 2014, vol 36
- O. Georgina Parata-Turvey - army nurse 1988-2014
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- Q. List of items relating to Capt Pirimi Tahiwī, National Army Museum, Waiouru, from Registrar Glenn Martin, 8th Oct 2021.
- R. Defence Force information about accessibility of WW2 files