E rere te karoro, e rere ki Huria: Ngāi Tamarāwaho of the 28 (Māori) Battalion

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
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Te Moanaroa Ngatoko Togo
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Te Moanaroa Ngatoko Togo

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Date: **November 2016**

I te tīmatanga te kupu, ko te Atua te kupu

Ko te Atua ano tāua kupu i te tīmatanga

N̄ana nei ngā mea katoa

Manawa mai te mauri nuku

Manawa mai te mauri rangi

Ko te mauri o ngā kōrero kei roto i tenei tuhinga

He mauri tipua ka pakaru mai te pō

Tau mai te mauri

Haumi ē, hui ē, tāiki ē...

E koro Raymond, ko 'Peewee' ki o reanga, anei te kaupapa i kōrerohia tāua ki Ōtautahi, te hokinga mahara, te kohikohi i ngā kōrero, heoi, kua tutuki, ka tau, ka ea Nō reira, he mihi, he tangi atu kia koe me o hoa pūmau o Ngāti Tu-mata-uenga ko Wheturangitia, moe mai, moe mai ra koutou…

Pte Raymond Pearson No. 238722 Malaya (1960-64)/Borneo (1964-66)

Rātou kia rātou, tātou kia tātou ngā waihotanga iho...

To the many people who willingly gave their time to share stories and re-collections about this special group of men, I extend to you all my heart-felt thanks. To my dearest Ngarama, thank you for being beside me throughout this journey. To my supervisor, Virginia Warriner, thank you for your patience and guidance.
Researching and writing this thesis would not have been possible without the support of you all. Although every care has been taken in compiling the material for this thesis, there will likely be some oversights and/or omissions. These were not intentional but are solely my responsibility, and in any case, I apologise unreservedly.

E kore e taka ngā parapara a ōna tupuna - tukua iho ki a ia...
(He cannot fail to inherit the talents of his ancestors - they must descend to him)

Abstract

New Zealand's declaration of war against Germany on 3 September 1939 sparked thousands of young Māori men to answer the call of Sir Apirana Ngata to join the 28 (Māori) Battalion. At the time Māori were battling huge social inequities at home yet thousands still enlisted for military service and travelled half way around the world to fight against an enemy whom they did not know. Many iwi and hapū were still dealing with the aftermath of the New Zealand Land Wars of the mid-1800s and the resultant raupatu inflicted by the Crown. Nonetheless, many pledged their allegiance to Ngata and in doing so, to the government of the day. Ngāi Tamarāwaho of Tauranga Moana was one such hapū to send men to the Second World War, and amongst this group was my grandfather, Gerald Takaahurangi Ngatoko-Rahipere, also known by his enlisted name, Gerald Togo.

The focus of this thesis is to identify all the men of Ngāi Tamarāwaho who served with the 28 (Māori) Battalion. Uncovering some of their stories and examining how and in what way the political and social climate of the time influenced their decision to go to war are key research objectives. The impact of the raupatu in Tauranga Moana in 1864 was devastating for the hapū and had long term social and economic consequences. This thesis argues that there was a direct correlation between the social and political injustices suffered by Ngāi Tamarāwaho and Ngata's rationale for establishing the 28 (Māori) Battalion.

The story of these men deserves to be told. Some stories are remembered while many are fading from memory; others are simply waiting to be retold. Following the Tauranga Land Wars, Ngāi Tamarāwaho were left practically landless and pushed to the margins of society. In 1914 the First World War broke out, followed twenty-five years later by the Second World War. Yet despite the hapū's grim past and suffering at the hands of the Crown, a small group of men would still rise up, like their ancestors did at Pukehinahina and Te Ranga, to serve in both the world wars. Their stand helps to affirm for us today, that where the dim light of suffering and oppression exists, that courage and conviction can still shine through.

Table of Contents

Chapter One – Introduction

1.0 Research Brief

This thesis examines the men of Ngāi Tamarāwaho who served in 28 (Māori) Battalion. As a research not previously undertaken before, its aim is to identify these men and uncover some of their individual and collective stories. On a broader level it explores the historical, social and political impacts on Ngāi Tamarāwaho following the Tauranga Land Wars of 1864 and the resultant raupatu inflicted by the Crown. This research examines how and in what ways the loss of land influenced the hapū's attitude towards the government and the nation's commitment to the Second World War. It is hoped that the findings will provide us a better understanding of why the hapū sent men to fight for a government who in 1864 had tried to annihilate them. A review of the literature will provide some insight into these questions, but there are few people within the hapū today with first-hand knowledge. Kaumātua will hold some information, as well as whānau of the soldiers this research focuses on. This thesis is framed around the following questions;

1. Why did the hapū send men to the Second World War when they were still battling the government concerning raupatu redress and social inequities?
2. Were these men answering the call of Sir Apirana Ngata or were there other reasons for them to go to war?
3. What was the thinking amongst hapū leaders to send their sons to war considering the disparities the hapū were facing at the time?

The title of this thesis *'E rere te karoro, e rere ki Huria'* is taken from a Ngāi Tamarāwaho mōteatea of the same name. It was chosen deliberately and depicts karoro soaring high and far away from Huria, the papakainga and marae of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. This is likened to the soldiers also travelling far away and returning home again. The central theme of the mōteatea concerns Mere Hoani, a young woman betrothed to be married but who rejects the man chosen for her by the tribe. This will be discussed further in chapter three.

This research is undertaken with a strong sense of responsibility and obligation. At its heart are a group of men who for one reason or another; answered the call to go to war, sought adventure overseas, felt compelled to enlist alongside their brothers or cousins, or who simply had no idea of what they were getting themselves in to. For many, I would suspect, it was a

combination of all four but irrespective of their reasons, they would carry the mana of their iwi, hapū and whānau.

1.1 The Catalyst and Purpose for this Research

The catalyst for this thesis occurred at an Anzac (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) memorial service at Hangarau marae, Tauranga, in 2012. These marae services began in Tauranga in 1990 and were initiated by Ngāi Te Ahi kaumātua from Hairini marae, among them the late Tame Heke-Kaiawha. Nowadays the annual services are shared amongst local marae in Tauranga. During the service at Hangarau I was sitting in close proximity to a group who were discussing why the service had not been held at Huria previously, the marae of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Their discussion intrigued me and I could not help but listen in. I was surprised to hear that the group, which included a returned serviceman, had concluded that no one from Ngāi Tamarāwaho had served in either of the world wars. The age bracket of the group was between 40-65 years and included several of my cousins from Ngāi Tamarāwaho. While pondering this, I became saddened because I knew that men from our hapū had served in both world wars and all the campaigns that followed up to the Vietnam War. My disappointment that the group were acutely unaware of this fact was the catalyst for writing this thesis. I was resolved that people, especially our own from Ngāi Tamarāwaho, needed to know that a group of their koroua did indeed serve in the Second World War, as well as the other major campaigns since the First World War.

1.2 The Call to Arms

The story of 28 (Māori) Battalion has been well documented throughout the decades by historians such as Joseph F. Cody (1956), Wira Gardiner (1992) and Monty Soutar (2008). A common theme in most accounts is that the story of the 28 (Māori) Battalion was as much a story about the social and political struggles that Māori were facing at the time, as it was about an elite fighting force. The ‘call to arms’ by Sir Apirana Ngata in 1939 encouraging young Māori men to join the war effort recognised these struggles. He believed that the formation of a new battalion following on from the success of Māori in the First World War would not only bring these issues to the fore but would again demonstrate to the government of the day, and to Pākehā, that Māori were again willing and able of contributing to the nations war efforts.

The contribution of the Māori Contingent and Pioneer Battalion during the First World War were instrumental in the establishment of 28 (Māori) Battalion. Two Pioneer Battalion

veterans, Captains Harding Leaf and Rangi Royal would later join 28 (Māori) Battalion. Leaf was an imposing figure; a decorated soldier and recipient of the Military Cross during the First World War, he commanded the respect of those around him especially his fellow Ngāpuhi (Gardiner, 1992, p. 25). Many iwi throughout the country offered to send men to war. Thousands of men residing in big cities, small towns, communities and villages were keen to enlist with the 28 (Māori) Battalion. For most, there was a strong sense of responsibility to uphold the mana of their iwi, hapū and whānau. As Gardiner (1992, p. 29) states "it had little to do with patriotic duty, rather it was the old-age tradition of maintaining the mana or the status of the family, the hapu and the iwi".

Compared to other hapū in Tauranga Moana, Ngāi Tamarāwaho had a high number of men serve in the Second World War; twenty-three in total. Twenty men joined 28 (Māori) Battalion, with a few men enlisting with the Air Force and Navy. Some of these men also served in Japan from 1946-1949 as part of 'Jayforce'. Like most of his cousins, my koro was part of B Company of the Battalion who were nick-named the 'Penny Divers' after the famous bridge divers of Whakarewarewa in Rotorua. However, not everyone was happy with the nick-name, especially those from outside of Rotorua. Many men hailed from the Mataatua region (wider Bay of Plenty) as well as Coromandel and Tauranga (Gardiner, 1992, p. 31).

1.3 Legacy in the Making

I have vivid memories of my koro growing up, even though he passed away in 1975 when I was aged 7yrs. Koro's first wife, my grandmother Zella Tawa whom I never met, passed away in 1961 aged 34yrs. Her and koro had eight children together, one of which was my mum, Riripeti. Koro remarried the following year and together with his second wife, Wairere Piahana, would raise me and my two sisters, Bronwyn and Sheena practically from birth. The tradition of grandparents raising their mokopuna was common practice amongst Māori in the 1960s. Our parents would remain an integral part of our lives but our early upbringing and nurturing was left to koro and 'mum'.

Koro arrived in Europe with the 14th Reinforcements towards the end of the Second World War but little else is known about his time in the Battalion. No one in our whānau ever spoke about the topic, not mum (both of them) or any of my aunties or uncles. Apart from a few photos, there was little evidence to suggest that koro had even served in the military. In 1990 mum was contacted by her cousin Raymond Piahana. He had an extensive military background having served in Malaya and Borneo. Although he lived in Christchurch, he maintained regular

contact with whānau back in Tauranga. Koro Raymond contacted mum to ask if we ever received koro's medals for military service. When told we had not, he quickly set about contacting the Army to retrieve the medals on behalf of our whānau. In 1995 we finally received koro's service medals acknowledging his service with 28 (Māori) Battalion. We were humbled and sad, but very proud to receive these taonga. When thinking about koro's military service, his story does not stand apart from those of his cousins that he served alongside of. Their individual and collective stories are hapū treasures and need to be researched and shared before they are forgotten.

Following the Second World War many re-tired soldiers remained friends for life and met regularly. The formation of the *28th Maori Battalion National Association* in 1958 helped maintain contact between the veterans. Over the years the association organised some thirty reunions throughout the country where veterans could come together to reminisce and remember their departed comrades. Former Battalion soldiers became automatic members of the association but as numbers dwindled, a painstaking decision was made by the remaining veterans to decommission the association. The decision was made based on the thinking that none of them wanted to be 'the last man standing'. On 1 December 2012 a special ceremony was held at Pipitea marae in Wellington to formally disestablish the association. The sombre occasion truly marked the end of an era (cited in Te Puni Kōkiri, 2012, 'Kōkiri', December Edition, p. 8).

The legacy that these men left behind continues to endure, and just as there was an end, so too was there a beginning. For my koro, and indeed his cousins, their warrior trait was inherited from their tupuna, Paraone Koikoi, who fought at Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) in 1864.

1.4 The Long Battle Ahead

The Tauranga Land Wars of 1864 instigated a major upheaval for Ngāi Tamarāwaho that would last for more than a century. The confiscation of ancestral lands by the Crown left the hapū destitute, isolated and excluded from their own whenua. This had a huge impact on the hapū and initiated a social and economic downward spiral. The ensuing struggle for redress from the raupatu would set the scene for many decades to come commencing with the hapū's first petition to the Crown in 1867. This was just the beginning, and hapū patience would be greatly tested as leaders such as Nepia Kohu and George Hall continued to argue with successive governments. As Riseborough (1999, p. 2) states "by the 1920s they [Ngāi Tamarāwaho] had presented numerous petitions to the Crown as their campaign for justice

intensified...one petition came before the Sim Commission, but was rejected, and this became the standard for all future petitions".

The Sim Commission was established in 1927 by Prime Minster Gordon Coates and was tasked with examining historical Māori land grievances. The Commission was part of several reform initiatives to recognise the contribution of the Māori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War (Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana, 2004, p. 369). However, the Commission did the hapū no favours and failure to have their petitions properly recognised continued to test the hapū's resilience. But the hapū remained resolute and steadfast; traits they would need plenty of in all their future dealings with the Crown.

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Following this introductory chapter, chapter two is a review of selected literature and follows a chronological timeframe beginning with the New Zealand Land Wars, which included the Battles of Gate Pa (Pukehinahina) and Te Ranga which occurred in Tauranga in 1864. Literature concerning the First Māori Contingent and Pioneer Battalions of the First World War is examined to provide important context and insight into the decades before the Second World War. The story of the 28 (Māori) Battalion and their contribution to the nation's war efforts is also explored in detail.

Chapter three describes the methods and the methodology used in this research and submits that using certain approaches when researching Māori are critical to maintaining the integrity of the kaupapa and achieving its aims and objectives. Mātauranga Māori and Tikanga Māori will be examined as a means of ensuring cultural authenticity and the safety of both the researcher and those being researched. The notion of Kaupapa Māori Research and Mātauranga a-iwi will be discussed including the validity and use of mōteatea as a guiding framework for research. Any ethical considerations will be considered as well as the ownership of the information.

Chapter four focuses on the traditional history of Ngāi Tamarāwaho beginning with the arrival of the Tākitimu waka to Tauranga Moana. The later arrival of Ngāi Te Rangi of Mataatua waka to Tauranga and their subsequent conflict with Ngāti Ranginui will be discussed. The rebuilding of Tamateapōkaiwhenua ancestral meeting house and the hapū's strong relationship to the Kiingitanga are a key focus of this chapter. The topic of religion and its diverse history within Ngāi Tamarāwaho will be explored along with the hapū's legacy and reputation for leading protests and the fight against injustices. The impacts of the Land Wars were the

catalyst for this resistance and resentment, exemplified by being labelled ‘rebels’ by the Crown for simply defending their own land.

Chapter five presents the overall research findings. Key information gathered from the literature and online sources as well as personal accounts, whānau interviews and individual military records provide a clearer picture of the focus topic. The Home Guard are briefly discussed as well as the important contribution of kaumātua during this research journey. The escapades of some of the men during their time in Europe are shared, through to their journey home and arrival into Wellington Harbour. Chapter six provides some ‘responses’ to the research questions posed in chapter one, and provides a summary and conclusion. An analysis of the overall findings is presented together with the implications of this work and its limitations. Further opportunities for research will also be presented.

Chapter Two - Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is a review of selected literature that examines significant conflicts that occurred in New Zealand history. It begins by examining the major conflicts between Māori and the British commonly referred to as the 'New Zealand Wars' which occurred during the mid-1800s. *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* by James Belich (1986) provides a detailed chronological account of these conflicts between 1845-1872. The conflicts in Tauranga at Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) and Te Ranga are of particular interest in this section including the resultant land confiscations that followed.

The works of James Cowan and Christopher Pugsley in recounting Māori involvement in the First World War (1914-17) offers great insight into '*The Great War*'. The role and contribution of Māori would have a direct influence on their involvement in the Second World War two decades later. The contribution of the 28 (Māori) Battalion in the Second World War is explored in detail and provides essential background information that forms the basis of this thesis.

Te Mura o Te Ahi: The Story of the Maori Battalion by Wira Gardiner (1995) provides an extensive overview of the Battalion from their inception to involvement in the Second World War. Similarly, Paul Moon's '*Victoria Cross at Takrouna: The Haane Manahi Story'* provides a brief history of the Battalion and has a specific focus on Lieutenant-Sargent Haane Manahi and the controversy surrounding his recommendation for the Victoria Cross which was subsequently reversed. Monty Soutar's book *Nga Tama Toa,* which has a specific focus on C Company of the Battalion, offers great insight into the lives of the men from Te Tairāwhiti/East Coast and the various campaigns they fought in throughout Europe. The review concludes with the end of the Second World War and the Battalion's return home.

2.1 The New Zealand Land Wars

James Belich (1986) provides a provocative in-depth examination of the New Zealand Wars. He examines the major conflicts between Māori and the British that occurred in Northland, Waikato, Taranaki and Tauranga Moana during the mid-1800s. As the title suggests, the book has two main foci. Firstly, to examine each conflict in detail and establish who, how, why, and what events led to fighting. Secondly, it looks at the written history and examines how and by whom these conflicts were interpreted and recorded. Belich describes this process as "The

Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict" where often the 'interpretation' resulted in conflict leaving a long-lasting negative imprint on New Zealand history. Belich discusses how impinging factors like 'fixed preconceptions' and 'bias' influenced and guided historians, and the implications of using mostly one-sided evidence (ibid, p. 13). Early relationships between Māori and Pākehā were built on trade. Muskets and iron tools were of particular interest to Māori, while Pākehā were happy to exchange these items for food and harakeke, and even personal protection. But the biggest prize that Pākehā desired was Māori land (ibid, p. 32).

Hone Heke of Ngāpuhi valued this economic partnership with Pākehā but was sceptical and untrusting of Europeans especially when it came to Māori land and believed Pākehā wanted to seize all Māori land. Captain Robert FitzRoy, the governor at the time, only exacerbated Heke's fears by strongly advocating the Crown's pre-emptive right to purchase Māori land. Belich explains that British efforts to gain sovereignty over Northern Māori and their continued interference in local affairs would ultimately lead to conflict resulting in the first of 'The New Zealand Wars' (ibid, p. 32). It was no surprise that Heke would lead the Northern War together with another prominent chief from the North, Kawiti. Governor FitzRoy featured in the initial stages of this conflict but was quickly succeeded by Governor George Grey due to his mishandling of the campaign. At the time Heke and Kawiti had their hands full as they were also fighting a faction within their own Ngāpuhi tribe, under the leadership of Tamati Waka Nene and Makoare Te Taonui. The reasons for this in-fighting are unclear but despite their differences, both Heke and Waka Nene detested the government's meddling in local affairs. But it did not stop Heke from accusing Waka Nene of "fighting for blankets" insinuating he had sided with the British, which as events transpired, proved to be correct (ibid, p. 35). As history records, Heke's symbolic felling of the flagstaff multiple times at Kororareka was a powerful demonstration of his resistance to British incursion.

The general view is that Grey and his military commanders led a successful campaign to secure peace in the North. However, Belich argues that the British did not win the war, and that the "least inaccurate" answer as to who did win was Heke and Kawiti. Belich further presents that Grey misconstrued certain information and events which became the European interpretation of the Northern War (ibid, p. 70). In late 1846 when the conflict had ended, Archdeacon Henry Williams commented "it cannot be said that we have peace of a healthy character. Heke is moving from place to place exciting much sympathy…Heke's cause is by no means extinguished, he is at large and could command as large a force as ever" (cited in Belich, p. 69).

The war in Taranaki was a consequence of similar issues that Māori had faced in the North. From 1848-60 the British population in New Zealand increased rapidly through immigration and high birth-rates, while Māori numbers decreased due to low birth-rates and wide-spread disease. As a result there was an increase in British settlements to which an opportunistic government sort to increase their influence (ibid, p. 78). Belich states that the military campaigns in Taranaki, and later in Waikato, was less about land acquisition and more about the British attempting to assert their sovereignty over Māori or as Belich describes "to make the Maori in reality what by a legal fiction they have long been in name - British subjects". He further states that the wars in Taranaki and Waikato were "more akin to classic wars of conquest than we would like to believe" (ibid, p. 80).

Most Taranaki Māori were opposed to selling land to Pākehā, however some chiefs were open to it. This created internal friction which resulted in feuding. Two Te Atiawa chiefs, Ihaia and Teira, were part of the "land-selling minority" (ibid, p. 76). However, opposing them was the senior chief of the tribe, Wiremu Kingi. In 1859 Teira offered to sell the British 600 acres of land at Waitara, just north of New Plymouth. Kingi strongly opposed this and vetoed the sale, but the deal had already been accepted by Governor Thomas G. Browne. Browne was aware of Kingi's opposition to the sale, but proceeded anyway because he feared that if he did not, he would be acknowledging Kingi's mana and authority. Browne felt British sovereignty had to be asserted even at the risk of war. On 17 March 1860 Kingi and a party of warriors erected and occupied a Pā at Te Kohia in Waitara in protest of the deal. Shots were subsequently fired and the Taranaki War had begun (ibid, p. 82).

Māori resistance to land sales had increased towards the end of the 1850s. The Kiingitanga (Māori King Movement) whose powerbase centred on the Tainui tribes of Waikato was partly responsible for this shift in thinking. A key objective of the movement was the retention of Māori land by uniting the tribes in an effort to resist unlawful British land acquisition. The British viewed the Kiingitanga as a threat and a challenge to their authority. Governor Browne and his military advisers considered the very existence of the movement "could not fail to bring about a collision between the races" (ibid, p. 89). George Grey, who would eventually succeed Browne as governor, was of a similar mindset. Grey believed that in order for British sovereignty to prosper they needed to confront the Kiingitanga head-on and invade the Waikato (ibid, p. 122).

On 9 July Governor Grey ordered that all Māori living between Waikato and Auckland should move south of the river unless they swear allegiance to Queen Victoria. But in no time at all on

17 July General Cameron led an attack on a small force of Māori at Koheroa. The invasion of Waikato had begun. Grey's decision to invade Waikato was based on unfounded allegations that the 'Kingites' (supporters of the Māori King movement) were involved in or had instigated an ambush at Oakura, and that they planned to attack Auckland (ibid, p. 119).

Belich believes British failure to assert their dominance over Māori in Taranaki left deep scars, and invading the Waikato offered them another chance to impose British rule. Waikato Māori, under the leadership of the second Māori King, Tāwhiao, were prepared for the invasion. Although Waikato had supported Wiremu Kingi during the Waitara standoff, their reasons were less about Kingi, and more about repelling British advances and the fight for Māori independence. Unfortunately, by war's end the British had seized over one million acres of land from Waikato Māori which was a devastating blow to the Kiingitanga (ibid, p. 200).

Although the war in Waikato ended in 1864 it did not quell resistance in other areas. Two notable rangatira at the forefront of this resurgence were Riwha Titokowaru of the Ngāti Ruanui tribe and Te Kooti Rikirangi of Rongowhakaata (ibid, p. 203). Titokowaru of South Taranaki was regarded as a 'passive resister' but could be fierce and uncompromising when he needed to be. In 1865 large sections of South Taranaki land was confiscated and occupied by British settlers. Belich explains that a growing issue for Māori at the time was "creeping confiscations" which referred to the deliberate encroachment by Pākehā intent on extending the boundaries of land they had already confiscated. This tested Titokowaru and he was especially aghast at the arrogance of the British when the rightful Māori owners resisted or complained. Various forms of passive resistance were tried, but to no avail. On 9 June 1868 the situation reached a climax when three settlers were killed near Ketemarae. Titokowaru's War had begun (ibid, p. 236).

Born in the 1830s, Te Kooti Rikirangi belonged to the Rongowhakaata Tribe of Poverty Bay. In his early life he was a trader and sailor and attended mission school (ibid, p. 217). He began his military service as a 'kupapa' which Belich describes as a "pro-government Māori" (p. 207). But it was not long before Te Kooti found himself in trouble with the very side he had aligned with – the government. In 1865 at the siege of Waerenga-a-Hika while fighting followers of the Paimārire, Te Kooti was accused of firing blanks at the enemy. The charges were eventually dropped due to lack of evidence. But a year later he was arrested again on suspicion of spying which led to him being imprisoned on the Chatham Islands. It was there during his exile and while planning his escape, that fellow prisoners, some of whom were prominent chiefs from Te Kooti's own tribe Rongowhakaata, were captured by his charisma

and spiritual leadership. This was the beginning of the Ringatū religion. In July 1868 Te Kooti Rikirangi escaped the Chatham Islands and made landfall at Poverty Bay where he would be pursued by government forces for the next four years. Followers of Te Kooti would later describe him as "the infallible mouthpiece of God" (Belich, 1986, pp. 217-8). But to government officials Te Kooti was a 'rebel' - a label that would follow him for the rest of his days.

In January 1864 the focus was on Tauranga Moana with the arrival of expeditionary forces led by Colonel's Carey and Greer. Their orders were to disrupt supply lines, primarily from the East Coast tribes, who were supporting the war in Waikato, a war that would soon reach its conclusion (ibid, p. 177-8). According to Belich (p. 180) the Battle of Gate Pa (Pukehinahina) in Tauranga was arguably the most important battle in New Zealand from a political perspective and for the implications it would have for military technology. Suspicious of the British forces, Ngāi Te Rangi chief Rawiri Puhirake began taunting and challenging them to a fight, even offering to build a road from their camp to his Pa site to make it easier for them (ibid, p. 177).

On 29 April 1864 under the command of General Cameron, the British forces obliged and at 4pm that afternoon, began bombarding the Pa site with heavy artillery. Cameron had 1700 soldiers at his disposal versus Puhirake's 235 warriors (ibid, p. 178). When the Pa was finally breached and stormed by the soldiers, they found themselves quickly back peddling by a surprise attack of Māori warriors whom they thought had been annihilated. The British suffered significant losses while Māori had considerably less. Later that night Puhirake and his people escaped the Pa and fled inland. The British were gutted by the defeat and it did not take long for excuses and finger pointing to start. The shock loss charged their determination to seek reprisal and within a few months they would have their opportunity at Te Ranga (ibid, p. 190).

The British defeat at Gate Pa cannot be overstated. Governor Grey was distraught and stated "we are all here plunged into a sorrow and grief that I cannot describe" (ibid, p. 188). Grey began to doubt the hard-line position they had taken following Gate Pa and his efforts to seek moderation with local Māori were resisted by the colonial ministry. Following Gate Pa, General Cameron returned to Auckland as he believed the whole campaign was now a lost cause. The 'enemy' had retreated into inaccessible terrain and unfavourable weather would hinder any pursuit of them. Belich argues this was non-sense and that the real reason for

Cameron's quick exit was that he struggled to accept defeat at Gate Pa, and that the impact of the loss meant he could not remain in Tauranga and risk suffering another defeat (ibid, p. 189).

Following Cameron's departure the reins were given to Colonel Greer. On 21 June 1864 while leading a large scouting party of 600 soldiers, Greer came across Puhirake at Te Ranga where his forces were readying a fortification. Greer sent for reinforcements and on their return, chose his moment to attack. The British forces, mad for revenge, did not relent. The fight was one sided due to the British advantage of surprise and superior numbers, and the fact that Puhirake's forces were not prepared. Puhirake would rally his men to the bitter end, but they were simply overwhelmed and the fighting would claim many lives including his own (ibid, p. 190).

Belich provides a detailed analysis of the New Zealand Wars outlining the major conflicts between Māori and the British during the mid-1800s. His broad account of events helps to re-write (re-right) history which tended to exaggerate British successes while minimising those of Māori. The British greatly underestimated Māori in terms of their military prowess and ability to adapt to different situations. At Gate Pa Māori chose to fortify their Pa using earthworks and a complex trenching system instead of the more commonly used timber palisades. This ingenious design nullified the British heavy artillery and protected the Māori warriors until they were ready to pounce on the unsuspecting troopers (ibid, p. 185).

Belich refers to the "dominant interpretation" as being the widely accepted written record of events during the New Zealand Wars. The records are hugely dominated by British historians who, without limitation, point to a comprehensive British victory. Only a small number of more objective historians questioned the totality of British success, while acknowledging Māori as successful war strategist. However, these minority views were simply absorbed or replaced by the "mainstream" view which over time was repeated and amplified to become the popular historical record (pp. 12-13).

Notable in Belich's account of the conflict in Tauranga is the lack of acknowledgement of Ngāti Ranginui, of which Ngāi Tamarāwaho is a sub-tribe of. It was widely considered by the British and government officials that there was only one tribe in Tauranga – Ngāi Te Rangi. Belich makes mention of Pirirākau, who are also a hapū of Ngāti Ranginui, but there is no reference to Ngāti Ranginui or Ngāi Tamarāwaho fighting at Gate Pā. Ngāi Tamarāwaho chief, Paraone Koikoi, his son Ihakara, grandson Nepia, and son-in-law Whakaturou all fought at Gate Pā. Ihakara was killed at this battle (Personal communication, Matakokiri Tata, 2016).

The loss of life at Gate Pā and especially at Te Ranga left Māori bereft. But for Ngāi Tamarāwaho it was the raupatu that caused the most grief. The indignity of being excluded from their own land had caused long lasting economic and social damage for the many generations of the hapū, the details of which will be explored further in chapter four.

2.2 Māori in the First World War

The contribution of Māori during the First World War was significant although it is likely that less is known about this compared to the 28 (Māori) Battalion in the Second World War. The revised edition of *Māori in the Great War* by James Cowan (2011) is a detailed account of Māori involvement at the First World War. Originally titled *The Maoris in the Great War* the book was first published in 1926 less than a decade after the end of the war. Cowan was fortunate at the time to have access to the official war diaries of several Battalion commanders including Te Rangi Hiroa (Major Peter H. Buck) and Lieutenant Colonel W.O. Ennis. Maui Pomare, Chairman of the Māori Recruiting Committee at the time, was also a key source of information for Cowan.

Te Hokowhitu a Tu: The Māori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War by Christopher Pugsley (1995) examines the formation of New Zealand's first 'Pioneer Battalions' that fought in the First World War. The term 'Te Hokowhitu a Tu' means 'The Seventy Twice-told Warriors of the War God (Tumatauenga)' (Pugsley, 1995, p. 9). The name was bestowed upon the Battalion by Te Tai-rāwhiti/East Coast kaumātua Wi Pere. It is said to derive from an old Māori war strategy and tradition that 140 men (Seventy Twice-told) represented the ideal size for a strike force (cited in Cowan, 2011, p. 26).

The inspiration for Pugsley's book occurred in 1993 while attending a military ceremony at the Palmerston North Show Grounds. For the first time in 74 years the colours of the New Zealand Pioneer (Māori) Battalion were being paraded. The colours were thought to have been lost forever but were miraculously found. Pugsley explores the formation of the Battalion and its evolvement in the First World War. He also examines the obstacles and barriers the Battalion faced even before arriving at the frontline. Also examined are the political influences at the time and what role the Battalion and other units of the First World War had in paving the way for 28 (Māori) Battalion.

The catalyst for the First World War occurred on 28 June 1914 when the nephew of the Emperor of Austria, Arch-Duke Franz, was assassinated in Bosnia. There were suspicions as to which nation was responsible. By July the incident had led to a major stand-off between

several powerful nations including Austria and Germany on one side, and Servia, France and Russia on the other. A month later Germany invaded Belgium, in violation of a Treaty co-signed with France and England. As a consequence of this, on 4 August 1914 England declared war against Germany and the First World War, and New Zealand's obligation to it, had begun (Pugsley, 1995, p. 18).

The first 'Māori Contingent' proper actually preceded those of the First World War. In 1897 a Māori Contingent of 20 soldiers attended Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Celebrations. In 1901 another group attended the opening of the Commonwealth Parliament in Melbourne. Māori were also present at the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902 and King George V in 1911. Cowan refers to these groups as 'The Forgotten Māori Contingents' (ibid, p. 13).

In December 1912, and sensing unrest in Europe, prominent Maori leader and politician, Maui Pomare proclaimed "If ever this country was threatened, we would stand side by side with you to the last man and woman – stand in defence of the country where it has been our happy lot to commingle man to man" (Walker, 2001, p. 185). The proposal to send a Māori force to the First World War was raised in August 1914. Many tribes including Te Arawa, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou were quick to pledge their support but not all tribes were keen. Waikato Māori, under Māori King Te Rata Mahuta and Princess Te Puea declined to lend their support. The vast confiscations of land and depredation suffered during the Waikato War were still fresh in their minds. They were willing to help defend the nation but would not fight overseas on foreign soil (Pugsley, 1995, p. 20).

An initial ruling by the Imperial Government that no 'native race' would be involved in conflict between the 'European races' threatened to quash Māori involvement in the First World War. But the ruling was quickly overturned as troops from India were mobilised with orders to head to France. On hearing this, Māori Members of Parliament, on behalf of the tribes, lobbied Prime Minister Massey and requested that Māori be given the same privilege; to fight for King and Empire - the request was granted (ibid, p. 21). The issue of recruitment was tasked to a newly formed committee consisting of prominent Māori leaders and Members of Parliament including; Maui Pomare, James Carroll, Apirana Ngata, Te Rangi Hiroa, and Taare Parata. They decided that the 'First Māori Contingent' would consist of 500 men recruited from the areas they each represented. These respective areas and the number of men recruited were; Tai Tokerau/Northern District, 100 men; Tai Hauauru/Western Māori, 180 men; Tai Rawhiti/East Coast, 180 men; Wai Pounamu/South Island, 40 men (ibid, p. 22). This 'First Contingent' would be the first of 32 contingent/reinforcement groups to leave New Zealand

between 14 February 1915 and 3 October 1918 for the First World War Two members of the original committee were replaced soon after the war began by two fellow Members of Parliament. Te Rangi Hiroa returned to active service as a medical officer and was replaced by Tau Henare, while Taare Parata sadly passed away and was replaced by Henare Whakatau Uru (ibid, p. 34).

Notice to recruit Māori men was placed in the 'Kahiti' (The Māori Gazette) on 22 September 1914. To help invigorate passion the committee drew on the old chieftain war-cry 'E te iwi, whitiki! Whiti, whiti e!' (O tribe, gird up your loins! Rise up, rise up!). Surprisingly there was also support from Pākehā for Māori to fight alongside of them. Cowan (2011, p. 23) notes the comments of an old missionary from Auckland;

> If they are true sons of their fathers, they will be brave and gallant fighters, they will show courage and resource in battle, and they will treat the wounded enemies and woman and children with kindness and courtesy. I would not be afraid to trust the Māori in war. He will be truly British.

New recruits for the First Māori Contingent began arriving in Waiatarua (Avondale) on 17 October 1914. The last group entered camp on 22 October comprising of men from the Wairarapa and some Ngāti Kahungunu from Wairoa. The initial instructions from British Headquarters were to send 200 men to Egypt but those instructions changed whereby the Contingent's 500 men be split into two Companies, A and B, with one company heading to Samoa who were under German sovereignty, while the other company would head to Egypt. Maui Pomare was unhappy about dissecting the Contingent and wanted it to remain whole. There was also discontent amongst the men who feared they could be separated from their tribal-kinsmen and placed on other tribal groups. They had left their communities, marae and hāpu together as one, so wanted to stay together as one with their kin. These concerns were conveyed to Prime Minister Massey who forwarded them on to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies for consideration. On 7 November 1914 notice was received that the request to keep the Contingent intact was approved and that they would be sent to Egypt as a whole unit. Consequently, the Contingent was divided into two Companies and then into eight Platoons based on tribal groupings (Pugsley, 1995, pp. 25-6).

Training continued in Avondale until 10 February 1915 when the men were relocated from Auckland to Wellington. Prior to sailing the men paraded through Newtown Park to bid their farewells. On 14 February the Contingent set sail for Egypt via Australia on board the *H.M.T*

Warrimoo (ibid, p. 30). While the Contingent was in transit to Egypt, Minister of Defence James Allen wrote to Major-General Sir Alexander Godley, commander of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force expressing some concerns about the Contingent. Allen wrote;

> Although they are a coloured race I think it would be apparent on their arrival that they are different to the ordinary coloured race...the only thing I am afraid of however, is that possibly they may be weaker than the pakeha in respect to temptations (ibid, p. 34).

Godley and other senior officers were already sceptical of the Contingent and doubted their worth. He recommended they be sent to Malta as garrison (labourers) and for further training. After all, the Contingent's main function was to provide labour including digging trenches, building shelters and fences and erecting fortifications. At the time the main New Zealand Expeditionary Force was preparing for the Dardanelles (Gallipoli) so redirecting the Māori Contingent to Malta would be one less distraction for Godley (ibid, p. 34).

The Contingent finally arrived in Egypt on 26 March 1915 in time for the send-off parade for the New Zealand and Australian Divisions who were embarking for Gallipoli. As often requested, the Māori Contingent performed a haka at the parade much to the amusement and pleasure of the British High Commissioner to Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon. During the parade, Te Rangi Hiroa second in command of the Contingent seized the opportunity to address the Commanders on hearing his troops would be going to Malta instead of the frontline;

> Our ancestors were a warlike people, constantly sending our war parties out on their inter-tribal campaigns...I speak not so much as a soldier but as a representative of the old Māori chiefs...for what say the Māori proverb? Man should die fighting hard like the struggling ururoa (shark), and not tamely submitting like the lazy tarakihi which submits without struggle...no division can truly be called a New Zealand Division unless it numbers Māori amongst its ranks...give us a chance (ibid, p. 34).

Te Rangi Hiroa's plea was well received but the decision had already been made to send the Contingent to Malta. Once there it was not long before the men grew restless and increasingly frustrated at their confinement especially on hearing the news of the mass landing at Anzac Cove on 25 April 1915. Several weeks passed when finally the orders arrived instructing them to join the New Zealand Expeditionary Force at Gallipoli. The Contingent sailed into the peninsula and made landfall on 3 July 1915. Their initial excitement of arriving was soon dulled by the reality of what awaited them at Gallipoli. According to Pugsley (p. 36) they were not the first Māori to arrive at Anzac Cove. Some men chose to enlist with regional units such

as 6th Hauraki, 11th Taranaki, and the Auckland and Wellington Mounted Rifles. These units were part of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade to which the First Māori Contingent would also be attached to during the Gallipoli campaign.

In Gallipoli the Māori Contingent were often reminded of their primary, which was digging and widening trenches, tunnelling, and moving supplies and general provisions. The work was perilous and often carried out at night under cover of darkness. General living conditions were very poor as Pugsley states "They risked rifle fire, endured heat, lice and flies…they lived with the stench of death in their nostrils" (p. 36). Other issues included drinking water being tainted with kerosene due to the recycling of containers, and contaminated food resulting in wide spread diarrhoea.

The Contingent was based at 'No.1 Outpost' on North Beach which would later be referred to as the Māori Pa. Over the ensuing weeks the men quickly grew accustomed to the sound and smell of exploding canons and whistling shrapnel. It was not long before the Contingent was called upon for combat duty. Fearing the Turks were readying to launch a major offensive, Commanders of the British and Allied forces planned a decisive strike. The night attack would be spearheaded by the New Zealand Mounted Rifle Brigade and would target the right wing of the Turks stronghold. For the assault, the Māori Contingent were separated into their platoon units and placed amongst the various regiments of the New Zealand Mounted Rifles. The attack commenced at 21:00 hours on 6 August 1915 with shelling from a British destroyer helping to carve a pathway for the soldiers (ibid, p. 40). Prior to the engagement some men gathered with group chaplain, Captain Henare Wainohu for a brief service. He offered these words;

> Whatever you do, remember you have the mana, the honour and the good name of the Māori people in your keeping this night...in a few minutes, perhaps many of us may be dead...do your duty, uphold the ancient warrior name of the Māori (Cowan, 2011, p. 49).

At the end of Wainohu's kauhau the men sung the hymn 'Au, e Ihu'. As Cowan describes "The sweet and solemn beauty of the Māori singing pleased the listening Pākehā. They thought it was a native 'sing-song' perhaps, for they applauded when the hymn ended" (p. 49).

At the assault on Sari Bair the men were told they could only use their bayonets as guns would alert the Turkish troops to their attack. Cowan (p. 50) describes how some men performed the haka as they advanced forward;

> They [Māori troops] went grimly for those Turks, bayoneted them in their lines, they burst into a tremendous haka when they cleared the trenches – 'Ka mate, ka mate, ka ora, ka ora' – then silence as they pressed on to the next point.

Following Sari Bair were assaults on Chunuk Bair and Koja Chemen Tepe. The Māori Contingent spent a further eight weeks at Gallipoli before being extracted to the island of Lemnos for rest and relief. By mid-December 1915 the Gallipoli campaign was over and ANZAC Cove was evacuated under a cloud of defeat. Members of the Māori Contingent were awarded seven military medals with Te Rangi Hiroa awarded the Distinguished Service Order. He wrote afterwards;

> All who come through the Gallipoli campaign, where Pākehā and Māori have shared the fatigue, danger, and incessant vigil of the trenches, side by side, recognises that the Māori is a better man than they gave him credit for, and have admitted him to full fellowship and equality...one of the finest incidents in the history of the two races took place when the Māori left the trenches during the ANZAC vacation. Their Pākehā comrades who were remaining behind for a later shipment - carried their packs down into the gullies, and many stood clasping hands when the moment of separation came, with their hearts too full of aroha to express themselves in words (ibid, p. 73).

Following the Gallipoli campaign, another fighting unit was formed in February 1916; The New Zealand Pioneer Battalion. Unlike the First Māori Contingent, the new Battalion was made up of an equal number of Māori and Pākehā soldiers, as well as 125 men from Niue and 45 men from Rarotonga. The Pākehā soldiers came from the Otago Mounted Rifles but there was angst amongst both the Māori and Pākehā soldiers at losing their distinct unit identities. The Pākehā soldiers were especially resentful at becoming part of a 'Pioneer' battalion and being looked upon as more of a labour force rather than frontline soldiers. Following orders on 5 April to depart Egypt and head to France, the Battalion arrived in Marseilles on 9 April 1916. They carried out invaluable work, clearing bush, digging trenches, constructing roads, dug-outs and shelters. However, the soldiers from Niue did not last long as they struggled to cope with the bitter cold and were sent home. As expected, the work was not without danger with many casualties suffered along the way (ibid, pp. 74-6).

In August 1917 changes were made to the Battalion's leadership. Lieutenant Colonel G.A. King, commander of the Battalion, was transferred to 1st Battalion Canterbury Regiment as their new commander. King was replaced by Lieutenant Colonel C.G. Saxby. The Pākehā

soldiers from the Otago Mounted Rifles, who had been an integral part of the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion since its inception, were re-deployed to other units due to depleted numbers. Their place was filled by recently arrived Māori reinforcements. This meant the Battalion had returned to its original 'Māori quota' and on 1 September 1917 the Battalion was renamed 'The New Zealand (Māori) Battalion' (ibid, p. 122). A month later the re-formed Battalion was involved in the Battle of Ypres (Belgium) and it was during preparations to advance that former commander of the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion, Lieutenant Colonel G.A. King, was killed by British artillery fire (friendly fire) while in the assembly trenches. King was buried in a shallow grave close to camp. His body sewn into a blanket and covered with the New Zealand flag. The Māori soldiers present at the service sang the lament '*Piko nei te Matenga*' in a fitting tribute to their former commander (ibid, p. 125).

In total 2227 Māori and 458 Pacific Islanders served with the various units beginning with the First Māori Battalion through to the New Zealand Pioneer Battalion and New Zealand (Māori) Battalion. 336 men were killed in action while 734 were wounded. The exact number of Pākehā soldiers who served with the Battalion is unknown but it is believed to number in the hundreds (Pugsley, 1995, p. 81).

In France and Flanders (Belgium) the interred soldiers identified as 'Pioneers' were acknowledged on their headstones as belonging to The New Zealand (Māori) Battalion irrespective of whether they were Māori or Pākehā. The New Zealand (Māori) Battalion returned home in 1919 as a complete unit. The only unit to do so out of the entire New Zealand Expeditionary Force. They received a huge welcome home parade at the Auckland Domain with similar parades in Rotorua and Gisborne, and on many marae throughout the country (ibid, p. 78).

Māori in the Great War by James Cowan (2011) is a vividly detailed account of everyday life for men of the Māori Battalions who fought in the First World War. The book sheds light on the soldier's suffering and sacrifices, and also highlights the bonds and mutual respect that developed between Māori and Pākehā which in some cases was profound and enduring. Cowan presents an empathetic view towards Māori endeavour and their struggle for proper recognition at home. The role of the Māori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War deserves proper acknowledgement. Not only did they help pave the way for Māori involvement in the Second World War but they also raised the profile of Māori on the home front. As Pugsley presents;

> Its reputation [the New Zealand (Māori) Pioneer Battalion] has been overshadowed by its successor in the Second World War, the 28th Māori, yet the second built on the spirit and experience of the first...each was important in forcing a recognition of Māori worth on a complacent and unresponsive Pākehā society (ibid, p. 78).

2.3 28 (Māori) Battalion

Pugsley's remarks are shared amongst a number of historians who agree that the First Māori Contingent and successive Māori units in the First World War helped pave the way for the formation of 28 (Māori) Battalion. Gardiner (1992, p. 22) states;

> While the men of the Native Contingent did not fulfil the expectations of the Maori political leaders completely, it was nevertheless satisfying to them that they had begun the process of standing beside Pakeha in their own right. The fact that Maori had served as second-class labourers seemed to be lost on them. It was as if the price of citizenship was so important that sacrifices had to be made. In the end, the politicians ended up with a Maori Battalion. They had achieved their goal.

Similarly, Paul Moon (2010, p. 16) asserts;

> The existence of various Māori contingents in the early years of the conflict [First World War] led to the formation of the New Zealand (Māori) Pioneer Battalion on 1 September 1917, which in turn became the precursor to the formation of the 28 Māori Battalion just over two decades later.

In the decades leading up to the First World War some medical experts predicted the imminent demise of the Māori race. These dire predictions were dismissed by a new breed of young Māori leaders including Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Te Rangi Hiroa who spearheaded a campaign to address issues effecting Māori at the time such as poor health and housing, social inequalities and lower achievement in education (Gardiner, 1992, p. 13).

These same leaders were pivotal in eliciting Māori support for both World Wars, none more so than Apirana Ngata. The precedent had been set by the New Zealand (Māori) Pioneer Battalion of the First World War. Ngata and fellow Members of Parliament, Eruera Tirikatene (Southern Māori) and Paraire Paikea (Northern Māori) foresaw the need to revive the 'Pioneer Māori Battalion' in case of another war (Moon, 2010, p. 25). Sadly, Ngata and his cohort's fears were realised with the proclamation on 3 September 1939 declaring New Zealand was at war with

Germany. Ngata quickly set about gathering support for the formation of an all Māori unit to serve alongside Pākehā. The Government eventually agreed to Ngata's proposal but insisted the unit be led by a Pākehā Commanding Officer. Ngata and tribal leaders were annoyed by this and believed there were a number of Māori officers who served admirably in the First World War who were more than capable of leading the new battalion. But despite their protest, the decision was made to appoint Major George Dittmer to Commanding Officer of the new unit which had been designated '28 (Māori) Battalion'. Dittmer was 47years old and had served five years in the First World War. Ngata's displeasure was eased somewhat when a number of veteran Māori soldiers were appointed to senior officer roles, including Battalion second-in-command George Bertrand (Gardiner, 1992, pp. 23-4).

Recruitment for the Battalion began on 9 October 1939. Moon (2010, p. 29) states that a sense of adventure overseas appealed to many men, as did escaping the ordinary routines of life at home. Peer pressure was another strong influence whereby men felt obligated to follow the lead of their older brother or cousin. This was especially noticeable in smaller towns and rural areas like the East Coast of the North Island where a good majority of young men enlisted. For Ngata there were deeper social and political benefits to be gained from Māori participation in the war. In 1943 he wrote;

> In this war, he [Māori] asked to take his share in the front line, and in this he has been fully indulged. Has he proven to be an asset to this 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...have the civilians of New Zealand, men and women, fully realised the implication of the joint participation of Pakeha and Maori in this last and greatest demonstration of the highest citizenship (Moon, 2010, p. 31).

Ngata believed that through their contribution to the war effort, Māori had paid (or were about to pay) the price to be acknowledged as equal citizens in New Zealand (ibid, p. 31). Recruitment for 28 (Māori) Battalion quickly gathered momentum with Te Arawa the first tribe to pledge their support followed by Ngāti Porou. Other iwi from throughout the country soon followed their lead. On 26 January 1940 the Battalion assembled in Palmerston North to begin training. They were eventually divided into five companies; four rifle companies based on tribal groupings; and a pan-tribal company charged with logistics. The four rifle companies had respective nicknames bestowed by the soldiers themselves. 'A Company' was made up of men from Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whātua and were nicknamed 'Ngā Kiri Kapia' (the Gum Diggers) in reference to the thriving gum industry in Northland at the time. 'B Company'

consisted of men from Te Arawa, Mataatua, Coromandel and Tauranga Moana. They were given the name 'Ngā Rukukapa' (the Penny Divers) in reference to the renowned penny divers at Whakarewarewa thermal pools. Men from outside of Te Arawa were not entirely happy with this nickname but had to bear it. 'C Company' consisted of men from Te Tai-rāwhiti/East Coast area. They were labelled 'Ngā Kaupoi' (the Cowboys) seeing as the horse was a common mode of transport in those times. 'D Company' covered the rest of the North Island and all of the South Island. They were known by a few names including 'Ngāti Walkabout' because they came from a large geographical area which in a way implied 'here, there and everywhere', and were also referred to as the 'Foreign Legion' for the same reasons. The Logistic Company (Headquarters) were given the name 'Odds & Sods' due to their pan-tribal make-up (ibid, p. 32).

Once in camp most of the men found training hard going and struggled to cope with the Army's stringent code of conduct and expected behaviour which was new to them. Some men were quick to face military disciplinary measures spending time in detention. On occasion the men were granted reprieve to venture into Palmerston North and socialise. But in the early days they often got into trouble or made a nuisance of themselves, much to the ire of Major Dittmer. The men were regularly being cautioned about expectations and their responsibilities. Three months later when the civic function arrived to farewell the men, relationships with the locals had improved and the men were viewed much more affably (Gardiner, 1992, p. 32).

On 1 May 1940 the Battalion fare-welled Palmerston North and boarded their train to Aotea Quay in Wellington where the troop-carrier *HMS Aquitania* was awaiting them. By the next day the other ships in the convoy had been loaded with troops of the 2nd Echelon and 3000 troops, including 28 (Māori) Battalion already on-board the Aquitania. Crowds gathered at the wharf to bid their final farewells including the Governor General who bid the men fare-well from a small launch boat. In a somewhat solemn gesture, the Battalion responded by singing 'Po Atarau' (Now is the hour). The convoy of ships sailed slowly out of Wellington harbour and set course for Perth, Australia (ibid, p. 34). On route the convoy were joined by two ships out of Sydney before sailing on for a brief stopover in Perth and then on to Cape Town, South Africa. After replenishing stocks the convoy headed north towards Europe where a week later they were joined at sea by a British naval escort. This was the first indication for the men that they were drawing closer to the war zone. On 16 June 1940 the convoy reached the coast of Scotland where they prepared to disembark. A few days later the Battalion arrived via rail and

road to camp Ewshot (England) where over the next eight months the men would receive intensive training in preparation for deployment to Egypt (ibid, p. 37-41).

In March of 1941 the Battalion arrived at camp Garawi in Egypt where they continued training and acclimatising to desert conditions. A month later the men received orders that they were being shipped to Greece to join Australian and British forces in a combined front against the German invasion (Soutar, 2008, pp. 120-1). The campaign in Greece was intense but the men became more battle hardened. Following Greece were deployments to Crete, North Africa, Libya and Italy where numerous acts of bravery and heroism were witnessed. A notable commendation was that of Second Lieutenant Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa Ngarimu of C Company who was awarded the Victoria Cross (posthumously). Ngarimu was recommended for the award by Battalion Commanding Officer Charles Bennett and other senior officers for his act of valour during an offensive assault at Point 209 in the Tebaga Gap (Tunisia). During the engagement Ngarimu lead his platoon in an assault to win over a German strong hold. The fighting began in the afternoon and continued through the night into the next day. Despite being wounded in the leg and shoulder, Ngarimu refused to be evacuated out, and stayed with his platoon to help repel German counter-attacks. By dawn the next day he was dead (ibid, pp. 255-7).

Three weeks after Ngarimu's death another extraordinary account of bravery involving Sergeant Haane Manahi of B Company unfolded at Takrouna in Tunisia. Manahi and a small group of men were tasked with securing the summit of Takrouna Pinnacle. Ascending the summit involved scaling a number of steep cliff faces, with the task made more difficult with Italian soldiers bearing down on Manahi and his men with machine guns. Despite these obstacles, after 16 hours of attack and counter attack, Manahi and his men prevailed to secure the 300m summit (Moon, 2010, pp. 93-8). For his outstanding leadership, Manahi was recommended for the Victoria Cross by Lieutenant-Colonel Keiha, Commander of the Māori Battalion. Among those to endorse the citation was Brigadier Ralph Walden Harding, Commander of the 5th New Zealand Infantry Brigade, Lieutenant-General Freyberg, General Officer Commander of 10 Corps and the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, and General Montgomery, General Officer Commander of the Eight Army. However, in a totally unexpected development, Manahi's citation was downgraded from the Vitoria Cross to instead a 'Distinguished Conduct Medal'. The circumstances and reasoning behind the downgrading are still not clear to this day, although it is highly likely that the decision was actioned at the highest level within British military ranks. There was speculation that awarding the Victoria

Cross to another member of the 28 (Māori) Battalion so soon after Ngarimu's successful citation was deemed inappropriate (ibid, 115-124). Captain Dennis Blundell who wrote Manahi's citation shared his recollections at a Battalion reunion in 1984;

> I wrote the citation for V.C. for Sgt. Manahi and like the rest of the Division, was disgusted when he was awarded an immediate D.C.M. I feel sure that here was an example that even in the realm of bravery, politics played a part, and that the award to 2nd Lieutenant Ngarimu only some three weeks previously influenced the final decision (cited in Moon, 2010, p. 124).

The decision by King George VI that there would be no further awards or decorations after 1949 for actions during the Second World War extinguished any prospect of Manahi receiving the Victoria Cross (ibid, p. 125). There was wide spread disappointment and even decades later feelings of injustice amongst Manahi's iwi, Te Arawa, his whanau and past comrades had not dissipated. In 2007 the British Government and the Royal Family finally acknowledged the injustice and presented a collection of specially selected taonga at a commemorative ceremony held at Te Papa-i-Oruhu Marae in Rotorua. Amongst the taonga presented were a personal letter from the Queen and a sword from the royal collection as a symbol of the gallantry displayed by Manahi. The gifts were presented by Prince Andrew on behalf of Queen Elizabeth (ibid, pp. 151-2).

The 28 (Māori) Battalion received many accolades for their fighting prowess even earning praise from the enemy. The often quoted remarks of German Field Marshall Erwin Rommel are well known amongst military historians…"Give me a division of Maoris and I will conquer the world" (cited in Soutar, 2008, p. 192). Lieutenant-General Freyberg had special praise for the Battalion and spoke solemnly of their sacrifices…"I believe that when history is published, it will be recognised more widely that no infantry had a more distinguished record, or saw more fighting, or, alas, had such heavy casualties, as the Maori Battalion" (cited in J.F. Cody, 1956, p. v). The admiration was mutual. In 1945 while the Battalion were in Florence, Freyberg visited his soldiers for the last time to pay a final tribute. Lieutenant-Colonel James Henare, the last Commanding Officer of the Battalion, responded to Freyberg by confiding in him that during the conflict the men had absolute faith in his judgement and that "we regard you more as a father to the battalion than a general" (Gardiner, 1995, p. 177). Of the almost 3600 men who served overseas with 28 (Māori) Battalion during the Second World War, 649 were either killed in action or died while on active duty. A further 1712 men were wounded while another 237 men were taken as prisoners of war (source: www.28maoribattalion.org.nz).

On 7 May 1945 while in Italy, the Battalion received news that Germany had surrendered unconditionally to the Allied Forces. Japan, however, was still at war and tensions remained high in Yugoslavia concerning disputed territories with Italy. By June an agreement had been reached between the two nations, and Yugoslavia withdrew its soldiers from the territories in question. Two months later on 15 August, Japan followed Germany and surrendered unconditionally. This effectively ended the war for the Battalion, although 270 troops would be deployed to Japan as part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force. The troops would form D Squadron of the 2nd Divisional Cavalry Battalion but were better known as Jay-Force (Soutar, 2008, p. 356).

Preparations for the Battalion's return home began in late May 1945 but it would be several months before they departed Florence for New Zealand. This was due in part to logistics and planning, and also because Freyberg wanted the Battalion to return home as a full unit, the only unit to do so in entire Expeditionary Force. During their final months abroad the men kept busy. Some took the opportunity to visit London for one last time while others simply rested. Many men accompanied Padre Wi Huata and senior officers in visiting cemeteries in the area where men of the Battalion lay. For most, it was a last chance to say their good-byes to their fallen comrades (Gardiner, 1995, pp. 175-6).

There were a number of fare-well dinners organised by the Battalion and locals prior to their departure. Emotions were high, which was expected, considering some of the men had been amongst the locals for several months, and abroad for years. During their time in Italy many men became fluent in the language and immersed themselves in their culture. Other men were in serious relationships with Italian women, which would soon end abruptly. On 6 December 1945 the Battalion entrained at Florence to begin their long trip home. The Italian women who had gathered at the station to see their Māori warriors off were so bereft that some soldiers compared their crying to that of women wailing on the marae (Soutar, 2008, p. 357).

On 26 December the Battalion embarked on the *Dominion Monarch* and after stops at Twefik, Egypt and Fremantle, they arrived into Wellington Harbour on 23 January 1946. The ship pulled alongside the wharf just after mid-day to a boisterous welcome by the masses who had gathered. After they disembarked a pōhiri and civic ceremony was conducted before a huge feast. But once this was over the men knew that the journey was not quite over yet. This irritated some as they just wanted to get home. However, there were important ritual ceremonies of Kawe mate (acknowledgments to the dead) to be conducted on various marae as

they made their final journey home (Gardiner, 1995, pp. 180-7). After that, home awaited them.

Monty Soutar's account of the history of C Company is comprehensive and beautifully illustrated. The book is a testament to the vision and foresight of Ngata who insisted the history and stories of the Battalion and in particular, C Company, be captured immediately after returning from the war. Lieutenant-Colonel Arapeta (Peter) Awatere was initially charged with the task but for various reasons the project lost traction until in 1997 when the 'Nga Taonga a Nga Tama Toa Trust' was formed. The Trust provided the umbrella and impetus to complete the task that Ngata had initiated. Soutar was chosen to finish the work that Awatere had started. The book is a great asset and resource not only for whanau of C Company and tribes of the Te Tai-rāwhiti/East Coast but for anyone with an interest in 28 (Māori) Battalion and the Second World War.

Wira Gardiner's *Te Mura o Te Ahi: The Story of the Maori Battalion* is well-crafted, in-depth and easy to read account of the Battalion. Paul Moon's story of Haane Manahi of B Company provide and up-close account into the life and deeds of a humble and private man whose extraordinary act of valour led to his recommendation for the Victoria Cross. The subsequent reversal of this decision created a storm of controversy throughout the military ranks. The intrigue, politics and rationale surrounding the downgrading were examined in detail and revealed to the reader.

The lives of the men who served in 28 (Māori) Battalion would never be the same again. They had gone to hell and back and returned home different men because of what they had witnessed and experienced. Friendships formed during the war would endure in peace, but it was the end of the Battalion as a fighting unit. As Gardiner (1995, p. 180) states "[the] 28 (Māori) Battalion had marched out of existence and into the history books".

Chapter Three – Research Methods and Methodologies

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods and methodologies used for this research. It submits that using certain approaches to research involving Māori are critical in maintaining the integrity of the research and achieving its objectives. The first part of this chapter examines mātauranga Māori and its relationship to Kaupapa Māori Research within the context of this research. Ethical considerations will also be discussed as well as the dissemination and ownership of the information and findings.

This thesis is hapū centric, that is, its main focus is on a group of men belonging to the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. With that comes a strong sense of responsibility and obligation not only to the men being researched and the hapū, but also to their respective whānau. This will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) likens research to a journey and a process whereby success can be experienced in many "transformative moments" during the course of the research, rather than just the end result or outcome as often determined by the 'Academy'. During the course of this research I have experienced many 'transformative moments'. Many relate to new learning and 'moments of enlightenment' I gained from this research including a deeper appreciation for human endeavour and character such as; humility, honour, respect, resilience and sacrifice. I have always had an interest in whakapapa and undertaking this research has greatly increased my knowledge in this area and has even led to the identity and reclaiming of a few 'forgotten men' who served in 28 (Māori) Battalion. On reflection, the 're-claiming and re-telling' (Smith, 1999) components of this thesis have been a key driving force behind this research and the most rewarding.

3.1 Mātauranga Māori

The term Mātauranga Māori is generally defined as 'Māori Knowledge' (Hirini Moko Mead, 2012, p. 9). In Te Ao Māori the origins of all forms of knowledge is encapsulated in the story of Tāne-nui-a-rangi, son of Ranginui (Sky father) and Papatūānuku (Earth mother) who ascended the heavens to retrieve the three Baskets of Knowledge from Io, the Supreme God (Marsden, 2003, p. 77). Tāne's (or Tāwhaki according to some iwi) quest to ascend the heavens in search of the baskets provides a valuable lesson and reminder to those holding or seeking knowledge of their obligations and responsibilities. Linda Smith (1999, pp. 172-3)

emphasizes two key points about this story; firstly, that Tāne sought out knowledge on behalf of everyone else and that it was not a selfish action, and secondly; that the three baskets contained different types of knowledge. Some knowledge was regarded as highly specialised and hierarchical, while other knowledge governed how people should live their lives. More importantly the knowledge promoted wellbeing for all and the expectation that the knowledge would be treated with care and responsibility.

Mātauranga Māori will mean different things to different people. Discussions about it are thought provoking and encompass your own knowledge, understanding, beliefs and worldview. The topic is so diverse that discourse can start and finish at any point along a vast knowledge continuum. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal (1992, p. 17) reminds us that simplicity can often be found in seemingly complex things. On the topic of research he asserts "research is something that everybody does every day without knowing it. Call it research and it suddenly becomes a mystery". The same could be said of mātauranga Māori whereby it can often be perceived as complex, yet many people from diverse backgrounds apply mātauranga Māori every day; the reciting of karakia, the application and use of Māori epistemology and pedagogy, the art of tā moko, kapa haka, and rituals inherent in traditional carving and the building of waka. All informed by traditional knowledge and the application of mātauranga Māori.

Mead (2003) adds that there are simple pragmatic aspects concerning tikanga Māori and gives the example of a woman menstruating and diving for seafood. As blood is deemed tapu, she too is considered to be in a 'state of tapu'. The act of gathering food combined with the 'neutralising power' of water [the sea] acts to diminish the effects of tapu resulting in a conflicting situation which should be avoided if possible. From a purely pragmatic standpoint, sharks are attracted to blood which places the woman and anyone close by in danger (p. 17). Similarly, my reference to Royal's description of research is not intended to simplify or diminish the depth of what constitutes mātauranga Māori. It simply highlights some practical applications and activities that are part of the everyday lives of many people.

Rapata Wiri (2001, p. 25) offers a much broader explanation and a list of disciplines and areas that encompass mātauranga Māori;

> Māori epistemology, the Māori way, the Māori worldview, the Māori style of thought, Māori ideology, Māori knowledge base, Māori perspective, to understand or be acquainted with the Māori world, to be knowledgeable in things Māori, to be a graduate of the Māori schools of learning, Māori tradition and history, Māori

> experience of history, Māori enlightenment, Māori scholarship, Māori intellectual tradition.

Mātauranga Māori encompasses a uniquely Māori worldview which has been and continues to be shaped by lived experiences. These experiences become learning opportunities that help support knowledge transfer between people. Mead (2012, p. 9) states that "mātauranga Māori is a cultural system of knowledge about everything that is important to the lives of the people. Lessons learnt in the past are added to the knowledge system".

The legitimacy and position of mātauranga Māori within a dominant Eurocentric society continues to be at risk. The application of Western ideology in areas of science, health, and the environment presents ongoing challenges for Māori. An example of where Māori and European ideologies clashed concerns the Whangaehu River in the Central North Island. While under study by a group of scientists, they concluded that due to high acidity levels the river was effectively 'dead'. However, to local iwi the river was not dead and still retained its mauri (life essence), elements of hauora (therapeutic essence) and whakapapa (connections to rivers, land, and people). (Proctor & Black, 2014, pp. 96-7).

This fundamental difference in perspective is essentially the difference between Western science and mātauranga Māori. It raises some interesting questions such as; is it inevitable that mātauranga Māori incorporates Western science or is it a taonga that should retain the traditions and constructs pre-colonisation? Is it even appropriate to merge mātauranga Māori and Western science based knowledge? Critically, Mason Durie (cited in Woller, 2005, p. 10) asserts that "essentially the difference is between science and faith". However, as Meads (2012, pp. 11-13) conveys, knowledge systems are dynamic and can be added to. This then supports the notion that different knowledge pools can add to and enhance another.

A similar example to the above concerns the grounding of the *M.V. Rena* cargo ship on Otaiti (Astrolabe Reef) off the coast of Tauranga in October 2011. In September 2015, final submissions concerning the ship's grounding was presented by various Māori groups at an Environmental Court hearing in Tauranga. Although a few of the groups had different perspectives, all relied on mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi to articulate and argue their points.

In his statement on behalf of Te Rūnanga O Ngāti Awa, Pouroto Ngaropo (2015), spoke of the importance and spiritual connection of Ngāti Awa to Otaiti. He explained in the essence of key Māori concepts including; '*mauri*' (life force) in its various forms; '*wāhi tapu*' which he defined as '*wā*' meaning a continuum of time, and '*hi*' meaning connecting energy, and '*tapu*'

meaning restricted and sacred. Other key concepts explained were '*Ngāti Awa-tanga*' which among other things, incorporates mātauranga-ā-iwi distinct to Ngāti Awa. Ngaropo also shared the ancient names for Otaiti and Mōtiti, as being '*Te Paepae Ariki o Rehua*' and '*Te Whatukura o Tawhaki*' respectively.

In acknowledging the sanctity of the mātauranga Māori as imparted by Ngaropo, who then from the Environment court interprets this knowledge? Will this person/s be qualified to do so? Furthermore, what assurances can be given that the evidence will be fully understood and what influence, if any, will this have on decision making? Importantly, the responses to these questions will determine whether the Rena ship-wreck is removed from Otaiti or not.

On the topic of Indigenous Knowledge, Linda Smith (1999, p. 104) states;

> The struggle for the validity of indigenous knowledge's may no longer be over the *recognition* that indigenous peoples have ways of viewing the world which are unique, but over proving the authenticity of, and control over our own forms of knowledge.

Collectively, Mātauranga Māori, Kaupapa Māori Theory and Research offer stern resistance to this plight but should not be viewed as an effort to discredit or reject other theoretical frameworks or pools of knowledge. Wiremu Doherty (2009, pp 70-71) describes this relationship and the potential for tension between kaupapa Māori theory and other theoretical frameworks;

> What is required is a kaupapa Māori theory approach that provides Māori with the platform to describe and explain what the differing Māori positions and ideologies are on the many issues that confront Māori, from a Māori perspective. Kaupapa Māori theory-based research is not about disproving other theories – it is about building transformative outcomes for Māori through mātauranga Māori. Using the lens created by kaupapa Māori theory, mātauranga Māori becomes visible and accessible.

Similarly, Leonie Pihama (2010) asserts:

> Kaupapa Māori is based upon, and informed by mātauranga Māori that provides a cultural template, a philosophy that asserts that the theoretical framework being employed is culturally defined and determined…kaupapa Māori cannot be understood without knowledge of mātauranga Māori and the ways Māori engage with knowledge and forms of knowing.

During the introduction to this chapter I stated that this research is hapū centric and focuses on men of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. This is important because it locates this group within a specific environment and context which is inclusive of certain sets of values and principles derived from mātauranga Māori and underpinned by tribal knowledge. Doherty (2009, p. 72) refers to tribal knowledge as 'Mātauranga ā-iwi' and explains:

> As people develop their knowledge from the level of mātauranga Māori into mātauranga ā-iwi, the lens that is required in mātauranga Māori is given a sharper focus to examine the application of the mātauranga Māori principles and values in their specific environmental context.

In acknowledging the validity and place of mātauranga ā-iwi within Māori society, it can be argued that the notion of mātauranga ā-hapū (sub-tribal knowledge) shares that same validity; hapū ways of knowing, doing and being. This is the position I take in acknowledging Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū distinctiveness.

3.2 Kaupapa Māori Research

The term 'Kaupapa Māori' is often used by Māori researchers and academics to describe any analysis, study or activity concerning Māori. Certain words can be added to 'refine' the term and direct its focus to a specific area or discipline. Words such as; theory, practice, principles, framework, and research. But the terms are all inter-connected, inclusive of each other, and expressions of Te Ao Māori.

Kaupapa Māori research has its roots in mātauranga Māori and came about as a response to Western research methodologies, which according to Linda Smith (1999, p. 183) tended to "privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture". Smith asserts that research is an integral part of the colonization process as a way of defining what counts as legitimate knowledge (ibid, p. 173). Kaupapa Māori research, therefore, seeks to liberate Māori from the 'gaze of others' to enable them to re-write (re-right), re-claim and re-tell their own history and strategise their own future aspirations.

Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997, p. 453) positions Kaupapa Māori as a 'transformational tool' for Māori well-being and self-affirmation. Kaupapa Māori, he submits, is "the practice and philosophy of living a Māori culturally informed life". Mereana Taki (cited in Smith & Reid, 2000, p. 3) offers her definition of the term 'Kaupapa';

> Kaupapa is derived from key words and their conceptual bases. '*Kau*' is often used to describe the process of 'coming into view or appearing for the first time, to disclose'. Taken further '*Ka u*' may be translated as 'representing an inarticulate sound, breast of a female, bite, gnaw, reach, arrive, reach its limit, be firm, be fixed, strike home, place of arrival' (H.W Williams c1844-1985:464). '*Papa*' is used to mean 'ground, foundation base'. Together 'Kaupapa' encapsulates these concepts and a basic foundation of it is 'ground rules, customs, and the right of way of doing things.

Tuakana Nepe (cited in Smith & Reid, 2000, p. 3) describes Kaupapa Māori as the "conceptualisation of Māori knowledge which has been developed through oral traditions". Nepe also argues that at the centre of this process is Te Reo Māori (the Māori language). She explains further;

> Māori knowledge is esoteric and tūturu Māori [distinctively Māori]. It validates the Māori worldview and is owned and controlled by Māori through Te Reo Māori. Te Reo Māori is the only language that can access, conceptualise and internalise, in spiritual terms, this body of knowledge. From this, we take it that Māori language and Kaupapa Māori knowledge are inextricably bound. One is the means to the other (p. 3).

Kaupapa Māori is clearly derived from Mātauranga Māori. Through the ages our ancient tupuna relied on their ability to theorise in order to understand the world around them and interpret certain phenomena which ensured their survival. Although the world has changed from their time, the need for critical analysis by Māori to ensure their cultural survival has not. Pihama (cited in 'He Pukenga Korero', 2010, p. 5) asserts that Kaupapa Māori theory is part of a wider struggle against the effects of colonisation;

> As part of a wider struggle against colonialism, Māori people have engaged in multiple forms of intervention and resistance. Our histories remind us of many acts of resistance to colonial imperialism and struggles of resistance against the forced cultural genocide imposed in our lands…as such, our people have always been theorists. We have for generations engaged with our world and constructed theories as a part of our own knowledge and ways of understanding our experiences. The denial of our own knowledge and theorising has been an integral part of the colonising agenda.

Since the arrival of Pākehā and Western ideologies which continue to impinge on mātauranga Māori and Māori belief systems, it has been necessary to forge new tools to combat this. The

application of Kaupapa Māori frameworks, old and new, provides an intervention strategy and resistance to this encroachment. Kaupapa Māori theory and principles provide the rationale and impetus for Kaupapa Māori practice and research. Graham Smith (1997) writes extensively on the subject of Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis as a vehicle for positive transformation for Māori. In an address to the Alaskan Federation of Natives (AFN) in 2003, Smith states;

> The intervention strategies applied by Māori in New Zealand are complex and respond simultaneously to multiple formations of oppression and exploitation…Kaupapa Māori educational interventions represent the evolving of a more sophisticated response by Māori to 'freeing' themselves…the very emergence of Kaupapa Māori as an intervention strategy, critiques and re-constitutes the 'Western dominant' resistance notions of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis in different configurations.

3.3 Methods and Methodology

As indicated in chapter one, the Ngāi Tamarāwaho mōteatea *'E rere to karoro, e rere ki Huria'* has been used 'critically' in this research. Certain themes in the mōteatea provide a uniquely hapū theoretical framework to give meaning to the experiences of the soldiers who served in the Māori Battalion, as well as their whanau left at home. In the mōteatea, karoro are depicted flying high and far away from Huria but always returning back to nest again. This is likened to the soldiers who also ventured far away and who all, but for a few, returned home safely to Huria. The central theme of the mōteatea involves a young maiden, Mere Hoani, who after rejecting the man betrothed to her by the iwi, decides to take her own life. The anxiety and unease she would have felt prior to her untimely death is likened, in part, to the feelings and anxieties the soldiers would have felt on the battlefields. This same unease is also likened to that of the parents, whanau and loved ones left at home awaiting the safe return of their men.

Wayne Ngata (Personal communication, July 13, 2013) asserts that "Mōteatea provide a window into Te Ao Maori". Royal (1997, pp. 1-2) describes mōteatea as a type of song which might be referred to in English as a 'classical Māori chant'. They can be written and presented in many forms to serve different purposes. Examples include;

waiata tangi; laments for the dead

waiata aroha; love songs

waiata whaiāipo; lovers songs

waiata whakaaraara pā; sentinel songs

waiata whakautu whakapae; songs replying to slander

Other more 'classical' forms of waiata include;

pātere; a reply to jealousies and/or slander in song

apakura; a lament

pao; short chanting songs

oriori; lullabies

matakite; songs of vision

Royal contends that mōteatea are multi-purpose in nature and offer extensive oral literature; 'literature' that may have otherwise been lost. Moreover, mōteatea capture important historical knowledge that provides precious and meaningful insight. It is my assertion that *E rere to karoro, e rere ki Huria'* represents a traditional Māori framework that concerns and supports knowledge transmission. Royal (1997, p. 2) further states;

> We can begin by saying that mōteatea played a critical role in the process by which history was recorded and interpretations of that history were maintained. Hence, mōteatea were vessels within which important information about people were held.

Kaupapa Māori research, as a methodology, is how I have approached this research. This occurred naturally and best suits the dynamics of research involving whanau and hapū. This approach helps to ensure that the mana of the research, its participants, and the 'research kōrero' remains intact, which is of utmost importance.

The conceptualisation for my research occurred at a large marae gathering to commemorate Anzac day 2012. The service held at Hangarau marae in Tauranga attracted hundreds of people including; local iwi, military personnel, local council staff and iwi from neighbouring areas. As expected there was a large contingent of current and ex-servicemen and women, and it was pleasing to see some older veterans present.

When considering who I should approach first from my hapū to discuss my research proposal, there was really only one person I had in mind. That was koro Morehu Ngatoko Rahipere, my grandfather's only living sibling. Although in his twilight years now, he is still acknowledged as the rangatira of Ngāi Tamarāwaho and Ngāti Ranginui iwi, and a recognised leader of Tauranga Moana. In October 2015 he was awarded with an honorary doctorate from The University of Waikato in recognition of his dedication to Tauranga iwi, the Kiingitanga, and his contribution to Māori education and development. It was a very fitting gesture and the

occasion was well attended by the three iwi of Tauranga Moana; Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Pukenga.

Koro Morehu has a much reduced workload nowadays in terms of the expected duties, roles and functions of a kaumātua. Nonetheless, he still maintains the mantle of 'rangatira' when it comes to any important hapū or iwi matters, but happily delegates these tasks to other capable kaumātua when support or guidance is needed.

I first presented my research proposal to koro soon after Anzac Day in 2013, which was held at Wairoa marae in Tauranga. The timing of the research felt right. We had never held an Anzac day ceremony on Huria marae before, and I was not aware that several kaumātua, including koro Morehu, had longed to host the event for years but for some reason it never eventuated. The possibility of hosting the event and the idea that we should unveil a commemorative plaque dedicated to past servicemen provided even more impetus and motivation for my research. After discussing this over a cup of tea with koro, he promptly gave me his blessing and support to proceed with my research (M. Ngatoko-Rahipere, personal communication, May 19, 2013).

Obtaining koro's blessing to proceed was crucial. In addition to this, I also sought, and was granted, the support of the 'Ngāi Tamarāwaho Tribal Authority Trust' who 'endorsed' my research. Importantly, from a tikanga Māori perspective I had received the 'rite of passage' from our rangatira and had the backing of the Tribal Trust; the way had been cleared. From a 'research methods' perspective in terms of the 'how' and 'who' I should approach; I could tick both boxes.

Although the primary objective of this research; to identify the men from Ngāi Tamarāwaho who served in the 28 (Māori) Battalion had not changed, my workload was about to double. The hapū's request in 2013 to host Anzac Day finally became a reality, and on 24 April 2015 Ngāi Tamarāwaho had the honour of hosting the Anzac memorial service at Huria marae. The occasion was momentous, so much so that koro Morehu remarked to me that had never seen so many people gathered on our marae in all his years. Even more people, he quipped, that attend our annual Poukai where Tauranga iwi re-affirm their support and connections to the Māori King and iwi of Waikato/Tainui.

As I had already started my research to identify the Battalion men, it made sense for me to also research the men from Ngāi Tamarāwaho who served in the First World War through to the Vietnam War. It was decided by the Anzac Komiti Whakahaere (Anzac Day organising

committee), of which I was a part of, and our kaumātua, that the names of all the men who served in these campaigns would be engraved on a plaque and unveiled on Anzac Day.

As stated, my workload had effectively doubled given that I now had a much wider scope of soldiers to research. Strictly speaking, my research was not concerned with those soldiers outside of the 28 (Māori) Battalion. However, I was committed and from this point on, at least for a period, my research had a dual purpose. In dealing with the challengers around this, in terms of maintaining focus on both 'objectives', the ideologies inherent in Kaupapa Māori research provided me with a pathway and the rationale to complete both tasks. Although some would argue that they were two pieces of separate research, from a Kaupapa Māori perspective, and in my eyes, they were actually the same.

On the subject of Māori research, Jahnke and Taiapa (cited in Ngā Ara Rangahau Tikanga-Rua 2, p. 123) explain that;

> [Māori research] occurs in a cultural environment which is spiritually and tribally based, where emphasis is placed on people, whanau and hapū, and where principles such as generosity, reciprocity, and co-operation abound. Spiritual notions of mauri, wairua, and tapu permeate Māori culture and are important aspects which point to fundamental differences in basic definitions related to research that are not commonly shared by Pakeha.

The above definition highlights some of the reasons for undertaking both projects simultaneously. As implied, I could not do one project exclusive of the other. I have a keen interest in whakapapa and the various hui that take place on our marae. From this stems the basic premise of whakawhanaungatanga (strengthening of kinship ties) and it is from this vantage point that I have conducted my research.

A number of research methods have been used in this research. The use of 'whakawhanaungatanga' was intrinsic throughout my research methods and used extensively in a totally non-coercive way. Russell Bishop (1996, p. 215) explains that "Whakawhanaungatanga is the process of establishing relationships, literally by means of identifying, through culturally appropriate means, your bodily linkage, your engagement, your connectedness and therefore (unspoken) commitment to other people". Other research methods used in this research include;

3.3.1 Literature Review

A review of selected literature was conducted to help form a picture of "what happened, where, and why from a trail of evidence left behind" (Newbold cited in Woller, 2005, p. 20). Literature included both published and unpublished works, while other sources of information came from; oral sources, journals, theses, articles, reports, newspapers and the internet.

In his master's thesis entitled '*Nga Hahi o Ngai Tamarawaho: A History of Religion within the Hapu of Ngai Tamarawaho'* Woller (2005, p. 20) states that he thought the literature would provide mainly background information for his research and that most of the information would come from oral sources. However, due to the availability and extent of the written information, the focus on oral sources was lessened.

I too had anticipated that a good deal of information would come from oral sources, particularly whānau of the men who had served in the Māori Battalion, however, that was not the case. Although kaumātua and whānau members had some knowledge, it was less than I expected. Like Woller, most of the general background information for this research, which was extensive, came from the literature and other secondary sources. The official military records sourced were also of great assistance.

3.3.2 Kāhui Kaumātua Roopu Hui

Hui with the hapū kaumātua group (Kāhui Kaumātua) began in mid-2014. They were instigated at the request of the Anzac Day organising committee to commence planning and preparations for the hosting at Huria marae in 2015. The purpose of the hui was to ensure that kaumātua were kept informed of the planning, and it was also an opportunity to discuss any issues concerning tikanga or other matters where kaumātua advice was needed. One example of this occurred at a hui when a kuia asked if a person who was a 'whāngai' (Māori form of adoption) of the hapū and who had served overseas qualified to go onto the dedication plaque. Based on hapū tikanga, the reply from the other kaumātua was a resounding "yes".

Importantly, these forums provided me regular and reliable access to kaumātua to check the whakapapa and names of the soldiers who would adorn the plaque. Outside of these hui, I also used hui-a-hapū to promote and share my research project in the hope people would come forward with their stories and other relevant information to assist me.

3.3.3 Interviews

From the outset it was my intention to formally interview members of whānau who had koroua serve in the Battalion. However, for the majority of whānau, this did not eventuate and instead,

formal interviews gave way to informal conversations. Often, these casual conversations could occur anywhere; at hapū or marae meetings, school gala days, kapa haka festivals, tangihanga, and even at the supermarket. Such exchanges are not uncommon amongst Māori. In fact, some of the most enlightening conversations (Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero) I have had concerning whakapapa and tikanga have occurred in the wharekai while preparing kai. Haig-Brown (cited in Bishop, 1996, p. 31) refers to these casual exchanges as "Interviews as chats" and describes this type of informal interview as "so close to everyday conversations...they often served as an opportunity for people to follow up more formal interviews or simply to comment generally on the day's significant events, or on details they thought I might be interested in".

A few whānau that I wanted to talk to no longer lived in Tauranga and could not be contacted, while for a few men who served in the Battalion, there were no known siblings or children. I was fortunate however, to have semi-formal discussions with six kaumātua; Tamati Tata, Matakokiri Tata, Peri Kohu, Raymond Pearson, Morehu Ngatoko Rahipere and Dolcie Hall. This was in addition to the discussions had with 'Te Kāhui Kaumātua Roopu'.

3.3.4 Enquiry

Through a process of enquiry, I contacted various government departments and organisations to seek information and clarify other information I already had. Amongst the groups contacted were; New Zealand Defence Force, 6th Hauraki Regiment (NZ Army, Tauranga Base) and Te Komiti Whakahaere o Ngāti Tūmatauenga returned servicemen group, who are the kaitiaki of the Anzac Day marae ceremonies in Tauranga. Additionally, the 28 (Māori) Battalion website (www.28maoribattalion.org.nz), a collaboration between the 28th Maori Battalion Association, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Te Puni Kokiri, National Library of New Zealand, and the Ministry of Education, was an invaluable source of information, particularly the 'role of honour' database which lists all the men to have officially served in the 28 (Māori) Battalion.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

There were two sets of 'ethics' that I had to consider in carrying out this research. The first set concerned the 'learning institutions' requirements (ethical procedures and processes) when undertaking research, while the second set of ethics relates to researching whānau and hapū. As a student of Te Whare Wānanga O Awanuiārangi, permission was sought from their Ethics Research Committee to proceed with my research project, and permission was subsequently granted. An information sheet outlining the general parameters of the research was given to all

research participants, together with a confidentiality agreement explaining how the information will be used and stored. Together, these satisfied the ethical requirements of the institution.

When considering ethical practices to help guide engagement with whānau and hapū, I was fairly comfortable with how I would manage this. But despite my self-assurance, I was also mindful that the research participants needed to feel safe and comfortable during interviews and meetings. I try to abide by the basic premise of 'Manāki Tangata' which simply means to care for and about people. This principle further fuels my passion and is why I feel a strong sense of responsibility towards the men being researched and their whānau.

Linda Smith (1999, p. 119) asserts that "In the New Zealand context research ethics for Māori communities extend far beyond issues of individual consent and confidentiality". Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991) explains what constitutes sound ethical principles for research in Māori communities and presents the following set of principles;

- Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people)
- Kanohi kitea (the seen face, present yourself to people face to face)
- Titiro, whakarongo...korero (look, listen...speak)
- Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous)
- Kia tupato (be cautious)
- Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people)
- Kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge)

These principles, and others, are widely used by Māori in rituals of engagement ranging from hui to tangihanga. An underpinning theme inherent in all the principles is a respect for people. Smith (1999, p. 120) supports this;

> From indigenous perspectives, ethical codes of conduct serve partly the same purpose as the protocol which governs our relationships with each other and the environment. The term 'respect' is consistently used by indigenous peoples to underscore the significance of our relationships and humanity. Through respect the place of everyone and everything in the universe is kept in balance and harmony. Respect is a reciprocal, shared, constantly interchanging principle which is expressed through all aspects of social conduct.

Those entrusted with researching and writing whānau history carry a huge responsibility. The expectation that whatever you write will be both accurate and a true account of events are enormous. After all, according to Royal (1998, p. 1), "research concerns the truth". Kaupapa

Māori research and the principles outlined by Te Awekotuku offer an effective template to assist researchers engage with whānau.

An example where I used these principles relates to my visit to a whānau whom I did not really know. The Wikeepa whānau from Mōtiti Island had three men with connections to Huria serve in the Second World War; Anania, Whareauahi and Hekiheki Wikeepa. Through the marriage of Parekoekoea Piahana of Ngāi Tamarāwaho to Tētē Te Hekiheki Wikeepa of Mōtiti, these men claim their Ngāi Tamarāwaho lineage. Of special mention is Ranginui Wikeepa, a brother of Tētē, who served in the First World War (N. Wikeepa, personal communication, February 6, 2015).

In planning my initial visit to this whānau I had to be considerate in my approach. There were two reasons for this. The first was that I had not previously met the people I was meeting with, so having 'mihimihi' (acknowledgements) either formally or informally, was warranted. The second reason was that I wanted to present and discuss with them whakapapa that they may not be familiar with. When discussing whakapapa, caution is needed because of its sensitive nature. What might they think if I presented them with a whakapapa that was vastly different to the one they knew? The risk of this was diminished, firstly, by the facilitation of mihimihi and affirming kinship ties (whakawhanaungatanga). Secondly, a clear explanation of my research was given and how they may be able to support the kaupapa. The potential problem regarding whakapapa was not an issue in the end. As it turned out, the whānau took comfort in the fact that the whakapapa I presented to them was sourced from a hapū historian whom they knew well and trusted. The whakapapa I shared was hugely beneficial and helped strengthen their ties and connections to Ngāi Tamarāwaho and consequently, mine to them.

3.5 Dissemination and Ownership of Information

Woller (2005) in his study of religion within Ngāi Tamarāwaho presents that key milestones in recent years have reinvigorated a desire by whānau to re-engage in hapū events. The recent Waitangi Tribunal hearings and associated research, especially concerning raupatu, and also the re-building and opening of Tamateapōkaiwhenua wharenui are examples of this. Wānanga around waiata, kapa haka and hapū history are ongoing at the marae and there is a genuine desire by members of the hapū to be informed and empowered.

As this research is hapū centric, it is with the hapū that the research findings will sit. Similarly, as Woller (2005) states regarding his thesis "the focus of this research is part of the history of Ngai Tamarawaho and therefore the results belong to the hapu" (p. 24). The dissemination of

information as a result of this research has already begun. The Anzac Day plaque mounted on Hinuera stone takes pride of place next to the Pou-haki (flagpole) at Huria marae. On this plaque, displayed to the world, are the engraved names of all the soldiers from Ngāi Tamarāwaho who served in the 28 (Māori) Battalion, as well as their brothers and cousins who served in the other major campaigns since the First World War.

This chapter on Research Methods and Methodologies began by examining mātauranga Māori in its various forms as a means of helping Māori make sense of the world, in both ancient and modern times. Links were drawn between mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori and Māori epistemology as key constructs of Te Ao Māori. The ideals of Eurocentric thinking and Western ideologies, especially those that hinder, impinge or challenge the validity of mātauranga Māori were examined and discussed.

Kaupapa Māori research was examined as a methodology and transformational tool to help bring about positive change for Māori. Kaupapa Māori research is inclusive of Kaupapa Māori theory and Te Reo Māori, and is an effective and affirming intervention against Western ideology. Research Methods that suit both the researcher and research participants are crucial to ensuring the integrity of the research and safety of all participants. The range of methods employed in this research includes; literature review, hui, interviews and enquiry.

Ethical considerations are an important aspect of any research. From a Kaupapa Māori perspective, ethics could be viewed, in part, as complimentary to tikanga Māori. This is evident in the recommendations by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991) when engaging Māori. Basic principles based on aroha, courtesy, respect and reciprocity are at the centre of what Te Awekotuku asserts as essential elements of behaviour when interviewing or engaging with Māori.

Chapter Four – An Historical Account of Ngāi Tamarāwaho

4.0 Introduction

Ko Mauao me Pūwhenua ngā maunga

Ko Te Awanui te moana

Ko Kopurererua te awa puta atu ki Te Waikareao

te kete kai, te whangai hoki a Tamarāwaho

Ko Tākitimu te Waka

Ko Te Rāpanga i te Ata a nuku te hoe

Ko Te Awhiōrangi te toki

Ko Ngāti Ranginui te iwi

Ko Ngāi Tamarāwaho te hapū

Ko Tamateapōkaiwhenua te tupuna me te whare whakairo

Ko Ihuparapara rāua ko Iwipupu te puna kai

Ko Huria te marae

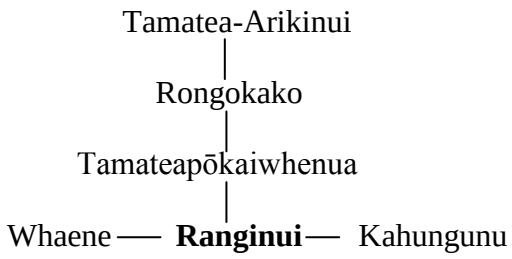
The above pepeha embodies whakapapa and knowledge that is unique and distinct. It is an affirmation in which each rārangi (line) is intrinsically bound to the next to make it whole; an expression of mātauranga Māori and Māori identity in its purest form. It is the affirmation of being Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Gregory Taite Tata (1990, p. 1) in his book *'Takitimu: The Waka and its People in Tauranga*' asserts that this type of pepeha "must be used by any [M]aori person to formally identify ones lineage". Instead of the term 'pepeha' Tata refers to this introduction as a form of 'mauri'. He explains further "the mauri, as it is called, is used to have people understand the designation and whereabouts of one's beginnings, home and people". Pouroto Ngaropo (2015, p. 2) explains 'mauri' as "the life force, the life principles, the binding power that the spiritual and physical dimension[s] connect as one".

This chapter provides a brief historical account of Ngāi Tamarāwaho beginning with the origins and the journey of the waka Tākitimu waka from Hawaiki. It outlines significant events in the history of Ngāti Ranginui including the arrival of Ngāi Te Rangi to Tauranga Moana and

the Battle of Kōkōwai. The history of the Tamateapōkaiwhenua tupuna whare will be explored including the underlying social and political rationale behind its importance to the iwi and hapū. Ngāi Tamarāwaho's connection to the Kiingitanga (spelt in the Tainui fashion without the use of macrons) of the Waikato/Tainui will be examined closely including the significance of the annual Poukai that takes place at Huria marae. The influence of religion upon the hapū will be discussed as well as the hapū's inclination towards activism stemming mostly from the raupatu of the 1860s. The effects of which will be examined in detail.

This is a brief account of the hapū's history and not intended to represent a definitive historical record of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. The totality of that undertaking would be too extensive and is outside the scope of this research. The aim of this chapter is to provide a synopsis of Ngāi Tamarāwaho history.

4.1 The Sacred Waka Tākitimu



The above whakapapa represents one version, among others, of a line of descent from Tamatea- Arikinui (rangatira of Tākitimu waka) down to Ranginui and his two half-brothers, Whaene and Kahungunu. Ranginui is the eponymous ancestor of the Ngāti Ranginui tribe, while his younger half-brother, Kahungunu, is the progenitor of that well-known tribe of the Heretaunga and Wairarapa regions. As illustrated in the introduction, Ngāi Tamarāwaho is a hapū of the Ngāti Ranginui iwi of Tauranga Moana.

As can often be the case when analysing and comparing whakapapa, tribal differences are not uncommon. In the case of Tākitimu, there are varying versions amongst iwi and historians as to whether Tamatea-Arikinui and Tamateapōkaiwhenua was in fact the same person. According to John Mitchell (1944, p. 31) it was Tamatea-Arikinui who commanded the waka and exclaimed "Let a giant canoe be made and be called Takitimu [and] we will journey far across the seas to this Southern land of which they tell". However, Tata (1990) and Manu Te Pere (cited in Riseborough, 1999, p. 5), both Ngāi Tamarāwaho historians of some repute, assert that Tamatea-Arikinui and Tamateapōkaiwhenua were one in the same person; and the son of

Rongokako. Tata espouses that Tamatea-Arikinui (or Tamateapōkaiwhenua) was also known as Tamatea-Amoa while in the Cook Islands (ibid, p. 3). Additionally, Mitchell (1944, p. 58) presents the name 'Tamatea-ure-haea' as another name for Tamateapōkaiwhenua.

There is also a shared view amongst some historians that there was in fact two waka named 'Tākitimu'. Tata (p. 4) states that one waka was tapu and brought all the 'demi-gods', priests and sacred knowledge, while the other waka carried "men, woman and other manner of items". Mitchell (p. 57) supports the theory of two waka and states "[Tamatea] was an industrious lad, and as soon as he came to manhood he commenced organising an expedition to explore the land. He first built a large canoe and named it after the original 'Tākitimu'. Evelyn Stokes (cited in O'Malley, 1993, p. 7) offers this historical account;

> The Takitimu canoe landed at the base of Mount Maunganui [Mauao] and its commander, Tamatea ariki nui, decided to settle in the area, establishing marriage links with the people of Toi. Tamatea pokai whenua, grandson of the great chief, also built a canoe called Takitimu and became the first person to circumnavigate Aotearoa. Ranginui, son of Tamatea pokai whenua (and brother of the eponymous Kahungunu) eventually decided to return to Tauranga and gave his name to the people there of Takitimu descent

This explanation supports the theory that there were two Tākitimu waka, one commanded by Tamatea-Arikinui and the other by Tamateapōkaiwhenua. However, this account disputes the notion that the two commanders were the same person, as suggested by Tata and Te Pere.

It is generally accepted that variations in whakapapa will and do exist between iwi, and even within the same iwi or hapū. But as Tamati Tata of Ngāi Tamarāwaho states when questioned about the different whakapapa concerning 'Tamatea'…"this is our whakapapa [and] that is theirs…one is not right and the other wrong, they are just different…like the different hāhi on this marae [Huria], we accept and respect them". Hence, I have left it to the reader's discretion to decide which 'Tamatea' is which, but in support of Tata's explanation, all accounts must be acknowledged as 'true' according to the whakapapa of a particular iwi or hapū; it is their whakapapa (cited in Woller, 2005, p. 22).

Like the other waka known to have sailed in the 'Great Fleet', the story of Tākitimu has its origins in Hawaiki, widely regarded as the ancestral and spiritual home of the Māori people (Mitchell, 1944, p. 41). In formal speeches, especially when fare-welling the spirits of the deceased, Hawaiki is often referred to as 'Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaiki-pamamao – the great Hawaiki, the long Hawaiki, the distant Hawaiki' (Mead, 2003, p. 57).

The Ngāi Tamarāwaho story of Tākitimu waka is retold here by Manu Te Pere (cited in Riseborough, 1999, pp. 5-6). Te Pere explains that a decision was reached by a group of chiefs in Hawaiki, including Tamatea, that a waka to be named Tākitimu be built in preparation for a journey to a far-away land discovered by Kupe. Following the decision, the men set about searching for a suitable tree to fashion such a waka but none could be found. On hearing of their dilemma, another chief, Waitaha, offered his rākau named 'Puwhenua' as a gift to build the waka. Tamatea accepted his kind gesture and work was soon underway to craft a magnificent waka. In accordance with tikanga Māori, the felling of the rākau and building of the waka were governed by strict ceremonial rituals. The felling of Puwhenua is described by Te Pere (ibid, p. 5);

> All the tohunga said their prayers around the tree asking Tane [Tāne-mahuta, god of the forest] for permission to cut one of his children down, so they can fashion a beautiful craft…and when they were finished they put their sacred axe away and got out their common axes and started cutting the roots.

The building of the waka was accompanied by special 'cleansing ceremonies' to bless the carvers due to the tapu nature of their work. Mitchell (1944, p. 32) explains;

> The canoe was built in an enclosure into which no women or common people were permitted to enter, a place sacred to the craftsmen who themselves were bound under a strong tapu…nor did this tapu cease automatically with the completion of the task, it [the tapu] needs to be lifted by special rites…first the builders and their tools would proceed to the nearest stream or river …if there was sufficient water they would stand completely submerged, otherwise the high priest would splash water over them while chanting incantation[s].

When Tākitimu was completed and ready for its maiden voyage, the tohunga were called upon to perform the appropriate karakia;

> [The tohunga] called upon the denizens of the deep and all the atua and gods to assist this journey from ancient Hawaiki to Aotearoa. So they called upon the whales, dolphins and octopus – all the taniwha of the sea. And they also asked Hine Korako, the moon maiden, because they needed her knowledge (Te Pere cited in Riseborough, p. 5).

According to Te Pere, Tākitimu visited a number of Islands, including Tahiti and Tonga, before arriving in Aotearoa and eventually at Mauao (Mount Maunganui) the sacred mountain at the

entrance to Te Awanui (Tauranga harbour). The waka berthed at the base of Mauao in a place called Te Awaiti. Tamatea then ascended Mauao where he planted a 'Pouwhenua' and proclaimed that "From here to Puwhenua [a distant mountain he sighted from atop Mauao and named in honour of the gift from Waitaha] is the land that was assigned for us, long before we left home" (ibid, p. 6). He then uttered the following 'Uruuruwhenua' rite (a form of karakia) to enact his proclamation over the land and thank the gods for a safe passage to their new home;

Tihei uri uri
Tihei nako nako
Ka tū, ka tū te rangi e tū nei
Ka tau, ka tau te papa e takoto nei
Ka tau te mātuku mai i Rarotongo
Koia rukuhia manawa pou roto
Koia rukuhia manawa pou waho
Whakatina kia tina
Te more i Hawaiki, e pūpū ana hoki
E wawao ana hoki
Tarewa tū ki te rangi
Aue kia eke, eke Pānuku, eke Tangaroa
Whano, whano, haramai te toki
Haumi e, hui e taiki e…

From that day to the present time, Ngāi Tamarāwaho; a hapū of Ngāti Ranginui iwi whose eponymous ancestor was Ranginui, have called Tauranga Moana home.

4.2 Mataatua and Te Heke o Te Rangihouhiri

The above whakapapa illustrates a line of descent from Toroa, commander of the Mataatua waka, through to Romainohorangi and his two wives, Tuwairua and Paewhitu. From Romainohorangi's union to Tuwairua, comes Te Rangihouhiri, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāi Te Rangi iwi of Tauranga Moana.

Like Tākitimu, the Mataatua waka was also part of the 'Great Fleet' that migrated from Hawaiki to Aotearoa and made landfall at Whakatāne around 1350 AD (Mitchell, 1944, p. 46; Doherty, 2009, p. 50). Hauata Palmer, a prominent Ngāi Te Rangi kaumatua (cited in Ormsby-Teki, Timutimu, Palmer, Ellis & Johnston, 2011, p. 15) shares some key events in Ngāi Te Rangi history;

> Ngāi Te Rangi is an iwi of the Mataatua waka and its descendants can be traced from its earliest known ancestors such as Toi Te Huatahi and Toroa, captain of the Mataatua. After the settlement of the Mataatua occupants at Whakatāne, a whānau group lived at Tawhitirahi near Opotiki. Tawhitirahi was attacked and the group fled towards the East Coast. Two generations later, under the leadership of Te Rangihouhiri, they migrated toward the Bay of Plenty, staying briefly at Torere, Whakatāne, and Matatā. They also fought for territory at Maketu. Te Rangihouhiri was killed in the battle [at Maketu] and the iwi became known as Ngāti Rangihouhiri (later shortened to Ngāi Te Rangi) as a result of his death. In addition, his brother Tamapahore assumed the leadership of Ngāi Te Rangi. Accordingly, the hapū and whānau of Ngāi Te Rangi principally trace their descent from Te Rangihouhiri and his younger brother Tamapahore.

Reference to this nomadic journey from Te Tairāwhiti to Maketu then onto Tauranga Moana is referred to as 'Te Heke o Te Rangihouhiri' (Kay & Bassett, 1998, p. 203). While living at Maketu, Te Rangihouhiri had a prophetic vision and foresaw his own death at what history records as the Battle of Poporohuamea at Maketu. While returning from Whakatāne, where Te Rangihouhiri was gathering support from Ngāti Awa in his fight against Tapuika (Te Arawa), he received word that his son, Tutengaehe, had been killed in battle at Maketu. It was then that he famously exclaimed "Haere e tama mou tai ahiahi, moku tai awatea" (Go my son, on the evening tide; I will follow on the morning tide). Te Rangihouhiri's vison was indeed fulfilled when he was killed in battle the next day, thus following his son on the 'morning tide' as he had prophesised. Despite the loss of their leader, Ngāi Te Rangi still managed to retain Maketu, and following the marriage of Parewaiiti, daughter of Tamapahore, to the Tapuika

chief, Paruhi, peace was instilled into the region. But the peace did not last long and a bloodier battle was yet to come (ibid, p. 17).

A defining incident in Tauranga Moana history unfolded following a fishing expedition of Ngāti Ranginui men off the coast of Maketu. The group were caught in a fierce storm which overturned their canoe. All the men drowned, except for Taurawheke. He managed to swim ashore where he was found by a Ngāi Te Rangi woman gathering shellfish. She comforted Taurawheke before setting off to get help. Unwittingly, the woman informed her husband of her find, and being suspicious of who this man was, the husband proceeded to the beach, discovered Taurawheke and promptly killed him suspecting he was likely from Ngāti Ranginui (Stokes, 1980, p. 68).

The people of Ngāti Ranginui assumed all the men had perished in the storm and were none the wiser of Taurawheke's murder. The husband of the woman who found Taurawheke was cruel and often beat his wife. After one beating the woman threatened her husband that she would tell everybody how he had killed Taurawheke. Her threats were overheard by neighbours and word got out, and eventually found its way back to Ngāti Ranginui. Retribution by Ngāti Ranginui, and Waitaha (Te Awara allies) was swift. According to Stokes (1980, p. 68), a war party was despatched to Maketu where they encountered Tuwhiwhia and Tauaiti, a son and grandson of Te Rangihouhiri. They promptly killed Tuwhiwhia and placed his headless body in his canoe, then floated it down the Kaituna river knowing it would be found by his kin. Tauaiti was taken back to Tauranga where he suffered a slow and painful death. While being tortured, Tauaiti cried out to his captors "Aue, he aha rawa taku he kia penei he mate moku"? (Oh, what wrong have I done to deserve this?). From this remark, it is likely Tauaiti did not know about Taurawheke's murder and hence the reasons why utu was being inflicted upon him. As death was imminent Tauaiti announced to his captors "A kua nei te moana I hohonu, me hanga kia papaku I taku mokai ia Kotorerua" (This ocean, though deep, will be made shallow when my young brother Kotorerua hears of my plight) (Steedman, (n.d), p. 81).

On hearing of the murders of Tuwhiwhia and Tauaiti, many within Ngāi Te Rangi wanted retribution. A response was needed from their leaders, Tamapahore, brother of Te Rangihouhiri, and Kotorerua, a son of Te Rangihouhiri and brother to Tuwhiwhia. Tamapahore was reserved in his response because he knew the murder of his two nephews was in response to the killing of Taurawheke, so he was willing to let things lie. However, his nephew Kotorerua was not and took matters into his own hands. Kotorerua set about methodically

planning a revenge attack which would ultimately lead to the assault on Mauao (Mount Maunganui) and the Pā of Ngāti Ranginui chief Kinonui (Stokes, 1980, pp. 69-70).

4.3 The Battle of Kōkōwai

In planning his attack on Mauao, Kotorerua sought an 'oracle' with his brother-in-law, Putangimaru, a well-known tohunga of Ngāti Raukawa who resided at Matamata. On hearing about his intentions to avenge the two murders of his kin, Putangimaru first gave Kotorerua a few tasks to complete in order to test his suitability to carry out the attack and whether he was likely to succeed or not. Once confirmed that his intent was true, other special rituals and karakia were performed before the tohunga advised Kotorerua that Mauao could not be taken except through treachery (Riseborough, 1999, p. 12).

Putangimaru then instructed Kotorerua "Haere, haere e hoki, a kua nei a Mauao kei roto I o ringa ringa" (Go, go back, shortly Mauao will be in your hands) (Steedman, (n.d), p. 82). Stokes (1980, p. 70) describes the great pā of Mauao;

> This pa was a big one covering most of the mount [Maunganui]. Waitaha held the east side facing towards Maketu. Ngati Ranginui held the west side which faced Tauranga Moana. The pa was well fortified with terraces, banks and palisades. Except for the sand spit facing towards Maketu, Maunganui was surrounded by water. It would not be easy to take this pa. The only weak spot was where the fortifications crossed the top of the mount on the northern side. Here, it was thought, the rocky cliffs were so steep no one would be likely to attack by that route as the attackers would have to climb so high up the steep slopes. It would take a fair amount of luck and cunning to take this pa.

The attack on Mauao occurred on a dark and stormy night although Steedman (n.d, p. 82) states that the evening of the attack was brightly lit by moonlight. Hardly conducive to concealing a surprise attack one would think. Kotorerua and a group of men arrived outside the palisades of the pā bearing baskets of kōkōwai (red ochre) as a gift. Meanwhile at the base of Mauao a larger taua (war party) of Ngāi Te Rangi warriors were being readied by Taapuiti, an elder brother of Kotorerua and Tuwhiwhia. The taua split in two, with one group rendering all the Ngāti Ranginui canoe useless by bashing holes in their sides and cutting their lashings, while the other group climbed the north face of Mauao to join the Kotorerua's group who were being greeted by Kinonui.

There are varying accounts as to what happened next, although the end result is the same. One version is that on Kotorerua's arrival, formal acknowledgments were made through exchanges of whaikōrero. After the formalities the guests were welcomed into Kinonui's whare to partake of kai, which was customary. The gift baskets of red ochre were put to the side. This was fortunate for Kotorerua because if they had been inspected, it would have been discovered that there was only a top layer of red ochre with most of the basket filled with dirt, thus revealing their deceit and ulterior motives (Steedman, n.d, p. 82).

According to Steedman, (n.d, p. 83) Kinonui sensed that something was amiss with his visitors and had his suspicions from the time they arrived at the pā under cover of night, which was not normal protocol. The excuse they had was that they were delayed by the rain and forced to take shelter to protect the red ochre (ibid, p. 70). During and towards the end of the meal, Kotorerua's men found various reasons to excuse themselves from the whare, until there was just Kotorerua and a few of his men left. According to Steedman (n.d, p. 84), Kotorerua's next actions were swift and decisive;

> Kotorerua had positioned himself near the doorway in readiness for a hasty exit. Pretending to stoke the fire, which he had repeatedly done during the evening, he saw his opportunity to make a break when one of his companions entered the whare and gave the signal. He snatched a flaming stick from the fire and made a dash through the door which was quickly barred by those waiting for his exit. With the convenient flaming stick, he quickly set fire to the building [whare] which was soon a flaming inferno and all within were burned to death.

As Kinonui's whare was burning to the ground, Ngāi Te Rangi warriors attacked from all sides. Ngāti Ranginui and their Waitaha allies were left in disarray. Some of those fleeing made it to the base of Mauao only to find their canoes wrecked. Some tried to swim to safety but many drowned in their attempt to escape (ibid, pp. 83-4).

Kotorerua's sacking of Mauao had been fulfilled and from that time onwards, Ngāi Te Rangi had established their presence in Tauranga Moana. Although Kinonui and his pā had fallen, the people of Ngāti Ranginui were not totally vanquished, but relocated inland and populated other areas of Tauranga Moana. Three of Kinonui's sons lived to become prominent chiefs; Kinotaraia, Kinomoerua and Kinokokoti (Tata, M., 2006, p. 3). The eldest son, Kinotaraia, is an important tupuna in Ngāi Tamarāwaho history as Riseborough (1999, p. 7) explains;

> The hapu name is said to come from Kinotaraia, son of Kinonui, the great chief of Mauao and brother of Ranginui. After Kinonui was killed in the Battle of Kokowai,

> Kinotaraia was given the name ‘Tamara[a]waho’ (The Son of the Sea Breeze) when he moved inland and settled a distinct geographical area touched by the breeze that blows from Mauao to Puwhenua and Otanewainuku. The present descendants trace their mana from Takitimu, Tamateapokaiwhenua, and Ranginui, whose pa was on the western bank of the Wairoa river at Pukewhanake, through his grandson Te Kaponga, whose pa was Tutarawananga, at the mouth of the Waimapu river. In the direct line of descent from Te Kaponga stands Tahuriwakanui, whose pa, Ranginui a Tamatea, was at Poike. Tahuirwakanui married Taumata; their daughter, Waikohua, married Arona, who stands in the direct Kinonui line, and their son was Rauhea Koikoi. Kinotaraia (Tamara[a]waho) was chief of Otamataha pa. His son, Tuaurutapu, whose pa was Motuopae, and his son was Pareaoana, whose pa was Orangipani (Huria). Kinomoerua, son of Kinonui and brother of Kinotaraia, had his pa at Otumoetai. Thus Ngai Tamara[a]waho claim their mana whenua from the Kinonui line.

As the above explanation presents, Kinotaraia was also Tamarāwaho, from whom the hapū derive their name. There is another version that contends there was a man named Tamarāwaho of Te Arawa descent who married into Ngāti Ranginui. Apparently he was a good man of noble character, so much so, that the local people wished to take his name for their whanau collective (hapū). However, this version is less substantiated and without solid evidence or support.

4.4 Ko Tamateapōkaiwhenua Te Tupuna Whare

After the Second World War a decision was made by kaumātua to replace the tupuna whare (ancestral house) ‘Te Kaponga’ with a new house to be named Tamateapōkaiwhenua. It was a strategic move and deemed necessary by iwi leaders to reclaim and reassert the mana of Ngāti Ranginui in Tauranga Moana.

The main drivers behind the project were Maharaia Winiata and his cousin Te Hare Piahana. In 1956 Tamateapōkaiwhenua was opened with the ceremony attracting local dignitaries and numerous iwi from throughout the country including Ngāpuhi from the North, Ngāi Tahu from the South Island, and other iwi from the Waikato, Bay of Plenty and further afield.

To further mark the occasion it was decided by iwi gathered that a resolution be formalised to acknowledge Ngāti Ranginui and the raupatu they suffered. The resolution (cited in Riseborough, 1999, p. 123) reads;

> That on the occasion of the ceremonial opening of the Tamateapōkaiwhenua ancestral meeting house of the Ngāti Ranginui tribe of Tauranga, this representative gathering

> of the tribes contemplate with a deep sense of sorrow and regret the prolonged suffering of the Ngāti Ranginui tribe on the account of the confiscation of the 54000 acres of their valuable tribal lands, and urge upon the Government, the Parliament and the people of New Zealand, firstly, to set aside the Deed of Cession (or surrender) and/or Terms of Settlement of August, 1864 (See Parliamentary Paper 1928, G-7 page 18) – a settlement which all tribes consider was secured under duress and, secondly, to set up a competent tribunal to again inquire into and to re-examine the question of the confiscation and to grant such compensation as befits this case.
>
> (Mover; Pei Te Hurinui Seconder; Tame Reweti)

By the mid-1980s Tamateapōkaiwhenua was in a bad state and warranted the attention of building experts. It was discovered that rot had set in to parts of the wooden framework and there was other noticeable degradation in some areas. Consequently, a decision was made in 1986 that the whare would be 'laid to rest' and that a new Tamateapōkaiwhenua would be built.

After years of planning by a dedicated committee, and following a final weekend sleep-over in the whare, where whānau shared stories, tears and laughter, the new-building project commenced in June 2002. Paul Woller in his 2005 Master's thesis *'Nga Hahi o Ngai Tamarawaho'* presents a case study of the rebuilding of Tamateapōkaiwhenua (the second) which is a great reference (p. 129).

The rebuild and refurbishment of Tamateapōkaiwhenua took just under two years to complete. On 29 May 2004, in the presence of Te Arikinui Te Atairangikahu and her entourage, her two senior tohunga, Haki Thompson and Hone Haunui (ibid, p. 137) performed the '*tā i te kawa'* ritual to bless the new ancestral house, Tamateapōkaiwhenua. The ceremony and opening was a total success but one small incident did occur which is worth sharing. At the pre-dawn service when the people were congregating at the waharoa preparing to follow in behind the kuia and tohunga who were leading the rituals, myself and another member of the project team were still inside Tamatea turning the lights off. We decided to leave one side light on so that the whare would be dimly-lit to guide the people in. I was first to exit the whare out a back door and took my place at the front courtyard of the marae. But as I waited I could hear our kaumātua muttering under their breath that all the lights had to be turned off before the ceremony could proceed; the kuia from Waikato/Tainui would not begin their karanga until all the lights were off. In terms of tikanga, and unbeknownst to myself or my cohort, when conducting this ritual (tā i te kawa) the whare must be in a complete state of 'te po' (total

darkness) before the ritual to bring the whare into ‘te ao marama’ (the world of light) can begin (T. Tata, personal communication, December 15, 2015). I promptly ran back into the whare to alert my cohort to turn the light off. By the time we returned to the front of the whare, the karanga had already started and the ritual had begun. This minor over-site did not affect the overall ceremonial proceedings in any way and the day was a huge success, marking a significant milestone for the hapū.

I gained some powerful insights that day. I had witnessed the opening of our ancestral house, Tamateapōkaiwhenua; a once in a lifetime event that not everyone gets to experience. The last time this occurred was in 1956 with the opening of the first Tamateapōkaiwhenua. I had also observed two renowned tohunga go about their work, performing ancient karakia guided by tikanga and ceremonial etiquette handed down only to a select few. On reflection, the small over-site concerning the light was just that; a small over-site. The tikanga stipulating that all the lights in the whare be turned off was not raised or discussed by the project committee. But as stated, the day was a total success and the hapū, iwi and indeed, the whole of Tauranga Moana could stand proud.

Tamateapōkaiwhenua (Tuarua) Tupuna Whare, Huria Marae, Tauranga Moana.

The attendance of Te Arikinui Te Atairangikahu, the Māori Queen, and the tribes of Waikato/Tainui at the opening ceremony of Tamateapōkaiwhenua continues a legacy of allegiance and close kin-ship ties between Tauranga Moana iwi and Waikato/Tainui. This relationship has existed since 1853 when the offer of Kingship was put to Ngāi Te Rangi paramount chief, Hori Tupaea; who subsequently declined (Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana, Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004, p. 64).

The Ngāti Hauā fighting chief, Te Waharoa, was a frequent visitor to Tauranga. His people often traversed the Wairere Track from Waikato to Omokoroa and Te Puna to gather kai

moana. Links were also strengthened by an alliance between Ngāti Hauā and Ngāi Te Rangi against the Marutuahu tribes of Hauraki, and Te Arawa.

Tauranga iwi also supported Waikato at the Battle of Rangiriri in 1863. The relationship between the Kiingitanga and Ngāti Ranginui had its beginnings in the late 1880s through Te Mete Raukawa (Ngāti Hangarau hapū) and Potaua Tangitu (Pirirakau hapū) and their close involvement with Te Kauhanganui (Kiingitanga Parliament). In recognition of Te Mete Raukawa's contribution to the Kiingitanga, 'Te Paki o Matariki' (The Māori Kings Coat of Arms) sits atop the entrance to the ancestral meeting house Hangarau at Bethlehem, Tauranga. During the late 1940s Maharaia Winiata and Te Hare Piahana of Ngāi Tamarāwaho further strengthened this relationship, culminating in the first Poukai being held in Tauranga at Huria marae in 1958.

4.5 Kiingitanga and the Poukai

Any historical account of Ngāi Tamarāwaho would be incomplete without discussing their enduring relationship with the Kiingitanga and the establishment of the Poukai at Huria marae. This section provides a brief overview of important events and key people during the early years of the hapū's involvement with the Kiingitanga and the relationship today.

The birth of the Kiingitanga movement can be partially credited to a young Otaki chief named Matene Te Whiwhi, who in 1853 led a small delegation around the North Island promoting the idea of uniting the tribes under a Māori King. The delegation had in their possession a letter from Te Whiwhi's cousin, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, the son of renowned Ngāti Toa leader Te Rauparaha, who, following a trip to England where he had an audience with Queen Victoria, urged the tribes to select a King of their own (Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana, Waitangi Tribunal Report, 2004, p. 64).

The delegation led by Te Whiwhi visited a number of high-ranking chiefs from various iwi including; Turoa from Whanganui; Te Huehue of Ngāti Tūwharetoa; Te Amohau of Te Arawa; Te Hapuku from Hawke's Bay; Te Kani-a-Takirau of Ngāti Porou and Hori Tupaea of Ngāi Te Rangi. One by one, all of these men declined the kingship. Tupaea sent the proposal back to Te Huehue, and following a series of hui to discuss the matter further, a decision was reached at Pūkawa (Ngāti Tūwharetoa) in 1856 that Te Wherowhero of Waikato be recommended for the kingship, but he too declined the offer. It was at that point that Wiremu Tamihana (son of Te Waharoa) of Ngāti Hauā became involved and rallied hard to convince Te Wherowhero to re-consider the kingship. He eventually did, and on 2 May 1858 at Ngaruawahia, the first koroneihana (coronation) took place where he was duly anointed by Wiremu Tamihana as the

first Māori King, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero. From that time on Tamihana became known as the 'King maker' and the tradition of the koroneihana, where descendants of Te Wherowhero ascending the 'Māori throne' are anointed by descendants of Tamihana, continues to this day (ibid, pp. 64-65).

Tauranga Māori were actively involved in the decision to select Pōtatau Te Wherowhero. Fifteen local rangatira pledged their support in a letter dated 5 April 1859. Among the signatories to the letter were Te Moananui, Petarika Te Kanae, and Reweti Manotini who unequivocally declared "ki a Pōtatau, he tukunga atu tenei na matou i o matou whenua ki raro i tou kingi tanga" (To Pōtatau – we wish to place our land under your kingship). (Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana, 2004, p. 66).

The Kiingitanga was established as a Māori response to the effects of colonisation, in particular, the increasing alienation and confiscation of Māori land by Europeans. At the time, Governor Browne regarded the Kiingitanga, headed by the Māori King, as rivalling Queen Victoria's authority and therefore, was a threat to the Crown's sovereignty in Aotearoa. But for many iwi, the Kiingitanga offered a united front and an umbrella of protection to defend their rights of rangatiratanga (self-determination) and to safeguard their lands from further sale and pillage (ibid, p. 63).

Wiremu Tamihana viewed the Kiingitanga as "an extension of a system of Māori government, which he had successfully established at Peria [Te Taitokerau/Northland] to other tribes. It was perceived as a federal system, so that peaceful co-existence and the rule of law could prevail among the tribes" (Stokes, 2002, p. 185). Tamihana later explained to Governor Browne why he had set up the kingship;

> The reason why I set up Pōtatau [Te Wherowhero] as king for me was [that] he was a man of extended influence and one who was respected by the tribes of this island...I set him up to put down my troubles, to hold the land of the slave, and to judge the offences of the Chiefs...I do not desire to cast the Queen from this island, but from my piece [of land]. I am the person to overlook my piece [of land] (Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana, 2004, p. 65).

At a practical level the Kiingitanga provided iwi and hapū with a structure to help mediate issues arising from Europeans' attempts to acquire Māori land;

> In each village there was a runanga (council) assembly controlled by the leading kaumātua, under the supervision of a rangatira. The local and district runanga

> assembly were the main formal constitutions in the King Movement. However, each local and district runanga while being tied to the movement through common allegiance to the King, never the less maintained strict traditional independence characteristics of the sub-tribe. Each rangatira jealously guarded the rights of control over his own sub-tribe. The organisation was strongly decentralised, though meetings were called by the King at the central marae, where free expression of opinion was the order of the day…however, [it] is quite clear [the] necessity for European skills in negotiating with Europeans. Men possessing these skills were therefore given advisory and diplomatic duties with the [Kiingitanga] movement…and were regarded, and did so act, as advisors to the traditional leaders or at most, diplomatic mediators with the European (Te Mahuritanga o te Poukai, 2008, p. 9).

Peaceful mediation did not always work. While escorting a delegation home to Taranaki, a Ngāti Maniapoto taua (expeditionary force) decided to stay in Taranaki and assist their kin in fighting the British. This in turn led to support from the Kiingitanga which climaxed with the Battle of Puketakauere on 27 June 1860 (Belich, 1986, p. 89). Tauranga Moana iwi supported the Kiingitanga at the Battle of Rangiriri on 20-21 November 1863, and within a year, would be fighting the British on their own doorstep at Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) and then Te Ranga.

Today, Tauranga iwi continue to support the Kiingitanga through their attendance at Poukai held mainly throughout the Waikato. The Poukai, instigated by King Tāwhiao in 1884, are a series of gatherings throughout the year of Kiingitanga supporters held on specially selected marae. Attended by hundreds of people, including the reigning monarch and members of the Kāhui-Ariki (Māori royal whanau), the Poukai is an opportunity for Māori to gather to discuss and debate issues and topics of interest or concern. Political in nature, the Poukai is underpinned by three fundamental philosophies embedded by King Tāwhiao; to protect and care for ‘te pani, te pouaru me te rawakore’ (the bereaved, the widowed and the destitute) with the aim of providing those affected with a sense of hope, security and belonging (Te Mahuritanga o te Poukai, 2008, p. 6).

Maharaia Winiata, with the support of his cousin Te Hare Piahana, were instrumental in Ngāi Tamarāwaho holding their first Poukai in 1958 on Huria marae. The Souvenir Booklet ‘*Te Mahuritanga o te Poukai*’ contains this extract describing the Poukai;

> The Poukai is an institution of the King Movement. It is an occasion when the tribes gather to offer their loyal affection to the King. The central feature is the kai hākari [feast] – which in itself is an expression of generosity, friendliness and hospitality

> towards the less privileged – ideals basic to the King Movement. Here, in discussion on the history of the movement, its future, its significance today, the kaumātua crystallise their thinking. They build cohesion, which is essential if the Māori people are to be saved from deteriorating into a mere appendix of the Pakeha. Here they help to define their place as Māori in New Zealand society and here they become inwardly nourished and thus become better fitted to tackle the problems of contemporary living (p. 9).

In 2015 thirty marae in total hosted the Poukai. Most were located in the Waikato rohe (region) with the exception of four marae; Kokohinau in Te Teko (Ngāti Awa); Otaki (Ngāti Raukawa); Taheke in Rotorua (Ngāti Pikiao) and Huria marae.

Maharaia Winiata was born on 29 September 1912 at Ngāhina near Rūātoki amongst his Ngāti Tāwhaki relations. His father, Winiata Piahana, was a Ringatū minister, and together with his wife, Ruakāwhena Kohu, foresaw their son's potential and pledged that he would grow up to be a leader and servant of the Māori people. Maharaia spent his early years as a farm labourer and then trained to be a teacher before attending the Trinity Methodist Theology College where he gained a diploma in theology and began work as a Methodist minister. Later, after gaining a Master of Arts degree in education from Auckland University College, Maharaia taught at both primary and secondary school level (King, 1977, p. 271). He was then awarded a Nuffield Foundation Scholarship to study overseas, so undertook further post graduate studies at the University of Edinburgh in Britain, graduating in less than three years in 1952 with a Doctorate of Philosophy (PhD), the first Māori to earn this degree (Little cited in Winiata, 1967, p. 14).

Earlier in 1948 Maharaia had come to the attention of Waikato/Tainui matriarch Te Puea Herangi while working as a Methodist minister in Kawhia. Years earlier Maharaia had married Francis Clegg, who was one of Te Puea's favourites among the lay workers at Kawhia pā. Te Puea took to Maharaia with huge optimism and decided he would be a future repository of Waikato knowledge, so she sent him to Roore Edwards for traditional training in Tainui tradition and kawa. Winiata more than lived up to Te Puea's expectations and in turn, pledged his allegiance to her declaring "My heart is to help Waikato" (King, 1977, p. 271). Such was the relationship with Te Puea and King Koroki, where Maharaia was secretary of the King's council, that Maharaia was given the name 'Te Puea' for one of his daughters, while Koroki's daughter, Piki, later to become Te Arikinui Te Atairangikahu (the Māori Queen) named one of her sons after Maharaia. This enduring relationship was a decisive factor in Huria being awarded the Poukai.

Maharaia was also a staunch advocate for Ngāti Ranginui. He, along with other Ngāi Tamarāwaho leaders including George Hall, Nepia Kohu, Te Hare Piahana, and Ngatoko Rahipere, fought tirelessly for proper recognition of the tribe by the Crown. They viewed this lack of recognition as a blight on local history that stemmed mostly from the one-sided written accounts of early historians concerning tribal occupancy in Tauranga and the ignorance of the Crown. Riseborough (1999, p. 10) explains this further;

> Despite all the korero that link Ngati Ranginui and its hapu to the Tauranga area, popular history has long recorded the presence of only one tribe in the rohe: Ngai te Rangi. The best known, and one of the earliest accounts of the occupation of the Tauranga area was written in 1894 by John Alexander Wilson, and most later accounts are either based on or directly quoted from Wilson's version of the local history. In this century both Cowan and Belich have written major accounts of the wars of the 1860s. Neither as much as mentioned Ngati Ranginui, as though there were only one Tauranga tribe involved.

John Alexander Wilson was a Royal Calvary Volunteer and later became a sub-inspector on the Colonial Defence Force cavalry. In the 1870s he was an active prospector of Māori land and was later made a Judge of the Native Land Court and Commissioner of Tauranga Lands. Wilson was the author of *'Sketchers of Ancient Maori Life and History'* which was written almost exclusively from Ngāi Te Rangi sources. The Native Land Court never sat in Tauranga to properly investigate land titles, so Ngāti Ranginui had no opportunity to have their traditional history officially recorded (ibid, p. 11).

Rose (1997, p. 26) states that "the Native Land Court aimed at the individualisation of [Māori] land title as a means to facilitate the alienation of land for European settlement. The system aimed to break down tribal control over communal land". Ranginui Walker (1990, p. 136) supports this by stating "there was nothing Maori about the Native Land Court, since it was designed for Pakeha purposes of freeing up Maori land from collective ownership and making it available to individual settlers". Walker asserts that the aim of the Court, as defined by the Native Land Act 1862, was to transform Māori land under customary title into individual title so it could be 'assimilated into British law'. Walker goes on to state "...thus was the ideology of one person enunciated by Hobson, defined as assimilation and incorporated into statute…since land is the very basis of identity as tangata whenua, **this law was to have the most destructive and alienating effect on Maori people"** (ibid, pp. 135-6).

It could be argued that certain accounts of early Tauranga history suited Wilson more than others. Linda Smith (1999, p. 173) discusses the relationship between colonisation and research;

> The whole process of colonisation can be viewed as a stripping away of the mana (our standing in our own eyes) and an undermining of rangatiratanga (our ability and right to determine our destinies). Research is an important part of the colonization process because it is concerned with defining legitimate knowledge. In Māori communities today, there is a deep distrust and suspicion of research.

For Ngāti Ranginui this one-sided account of local history diminished their mana and undermined their tino-rangatiratanga as an iwi of Tauranga Moana. Their struggle for recognition would endure for many decades. In 1927 at the opening of a new railway line in Tauranga, Rauhea Paraone of Ngāi Tamarāwaho was the principal speaker and oversaw the Ngāti Ranginui haka *'I te ngaro, i te ngaro'* which was performed to the public. At the core of the haka are statements affirming the tribe's identity and mana-whenua (rights of occupation) and resilience (ibid, p. 109). The opening stanza reads;

> I te ngaro, i te ngaro Ranginui
>
> Ka kitea, ka kitea, ka kitea
>
> I te ngaro, I te ngaro Ranginui
>
> Ka kitea, ka kitea, ka kitea
>
> Ranginui e ngunguru nei
>
> Au, au, aue ha…
>
> Ahaha
>
> Ka tataki mai te whare o nga ture
>
> Ka whiria
>
> Aue, aue, aue!

Inaccurate written accounts of history concerning Māori were not uncommon but the resultant impacts can take generations to recover from if ever at all. Today, Ngāi Tamarāwaho remains the proud kaitiaki of the Poukai in Tauranga Moana. During the re-building of Tamateapōkaiwhenua from 2002-04, the three Poukai during this period were held on neighbouring Ngāti Ranginui marae; Tutereinga, Hangarau and Wairoa. The Poukai is also

supported locally by our whanaunga of Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Pukenga, and so Tauranga Moana continues a proud legacy of having supported the Kiingitanga since the time of its inception in 1858.

4.6 Faith and Religion

The arrival of Christianity through the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in the 1830s offered something new to the hapū who had lived their lives in accordance with Tikanga Māori and the divine guidance of Atua Māori.

Reverend Samuel Marsden visited Tauranga in 1820 but it was not until 1834 that a mission station was established at Te Papa (Tauranga city) by Reverend Alfred Nesbit Brown. In 1836 the station was briefly abandoned due to on-going fighting between Tauranga iwi and Te Arawa but re-opened again in 1838. Brown formed a close relationship with Ngāi Tamarāwaho rangatira Piripi Te Kaponga, who along with other members of the hapū, became followers of the Anglican faith.

However, over time and with the increasing onset of colonisation and Pākehā intrusion, the relationship with Brown began to waver. Meanwhile, the emergence of several powerful and influential Maori prophets would offer a response to Christianity and a new direction for members of the hapū.

The mid-1860s was a period of turmoil and change for the hapū. As Woller (2005, p. 19) states "at the time some of the hapū were seeking a spiritual compromise to help cope with the pain of losing their land through raupatu, while for others there was a diminishing faith in the old ways".

One response to the 'turmoil' came in the form of the 'Pai Mārire' faith led by founder and prophet Te Ua Haumene of Taranaki. Support for Pai Mārire in the late 19th century was enhanced through the hapū's relationship with the Kiingitanga, who were avid supporters of Haumene and his teachings.

The Ringatū faith led by Te Kooti Rikirangi of Rongowhakaata appealed to many Māori due to its conservative approach and adherence to tikanga Māori. Both Pai Mārire and Ringatū offered a political response to colonisation which continued to impinge on the everyday lives of Māori. Woller (2005, p. 96) presents that both religions were adaptations of pre-European traditions combined with Christianity. As such, new converts did not have to abandon their tikanga Māori or traditional ways at the expense of new Christian beliefs and values. This suited many converts, but it was another reason why the relationship with Reverend Brown had soured.

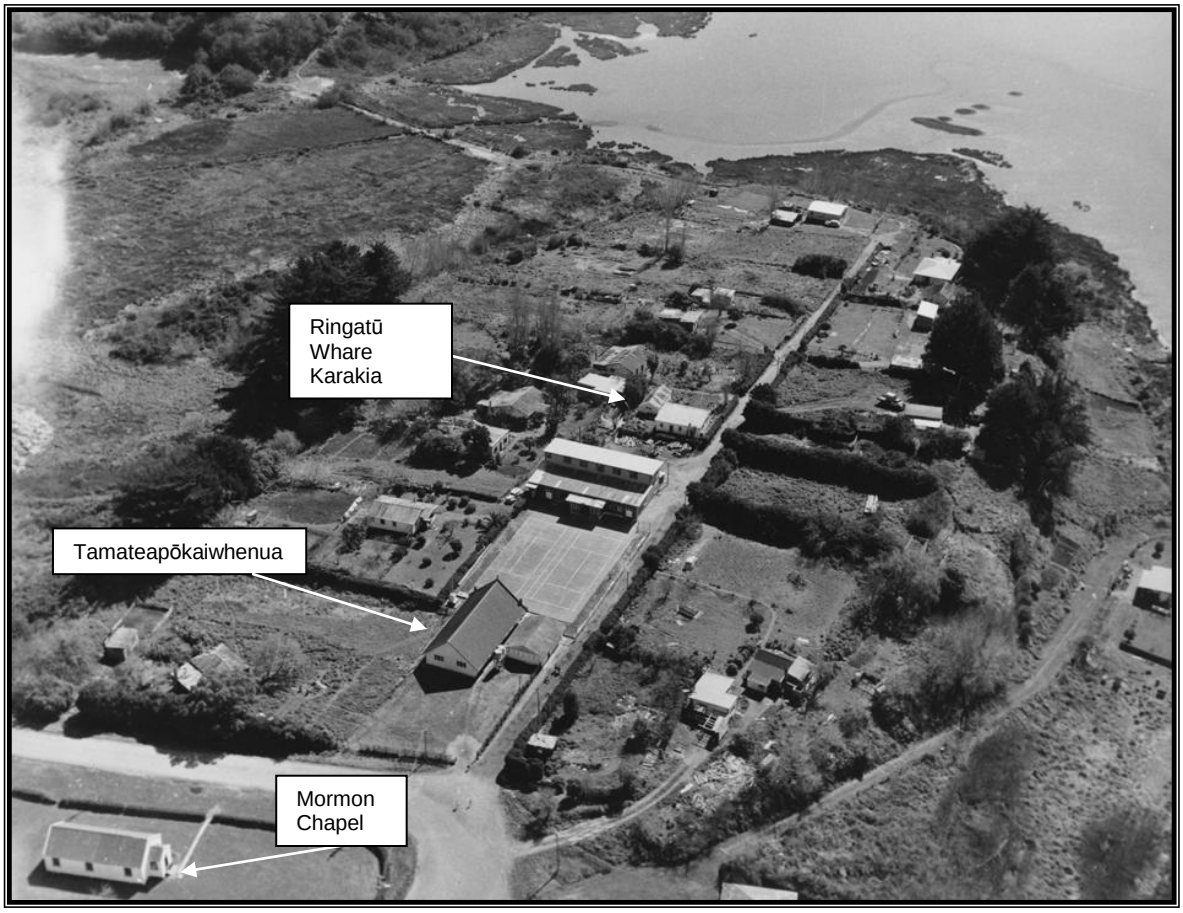
Brown often used the term "lapsed Natives" to describe Māori who had converted to Christianity only to return to their traditional beliefs and karakia when it suited them (ibid, p. 86). Brown also noted this often occurred during epidemics which were common among Māori communities in Tauranga at the time. He writes of one example in 1840;

> Buried two more children today. The deaths of infants during the prevailing epidemic has been very fearful, and Satan is trying to turn it to his advantage, the Heathen Natives endeavouring to persuade the Christians ones that these deaths are the consequence of [the] violation of Native Tapus [tapu] and Ritengas [ritenga] (ibid, p. 87).

Brown did himself no favours when he also warmed to British soldiers when they arrived in Tauranga, even hosting a group of officers for dinner on the evening before the Battle of Gate Pa on 29 April 1864 (ibid, pp. 84-5). Despite this, Brown's early influence amongst the hapū was significant, so much so, that one whānau still carry the 'Brown' name as their whanau name.

The arrival of the Mormon faith and later on, the Rātana faith, contributed to a new and changing hapū ethos. With the Mormon faith was the advent of western thinking and ideologies, while with Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana came the man who Te Kooti Rikirangi prophesised would lead the Māori people after his demise (ibid, p. 116).

The Mormon faith found strong support amongst whānau of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. The first Mormon missionaries arrived in New Zealand in 1854 (Newton, 2014, p. 1) but it was not until the mid-1880s that the missionaries arrived at Huria (Riseborough, 1999, p. 129). At the time the predominant religion within the hapū was Ringatū, which as mentioned, was conservative and aligned more with Māori tradition, compared to the Mormon faith which was more progressive and emphasised Western ideology and education. Interestingly, at one stage there was both a Ringatū whare karakia and a Mormon chapel located at Huria (as depicted below). The Ringatū Church was dismantled in the late 1960s, while the Mormon Chapel was abandoned soon after in favour of a newer and larger building across town (ibid, p. 130).



Huria Marae circa early 1960s. Sourced from the Tauranga Public Library.

The Mormon faith gained wide support at Huria during the early 1900s, especially from the descendants of Te Hikuwai, daughter of Paraone Koikoi, and matriarch of the Kohu whānau of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. During the 1920s the Mormon missionary Matthew Cowley, also called 'Matiu Kauri', quickly gained the admiration and respect of many whānau at Huria. This was not surprising as it was evident that Cowley was respectful of Māori and their culture. As a mark of the hapū's admiration, he was taught the Māori language by the whānau of Te Hikuwai, specifically by her son Karora and his wife Ngawaikaukau (my great-great grandparents).

According to Woller (2005, p. 107-8) it was a goal of the missionaries to learn the Māori language so they could then teach Mormon theology to Māori in their own homes and in their own language. The strategy worked and was further reason why the Mormon Church, and in particular Cowley, was successful in gaining support at Huria. Cowley was reputed to tell whānau "that they would never become great by trying to become Pakeha, but only by becoming good, honourable Maoris" (ibid, p. 108).

Later on, at the request of kaumātua, Cowley would deliver a special sermon to the departing Second World War soldiers, the details of which will be shared in the next chapter.

Photo taken at Huria circa 1920s (L-R); Ngawhetu Kopa, Matthew Cowley, Te Hikuwai (with Roy Matthews), Kate Elizabeth Hall, Te Auetu holding Francis Matthews, David Hall holding Clifferd Matthews, Elder Decker. Source: Tamati Tata

The political aspirations of the Rātana Church, who aligned themselves with the Labour Party, appealed to many Māori in Tauranga Moana. However, unlike the Mormon Church, the uptake of Rātana within Ngāi Tamarāwaho was not to the same extent. Three prominent leaders however, did convert to Rātana; Nepia Kohu, Ngatoko Rahipere and Winiata Piahana. There were several reasons to suggest why they converted; as devout Ringatū followers they believed Tahupōtiki Rātana was the new leader that Te Kooti prophesised would succeed to his leadership. They also believed Rātana to be a strong advocate for Māori rights and that through The Treaty of Waitangi, he would bring about the desired changes that Māori wanted. In addition to this, Rātana's renowned healing powers had been witnessed first-hand by members of the hapū. Rātana also viewed Pākehā systems (political and social) as tools that Māori could

utilise to help achieve equity with Pākehā (ibid, pp. 112-15). Maharaia Winiata writes about the hapū's political relationship with Rātana;

> The alliance between the Ratana and the Labour Party means that it stands in the Huria community for an economic programme which is derived from the Labour political platform. The protest tendencies in Huria...tended to be focused within the framework of the Ratana Church (cited in Woller, 2005, p. 113).

Nepia, Ngatoko and Winiata all came from grass roots. They were all staunch marae men who had been involved in decades of protesting and petitioning the government around raupatu. They viewed Tahupōtiki Rātana with enthusiasm and a renewed hope that he might finally deliver on the injustices the hapū had suffered for so long. Their desire for mana-motuhake and prosperity for their people was at the forefront of their thinking. Love (cited in Woller, 2005, p. 111) states **"**...much Maori activity occurs within the formal political arena...but the most significant political action (the Ratana movement for example) occurs substantially at the grass roots level".

Today the three main religions within Ngāi Tamarāwaho remain the Mormon and Rātana faiths, and to a lesser extent, Ringatū. Members of the Mormon Church form the majority with a substantial drop to Rātana and then to Ringatū. At various times in hapū history there have been tensions between the different denominations. This was not surprising considering their different ideologies. To complicate matters, there was also whānau and individual rivalry which could often exacerbate the situation. An example of this occurred during the 1920s when Te Ranui, a staunch Ringatū follower, decided to re-locate his whānau away from Huria because of the increasing influence of other religious groups. He felt he could not remain true to the teachings of Te Kooti if he remained at Huria. Ringatū were known for their negative views of things Pākehā and their rejection of government agencies and institutions (Woller, 2005, p. 101). Based on this, it was likely that Te Ranui's contempt was directed mainly at the Mormon Church and their Western ideals.

Irrespective of these differences, faith and religion remained an important and uniting facet of Ngai Tamarāwaho-tanga. Although the hurt of the raupatu and mistreatment at the hands of the Crown affected many, faith provided whānau with a foundation from which their spirituality could be expressed and nurtured. In the words of kaumātua Dave Matthews (cited in Woller, 2005, p. 2) "faith played a prominent part in Ngai Tamarāwaho's struggle...we based our hopes on faith – that was one of the motivating factors in keeping our grievance [raupatu] alive".

4.7 A Legacy of Activism and Protest

Activism and protests have featured prominently throughout the history of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. In October 1862 the Ngāi Tamarāwaho chief, Paraone Koikoi, attended an inter-tribal hui at Matamata organised by Wiremu Tamihana of Ngāti Hauā. The hui was to discuss concerns at the build-up of British forces near the northern borders of the Waikato. It was decided that an aukati (boundary line) would be enforced as a deterrent (Riseborough, 1999, p. 43). However, on 12 July 1863 the British forces commanded by Lieutenant-General Duncan Cameron crossed into Waikato at the Mangatāwhiri stream which marked the aukati boundary between Kiingitanga lands and the government-controlled area to the north. British forces took up position below the Koheroa Ridge and began scouting the area for 'hostile' Māori. On 17 July British forces attacked a war party on the ridge, firing at them before engaging the group with bayonets, causing most to retreat. Thirty Māori, including the Waikato chief Te Huirama, were killed during the engagement (Keenan, 2013, p. 5). This was the beginning of the Waikato wars and wide-spread raupatu.

Raupatu has occupied the collective thoughts of Ngāi Tamarāwaho since 1864. Since then the hapū has continued its fight for justice and proper recognition with successive governments and ministers only to be ignored. This incensed hapū leaders but instilled in them an even greater sense of resolve that one day the hapū's loss would be recognised and that justice would prevail. However, justice would not come easily and even after the signing of the Deed of Settlement in June 2012 between Ngāti Ranginui and the Crown, which included an official apology and redress, there were still some within Ngāi Tamarāwaho who felt the injustices suffered were not fully resolved. To understand the depth of this feeling and why some felt compelled to fight on, a closer inspection of the hapū's raupatu history is required.

The Raupatu in Tauranga was a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi. According to Riseborough (1994) the Crown justified its actions by declaring that all the local tribes were in 'rebellion' and therefore in breach of the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863. For decades Ngāi Tamarāwaho leaders strongly resented being labelled 'rebels'. In 1927, while giving evidence to the Sim Commission, Nepia Kohu stated that about twenty-five members of his hapū had remained 'loyal', that is, they had not gone to Waikato to take part in the war there, even though some of them did fight at Gate Pa and Te Ranga. Kohu strongly objected to being labelled 'rebels' when they had simply taken up arms against an invasion of their own lands (ibid, p. 114).

Fundamentally, the Crown also failed to distinguish between Ngāti Ranginui, of which Ngāi Tamarāwaho is a hapū of, and Ngāi Te Rangi. The Crown considered sections of Ngāti Ranginui to be "Ngaiterangi really" which included the Pirirākau people and Ngāi Tamarāwaho, and that most of the other hapū in Tauranga were "Ngaiterangi tuturu" whom the Crown considered to be 'friendly'. The Crown had formed good relationships with various Ngāi Te Rangi chiefs including Tomika Te Mutu, Wi Patene and Hamuera Te Paki (Riseborough, 1999, p. 41). As a consequence, the Crown ignored all claims or grievances from the group they believed were "Ngaiterangi really" putting it down to infighting or "family feuds" when in actual fact they were tribal feuds exacerbated by the ignorance of the Crown (Riseborough, 1994, p. ii).

In a letter to Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage on 17 August 1937, George Hall of Ngāi Tamarāwaho wrote;

> My tribe [Ngāti Ranginui] claims that much of the land confiscated under the name of Ngaiterangi did not at the time of the confiscation belong to Ngaiterangi; but that much or a great part of the land confiscated under the name of Ngaiterangi belonged to Ngati Ranginui. We ask therefore that you take note of this request when preparing the Order of Reference for the tribunal to be set up…and so make it possible for our people to be heard as Ngati Ranginui, as distinct from, and not under the domination of Ngaiterangi. By so doing you will be meteing [?] out Justice at the eleventh hour (cited in Riseborough, 1999, p. 113).

The fact that the Crown confiscated land from 'Ngaiterangi really' (Ngāti Ranginui) but then compensate 'Ngaiterangi tūturu' (Ngāi Te Rangi) was insulting and unpalatable to Ngāti Ranginui. Nevertheless, there were no avenues to argue their point. All Native land titles were extinguished, while any disagreements were simply ignored. Any issues that remained unresolved were quickly 'solved' by the threat of force (by the Crown). The land grievances of both Ngāi Tamarāwaho and Pirirākau were never addressed by the Crown and instead, the Crown set about trying to wipe them from history (ibid, p. iv).

For Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāi Tamarāwaho the reality of the raupatu was signalled on 6 August 1864, only months after the battles of Gate Pa and Te Ranga, when Governor Grey addressed the Ngāi Te Rangi in Tauranga. At the Crown's insistence, the Ngāi Tamarāwaho chief, Paraone Koikoi, was also present at the gathering to witness what was about to unfold. A military escort ensured he attended. During Grey's speech he announced;

> At present I am not acquainted with the boundaries or extent of your land, or with the claims of any individuals or tribes…but as it is right in some manner to mark our sense of the honourable manner in which you conducted hostilities, neither robbing nor murdering, but respecting the wounded…as soon as your future localities have been decided, [you will be able to] seed potatoes and the means of settling on your land will be given to you. I now speak to you, the **friendly Natives**. I thank you warmly for your good conduct under circumstances of great difficulty. I will consider in what manner you shall be rewarded for your fidelity. In the meantime, in any arrangement which may be made about the lands of your tribe, your right will be scrupulously respected (cited in Riseborough, 1999, p. 62)

Grey's reference to the "friendly Natives" was not intended for Ngāti Ranginui or Ngāi Tamarāwaho because they were 'rebels'. It was at that moment, according to Riseborough, that the raupatu took effect for Ngāi Tamarāwaho; **when their ties to their ancestral lands were severed.** Riseborough continues "from that moment on their fate was sealed; they were dispossessed, disinherited, practically landless, and that unless, and until the raupatu is unravelled and dismantled, they [Ngāi Tamarāwaho] and their children, and their children's children will continue to suffer as every generation has suffered since that time [6 August 1864]" (ibid, p. 62).

This unimaginable position that the hapū now found themselves in was the catalyst and beginning of more than a century of protests and petitioning the government. During the 1870s parliament was flooded with petitions from iwi, hapū and individuals from across the country, so much so, that a Native Affairs Committee was set up in 1872 to deal with them. Ngāi Tamarāwaho's first petition to parliament was in 1866 in the form of a 'request' to Premier Frederick Whitaker for the return of ancestral lands. The hapū sent their first written petition in 1877 submitted by Kohu Wi Paraone and four others, again asking for the return of ancestral lands. In 1884, Rauhea Paraone and thirteen others petitioned for the return of an area known as 'Orangipani' which included a sacred burial site. This was declined by the Native Affairs Committee who simply stated they had 'insufficient time' to consider the petition. From 1873 to 1889 there were forty raupatu related petitions submitted by Tauranga hapū or individuals. The Committee's response to the vast majority was simply 'no recommendation' while most of the other petitions received the all too familiar excuse that there was 'insufficient time' to consider them (Riseborough, 1999, pp. 106-7).

From 1889 to 1935 there were a further seventeen petitions sent to parliament by Tauranga Moana claimants, almost half were from Ngāi Tamarāwaho (O'Malley cited in Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana, 2004, p. 368). In 1907 Rauhea Paraone petitioned for the title to an area known as 'Te Reti' where some whānau had already relocated to and settled (Riseborough, 1999, p. 107). Today the area is still lived on by whānau and carries the nickname 'The Lent' because at the time whānau could not believe it was given to them to settle on, instead thinking it was only 'lent' to them.

On 24 September 1911, Nepia Kohu, Tauawhi Rahipere and others, wrote to Sir James Carroll protesting about a proposal to build a railway line right through their village of Huria. Surprisingly, their protest was heard and the railway line was thankfully diverted. However, the issue did not go away entirely and was merely shifted to the whenua of a neighbouring hapū, Ngāti Hangarau, in close proximity to their marae. Today it is the main connecting trunk line between Tauranga, Hamilton and Auckland.

In 1920 George Hall and nine others from the hapū petitioned for a grant of land. Then in 1923 Nepia Kohu and 628 others petitioned for "relief from oppression caused by erroneous inclusion of their lands" in Tauranga Moana (Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana, 2004, p. 368). Both petitions were referred to the Sim Commission. In 1927 Hall followed up his earlier petition of 1920 with a letter to J.G. Coates, Minister of Native Affairs. Hall wrote that although his people had "some grievances in connection with the Raupatus" they did not seek compensation in relation to this petition or "to satisfy any craving for vengeance against the government". However, because they were left landless, all they wanted was the "residue" from a specific land block that was once theirs, so that "their children might live thereon and prosper" (Riseborough, 1999, p. 111). In response the Commission felt they could not make a recommendation because the petition raised "a general question of policy – namely, whether or not the government should undertake to provide land for Natives who were landless". Therefore, they deemed it was outside of their scope of enquiry (ibid, p. 113).

During 1930-40s some hapū leaders travelled to Wellington to present their petitions in person. As resources were limited, most of the money to fund the trips was donated by whānau who worked on local farms pulling gorse, digging drains and picking maize. By the 1950s George Hall was still fighting for justice and on one occasion, confronted Prime Minister Walter Nash when meeting him unexpectedly in the streets of Hamilton.

Hall is fondly remembered by the hapū as being tenacious, unrelenting and stubborn when it came to matters concerning raupatu. There were those in parliament who simply wished he

would go away but he persisted, and it was because of his unrelenting nature that some government officials referred to him as "The Abominable George Hall" (M. Tata, personal communication, January 21, 2016).

Activism through resistance has always been character trait of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. This was again evident during the 1970-80s when the hapū went against the direction and recommendations of the Tauranga Moana Trust Board, resulting in the resignation of the hapū's three Board representatives in June 1987. The Trust Board was established in 1981 to represent all Tauranga iwi and hapū in a 'pan-tribal' response to renewed efforts to settle the Tauranga Moana raupatu claims. The impetus for this renewed focus was initiated in 1975 with Prime Minister Norman Kirk, and following his death, with his successor Bill Rowling. However, it soon became apparent to the three Ngāi Tamarāwaho Board members; Alfred Tarawa, Alex Tata and Anaru Kohu, that the hapū's grievances would be greatly diminished if put forward as part of an overall 'pan-tribal' claim, and therefore, it would not be a true reflection of the loss the hapū had suffered. The fact that the Trust Board had engaged an historian who based most of her report findings on existing written material concerning the raupatu in Tauranga Moana was also cause for alarm. For Ngāi Tamarāwaho, it felt like '1864' all over again; it was they who had suffered the most from the Tauranga land confiscations (Riseborough, 1999, p. 131-2).

An offer from the Crown on 29 May 1980 in compensation for 86,600 hectares of Tauranga land was presented to the Trust Board. The offer was in two parts; firstly, an assurance that the designation of 'rebel' would be removed from those who fought at Gate Pa and Te Ranga; and secondly, a payment of **$250,000.00 as "full and final settlement"** (ibid, p. 134). The settlement offer was pitiful and vehemently opposed by Ngāi Tamarāwaho, however, it was accepted by the Trust Board. At the same time they were opposing the Trust Board, the hapū was also battling the Tauranga City Council over plans to demolish the local Town Hall and re-develop the site into a cultural and commercial complex. The land the Hall was built on was ancestral land, Te Papa, and was subject to a claim already lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal. However, no date for the Tribunal hearing had been set, and despite numerous meetings and failed negotiations between the concerned parties, efforts to delay the demolition of the Hall fell on deaf ears.

The hapū decided to take direct action and on 14 September 1987 a group of twenty protesters led by kaumātua, declared 'mana-whenua' rights by erecting a Pou-whenua (boundary marker) on site. The hapū flag was raised and the group took possession of the area by occupation.

Hapū leaders pleaded with the Mayor of Tauranga to wait for the outcome of the Waitangi Tribunal hearing before proceeding with the proposed demolition. The Council called an emergency in-house meeting that day to discuss the issue, but decided to proceed anyway.

In the days leading up to the occupation the hapū had lodged an urgent appeal seeking a Court injunction to stop the demolition, which was heard soon after at the Hamilton High Court before Justice Gallen. Hapū representatives were present along with Tauranga City Council's legal representatives. The outcome of the hearing brought more time by ordering the Council not to proceed with the demolition. This gave the hapū a chance to explore all other avenues to support their cause (Riseborough, 1999, pp. 138-44).

However, the decision by the Tauranga Moana Trust Board to accept the Crown's $250,000.00 as "full and final settlement" effectively extinguished the right of Ngāi Tamarāwaho to claim the land on which the Town Hall was built on because "the deal had already been done". Hence, the hapū felt they had no choice but to continue to occupy. At first the occupation started off peacefully but by the end of the second day (15 July 1987) a confrontation looked likely. The rift was widening between the hapū and the Council, which finally resulted in the police ordering the occupiers to vacate the premises by 9.30am the following morning (16 July 1987) or they would be arrested. When morning came, the police, who were kitted out in riot gear, were met with peaceful resistance from the protesters who were singing waiata as they were being escorted away. Twenty three people were arrested for trespassing including kaumātua, men and women, and a school boy. Within hours of their removal from the site, the demolition crew had moved in (ibid, p. 144).

In October 1998, with the Town Hall saga still fresh in their minds, frustrations again boiled over for a small group of rangatahi from Huria who unbeknownst to their kaumātua, decided to occupy the partially completed $8.3 million Tauranga Civic Centre. The protesters believed new information had come to light concerning the Town Hall occupation a year ago and they wanted a re-trial for those convicted. While the authorities were considering their request, the protesters had barricaded themselves into the Centre using books from the library and other materials. The Tauranga City Council acted quickly and asked the police to remove them. As police forced their way in, several scuffles erupted and a fire broke out and one protester received second degree burns to 67% of his body (Riseborough, 1999, pp. 146-7). The actions of the group were not endorsed by their kaumātua, and the incident did nothing to mend the already volatile relationship between the hapū and Tauranga City Council. Nonetheless, Ngāi

Tamarāwaho was more interested in expressing their rights of tino-rangatiratanga instead of holding the City Council's hand.

4.8 The Scourge of Raupatu

The socio-economic effects of the raupatu are clearly illustrated in the reports of school inspectors and teachers who arrived at Huria in the 1880s. The loss of land had a high toll on the hapū's well-being and overall health. During the 1880s there were high mortality rates due to wide spread diseases such as influenza, measles and whooping cough, as well as falling birth rates. The government's decision in 1890 to cease subsidies for a local doctor to service Māori communities effectively cut access to medical treatment which was desperately needed at the time (Rose, 1997, p. 56).

The Huria Native School opened in 1883 but was plagued from the outset by low attendance due to the ill-health of the children. In her correspondence to the Education Department, teacher Mary Stewart, who also filled the roles of nurse, counsellor, and welfare officer writes;

> [The Huria Native children] are most wretchedly clad. Their poor rags do not serve for purposes of decency – much less for warmth. It goes to one's heart to see the children shivering on cold mornings, and to hear them crying "too cold, too cold". I have to allow them to warm their chilled bodies at the school fire before they can do any work. Under the circumstances, I venture to ask for a little help to enable me to buy some clothes. **The poverty of the Huria Natives is exceptional**

Gum digging provided whānau of Huria with a crucial source of income. The hapū had its own gum field at Akeake on the outskirts of Tauranga but it only produced low volumes of gum, so any work there was short term. There were larger gum fields in Katikati, Thames and the Coromandel area but this meant either relocating the entire whānau there or the men only would go and work, leaving their vulnerable families at home to fend for themselves. In 1885 it was reported that nearly a quarter of Tauranga Māori had gone to Tairua in the Coromandel to dig gum (Rose, 1997, p. 99).

There were few opportunities for local employment, apart from labouring on Pākehā owned farms or roading work if it was available. At the time there was also an attitude amongst Pākehā settlers who believed Māori actually favoured labouring on their farms and collecting wages, rather than toiling their own land. This was true for Ngāi Tamarāwaho but only to the extent that they had been stripped of their land, and any land they did retain was either too meagre in size or too poor a quality to grow anything substantial. Other Pākehā were of the

mindset that only chiefs should be 'landed gentry' and that all other Māori should be waged labourers (Watson & Paterson cited in Riseborough, 1999, p. 98).

In 1891 Ngāi Tamarāwaho asked the government whether two small parcels of 'Crown Land' near Huria, which once belonged to them, could be returned so they could grow food to feed their whānau. It would also improve the chances of their children attending school more regularly instead of staying at home hungry and sick. However, the hapū's request was declined as the land had already been promised to the 'Agricultural and Pastoral Society' (Rose, 1997, p. 37).

This rejection by the Crown was hard to fathom given the dire report written by James H. Pope, Inspector of Native Schools (1880-1904) which painted a very bleak picture of whānau living at Huria. In his report he states;

> Huria was a kind of town station for a considerable number of Maoris who have interests further inland. The land that they possess at Huria is little in quantity and poor in quality – quite worked out in fact. These Natives lead a miserable existence partly at Huria, endeavouring to get some return from their ungrateful glebe, or working precariously for neighbouring Europeans; and when this fails, retiring inland and working in the bush or wearing out their constitutions on the gums fields (cited in Riseborough, 1999, p. 100).

The school's temporary closure in 1893 due to ongoing attendance issues was no surprise considering the poor health and living conditions for children had not improved. Attendance was also effected by out of town seasonal work which continued to draw whole families away from Huria. In his recommendation of August 1893, Pope writes;

> At the beginning of May, 18 of the pupils left school to help their parent's work in the maize fields at Te Puke. In June measles came; the disease was very fatal, five deaths of infants resulting. By 24th July three-fourths of the school had left the settlement along with their parents, and by the 9th of August the settlement was almost entirely forsaken. On 14th August there was not a single pupil in attendance. The rain, the measles epidemic, and the need for going far away to get food have been temporarily fatal to the school (cited in Rose, 1997, p. 58).

In 1894 the school reopened on a part-time basis but the issues that had plagued it from the beginning had not gone away. In early 1895 the teacher reported that all but three of the children were ill with influenza and typhoid fever. One child died while the other two remained

gravely ill. Four adults had also died in the past three weeks. The school remained open for a further five years until it was closed in June 1900. Ngāi Tamarāwaho enquired to the Education Department if they would consider one of their own, George Hall, to continue as their teacher. He was suitably qualified, had attended European schools, and was a respected leader in the community. But as the hapū had come to expect, their request was denied (Riseborough, 1999, p. 102).

By 1917 there was still no water supply into Huria. A proposal was considered by the Tauranga County Council but did not proceed due to the projected cost of 300 pounds and fears the Council would have problems collecting water rates. In the mid-1920s, with financial backing from the Tauranga Māori Council, a bore was drilled at Huria but the water was later found to be contaminated. At the time, there were still no roads or other communal amenities at Huria (Riseborough, 1999, p. 105).

With the opening of the Huria Native School in 1883 came the arrival of the English language. However, disease and almost famine type conditions took a heavy toll on families living at Huria. In fact, by the end of the nineteenth century the outlook for Māori in general was bleak. Disease was wide spread and living conditions were abysmal. Some 'experts' even predicted the Māori race was in demise (cited in Gardiner, 1995, p. 13). The notion of this was utterly dismissed by Ngata and other prominent Māori politicians who were resolute that Māori would not only survive but would flourish. Māori involvement in both world wars was symbolic of Ngata's intentions in addressing the social and political injustices Māori were suffering at the time, such as the impacts of the raupatu. For Ngāi Tamarāwaho, it was raupatu that fuelled their discontent and ill-feeling towards the Crown over many generations.

During the 1920-40s whānau at Huria were still suffering from poor health and lacked basic community amenities like water and roads. It was also the period of the hapū's last generation of Native Māori speakers. During the 1950-70s the demise of Te Reo Māori within the hapū would have huge ramifications for future generations. The 1980-90s saw a revitalisation within the hapū in cultural awareness and hapū development. Examples of this include the establishment of Huria Management Trust which incorporated a Health Clinic and Private Training Establishment (Woller, 2015, p. 73). Nationally, there was a resurgence among Māori with the advent of the Kōhanga Reo Movement and the focus on Kaupapa Māori led by Māori scholars such as Hirini Moko Mead and Graham and Linda Smith.

Today the journey of revitalisation continues for Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Although the Crown Settlement in 2012 has assisted the hapū in various ways, it will never take away the pain and

hardship suffered as a result of the raupatu. Koro Morehu Ngatoko- Rahipere shared with me how he would often hear his mother crying at night. When he asked her why she often cried, she replied "Ko riro ā mātou whenua ki te Pākehā" (The Pākehā have taken all our land) (M. Ngatoko-Rahipere, personal communication, May 19, 2013).

This chapter provided a brief historical account of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. It began by presenting the hapū's unique identity as expressed through pepeha, which led to the history and origins of the sacred waka Tākitimu and whakapapa of Ngāti Ranginui, whom Ngāi Tamarāwaho is a sub-tribe of. The arrival of Ngāi Te Rangi of the waka Mataatua into Tauranga Moana was examined, including their conflict with Ngāti Ranginui which led to the Battle of Kōkōwai on Mauao.

The history of the tupuna whare Tamateapōkaiwhenua was discussed, as well as the history of the Kiingitanga movement and its connections to Tauranga Moana iwi and Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Prominent local leaders including, Maharaia Winiata, Te Hare Piahana, Te Mete Raukawa and Pōtaua Tangitu were instrumental in instigating and nurturing this relationship, which remains strong to this day through the annual Poukai hosted at Huria and other marae in Tauranga.

Religion had a strong influence at Huria and was critical in sustaining the hopes and well-being of the people. The arrival of the Church Mission Service in the 1830s brought a new faith that would win over converts. The arrival of the Mormon faith also won favour with some whānau while others remained true to the ideals of the more traditional Māori orientated religions such as the Rātana and Ringatū faiths. However, for many whānau at Huria; religion, faith and spirituality were all interwoven into one to sustain their way of life.

As highlighted in this chapter, activism and resistance have always been part of the Ngāi Tamarāwaho ethos. Decades of protesting and petitioning successive governments helped hardened the hapū's resolve. During the 1900s leaders such as Nepia Kohu, Ngatoko Rahipere and George Hall were at the forefront of the fight for hapū rights and gained a reputation for their hard-nosed approach. The fight has spanned three centuries and the root of the issue has always been raupatu.

An examination of the hapū's historical background has been vital to help contextualise the environment these men were born in to. Importantly, it places them within a specific cultural context, which at its centre, is best described as their '*Ngāi Tamarāwaho-tanga*'. Intrinsic to this are the lived experiences of these men within a system of hapū tradition, pedagogy, knowledge, and being. As the title of this thesis, '*Ngāi Tamarāwaho of the 28 (Māori)*

Battalion' indicates, first and foremost, these men were 'Ngāi Tamarāwaho' but for a brief period they also belonged to a special group of men that was the 28 (Māori) Battalion. Their experiences overseas at the war would change their lives forever and from that time onwards, the Battalion became a part of them, and they became a part of the Battalion.

Chapter Five – Ngā Hōia o Ngāi Tamarāwaho

5.0 Introduction

This chapter identifies ngā hōia (the soldiers) of Ngāi Tamarāwaho who served in 28 (Māori) Battalion and brings to light some of their stories. This, together with the research questions examined in the final chapter, are the primary focus of this thesis. As explained earlier, this research has evolved to encompass the Anzac Day commemorations at Huria marae in 2015, and widened to include all the men of Ngāi Tamarāwaho who served in the Second World War. I have therefore included the photographs and service records of all these men, or at least the records that I was able to obtain.

Identifying these men and locating their respective whānau was not as straight forward as I thought it would be. Although the majority of whānau still resided in Tauranga, some had moved out of the area including to Australia. For some whānau, finding the appropriate person to talk to proved difficult for various reasons. In some cases the person who had some knowledge; a son, daughter or grandchild did not reside in Tauranga and could not be contacted easily or not at all. In other cases, whānau I spoke to often knew very little about their father or grandfather's military service. This was common amongst many whānau I spoke with. Other issues that arose during the research included men who had enlisted under an alias in order to conceal their actual age, and men whose genealogical connections to Ngāi Tamarāwaho was not obvious and which required a closer examination of the whakapapa and the guidance of kaumātua.

The issue of men enlisting in the Battalion under alternate names was common practice (Gardiner, 1992; Soutar, 2008). According to Gardiner (p. 27) many men reverted back to their ancestral family names when enlisting in order to evade officials because they were too young or even too old in some cases. Preference was given to single men aged between 21 and 35years who were not working in 'essential industry' such as power generation, shipping, timber and the freezing works. Married men with children were also excused from military service (Soutar, 2008, p. 35). From the findings, several men from the hapū used alternate names or variations of their actual name to enlist, the details of which will be shared later in the chapter. Although every endeavour has been made to identify all our men who served in the Second World War, the extent that many went to in order to evade officials could still conceal their identity to would-be researchers such as the writer. In this chapter we shed light on a group of men and re-tell some of their stories.

Stories that need to be shared, celebrated and acknowledged by those of us today, whom it could be said, enjoy the lives we have today because of the sacrifices these men made decades ago.

5.1 Kāhui-Kaumātua and Anzac Day 2015

'Kāhui-Kaumātua' is the name given to the group of Ngāi Tamarāwaho kaumātua who oversee important hapū matters, especially where tikanga and kawa are concerned. They provide direction and guidance to various hapū groups and entities to ensure the well-being of the hapū is supported. The group also provide advice around political matters ensuring the best interests of the hapū are acknowledged, which also feeds into any tribal decision making. The hapū shelters under their collective wisdom and korowai aroha (cloak of care and protection).

The support of the Kāhui-Kaumātua during my research has been critical, so much so, that this thesis may not have been possible without them. They will likely say otherwise, but as a budding Māori researcher it has been invaluable and reassuring to have their support and guidance close by. An example of this involved the memorial plaque unveiled at Huria marae on Anzac Day in 2015. During the planning stages my initial thinking was that the plaque would be an 'acknowledgement' rather that a 'commemoration' to all the soldiers that had served in the First World War through to the Vietnam War. As such, the names of every soldier, both deceased and still living, would appear on the plaque, a total of forty-four names. However, on reflection my thinking was without proper thought and this was confirmed when I presented my idea to kaumātua. I recall their decision clearly; it was during a tangihanga at the marae. It was late in the afternoon when there was only whānau in the Tupuna Whare resting and chatting amongst themselves. During this quiet period I took the opportunity to broach the topic of the plaque with the kaumātua who were present. They were all aware of my research, so I explained my thinking to include all the soldiers, both living and deceased, on the plaque. Their response was quick and decisive but delivered in a ngāwari manner. Their instructions were that only the names of the deceased soldiers would appear on the plaque.

Afterwards when I thought about their response, I came to the realisation that not only did my proposal fly in the face of military protocol but more importantly, it did not support tikanga Māori as expressed in the well-known remark *…"Apiti hono, tatai hono, te hunga mate ki te hunga mate…Apiti hono, tatai hono, te hunga ora ki te hunga ora"* (The lines

remain joined, the dead to the dead, and so too, the living to the living). How ironic that this decision was made during the tangihanga of one of our whānau.

Another issue that surfaced was the suggestion that soldiers who had married into Ngāi Tamarāwaho, as well as soldiers from neighbouring hapū who had 'close affiliations' to Huria, also be included on the plaque. However, neither suggestion was supported with the key determining factor being that the soldier had to be of Ngāi Tamarāwaho descent.

In the six-month period leading up to Anzac Day 2015, I was fortunate to attend the monthly Kāhui-Kaumātua Hui. As a member of the Anzac organising committee, our role was to keep kaumātua updated on the planning and preparations for the service and discuss any issues. The meetings were also invaluable for my research and provided me with regular forums to discuss whakapapa, hapū history, tikanga, and other important topics related to the research.

Anzac Day 2015 at Huria Marae, Tauranga. Members of our Kāhui-Kaumātua seated to my left and right (L-R): Sonny Ranapia, Hauruia Nepia, Te Moanaroa Ngatoko, Morehu Ngatoko-Rahipere, Te Hoori Rikirangi (Photo courtesy of Liddle Crawford).

5.2 Ngā Karoro – Brothers in Arms

A review of the literature and online information concerning 28 (Māori) Battalion provides a broad analysis spanning the Battalion's inception and establishment through to their service overseas and return home after the war. The official military records provide an

insight into what life was like for some of these men just prior to, during, and after the war. Through a request to the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) I was able to obtain records for most of the men being researched. A summary of key information for each soldier is illustrated in the table that follows.

The table starts with soldiers rank at the time they exited service, alongside their name and photograph. The next column states their 'enlisted name' which was the name given to officials when they enlisted. As the table will show, there were a number of cases where the 'enlisted name' differed from their actual name. The same column lists their parent/s and prominent tupuna of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. The next two columns provide the soldiers regimental or service number, age at enlistment, marital status and the hāhi they belonged to. This is followed by the soldier's occupation and address at time of enlistment. The next column shows the Embarkation group the soldier was assigned to and travelled overseas with, e.g. 6R = 6th Reinforcements. Also noted in this column is the total time the soldier served overseas. This does not include time the soldier spent in camp in New Zealand training and preparing for service overseas. The last column shows whether the soldier was wounded and how many times. Most notably for two soldiers, the abbreviation 'KIA' appears in this column, which sadly denotes that they were 'killed in action'. Also highlighted in this column are the medals the soldier was awarded or eligible for. I managed to source photographs for all of the soldiers except four. For one of these men I have instead inserted a photo of the plaque from his grave, while for the other three men I have used the image of the iconic 'Lemon-squeezer' hat which was part of their standard Army issue.

Following is a list of New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) abbreviations that appear in the Soldier Table (Table 1) as well as a brief description and explanation of the medals that soldiers were eligible for depending on where and how long they served overseas (see the NZDF website for a full explanation of the criteria).

Rank:

Pte…Private

Sgt…Sergeant

Trp…Trooper

Cpl…Corporal

L/Cpl…Lance Corporal

Dvr…Driver

AB…Able Seaman

LAC…Leading Aircraftman

Casualty listing:

1W…wounded once

2/3W…wounded two/three times

POW…prisoner of war

KIA…killed in action

Embarkation Group/Unit:

MB…Main Body

N.Z.A.S.C…New Zealand Army Service Corps

N.Z Pet Coy…New Zealand Petrol Company

N.Z.R.N…New Zealand Royal Navy

H.M.N.Z.S…Her Majesty's New Zealand Ship

N.Z.R.A.F…New Zealand Royal Air Force

R.A.F…Royal Air Force (Britain)

W.A.A.C…Women's Auxiliary Army Corps

W.L.S...Women's Land Service

2N.Z.E.F…2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force

5R…Fifth Reinforcements etc

Medal/Decoration:

- ***Africa Star***…for service in North Africa between 10 June 1940 and 12 May 1943.
- ***8th Army Clasp***…service with the 8th Army between 23 October 1942 and 12 May 1943.
- ***1939-45 Star***…six months service in the Middle East (including, Egypt, North Africa, Greece or Crete) between 10 June 1940 and 12 May 1943, and Italy between 11 June 1943 and 8 May 1945.
- ***Defence Medal***…one year in non-operational areas overseas from the country of residence.
- ***War Medal 1939-45***…28 consecutive days fully mobilized service with the Armed Forces, either in NZ or Overseas, between 3 September 1939 and 2 September

1945. Home Guard service does not qualify unless it is full-time mobilized service of at least 28 days consecutive day's duration.

- ***Italy Star***…for service in Sicily or Italy between 11 June 1943 and 8 May 1945.
- ***N.Z. War Service Medal***…an aggregate of 28 days service between 3 September 1939 and 2 September 1945 in NZ or Overseas, or part-time service of at least 6months. This includes the Home Guard service between 16 August 1940 and 1 January 1944.
- ***N.Z. Operational Service Medal***…instituted in 2002 for award to New Zealanders who have undertaken operational service since 3 September 1945.
- ***N.Z. Defence Service Medal***…instituted in 2011 to recognise attested military service since 3 September 1945.
- ***N.Z. Service Medal 1946-49***…instituted in 1995 to recognise personnel who served in the occupation forces in Japan between March 1946 and March 1949.
- ***Memorial Cross***…awarded to next-of-kin of servicemen and women killed while on war service or operational service overseas or who subsequently died of wounds received while overseas.

Table 1 – Soldier Table

Rank on exiting NZDF/ Name & Photo:	Enlisted name / Parents / (Tupuna):	Regimental No:	Age at Enlistment/ Marital status/Hāhi:	Occupation & Address at enlistment:	Embarkation Group & Time served overseas:	Casualty listing & Decoration/s awarded;
28 (Māori) Battalion						
Pte George Tahuri Waitara Anderson  	George Waitara Timoti Waitara (Rangiwhakarewa)	39280	22yrs, single, Mormon	Labourer, Te Puke	MB 2nd Echelon (2NZEF); 1yr 302 days	2W; 1939-45 Star, Africa Star, Defence Medal, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
Pte Edward Brown 	*same* Tamekati Brown & Hona Ngawharau (Rauhea)	811311	20yrs, single, Ratana	Labourer, Tauranga	14R; 1yr 19 days	Italy Star, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
Pte Warry Bryan 	Warry Brian Hori Bryan & Mikere Witeri (Te Hikuwai)	62659	21yrs, single, Mormon	Farmhand, Tauranga	5R; 4yrs 17 days	1W; 1939-45 Star, Africa Star, 8th Army Clasp, Italy Star, Defence Medal, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
Sgt Anaru Kohu 	Harrison Andrew Kohu Peri Kohu & Towhare Matenga (Te Hikuwai)	811800	21yrs, single, Mormon	Orchardist, Tauranga	15R, J-FORCE; 1yr 94 days	War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal, NZ Operational Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49

Rank on exiting NZDF/ **Name & Photo:**	**Enlisted name / Parents / (Tupuna):**	**Regimental No:**	**Age at Enlistment/ Marital status/Hāhi:**	**Occupation & Address at enlistment:**	**Embarkation Group & Time served overseas:**	**Casualty listing & Decoration/s awarded;**
Pte David Matthews 	*same* Sam Matiu Kohu & Kate Elizabeth Hall (Te Hikuwai / Te Auetu)	65233	21yrs, single, Mormon	Labourer, Tauranga	6R; 4yrs 39 days	1W, POW; 1939-45 Star, Africa Star, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
Trp Philemon Matthews 	*same* Sam Matiu Kohu & Kate Elizabeth Hall (Te Hikuwai / Te Auetu)	811779	21yrs 11mths, single, Mormon	Labourer, Tauranga	14R, J-FORCE; 1yr 199 days	Italy Star, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49
Pte Richard Matthews 	*same* Sam Matiu Kohu & Kate Elizabeth Hall (Te Hikuwai / Te Auetu)	65234	22yrs 4mths, single, Mormon	Labourer, Tauranga	6R; 2yrs 56 days,	1W; 1939-45 Star, Africa Star, 8th Army Clasp, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
Trp Te Ohia (Sam) Mikaere 	Smokey William Mikaere Ngaruna Mikaere & Nataria Hewa (Ngawhetu)	810744	21yrs 8mths, single, Mormon	Labourer, Auckland	15R, J-FORCE; 1yr 142 days	War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49

Rank on exiting NZDF/ **Name & Photo:**	**Enlisted name / Parents / (Tupuna):**	**Regimental No:**	**Age at Enlistment/ Marital status/Hāhi:**	**Occupation & Address at enlistment:**	**Embarkation Group & Time served overseas:**	**Casualty listing & Decoration/s awarded;**
Cpl Te Oru Mikaere 	Macnickolson O'Shay Ngaruna Mikaere & Nataria Hewa (Ngawhetu)	62808	22yrs, single, Mormon	Labourer, Thames	5R; 3yrs 23 days	3W; 1939-45 Star, Africa Star, 8th Army Clasp, Italy Star, Defence Medal, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
Sgt Douglas Nepia 	Douglas Tauawhi Nepia Te Atatu Butler Nepia & Rititia Tukaokao Rahipere (Te Hikuwai / Maora)	801280	19yrs, single, Ratana	Labourer, Auckland	15R, J-FORCE; 1yr 142 days	War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49
Pte Robert Ihaka Nepia 	*same* Ihaka Nepia & Mikere Witeri (Te Hikuwai)	811746	29yrs 9mths, married, Ringatu	Tractor Driver, Kawakawa	12R; 1yr 209 days	1939-45 Star, Italy Star, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal

Rank on exiting NZDF/ **Name & Photo:**	**Enlisted name / Parents / (Tupuna):**	**Regimental No:**	**Age at Enlistment/ Marital status/Hāhi:**	**Occupation & Address at enlistment:**	**Embarkation Group & Time served overseas:**	**Casualty listing & Decoration/s awarded;**
Pte Gerald Takaahurangi Ngatoko-Rahipere 	Gerald Togo Ngatoko Rahipere & Te Pera Tokona (Maora)	811783	20yrs 11mths, single, Ratana	Labourer, Tauranga	14R; 1yr 19 days	Italy Star, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
L/Cpl Freeman Parata 	*same* Te Tuhi Parata & Rama Hutchinson (Te Tuhi, *brother of Koikoi)*	62684	21yrs 6mths, married, Ringatu	Labourer, Tauranga	5R; 3yrs 170 days	1939-45 Star, Africa Star, 8th Army Clasp, Italy Star, Defence Medal, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
Pte Henry Pearson 	Henry Piahana Pearson Te Hare Piahana & Pekerangi Kohu (Homai / Te Hikuwai)	811709	22yrs 2mths, single, Mormon	Gardener, Tauranga	12R; 1yr 209days	1939-45 Star, Italy Star, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal

Rank on exiting NZDF/ **Name & Photo:**	**Enlisted name / Parents / (Tupuna):**	**Regimental No:**	**Age at Enlistment/ Marital status/Hāhi:**	**Occupation & Address at enlistment:**	**Embarkation Group & Time served overseas:**	**Casualty listing & Decoration/s awarded;**
Trp Peter Pearson 	*same* Ruamahau Winiata & Mataruruhi (Homai)	811796	20yrs 10mths, single, Ratana	Horse Breaker, Tauranga	15R, J-FORCE; 1yr 142 days	War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49
Pte Tommy Taupe 	Thomas Taupi Tipare Tukaokao & Enoka Taupe (Homai)	65260	25yrs, single, Mormon	Labourer, Paeroa	6R; 4yrs 72 days	1939-45 Star, Africa Star, 8th Army Clasp, Italy Star, Defence Medal, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
Sgt Henare Te Koari 	Henry Te Koari Te Koari & Hinehau (aka Hineou) (Homai/Katerina)	811708	30yrs, married, Ratana	Truck Driver, Tauranga	12R; 1yr 227 days	1W; 1939-45 Star, Italy Star, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
Pte Anania Wikeepa 	*same* Parekoekoea Piahana & Tete Wikeepa (Homai)	67595	27yrs 7mths, married, Ratana	Farmer, Whakatane	7R; 1yr 183 days	1W, KIA (20/04/1943). Interred at Enfidaville War Cemetery, Tunisia. 1939-45 Star, Africa Star, 8th Army Clasp, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal, Memorial Cross

Rank on exiting NZDF/ **Name & Photo:**	**Enlisted name / Parents / (Tupuna):**	**Regimental No:**	**Age at Enlistment/ Marital status/Hāhi:**	**Occupation & Address at enlistment:**	**Embarkation Group & Time served overseas:**	**Casualty listing & Decoration/s awarded;**
Trp Hekiheki Wikeepa 	Heki Wikeepa Makahi Wikeepa & Ngarongaro Pahu (Homai/Parekoe koea)	811676	21yrs 10mths, single Ratana	Labourer, Whakatane	12R, J-FORCE; 2yrs 24 days	1W; 1939-45 Star, Italy Star, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49
Trp Whareauahi 'Moki' Wikeepa 	Whareauhi Wikeepa Makahi Wikeepa & Ngarongaro Pahu (Homai/Parekoe koea)	811793	21yrs 9mths, single, Ratana	Labourer, Tauranga	15R, J-FORCE; 1yr 94 days	War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49
Soldiers who served in Japan (1946-49) as part of Jayforce						
Private Gene Bryan 	*same* Hori Bryan & Mikere Witeri (Te Hikuwai)	827053	21yrs 7months, single, Mormon	Labourer, Auckland	2 Battalion, NZ Regiment;	NZ Operational Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49, NZ Defence Service Medal with clasp 'REGULAR'
Private Willie Bryan 	*same* Hori Bryan & Mikere Witeri (Te Hikuwai)	827500	22yrs 7mths, single, Mormon	Labourer, Auckland	2 Battalion, NZ Regiment; 1yr 240days	Z Operational Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49, NZ Defence Service Medal with clasp 'REGULAR'

Rank on exiting NZDF/ **Name & Photo:**	**Enlisted name / Parents / (Tupuna):**	**Regimental No:**	**Age at Enlistment/ Marital status/Hāhi:**	**Occupation & Address at enlistment:**	**Embarkation Group & Time served overseas:**	**Casualty listing & Decoration/s awarded;**
LAC Charles Piahana 	*same* Te Hare Piahana & Pekerangi Kohu (Homai / Te Hikuwai)	NZ461711	20yrs 9mths, Mormon	Unknown	J-FORCE; R.N.Z.A.F 14th Squadron (Japan); 1yr 69 days	NZ Operational Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49
Trp Hereaka Reweti 	*Same* Mokohiti Reweti & Titihuia Timoti (Ngakumama*)*	811874	24yrs, married, Anglican	Farmer, Tauranga	2 NZ Division Cavalry Regiment (Māori); 1yr 143 days	NZ Operational Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49, NZ Defence Service Medal with clasp 'REGULAR'
Trp Tony Reweti 	*same* Son of Rangitukunoa (Ngakumama*)*	811875	22yrs 7mths		2 NZ Division Cavalry Regiment (Māori); 1yr 143 days	NZ Operational Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49, NZ Defence Service Medal with clasp 'REGULAR'
Private Eru Rikirangi 	Eru Togo Hinemāua Ngatoko Rahipere & Tamehana Rikirangi (Maora)	811947	21yrs 10mths, single, Ratana	Labourer, Tauranga	2 Battalion, NZ Regiment; 1yr 161 days	NZ Operational Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49, NZ Defence Service Medal with clasp 'REGULAR'

Rank on exiting NZDF/ **Name & Photo:**	**Enlisted name / Parents / (Tupuna):**	**Regimental No:**	**Age at Enlistment/ Marital status/Hāhi:**	**Occupation & Address at enlistment:**	**Embarkation Group & Time served overseas:**	**Casualty listing & Decoration/s awarded;**
Soldiers from other Units who served in WW2						
Drv Ian David Hall 	Ian Mick Hall James Hall & Hazel Monk (Te Auetu)	41593	23yrs, single, Mormon	Farm Labourer Gisborne	N.Z. Pet. Coy., N.Z.A.S.C; 4yrs 14days	1939-45 Star, Africa Star, 8th Army Clasp, Italy Star, Defence Medal, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal
Sgt James Milton Hall 	*same* James Hall & Hazel Monk (Te Auetu)	NZ404073	25yrs, single, Mormon	Farm Labourer, Gisborne	Royal NZ Air Force - 26 Operational Training Unit; 1yr 7mths	KIA (31/05/42) Interred at Eindhoven (Woensel) General Cemetery, Noord-Brabant, Netherlands; War Medal 1939-45 with clasp 'BOMBER COMMAND, Aircrew Europe Star, Defence Medal, War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal, Memorial Cross
AB Leonard Hall 	Leonard Wynne Hall James Hall & Hazel Monk (Te Auetu)	NZ10546	17yrs 6mths, single, Mormon	Farm Labourer Gisborne	R.N.Z.N, H.M.N.Z.S. Tamaki; Philomel; Achilles; Cook III; Bellona *Also served in Japan with J-FORCE*	War Medal 1939-45, NZ War Service Medal, NZ Operational Service Medal, NZ Service Medal 1946-49, NZ Defence Service Medal

In total, twenty-three men from Ngāi Tamarāwaho served in the Second World War. Of these, twenty men served in 28 (Māori) Battalion, including the 15th Reinforcements, while three soldiers, brothers Ian, James and Leonard Hall served in other units; Ian, the eldest of the three, served four years' from 1941-45 in the N.Z. Army Petrol Company, tasked with keeping frontline machinery fuelled and battle ready. James Hall served in the Royal N.Z. Air Force, while younger brother Leonard served in the Royal N.Z. Navy.

Of the twenty-three men, eight would go on to serve in Japan (1946-49) at the end of the war as part of the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (Jayforce). A further six men from Ngāi Tamarāwaho were drafted in New Zealand and would join their cousins in Japan. Included amongst these men were; Gene and Willie Bryan, Tony and Hereaka Reweti, Eru Rikirangi and Charles Piahana. Tony Reweti, 92 years old and son of Rangitukunoa, is still alive today. These men are included in the above table.

The Second World War ended in Europe on 7 May 1945 just days before the arrival of the 15th Reinforcements into Egypt on 12 May. As such, soldiers from this unit were not fully credited as members of the Māori Battalion, as technically speaking, the war had already ended. However, many disagreed with this view including the Battalion's last commanding officer Lieutenant-Colonel James Henare who acknowledged and welcomed the men as members of 28 (Māori) Battalion (Gardiner, 1992, p. 168). Subsequently, many soldiers from the 15th and 14th Reinforcements went on to serve in Japan after the war because they were 'recent arrivals' to the war and still keen for action.

As the table shows, there were many deployment groups (embarkations) that the men travelled overseas with between 2 May 1940 and 20 April 1945. The first soldier from Ngāi Tamarāwaho to depart for the Second World War was George Waitara (Anderson) who left with the Main Body (2nd Echelon) on 2 May 1940 bound for Scotland via South Africa. This massive deployment consisted of 6000 men, which included thirty-nine officers and 642 'other ranks' from 28 (Māori) Battalion. This group arrived in Gourock, Scotland on 16 June 1940. The first supporting unit to the Main Body were the 4th Reinforcements who arrived into Egypt on 12 December 1940, however no men from Ngāi Tamarāwaho where deployed in this group. The next supporting unit, the 5th Reinforcements, departed New Zealand on 7 April 1941 and included among them Warry Bryan, Te Oru Mikaere (Mac O'Shay) and Freeman Parata. The next group to leave were the 6th Reinforcements who left New Zealand two and half months later on 27 June 1941. Amongst this unit were David

Matthews, Richard Matthews and Tommy Taupe. Only one soldier, Anania Wikeepa, left New Zealand with the 7th Reinforcements on 15 September 1941.

There was almost a three year gap before the next group of soldiers embarked with the 12th Reinforcements on 29 June 1944. This group sailed out of Wellington Harbour on board the HMT *Highland Princess* and among their ranks were Privates Robert Ihaka Nepia, Henry Piahana, Henare Te Koari, and Hekiheki Wikeepa. The 14th Reinforcements left Wellington on 5 January 1945 aboard the HMT *Empress of Scotland* and disembarked three weeks later at Port Tewfik, Egypt on 29 January 1945. Amongst this group of men were Edward Brown, Philemon Matthews and Taka Gerald Ngatoko-Rahipere. The 15th Reinforcements, the last supporting unit to leave New Zealand included; Anaru Kohu, Te Ohia (Sam) Mikaere, Douglas Nepia, Peter Pearson, Whareauahi (Moki) Wikeepa. As stated, this group arrived in Egypt on 12 May 1945 just after the war in Europe had ended. Of note is the 16th Reinforcements were still in training camp when the war ended. They were simply demobilised and sent home (Soutar, 2008, p. 354).

According to the records the youngest solider to enlist was Leonard Hall who joined the Royal N.Z. Navy aged 17 years and 6 months. The next youngest was Douglas Nepia (15th Reinforcements) who was 19 years old when he enlisted in March 1942. The oldest men to enlist were Henare Te Koari, Robert Nepia and Anania Wikeepa who were aged 30, 29 and 27 years respectively. Interestingly, all were married at the time but still chose to enlist for service. Freeman Parata, aged 21 years, was also married when he signed up. The average age of the men at enlistment was 22 years and 4 months.

The total time spent overseas varied hugely amongst the men. Soldiers from the 14th and 15th Reinforcements, despite arriving in Europe late, still spent on average 1 year and 3months overseas. For some men, this included service in Japan with Jayforce. Four men served in excess of four years overseas; Warry Bryan, David Matthews, Ian Hall and Tommy Taupe. Tommy served the longest at 4 years 72 days. Of note is George Waitara who departed New Zealand early in the war with the Main Body on 2 May 1940, but would serve less than 2 years overseas. On reading his file, George was wounded twice in 1941 within a 6 month period; first on 5 May and then again on 18 November. He was eventually sent home early arriving back in Wellington on 26 February 1942.

Many soldiers suffered battle wounds. Among those wounded once were; Warry Bryan, David Matthews, Richard Matthews, Henare Te Koari, and both Anania and Hekiheki Wikeepa. Te Oru Mikaere (aka Mac O'Shay) was wounded three times between July 1942

and December 1943 but still managed a 'tour of duty' lasting 3 years and 23 days. Te Oru arrived back in New Zealand on 29 April 1944 still suffering from the wounds and would spend a considerable amount of time in and out of hospital.

Some of his scars were visible, like damage to his right shoulder, arm and hand as a result of a bullet to the back. But other scars were not so obvious, like the psychological and emotionally damage that he, and indeed his cousins, all suffered to varying degrees. But despite this, Te Oru lived a happy and prosperous life with his wife and ten children. His daughter Mariana reflects "…even though he'd been wounded he was still able to recover enough to have 10 children, which he had to support on a war pension…he was such a good provider that we never starved…he hunted, was an excellent fisherman and our mother was the best cook" (M. Gordon, personal communication, March 15, 2015).

According to the records there was only one prisoner of war (POW) amongst the soldiers; David Matthews. David was twenty-one when he began his 4 years of service with the 6th Reinforcements. Less than 18 months into his service, David's mother Lizzie Matthews received a letter from the New Zealand Military Forces Department dated 22 September 1942 which reads "*Dear Mrs Matthews - I have learned that in a broadcast from the Vatican City radio your son is stated to be a prisoner of war in an Italian Military Hospital where he is receiving attention on account of slight wounds"*. The letter goes on to state that the information is not to be regarded as 'official' and that further verification is needed. In late 1942 the British Red Cross received a letter penned by David dated 19 August 1942, and addressed to a Mr M. Kohu C/- Chas Tutchen, Tauranga, N.Z. The brief letter reads "*I am a prisoner of war and wounded. I am somewhere in Italy, however I am walking about again, my leg was fractured by a bullet through the thigh"*.

Further enquiries were also made in April 1943 by David's uncle, Mr George Hall, as to his welfare and whereabouts. An extract from Hall's letter to New Zealand Officials reads "*…let me know what we can do in the way of sending parcels of cake and tobacco. I have watched the papers for information re this matter but have failed to notice any. Thanking you in anticipation of an early reply"*. Another letter, dated 5 January 1944, from New Zealand Military Officials to Mrs Matthews confirms the following "*…Advice has just been received by cable from the High Commissioner for New Zealand in London that the above named Prisoner of War [David Matthews] was recently transferred from Italy to a prisoner of war camp in Germany"*. The name of the prison camp mentioned in the letter is Stalag XVIIIA (Stalag 18A).

Kaumātua, Peri Kohu, recalls interviewing David about his time overseas during the war and recalls that he could speak a little German and even sang a song in German during the interview they had (P. Kohu, personal communication, August 23, 2016).

In 1998, as one of the leading kaumātua of Huria marae, David gave evidence in support of the hapū raupatu claims. He never forgot the indignity his people suffered as a result of the raupatu or the sacrifices that he and his cousins made during the war. In his evidence David stated;

> We were deprived of our land, our dignity. We were dependent on land for food – but we had no land. We would go and work for a Pakeha in his gardens – that were once my gardens. We would ask him for a bit of land to grow food for ourselves, and in lieu of rent, we would work. We would go to the beach for pupus [sea snails] – but we grew strong on them and a lot of us, including me, went to fight against the Germans for the Anglo Saxons who took our land (Riseborough, 1999, pp. 105-6).

According to Peri Kohu, his father Anaru was one of many who "sought adventure overseas". Anaru arrived in Europe with the 15th Reinforcements and was re-deployed to Japan as part of Jayforce. A year later when he arrived home he was immediately dispatched to Gisborne by his older brother to serve a two year mission for the Mormon Church. While there, Anaru became involved in the art of whakairo (traditional Māori carving) and caught the eye of renowned Master carvers Pine and John Taiapa. Under their tutelage Anaru honed his carving skills while working on several local projects. Word of his mahi reached home and a message was sent by his kuia Ngawaikaukau for him to return home to Huria to help carve the first Tamateapokaiwhenua ancestral meeting house; to which he obliged (P. Kohu, personal communication, August 23, 2016).

(L-R) Taka Ngatoko, Anaru Kohu, Philemon Matthews (Sourced from Whānau archives).

There was fear and trepidation amongst the Huria community, especially the women-folk, that their sons and grandsons may not come home. At the time, the Mormon missionary Matthew Cowley (aka Matiu Kauri) was residing at Huria with Karora and Ngawaikaukau, and on occasion with Matiu and Lizzie (parents of David Matthews). When the time arrived for the men to depart for military camp to train and prepare for their embarkation overseas, kaumātua requested that Cowley conduct karakia at the marae to pray for the men's safe return. The majority of the men belonged to the Mormon faith, followed by Ratana and Ringatū but despite the different faiths, all who had gathered found comfort in Cowley's prayers and assurances that the men would all come home (T. Tata, personal communication, July 10, 2015).

At the conclusion of the war it was widely believed that all our men came home. However, from the research it was discovered that two soldiers did not. James Milton Hall was killed in action on 31 May 1942, while Anania Wikeepa suffered the same fate on 20 April 1943. Both are interred overseas; James at Eindhoven General Cemetery in the Netherlands, and Anania at Enfidaville War Cemetery in Tunisia. Neither James nor Anania resided in Tauranga prior to leaving for the war, so it is likely they did not attend the karakia service facilitated by Cowley. As Tamati Tata recalls, many of our men returned home wounded from bullets and shrapnel, while others were missing digits and suffered burns. Now we know that two soldiers, *two karoro*, did not come home.

Source: Image retrieved from www.aucklandmuseum.com

Source: Image retrieved from ww.28maoribattalion.org.nz

One comical story that came to light during my interviews concerns a soldier from a neighbouring hapū in Tauranga who received facial wounds during the war. Apparently medical staff decided a skin graft was necessary so removed a portion of skin from his 'behind' to patch his face. On his return home, the soldier would often chuckle to himself when greeting his nannies and aunties, finally confessing to them that they were literally kissing his arse (M. Sampson, personal communication, March 3, 2016).

5.3 The Home Guard

A few men served in the Home Guard prior to departing for the Second World War, including Peter, Henare and Charles Piahana as well as my koro Taka (Gerald) Ngatoko. The latter three appear in the photo below which also features koro's two older brothers, Joe and George Ngatoko. Both had partners and young children at the time so did not go to war. The leader of Huria Home-Guard at the time was prominent rangatira of Huria and Tauranga Moana, Te Hare Piahana.

The Home Guard was formed in 1940 to defend the country against invasion. Initially set up as a volunteer service, it was open to men 15years and older with no upper age limit. In 1942 the service became compulsory for men aged between 35 and 50years. The first volunteers were known as 'Guardsmen' but did not have uniforms and instead wore a simple armband.

Due to a shortage of weapons at the time most volunteers relied on rifles borrowed from civilians. But by 1943, training and resources had improved and almost 100,000 Guardsmen had been issued with uniforms. Serving in the Home Guard provided men who were not eligible for overseas service an opportunity to play their part at home, while those who were eligible saw it as an opportunity to gain military experience before entering camp (Soutar, 2008, p. 167).

Just as the Home Guard played a key role in the nation's defence strategy, the involvement of women in the Second World War was also important and certainly presents an opportunity for future research. Although that task is outside the scope of this thesis, I did discover that Violet Mātiti Nikora (nee Bryan) served in the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (W.A.A.Cs) while Dulcie Hall, wife of Ian Hall, served in the Women's Land Service (W.L.S) (D. Hall, personal communication, June 15, 2016).

5.4 From Boys to Men

As illustrated in the soldier's table (*Table 1)* there were noticeable differences between some of the soldier's actual names and their enlisted name. In a few cases, men chose to

enlist under a totally different name. Te Ohia Mikaere became Smokey William Mikaere, while Te Oru Mikaere became Macnickolson O'Shay, or Mac O'Shay for short. Efforts to conceal their actual age from officials for fear of being turned away was good reason for this. An interesting extract from a New Zealand Army Headquarters memorandum dated 6 July 1945 concerning Te Oru Mikaere reads *'The above-named, who embarked with the 5th Reinforcements as Macnickolson O'SHAY and was previously discharged, underage, as 39016 Macnickolson MIKAERE has made a written declaration stating that his correct name is Te Ooru MIKAERE'.*

Another intriguing finding concerns the birth dates of brothers Whareauahi and Hekiheki Wikeepa who according to their files were born on 11 August 1922 and 3 November 1922 respectively, a difference of less than 3 months. As Soutar explains, although many underage soldiers did make it overseas they could still be found out prior to arriving at the frontline;

> On 29 January 1945, when 150 men of the Fourteenth Reinforcements arrived at the Maori Training Depot at Maadi [Egypt], more than the usual proportion were found to be under age. The young recruits were culled at the beginning of April, before the group was sent to join the Battalion near the River Po. They were held at Maadi to await their parent's consent (Soutar, 2008, p. 353).

On occasion the men encountered other soldiers from Tauranga while in Europe. The Samuels brothers, Sonny and Metera, from Matakana Island often wrote home to their parents. An excerpt from one of their letters reads;

> A few of the boys from Tauranga joined the Battalion a few days back; they are Derek Werohia, Taka Togo [Taka Gerald Ngatoko] and others. They are very lucky indeed – they joined us 2 days after Germany had surrendered, so they got a mighty good trip out of it. As the hostilities are over now, we are more or less resting and just relaxing. I suppose you know that we are no longer in Italy but have crossed the border and now in a strange country called Yugoslavia. The people here are not as friendly as the Italians (cited in Murray, 1990, p. 18).

According to records most of the hapū men were well behaved overseas, but a small number did get into trouble. One Jayforce soldier was charged with taking 'poultry' from a Japanese civilian, and a radio from another person. The same soldier was also caught

‘improperly in possession’ of another Trooper’s camera. Another soldier was reprimanded for absenting himself from camp without leave between the hours of 2230 and 2400hours. In another somewhat comical but nonetheless serious incident, one soldier was caught in possession of 2 shirts, 1 pair of trouser, and a pair of boots belonging to an American Lieutenant-Colonel. Unlike his comrades, this soldier came home under custody. The consequences for such ‘transgressions’ ranged from docked wages to court martial or detention.

With the exception of few, the majority of the hapū men were working as labourers when they enlisted, with many working on farms clearing scrub, digging drains and cutting gorse. When the opportunity arose to join the Armed Forces and travel to the other side of the world with their brothers and cousins, the men jumped at the chance. The notion that they fought for ‘King and Country’ is not supported by this research. Neither is the idea that the men had political motives, although there were plenty of social influences. There were three key reasons which persuaded the men to enlist and go to war; the lack of prospects at home; a sense of excitement at the adventures to be had overseas; and a sense of whānau responsibility. The latter evidenced in the fact that six sets of brothers served in the war; the Wikeepa, Hall, Piahana, Matthews, Bryan and Mikaere brothers.

There were numerous first cousins, two uncle and nephew pairings, half-brothers and brother-in-laws. A true reflection of kin-ship unity and affirmation of their Ngāi Tamarāwaho-tanga.

5.5 E rere ki Huria: Home at Last

The Second World War in Europe ended in May 1945 but it would be several months before the Battalion arrived back in New Zealand. This was mainly due to travel logistics and a decision by General Freyberg that the Battalion would return home as one unit, some 780 soldiers. On 26 December 1945 the Battalion departed Taranto, Italy aboard the *‘Dominion Monarch’* and after stops at Twefik, Egypt and Fremantle, Western Australia, they arrived into Wellington Harbour on Wednesday 23 January 1946. After some delay due to heavy seas, the ship finally pulled alongside Pipitea Wharf just after mid-day in almost the same berth as the Battalion had departed from aboard the *Aquitania* almost six years ago. Awaiting them on the wharf were huge crowds who had gathered for hours to welcome their soldier’s home. A great pōhiri was organised by local iwi and the Māori War Effort Organisation and was attended by government officials including acting Prime

Minister at the time, Walter Nash, as well as civic leaders and former Battalion commanders (J.F. Cody, 1956, p. 484).

Taka Gerald Ngatoko, sitting centre right looking directly at camera, at the pōhiri for 28 (Māori) Battalion, Pipitea Wharf, 23 January 1946 (Source: Archives New Zealand – Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Weekly Review 232. National Film Unit, 1946. Retrieved from www.teara.govt.nz).

A huge kai-hākari followed the pōhiri and once the fanfare had subsided, the soldiers thoughts would have no doubt turned to home and their families that awaited them. However, there were still important ritual ceremonies such as 'tango tapu' (removing tapu) and 'kawe mate' (acknowledgments to the dead) to be conducted before they finally arrived home (Soutar, 2008, p. 361). One such ceremony occurred at Turangawaewae marae in Ngaruawāhia where a relatively young Māori King, Koroki, greeted and acknowledged the soldiers. Koro Morehu recalls being at Turangawaewae to see his older brother, Taka, and his cousins being received. When the men finally made it home to Huria marae all the kaumātua and hapū were waiting to pōhiri them home. Koro Morehu remembers some of the soldiers being quite 'tipsy' as they had obviously been drinking on the way home (M. Ngatoko-Rahipere, personal communication, May 21, 2014). Under normal circumstances such behaviour would have been frowned upon, but these were not normal circumstances, and everyone was simply overjoyed to have their 'sons' home at last.

Taka Gerald Ngatoko and Henare Piahana being welcomed onto Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia, shortly after arriving back in New Zealand with 28 (Māori) Battalion. (Source: Archives New Zealand – Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Weekly Review 232. National Film Unit, 1946. Retrieved from www.28maoribattalion.org.nz).

From the research it has been difficult to ascertain the position or thinking of kaumātua with respect to sending their men to the Second World War. Although they vehemently opposed the government around issues concerning raupatu, the same opposition is not evident in relation to the war effort.

George Hall was the government's biggest antagonist when it came to matters of raupatu, yet when liaising with government officials concerning his nephew, David Matthews, he was courteous, considerate and collaborative. Interestingly, most of the hapū leaders at the time including Te Hare Piahana, Nepia Kohu, Ngatoko Rahipere, and Maharaia Winiata all sent sons and nephews to the war.

One clue perhaps as to why these leaders may have supported, or at least not objected to the war effort, can be found in the 1943 booklet *The Price of Citizenship* written for the posthumous Victoria Cross investiture of Second Lieutenant Te Moananui-a-kiwa Ngarimu. In the booklet Sir Apirana Ngata reminds the men of 28 (Maori) Battalion that they must "defend their country as a matter of duty and obligation". His call to unity was derived from Article Three of the Treaty of Waitangi which encapsulated the rights and

duties, as well as the obligations for both Pākehā and Māori alike (cited in Soutar, 2008, p. 11).

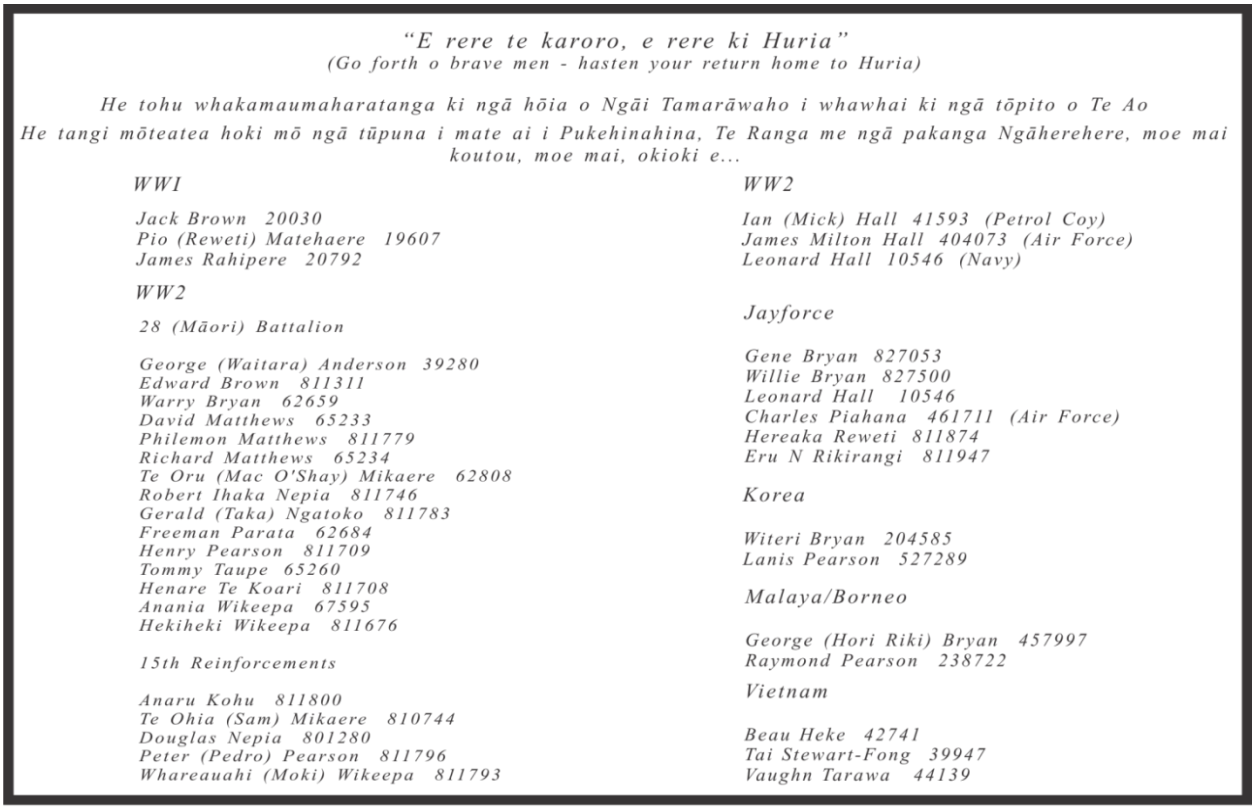
The memorial sculpture (*Picture 1*) and plaque commemorating the soldiers was unveiled on 25 April 2015 (Anzac Day). The artist responsible for the work was Whare Thompson of Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Whatua. As explained previously, the concept for the sculpture is derived from the Ngāi Tamarāwaho mōteatea '*E rere te karoro, e rere ki Huria'*. The karoro depicted in the mōteatea are likened to the soldiers travelling far away and returning home again. The karoro on the right side of the sculpture is female, as distinguished by a 'moko-kauae' (tattooed chin). Her head is turned slightly towards the gable of the whare (ancestral house) beckoning the soldiers safe return. She represents the women who supported the war effort, as well as the mothers and wives left at home. The other two karoro symbolise the soldiers including those that did not come home. The sculpture was actually completed before the research findings revealed that two men from the hapū were killed in action. Coincidently, these two karoro represent the two soldiers that did not make it home. The sculpture (below) is deliberately positioned behind two exiting plaques commemorating prominent tupuna of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, many of whom have been discussed in this thesis.

Picture 1 – Memorial to Soldiers

The names on the plaque also include men who served overseas in the First World War, Korea, Malaya, Borneo and Vietnam. An unfortunate ambiguity when comparing information from the official records and the names listed on the plaque, is that fourteen men actually served in Japan (Jayforce) but only six names appear on the plaque. The reason for this is that the initial names of Jayforce soldiers was sourced from the *'28 (Māori) Battalion'* website and was taken as accurate. However, when examining the individual files in the latter stages of this research, it was discovered that a further eight soldiers served in Japan. The names of these eight men are still included on the plaque but feature under 'WW2' or '15th Reinforcements'.

A final but very fitting recommendation from kaumātua was that a 'mihi aroha' (words of lament) be included on the memorial plaque (*Picture 2*) dedicated to our tupuna who perished at the Battles of Gate Pa (Pukehinahina), Te Ranga and the Bush Campaign - lest we forget.

Picture 2 – Memorial Plaque



The aim of this research has been to identify the men of Ngāi Tamarāwaho who served in 28 (Māori) Battalion; that goal has been achieved. Some of their stories have been brought to light and without doubt, many more remain untold. In time we may hear more of them; stories that still dwell in the books, diaries and memories of whānau. These accounts are important because they bring people, in particular those within the hapū, closer to the truth and allow them to see or imagine events as they happened. From this knowing and sharing, the cultural prosperity and well-being of the hapū is enriched. Great learning can be taken from these stories concerning human endeavour and fortitude; courage and resilience; and the right to self-determination. Traits that served both our tupuna and these men well, and which will continue to serve our current generation and those yet to come.

Chapter Six – Conclusion

Identifying the men of Ngāi Tamarāwaho who served in 28 (Maori) Battalion and uncovering some of their stories has been the focus of this thesis. The research came about after I heard a group at the Anzac Day service in 2012 remark that no men from Ngāi Tamarāwaho served in the Second World War. I knew this was incorrect and setting the record straight provided the motivation for this research.

As the research progressed, a special event would change things. The inaugural Anzac Day service hosted at Huria marae in 2015 was a momentous occasion, and to mark the event it was decided that a memorial plaque commemorating all the hapū soldiers who served from the First World War to the Vietnam War would be unveiled on the same day. This meant that further research outside of the original brief was needed, and so the significance and importance of the research increased, as too did my workload.

At first, this presented a daunting challenge but this diminished overtime as the research gained momentum. On reflection, unpacking the 'whole picture' in terms of researching all the hapū men who served overseas since the First World War actually complimented the original brief which focused only on the Battalion men.

The beginning of the 'unpacking' began with a review of the literature which provided key historical and background information. Three topics were reviewed; the major conflicts between Māori and Pākehā culminating in the Battles of Gate Pa and Te Ranga; Māori involvement in the First World War; and Māori in the Second World War with a focus on 28 (Māori) Battalion.

Michael Belich (1986) examines the volatile relationship between Māori and British settlers during the 1800s. Early relationships built on trade were quite amicable but as the settler population grew, so too did their desire for Māori land. British attempts to assert sovereignty over Māori resulted in stern resistance, resulting in major conflicts in Northland, Taranaki, Waikato and Tauranga.

The British assault on Tauranga at the Battles of Gate Pa and Te Ranga were the last of the major conflicts. Local Māori, under the leadership of Ngāi Te Rangi chief Rawiri Puhirake, out-witted their British counterparts at Gate Pa, but would suffer near annihilation a few months later at Te Ranga.

A noticeable flaw in Belich's account is his failure to acknowledge the presence of Ngāti Ranginui at either Gate Pa or Te Ranga. This failure simply perpetuates that of previous writers who also believed there was only one iwi in Tauranga - Ngāi Te Rangi. For Ngāti Ranginui and Ngāi Tamarāwaho, being written out of history was almost as painful as losing their land through raupatu.

The contribution of Māori in the First World War was significant but less known about than their contemporaries in the Second World War. The land wars just decades earlier were still fresh in the minds of Māori and many struggled to reconcile their pain and anguish. Despite this, when war broke out in Europe many iwi still pledged their allegiance, although Waikato/Tainui iwi were an exception. For them, and in particularly Te Puea Herangi, the mamae of the raupatu had not diminished. They were willing to help defend the home front but would not commit their men to fight on foreign soil.

Just as the hurt of the raupatu had not subsided for many Māori, neither had the disparaging attitude of some Pākehā. The Minister of Defence, James Allen, questioned the integrity of Māori and did not trust them. Likewise, Major-General Godley, Commander of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, doubted the ability of Māori in the theatre of war and believed Māori were better suited to digging trenches and building fences. Both were proved wrong as Māori made a valuable contribution at the First World War and earned the praise of their Pākehā compatriots.

That success was built on during the Second World War. However, Māori were fighting on two fronts; the one overseas, and the ongoing battle at home for social and political equality. Ngata was the staunchest advocate for change and believed Māori had paid the price to be acknowledged as equal citizens. The 28 (Māori) Battalion not only represented the fighting spirit of the Māori people but was also symbolic of Ngata's determination to resolve the political disparity and social inequality Māori were experiencing.

The 'hapū centric' nature of this research required a certain approach to ensure its integrity was maintained and that the mana of those involved remained intact. Kaupapa Māori research principles as espoused by Te Awekotuku (1991) helped guide this research. In particular, the notion of '*Aroha ki te tangata*' was a key component in engaging research participants. Similarly, Meads (2012) description of Mātauranga

Māori as “a cultural system of knowledge about everything that is important to the lives of the people” helped to ensure respectful relationships were maintained at all times.

In a similar regard, Doherty’s (2009) concept of ‘Mātauranga-a-iwi’ and my assertion that ‘Mātauranga-a-hapū’ shares the same validity in terms of acknowledging hapū ways of knowing, being and doing, helped support a ‘hapū centric’ approach. Additionally, the Ngāi Tamarāwaho mōteatea ‘*E rere te karoro, e rere ki Huria*’ was used as ‘hapū theoretical framework’. The soaring karoro representing the soldiers venturing overseas, together with the story of Mere Hoani, who after rejecting the man betrothed to her by iwi, takes her own life. The anxiety, confusion and distress Mere Hoani would have felt are likened, in part, to the anxiety and distress the soldiers would have experienced overseas.

An historical account of Ngāi Tamarāwaho was an integral part of this research. Attempting to tell the story of these men without first knowing the story of the hapū would render the ‘whole story’ incomplete. The arrival of Tākitimu and Ngāti Ranginui into Tauranga Moana and subsequent inter-tribal conflict with Ngāi Te Rangi culminating in the Battle of Kōkōwai would shape Tauranga Moana into what it is today.

The opening of the first Tamateapōkaiwhenua ancestral house in 1958 was a political statement to reinstate the mana of Ngāti Ranginui and announce to the mōtu (nation) their proud heritage. In 2004 this whare was replaced by a second ‘Tamateapōkaiwhenua’ which continues the proud legacy today. A legacy that includes the hapū’s close association and allegiance to the Kiingitanga through the annual Poukai at Huria marae.

The role that religion had within the hapū was significant. Reverend Alfred Nesbit Brown introduced Christianity through the Anglican Church and gained a strong following. With the subsequent arrival of other faiths came new ideologies and thinking. Some members of the hapū embraced these new ideals, while other more conservative members rejected them. The Anglican, and later on, the Mormon faith became imbedded at Huria, while the Rātana faith gained a modest following, as did the Ringatū faith.

There was no better demonstration of hapū unity than when it came to issues concerning raupatu. Following the raupatu in 1864, Ngāi Tamarāwaho began petitioning the government and quickly gained a reputation for resistance and protest, led by prominent

leaders including Koikoi, Winiata, Nepia, George Hall, Ngatoko, and later on by Te Hare Piahana and Maharaia Winiata. That fighting spirit is still prominent within the hapū today.

As highlighted throughout this thesis, Māori faced huge social and political challenges, and lagged behind Pākehā in health, education, housing and employment. On the political front, leaders such as Pomare and Ngata worked tirelessly to address these disparities. Ngata's insistence that a Battalion consisting entirely of Māori be sent to the Second World War was part of the fight back to demonstrate that Māori could contribute as equal citizens alongside Pākehā.

Overarching these disparities was the raupatu, which for Ngāi Tamarāwaho, had the most devastating impact. In this respect, there is a direct correlation between Ngata's 'fight back' and the protest tendencies of the hapū.

Understanding why our kaumātua would send their sons overseas to fight despite their ongoing battles around raupatu has been a goal of this research. However, from the findings, that still remains unclear. Although hapū leaders were constantly petitioning the government, that same vigour or animosity is not evident when it came to the war effort. In fact, most of the hapū leaders including George Hall, Nepia, Ngatoko, Te Hare and Maharaia all had sons or nephews serve in the Second World War.

The reasons and motivation for the young men to enlist was a little clearer. They did not fight for 'King and Country' as is often romanticised, nor did they have any political motives as far as I could establish, but there were definitely key social factors as to why they joined, such as the lack of job prospects at home. Many were labourers working on farms doing menial tasks like fencing, digging drains and cutting gorse. The prospect of venturing overseas excited them. There was also a sense of responsibility to the whānau and hapū as evident by the number of siblings and relations that enlisted. Peer pressure may have also played a part?

In total, the names of thirty-eight soldiers appear on the memorial plaque at Huria marae. Of these men, twenty-nine (which includes Tony Reweti whose name is not on the plaque) served in the Second World War or in Japan immediately afterwards. Amongst this group of twenty-nine were six sets of brothers, numerous first cousins, uncles and nephews, half-brothers and brother-in-laws. Of these twenty-nine men, twenty served in B Company of the 28 (Māori) Battalion.

The military records for each soldier contained detailed information from the time they enlisted to their return home from abroad. The records provide a great insight into military life and their day to day experiences. Included in the findings were several men who enlisted under variations of their actual name, and a few who used complete aliases. These included Te Oru Mikaere, who enlisted as 'Macnickolson O'Shay', and Te Ohia Mikaere, who enlisted as 'Smokey William Mikaere'.

The story of the Wikeepa men and their connection to Ngai Tamarāwaho through Parekoekoea Piahana was a key finding, and new information to some members of the hapū. Another important finding, which was not widely known, was the fact that two soldiers from the hapū were killed in action - Anania Wikeepa and James Hall. This finding debunked the widely held belief that 'all our men came home'. Another finding that warmed the heart was the story of Tony Reweti who served in Japan with Jayforce and who is still alive today. Being able to re-claim and re-tell such kōrero is special and deeply significant.

The opportunity for further research around topics raised in this thesis is an exciting prospect. A comprehensive research of B Company of the Battalion, similar to Monty Soutar's '*Nga Tama Toa*' has not been undertaken, although I believe plans are afoot. Similarly, the important role that women played in support of the Second World War presents a great opportunity for further investigation. Another avenue for research, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, is a focus on individual hapū of Tauranga Moana and researching their soldiers who served in 28 (Māori) Battalion. Speaking from experience, a hapū focused approach as opposed to an iwi one, is probably more practical and manageable.

The implications of this research remain to be seen. Although every effort was made to contact all the families concerned, that was not possible in some cases due to the unknown whereabouts of whānau. In some instances, speaking to close relatives and kaumātua provided some information. In respect of this, any inaccuracies or information that may have been overlooked or omitted was done so unintentionally, and again, I offer my sincerest apologies.

The goal and objectives of this research have been achieved. Just as I thought, the 're-claiming' and 're-telling' aspects of this research and the responsibility that came with that, were the most rewarding. If anything, I hope that readers will find this thesis informative. Researching and writing it has been a 'transformational journey' and a

huge privilege and honour, but I give it all to *'Ngā hōia o Ngāi Tamarāwaho'* and their whānau. Our men of the 28 (Māori) Battalion were welcomed home to Pipitea wharf on 23 January 1946, but for the writer, it is like they are being welcomed home for the very first time.

E rere te karoro	*Fly seagull, fly*
E rere ki Huria	*Fly to Huria*
Te kite koe i a Mere	*When you see Mere*
Ngarea mai nei e Hinawa	*Send a (skin) kin message*
Tu mai tu mai	*Stand, stand*
Tenei taku korero	*Here are my words*
Nui atu taku hiahia	*Great is my yearning*
Ki to muri nei e Hinawa	*For the one I desire*
Te ngenge aku turi	*My knees are weakened*
Te pikinga i a Manunui	*Climbing manunui*
Kei reira e noho ana	*Positioned there*
A Mere Hoani e Hinawa	*Is Mere Hoani ah, my*
Kia tau kia ngawari	*Calm and gentle*
E wani kei riri koe	*Thinking of home*
Tukuna atu ki tana hiahia	*I send my declaration*
Ka mate ko au e Hinawa	*I am burdened oh kin*
Katahi nei te iwi kino	*You are a bad people*
He patupatu i aku mahara	*For torturing my will*
Kia piri kau nei koe ki taku uma	*to bring my lover close to my breast*
Nei e Hinawa	*Here I am*
E rere te karoro	*Fly seagull, fly*
E rere ki Huria	*Fly to Huria*

(He mōteatea tūturu o Ngāi Tamarāwaho).

Glossary of Māori Terms

Aukati…border restriction, boundary

Hāhi…religion, faith, denomination

Hapū…sub-tribe

Hara…violation

Harakeke...flax

Hui-a-hapū…hapū meetings

Iwi…tribe

Kai…food

Kai-hakari...great feast

Kai moana…seafood

Kaitiaki…stewardships, guide

Kapa haka… Māori performing arts

Karakia…incantation, prayer

Karanga…call, invocation

Karoro…seagull

Kauhau…sermon

Kaumātua…elder

Kaupapa…topic, theme

Kaupapa Māori Research… Māori related research

Kōkōwai…red ochre

Kōrero…to speak, stories

Koroneihana…coronation

Korowai…ceremonial cloak

Koroua…male elder

Māori…indigenous person of New Zealand

Marae…place of gathering

Marae Ātea…front courtyard of marae

Mātauranga Māori… Māori knowledge

Mātauranga a-iwi…tribal knowledge

Mamae…pain, hurt

Mana…prestige, integrity, honour

Mana motuhake…autonomy

Manāki Tāngata…care for people

Mauao…Mount Maunganui, caught by the light

Mauri…life force

Mihimihi…greetings, acknowledgments

Mokopuna…grandchild/grandchildren

Mōtu...nation, land

Ngārara...lizard, insect

Ngāwari…gentle

Pā…fortified village

Paimārire… faith/religion founded by Te Ua Haumene

Pākehā...of European descent

Pānui…read, message

Papa kainga…village, home base

Pepeha…tribal expression

Pōhiri...Ceremonial welcome

Pou-haki…flag pole

Poukai…Kingitanga gathering

Pou-whenua…boundary marker

Puna wai...water well

Rākau…tree, staff

Rangatahi…youth

Rangatira...chief

Rangatiratanga…self-determination

Rārangi…line, itemise

Rātana…faith/religion founded by Tahupōtiki Wiremu Ratana

Raupatu…land confiscations by the Crown

Ringatū…faith/religion founded by Te Kooti Rikirangi

Rohe…region, area

Roopu…group

Tā moko…traditional Māori tattooing

Tangi…cry, funeral

Taonga…treasure

Tapu…sacred, restricted

Taua…fighting group, expeditionary force

Te Ao Māori…the Māori world

Tikanga Māori… Māori protocol

Timatanga…Beginning

Tino Rangatiratanga…sovereignty

Tūturu…genuine, staunch

Uri…descendants

Ururoa…white pointer shark

Utu…revenge, retribution

Waharoa…main entrance, gate way

Waiata…song/s

Waka…canoe

Wānanga…discuss, deliberate, teach

Whakapapa…genealogy

Whāngai…adopted child, raised as your own, nurture

Whānau…family

Whanaunga…relative/s

Whakawhanaungatanga…affirming and strengthening kinship ties Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero…discussions, conversations

Whare…house

Wharekai…dining hall

Whenua…land, placenta

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Appendices

Appendix One:

The Story of Taurikura

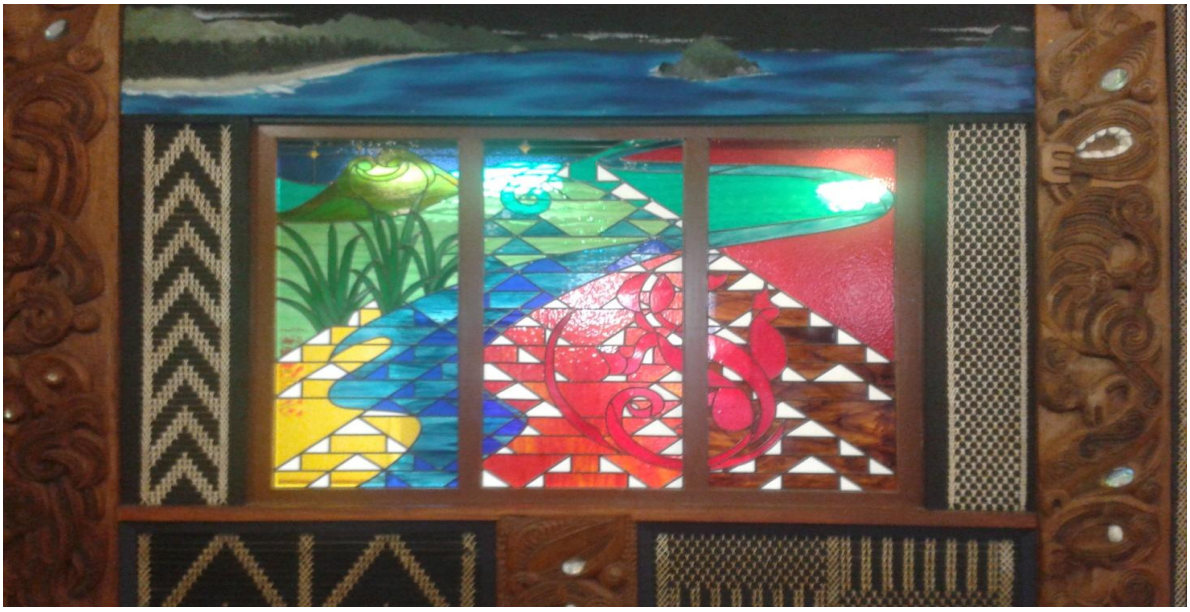
When entering the ancestral house, Tamateapōkaiwhenua, people are greeted by two beautifully crafted stained-glass windows. The window on the right (illustrated below) depicts the story of Mauao (Mount Maunganui) and his journey from the Hautere forest to the ocean in an attempt to drown himself out of despair, only to be 'caught by the light' (Mau-ao) when the sun rose fixing him in place at the entrance to Tauranga Harbour (Stokes, 1980, p. 10). The artwork was designed by Teresa Nepia of Ngāi Tamarāwaho.

The second window depicts the story of Taurikura, a young girl who lived at Taumata on the outskirts of Tauranga with her koroua Tuapokai (Tukaokao cited in Riseborough, 1999, p. 8). Taurikura was of noble birth but was spoilt by her koroua. One day Tuapokai, feeling thirsty, asked Taurikura if she would go down to the puna wai and fetch some water. She outright refused, insisting that it was too far and she was too tired. The old man had no choice but to go and fetch the water himself, so he grabbed an empty gourd and proceeded

down the steep slope towards the puna. When Tuapokai reached the puna he quenched his thirst, filled the gourd and began his walk back up the steep slope.

When he arrived back at the village Taurikura immediately took the gourd from him and drank from it. Tuapokai was aghast and scolded Taurikura for her lack of respect and laziness. Feeling guilty and ashamed, later that night Taurikura fled from the village. The following morning when Tuapokai awoke he noticed Taurikura had gone and went searching for her. He eventually found her inside a cave close to the puna, but was shocked to see that Taurikura, besotted with guilt, had transformed herself into a ngārara (lizard). Realising his mokopuna could not undo her own spell, the old man with a heavy heart, told his moko to leave and seek out a new life. His last departing words to her were not to harm her people.

Taurikura fled to Parikārangaranga, not far from Taumata, where she lived in a cave for some time. She occasionally visited whanau living at Taumata and Waikareao, however one day she killed a woman fishing near Tukarere near the mouth of the Kopurererua river; the river that she herself had carved out of the land. Immediately after the incident, Taurkura recalled the parting words of her koroua about not harming the people. It was then that she fled into exile, out across the Waikareao estuary past 'Te Kete Kai a Tamarāwaho' (The Food basket of Ngāi Tamarāwaho) for the last time. She continued out past Mauao and on to Karewa Island, where she and her uri (descendants), the tuatara, remain to this day (ibid, pp. 8-9).



Stained-glass window illustrating the story of Taurikura. The small island depicted in the painting above the actual window is Karewa.

The artwork for the window depicting Taurikura was designed by Melissa Willison of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Melissa's grandmother, Naisey Ngatoko, composed the following mōteatea to commemorate this story. Te Ahukaramū Royal (1997, pp. 5-6) reminds us that mōteatea help to "reinforce statements and views based upon [our] history" and "are used as evidence to support claims [and] expand statements".

Places of significance mentioned in the mōteatea include; Taumata, Ohane, Kotoremuia, Kopurererua, Tukarere, Huria, Motuopae, Tataramoa, Te Whāngai a Tamarāwaho (also referred to as 'Te Kete Kai a Tamarāwaho') and Aputa ki Wairau;

Taurikura, Taurikura e
Kei te matewai au
Haere ki te punawai e
Ruru tō pane
Haere kē te Tupuna
Ki te puna o Taumata e
I te hokitanga mai
Unuhia e Rikura
Riri ana te Tupuna e

Taurikura, Taurikura e
I te matewai koe kore koe e haere e
Tūpere o ngutu haere tonu atu i te pō
Oho mai te tupuna awangawanga ana
Haere atu ki te kimi e

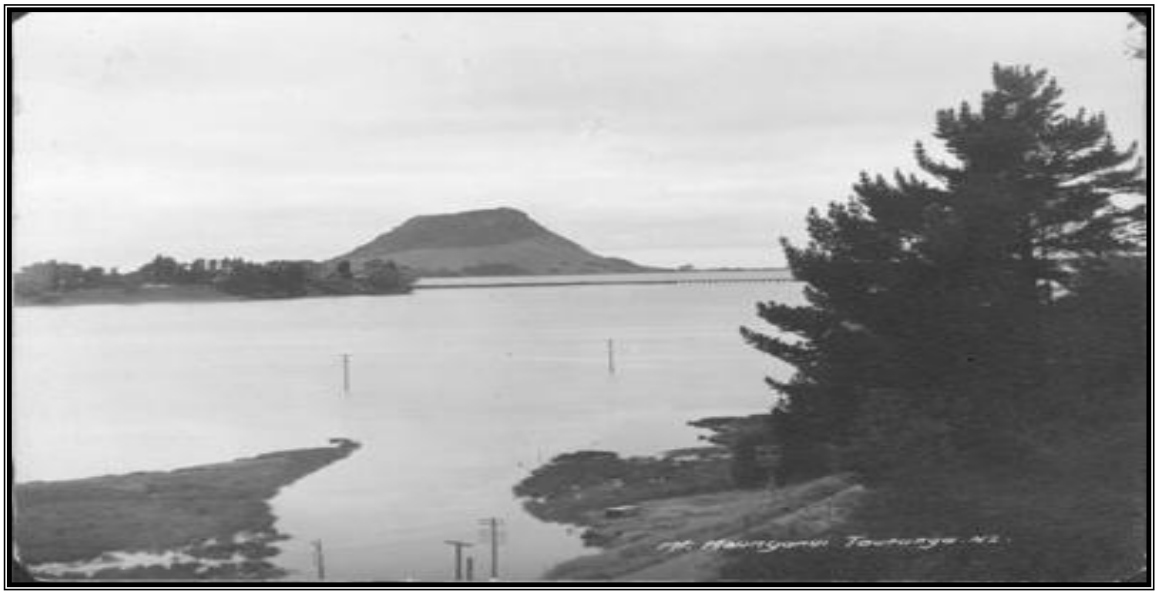
Kimihia e ia i te puna o Taumata
Ka rongo i te wai e rure mai ana
Tiro atu ki te wai
Rere ana nga roimata e

Taurikura, Taurikura e
Ngaro koe ki te tangata
Kua tuatara koe e
Rere atu i nga puke o te Taumata
Heke atu ki Ōhane
Tiro atu ki Kotoremuia
Peka atu ki tō ana i Te Parikarangaranga

Kau atu i Kopurererua
Tae atu ki Nanako, ki Maiwi-iwi
Patu mai ki Tūkarere
Aue, e wahine e

Whai atu koe i Huria i roto i a Tataramoa
Ki Te Aropuke me Te Whakapae Waka
Arā te Whāngai a Tamarāwaho
Me Te Motuopae, a, Aputa ki Wairau
Haere Taurikura e

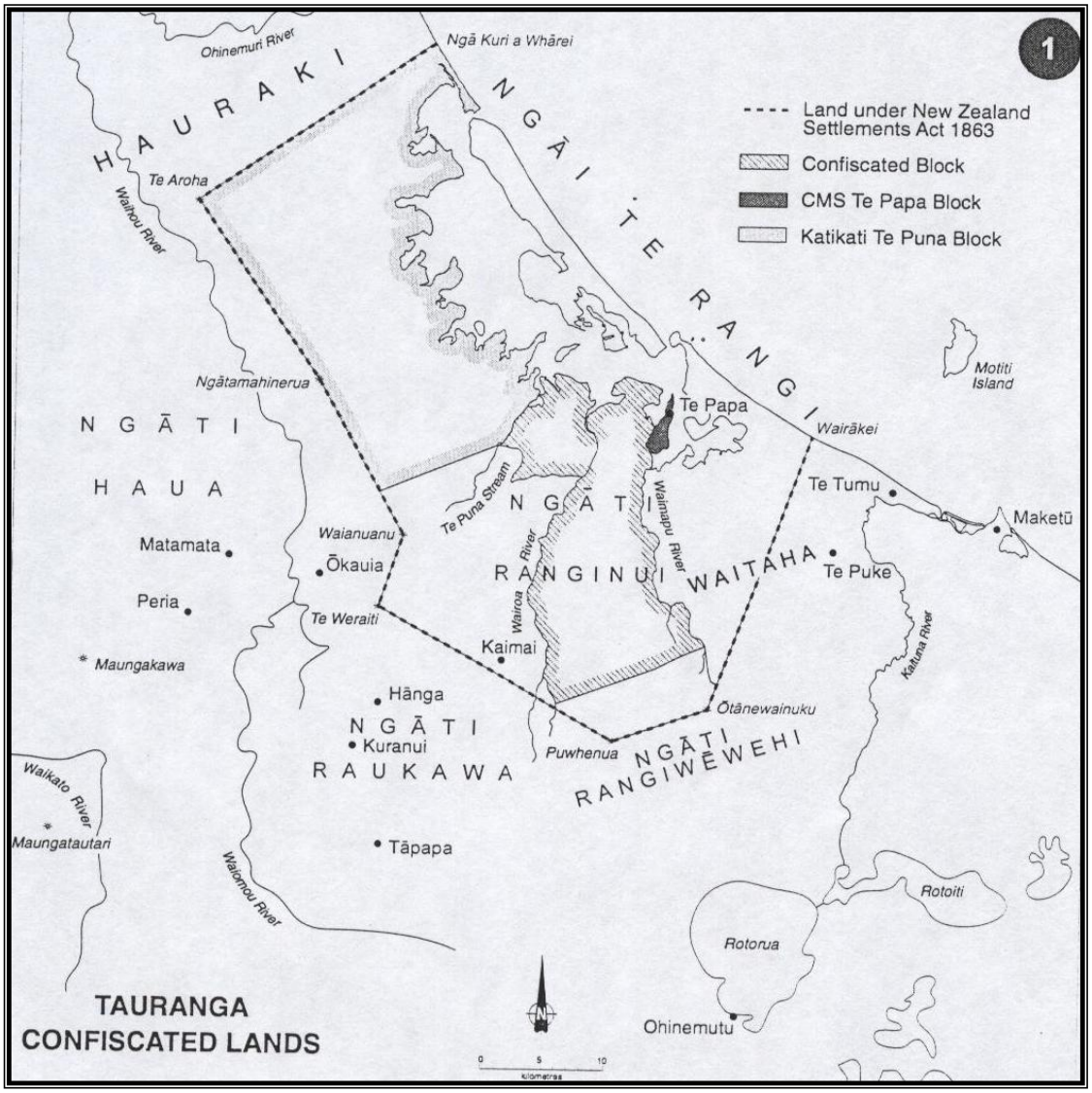
Taurikura, Taurikura e
Kei Te-Matua-Nui to whakamutunga e
Taurikura, Taurikura e



The Waikareao Estuary circa 1900 with the mouth of the Kopurererua River at bottom, looking out past 'Te Kete Kai a Tamarāwaho' towards Mauao in the distance.

Appendix Two:

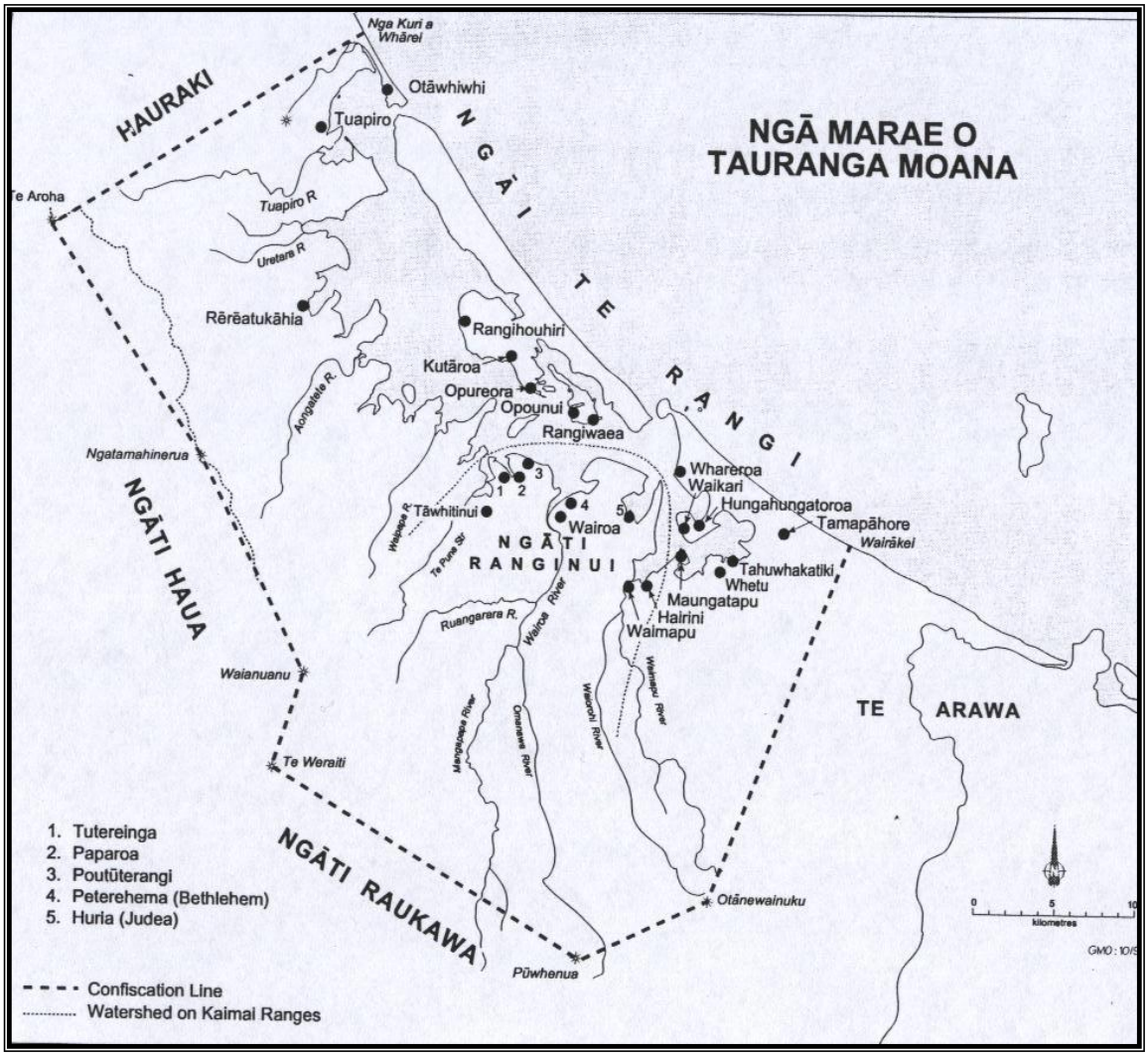
Map of Tauranga Moana



Source: Evelyn Stokes (1997). *The Allocation of Reserves for Maori in the Tauranga Confiscated Lands Vol. 1*, Hamilton, University of Waikato, p. 8.

Appendix Three:

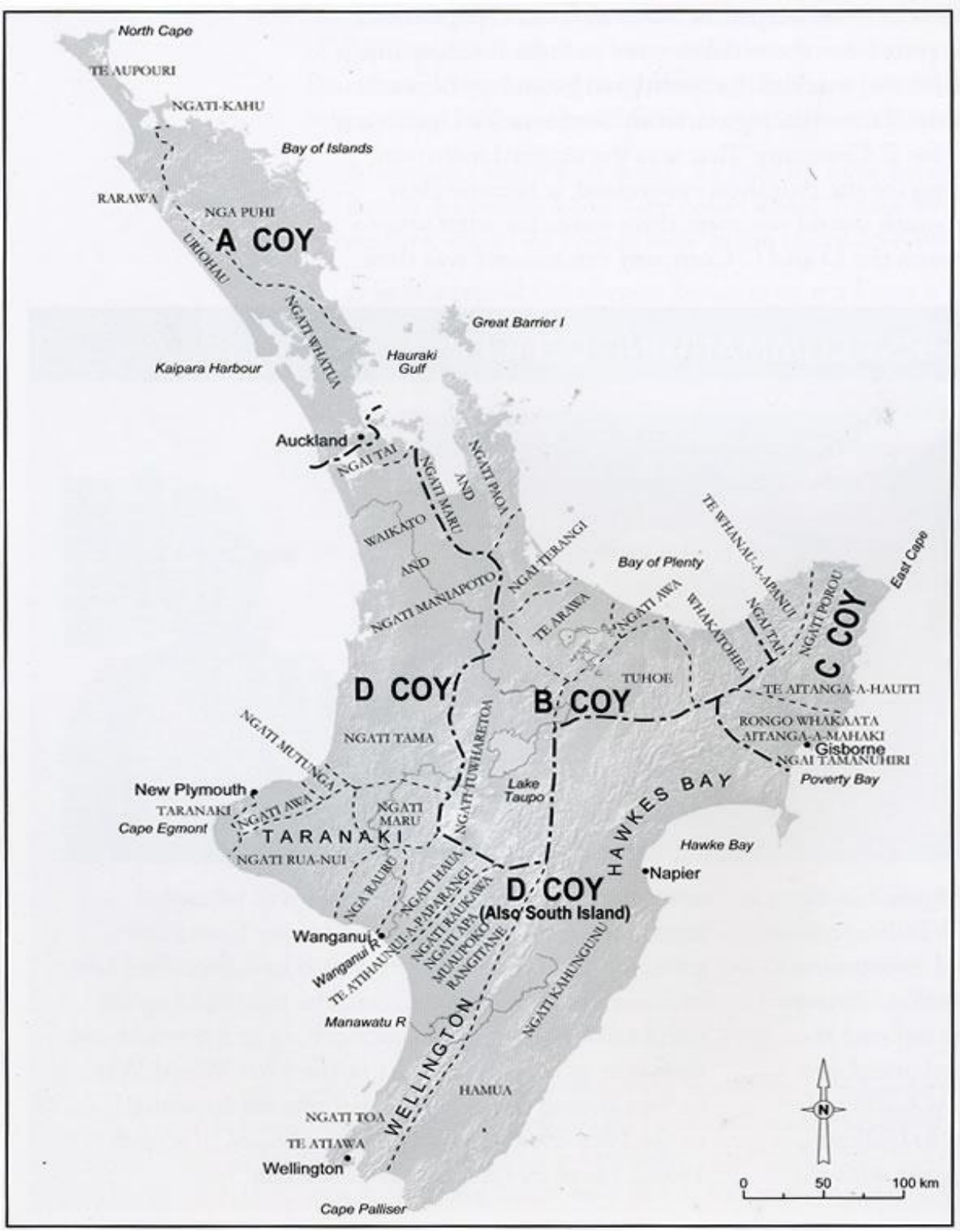
Map of Tauranga Moana Marae



Source: Evelyn Stokes (1997). *The Allocation of Reserves for Maori in the Tauranga Confiscated Lands Vol. 1*, Hamilton, University of Waikato, p. 233.

Appendix Four:

Map of 28 (Māori) Battalion Company's



Source: J.F. Cody, *28 (Maori) Battalion*, War History Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1956, p. 6.

Appendix Five:

Ethics Approval Letter

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

20th October 2016

Te Moanaroa Ngatoko Togo
107 Cambridge Road
TAURANGA

Tēna koe Te Moanaroa,

Re: Ethics Research Application EC2013 006TN

At a meeting on 18th March 2013, the Ethics Research Committee of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi considered and approved your Ethics application.

The Ethics Research Committee wishes you well in your research and to contact your Supervisor if you have any further queries.

Ngā mihi nui

Associate Professor Nathan Matthews
CHAIRMAN
Ethics Committee
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

Private Bag 1006
Francis st
Whakatane 3158
Aotearoa

Waea / Telephone :(07) 307-1467
Waea Whakaahua / Fax :(07) 307-1475
Ipurangi / Email :ssc@wananga.ac.nz
PaeTukutuku/Website : www.wananga.ac.nz

Appendix Six:

Hapū Endorsement Letter

Ngai Tamarāwaho Tribal Authority Trust

1 Te Kaponga Street, Judea TAURANGA
P. O. Box 398, TAURANGA: 3110

20 March 2013

Ethics Research Committee
Te Whare Wānanga O Awanuiaarangi
Private Bag 1006
WHAKATANE 3158

Re: Your Letter (19 March) - ref: ERCA 13 006 TN

Tēna koutou,

On behalf on the Ngai Tamarāwaho Tribal Authority Trust (NTTAT), I wish to confirm our support of Te Moanaroa Ngatoko (Togo) in his endeavour to carry out important hapū research concerning 'Ngai Tamarāwaho of the 28th Maori Battalion'.

Our Trust is aware and has been briefed on this research project and acknowledges the importance of this research in terms of collating and recording important hapū history for generations to enjoy now and in the future.

We wish Te Moanaroa all the best in completing this research project, both as trustees and members of Ngai Tamarāwaho. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any queries regarding this letter of endorsement.

Nāku iti nei,

Chris Nepia
Chairman – NTTAT

Contact Email - chris.nepia@westernbay.govt.nz
Phone - 027 872 2877

Appendix Seven: Research Information Sheet

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O AWANUIĀRANGI
indigenous-university

School of Indigenous Graduate Studies
Private Bag 1006
Domain Road
Whakatane

INFORMATION SHEET

This sheet contains critical information for you as a potential research participant to assist in the successful completion of this research. It helps to ensure that you are clear about the key components of this research and what the expectations are of you, as well as your rights as a research participant. This research project, and subsequent thesis, is the final component for me to successfully complete the requirements for the degree 'Master of Indigenous Studies' at Te Whare Waananga o Awanuiaarangi (Whakatane). Should you have any concerns or queries regarding this research please direct these to the researcher in the first instance, and then one of the other two contacts listed below.

Thesis title: E rere te karoro, e rere ki Huria: Ngaii Tamaraawaho of the 28th Maori Battalion

Researcher: Te Moanaroa Ngatoko, 107 Cambridge Rd, Tauranga, Ph 07 571 7818 or 027 202 4482, temoanaroa.ngatoko@minedu.govt.nz

Research Supervisor: Dr Rapata Wiri, Te Whare Waananga o Awanuiaarangi, Whakatane, Ph 07 307 1467, rapata.wiri@wananga.ac.nz

The Chairperson, Ethics Research Committee, Te Whare Waananga o Awanuiaarangi, Whakatane, Ethics@wananga.ac.nz

Other important project information:

Participant recruitment: Participants were sought based on their own or collective whanau knowledge relating to the men of Ngai Tamaraawaho who served in the 28th Maori Battalion. This includes immediate or extended whanau members of the men who served, as well as hapuu historians and whakapapa experts of Ngai Tamaraawaho.

Participant involvement and rights: Participant involvement will be negotiated with careful consideration and respect given to the participant at all times. The most preferred method to collate 'korero' will be via one to one interviews which will be recorded. The participant

at all times has the right to direct the researcher to cease recording and/or decline any question/s. The information (data) will be held safely and securely by TWWoA for the purposes of this research only. The research participant also maintains the right to withdraw their consent at any time during this research. They also have the right to anonymity, as well as access to the research summary once completed.

Project procedures: Contributions from participants through sharing stories and dialogue will contribute significantly to the write-up of the chapters that form this thesis. All taped recordings will be stored securely and then disposed of accordingly. Participants are prompted to advise the researcher around issues of sensitivity and/or confidentiality.

Research topic: The researcher is happy to discuss any details of this research with you.

Ethics Research Committee Approval Statement:
This project has been reviewed and approved by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Committee, **Reference #: ERCA 13/006TN**. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact the Chairperson of the Ethics Committee:

Contact Details for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Committee:

Email address:
The Chairman
Ethics Committee
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
Ethics@wananga.ac.nz

Postal address:
The Secretary
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
Private Bag 1006
13 Domain Road
Whakatane

Courier address:
13 Domain Rd
Whakatane

Appendix Eight: Confidentiality Agreement

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O
AWANUIĀRANGI
indigenous-university

Thesis title: "E rere te karoro, e rere ki Huria: Ngai Tamaraawaho of the 28th Maori Battalion"

Researcher: Te Moanaroa Ngatoko

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

(NB: This form will be held securely by TWWoA until after the successful completion of this thesis)

Declaration for research participant:

I have read the information sheet concerning the above research proposal and have had the details of this project explained to me in detail. Any questions I had have been answered to my satisfaction with the proviso that I can ask further questions at any time. I hereby:

- Agree/do not agree to participate in this research under the conditions set out in the information sheet which I have read. I am also aware that I can withdraw my consent at any time.
- Furthermore, I agree/do not agree to my interview being audio taped and transcribed for the purposes of this research/thesis.
- I also agree to keep confidential all information concerning this project until this research has been successfully completed.

Signature: .....

Full name: .....

Date: .....

Nga mihi,

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