Ngā ritenga pai: Māori and Modernity in the 1850s

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Modernity and education have always been a double-edged sword for Māori. On the one hand Māori have embraced and co-opted new knowledge since encountering and engaging with missionaries, traders, officials and school teachers, but this pursuit has also entailed engagement with institutions that have imperilled their reo, mana, and tikanga. One could argue that this is as true now within what is termed the "mainstream" education system as it was in its earlier missionary and colonial antecedents. Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa was a product of the missionary education system. This essay explores a number of his late-1850s writings on the schooling he experienced, and his ideas on the value of education and modernity.

Taratoa, generally considered to be of Ngāi Te Rangi in the Bay of Plenty, but also with Ngāti Raukawa lineage from the Waikato and Central North Island area,[1] is best known for events leading to his death in 1864 rather than his life beforehand. In the late 1850s, as the colonial regime tried to establish itself, Māori established the Kīngitanga (Māori King Movement) in order to assert and maintain Māori autonomy. In July 1863, the British Army invaded the Waikato, and in a nine-month campaign pushed the Māori King and his people into Ngāti Maniapoto territory. The Army then turned its attention to Ngāi Te Rangi, who were Kīngitanga allies in the Tauranga district.

Taratoa is commonly associated with two documents relating to this latter conflict, which stand in seeming contrast with his earlier writings. The first was his letter to Colonel Cleary, no doubt at the behest of the rangatira, Rāwiri Puhirake, who was attempting to entice the British into combat. The letter stated the various offences the British had committed and challenged them to fight on April 1 1864.[2] In the event, the first clash did not occur until April 26, when troops attacked the well-prepared Ngāi Te Rangi pā at Pukehinahina (or Gate Pā which proved a resounding victory for the Māori side. Seven weeks later the British prevailed, attacking the partially prepared Ngāi Te Rangi position at Te Ranga, in which Taratoa was killed. The second document was a "chivalrous" code of conduct for Māori combatants detailing which Pākehā might be killed, and which spared. This was drawn up at Pōteriwhi Pā on March 28, 1864, and according to H. G. Robley was written by Tauranga Catholic chiefs,[3] although Gilbert Mair suggested 'these noble sentiments were written out by an enlightened young mission student named Henare Taratoa".[4] Contemporary newspapers also reported that British troops found a copy of this document on Taratoa's body at Te Ranga.[5]

These latter texts are part of a wider mythology of chivalry surrounding this conflict. At Gate Pā, for example, there is an account from a British officer that "a brave Christian Maori chivalrously brought him a calabash of water" as he lay wounded. This act, as discussed below, has been credited to Taratoa,[6] although it may also have been other individuals, including Hēni Te Kiri Karamu (also known as Jane Foley).[7]

We may then portray Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa as a principled freedom fighter, who lost his life fighting for his iwi during the New Zealand Wars. His actions, and the texts above, should be seen in the context of the deleterious effects of colonialism threatening Māori authority and their hold on their tribal estates, that ultimately led to the wars of the 1860s. However, Taratoa spent most of his life living and working within Christian missions and schools; prior to returning home to Tauranga in early 1860, Taratoa worked as a lay-reader and teacher at the

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Ōtaki Industrial Native School on the Kapiti Coast of the lower North Island, established by the Anglican missionary Archdeacon Octavius Hadfield. His writings from this earlier period, which are the focus of this essay, appear in conflict with narratives surrounding his role as tribal warrior, and need to be read within the context of time and place, as well as his own position there.

Ōtaki was a Māori settlement, mainly Ngāti Raukawa with links to Ngāti Toa, but it was also relatively close to a growing Pākehā settlement at Wellington. After some armed conflicts with Pākehā settlers and the British Army in the 1840s, the following decade offered Māori of the region opportunities for trade in flax, potatoes, and other produce,[8] including goldmining and flour milling. The nearby river allowed some shipping, and in 1858 the town became a stop for a new stagecoach service between Wellington and Wanganui.[9] Colonisation thus offered commercial opportunities for Māori, who at this stage still owned most of the land. Many, especially in the Kapiti and Wellington districts, saw some merit in the predominant colonial discourse promulgated by missionaries and government officials that Māori just needed to embrace the new worldview to receive the full benefits.

In the 1850s, during which time Taratoa lived in Ōtaki, missionaries, officials, and indeed many Māori, used language such as "ngā ritenga Pākehā" (Pākehā customs) and "ngā ritenga pai" (good customs) to define modernity and Western civilization. Although these ritenga were plural, the Pākehā communicating the message presented them as a single package, encompassing Christianity, commerce, European agricultural techniques, schooling, law and government, individualism, and even reaching into personal behaviour and habits, such as clothing and table manners, as well as eschewing "bad" Māori customs. Of course, Māori had already integrated some aspects of Western culture to varying degrees, but given the extremely dynamic nature of colonisation at the time, they too tended to view ngā ritenga pai as a conceptual whole.[10]

Te Karere o Poneke, a Māori-language newspaper (1857-58) based in Wellington, was an enthusiastic advocate for this discourse. Walter Buller, at that time a Native Department interpreter and the son of a missionary, ran the niupepa (newspaper) largely as a personal endeavour. Despite sporting the Crown's coat of arms on its masthead and receiving one single small subsidy, it was not an official government paper; neither was it a church paper despite missionaries occasionally writing articles for it. *Te Karere o Poneke*, appearing weekly and servicing mainly the Wellington and Kapiti districts including Ōtaki, allowed considerably more space and latitude for Māori correspondence than other niupepa of this time. During its 16-month run, it published 283 letters from Māori, of which over 16% directly referenced ritenga Pākehā, mostly positively. As a mission school teacher, Taratoa, whose work contributed to advancing modernity, sought to lead the debate.

Taratoa's first letter to the paper in October 1857 provided a recipe for creating rēwena (a yeast from hops) and baking bread, explaining "because this was the first thing that I learned".[11] In his second letter, a few months later in January 1858, he argued the benefits of education. Taratoa attacked the notion that wealth and materialism would provide access to modernity, asserting that only education could do that:

> Toku whakairo ianei, Kotahi tonu te tikanga e uru ai tatou ki te pai—ma te kura anake; ma te ako hoki i te reo pakeha; ma reira, ka mohiotia ai nga ritenga nunui. . . Ma te kura anake ka uru ai tatou ki nga mahi pai katoa a te pakeha.[12]

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> (This what I think. There is one way through which we may gain benefits, and it's only by schooling, and learning the English language; and that way we will understand important practices. . . . It is only by schooling that we will join in with all the good work of the Pākehā.)

For Taratoa, it was not good enough to just espouse a desire for Pākehā customs, but that "we should make a big call to the people of this end of our island so that people can debate it in depth".[13] The newspaper certainly promoted the learning of English,[14] and the Rev T.B. Hutton, a regular moralizing contributor, alluded to Taratoa's "good letter" in his exhortations for Māori to learn English.[15] Other Māori correspondents, however, did not see the English language as a priority. As an educated man, Taratoa no doubt believed what he wrote, but other issues are at play. He was not rigid in attitudes to English; he translated an arithmetic book into Māori, most likely to assist with his own teaching.[16]

Interestingly he does not specify in his January letter the "important practices" and "good work" that education would give access to. Taratoa did not feel the need to elaborate on these practices, but it is likely he was referring to engagement in the new political institutions of the 1850s. The New Zealand Constitution Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1852, established a bicameral Parliament and Provincial Assemblies, with the latter sitting from 1853. These institutions marked a departure from New Zealand's crown colony status through which the Governor had exercised an exclusive rule. Settlers now gained some responsibility over government although the Governor retained responsibility for defense and Native Affairs. Through the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori men (in theory) possessed the same rights as British subjects and were technically eligible to vote. However, few were able to exercise this right, as their communally owned land failed to meet the property-based franchise requirements. In 1856 the Superintendent of the Wellington province, Isaac Featherston, sought to block Māori from voting, claiming that Hadfield, Taratoa's employer, was attempting to enroll large number of Māori "to place the whole representation of this province in the hands of the Natives, or rather of certain Missionaries".[17] The issue was still playing out at the time Taratoa was writing in the late 1850s,[18] and as more of Taratoa's other correspondence shows (as discussed below) he was certainly interested in Māori engagement in the settlers' new political institutions.

The other reason Taratoa may have written on the value of education was that the Ōtaki Industrial School was facing difficulties at that time. It had been gifted a large amount of land by Māori (up to 800 acres in some accounts)[19] and, due to the unequal bulk funding to the various religious authorities, the school received proportionately more government money per child than other schools in the area.[20] Yet its roll had dropped in the previous four or five years from around 90 students to just seven boys and six girls boarding, and a few irregular day students. Hadfield blamed this on high staff turn-over; but excessive discipline along with other factors contributed to the decline. Farm work was a major part of the school day; in summer students had two hours lessons in class and seven hours farm labour. By the end of 1857, Taratoa was the last of the teaching staff there.[21]

After calls for an enquiry from a Wellington newspaper,[22] the government appointed a commission of local settlers to inspect the establishment, and by way of comparison, other schools in the area as well. The paper was concerned that it had been providing funds for the Church to farm land donated by Māori, rather than run a school "for the education of the native and half-caste race".[23] Hadfield refused to cooperate with the Commissioners who decided to "hold an open meeting, and throw themselves upon the good sense of the European and Native inhabitants of the settlement".[24] From these testimonies, including Taratoa's, and their own

observations, they eventually delivered a critical report subsequently published in the *Wellington Independent*.[25]

Taratoa informed them that he gave instruction in "English and Native language, reading, writing, and arithmetic, conveyed in both those languages". He also taught singing and geography. This instruction amounted to about two and a half hours daily. Despite the numbers having dropped, Taratoa asserted he was less of a disciplinarian than the Pākehā teachers had been, and the roll had remained stable while he was in charge. But it is clear that "out-door employment" took up a considerable part of the school day, five hours in winter and seven in summer, with Taratoa teaching the boys "to put up fences, to make their clothes, to plant potatoes, and to dig the soil". While the girls resided with Archdeacon Hadfield, the boys lived with Taratoa and his wife. The report noted he "is responsible for their discipline. Is attentive to that, and sees the boys have plates, knives, and forks, at their meals, and that they attend to cleanliness of their persons". It appears too that the Commission may have tested Taratoa's ability in English. Overall, the local community were dissatisfied, claiming that the boarders were ill-fed, and the parents of the Māori and "half-caste" children of the area expressed a general desire that there should be "a good English master" there to ensure that the English language was being taught properly.[26] This was an indirect criticism of Taratoa, and it is highly likely that he would have found the whole experience humiliating.

In July of 1858 Taratoa again wrote to *Te Karere o Poneke*. The letter began with a similar refrain. "Friends. My question to you is, which Pākehā custom will we seek? . . . There is just one source of the Pākehā's high position; it is schooling only."[27] However, rather than just exhort Māori to change and to engage with ngā ritenga Pākehā, Taratoa gave the example of his own educational journey. Although relatively short, just 1115 words in total, this is one of the earliest self-consciously autobiographical accounts written by a Māori. Of course, he was writing it in the context of the wider debate around education and modernity, but he may also have been prompted by his own beleaguered position at the Ōtaki school.

He began in 1839 when aged about nine or ten, his uncle took him from his own tribal area to the Bay of Islands, where he spent a year in a mission school. Although he does not mention it, the Anglican Church had just started its Te Papa mission at Tauranga, but inter-tribal war was prevalent, and this mission station was just becoming established. In contrast, missionaries had been a presence in the Bay of Islands for several decades.[28] It was most likely around this time that he took his Christian name, Hēnare Wiremu, after Henry Williams the Anglican missionary. Taratoa then went to work on Samuel Williams's farm at Pakaraka, where he milked cows. Taratoa states that when Bishop Selwyn arrived in 1841 he joined him at Waimate, then attended his school at the Bay of Islands. The date is inaccurate, as Selwyn did not arrive in New Zealand until 1842, but it is clear that he respected and got on with the bishop, the head of New Zealand's Anglican church. Taratoa notes that "the Māori children of the school all went to the house of the Bishop and the others, and we ate together every day".[29] Indeed as the College's website states:

> From the out set [sic] Selwyn developed a College based on an idealised semi-monastic community. There was a common dining hall, participation in daily worship in Maori and English, a farm to support the College and train students, and a hospital.[30]

A few years later, Selwyn shifted to Auckland taking Taratoa and other young Māori pupils with him. They lived in tents, as the new St John's College was being built, "in 1846 our building was completed, that is the College, and our home was named St Johns College".[31]

Taratoa's principal aim in discussing his life story was to illustrate the variety of practical skills and work that a missionary education could provide. He stated that he and another boy learned sewing, making their own trousers, then spent several years as bakers. Selwyn then gave the two men choices of what they might do; his friend opted for carpentry, and Taratoa chose cooking for the establishment:[32]

> And so, there were many Māori and Pākehā children at the school. I made many Pākehā foods: puddings, cakes, pies, jellies, stews, pea soup, Irish soup, ginger beer, buns, leaven [bread], Irish stew, lemonade; there were so many Pākehā foods I learnt to make.

In 1849, when his work as a cook came to an end, Selwyn appointed Taratoa as a "monitor", "teaching small children writing, arithmetic, reading, maps, and other school activities".[33] He then states "in 1850, the Bishop and I went to Hawaiki, that is, to some other islands".[34] This is his sole reference to a voyage in the Pacific accompanying Selwyn. Although other sources show that Taratoa worked for a few months as a missionary on the Loyalty Islands near New Caledonia,[35] he perhaps did not feel that this was relevant to the main theme of his letter. He ends his personal story with taking on his then role as teacher at Ōtaki.

Taratoa's July 1858 letter then returned to asserting the value of education for Māori. He noted how Selwyn stressed its importance, including his encouragement for captains of Māori vessels to learn the arithmetic and compass skills relevant to sailing ships. From his almost two decades in the educational field, Taratoa considered that the options were numerous for educated Māori youth:

> . . . many Māori youth at the Bishop's school have been taught the Pākehā trades; some are carpenters, printers, clothing weavers, shoemakers, farm workers, cooks, stewards, bakers, sailors, a great many occupations.[36]

But the greatest opportunities for children came from literacy and numeracy. Taratoa's final words were to older Māori; "if you want to enter into Pākehā ways you should go and live with cultivated Pākehā; if not, ask your ministers that you can be taught at school".[37]

Taratoa's last communication with *Te Karere o Poneke* in November 1858 was shorter, and addressed the issue of Māori political involvement. He had written to the Governor and received a letter in reply from Donald McLean, the Native Secretary. Taratoa's original letter appears to be lost, but he forwarded McLean's letter along with a short covering letter to the niupepa, which subsequently printed both. Taratoa's letter stated:

> I wrote to the Governor that he may state a way by which Māori might enter into Pākehā practices. And I asked that he explain the [notion of] unity of Pākehā and Māori. But the principal point of my question that I asked, was about the seventh section of the Laws of New Zealand.[38]

Taratoa was probably querying section 7 of the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852 concerning the property qualification of voters.[39] In his response, McLean agreed that Māori and Pākehā shared the same rights under the law, and "there was no barrier to Māori standing in this council [General Assembly], when they have actually gained the knowledge", and he stressed the Governor's paternal oversight of the Māori people in the meantime.[40] McLean concluded, "the Governor is unable to agree to other councils being set up; the only councils are those that the Queen has arranged for New Zealand".[41]

The other councils McLean referred to were most likely the rūnanga (councils) established under the authority of the Māori King that the government saw as a challenge to its own supremacy. The people of Ōtaki were divided over whether to support the Māori King or the British Queen, and without Taratoa's original letter we do not know how he phrased his questions to McLean. His own note ends obliquely with the words "and so, you can look at the meaning in this [McLean's] letter".

In December 1859, just prior to leaving Ōtaki, Taratoa wrote another letter, this time to *Te Karere Maori*, the official bilingual newspaper published by the Native Department, and circulated around the whole country. He began by pondering:

> I have been trying to find out the reason of the unsettled state of this island of New Zealand, for the right way has been explained to us for many years past, but no work has been carried out properly.[42]

He then stressed the biblical origin of government, that the Holy Trinity had assembled to deliberate on human creation, and that the Israelites had set the example that Queen Victoria's government now followed:

> These considerations therefore have led me to suppose that no Maori work will stand. For the desires of the Maories are all for high offices, and for that work which will give them fame, and they leave undone that which ought to be done first.[43]

We can assume that Taratoa's "Maori work" was referring to the Māori king and the Kīngitanga, as these were the principal Māori-initiated institutions established in response to colonialism. Again, he turned to education as the key for Māori advancement, stating "I think that from schools is derived that knowledge which appreciates the rules and noble doings of the Europeans. The only great difficulty in schools is the acquisition of the English language".[44] It was not that Māori should not participate in the colony's new institutions, but as yet they were not ready:

> Already have they given us three great benefits—the Gospel, Schools, and the Laws of the Queen. How are we to know how to perform all these? I think, my friends, that we must turn to schooling that we may be equal to the Europeans, and be able to join them in all their enterprises.[45]

This sort of discourse was music to the ears of the Native Office. Not only was Taratoa promoting Māori involvement in education as the means of Māori elevation, but by his indirect criticism of the Kīngitanga and his aspiration for Māori to engage with Pākehā colonial institutions, he was in effect endorsing the government's policy of the amalgamation of Māori into the State. Despite his championing of the value of education, Taratoa's role as the teacher at Ōtaki was coming to an end. Less than two weeks after he sent his letter to *Te Karere Maori*, he wrote to McLean saying he wished to sell the two acres he owned at Ōtaki to go back home to Tauranga.[46] Although he does not provide a reason for his move, it is likely that declining Māori enthusiasm for missionary schooling played a part.

So, what can we make of Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa's letters to the niupepa *Te Karere o Poneke* and *Te Karere Māori*? From our present-day perspective, it would be very easy to discount his thoughts merely as those of someone who had been duped by his missionary education into espousing assimilationist ideas. In hindsight, we can now see that although colonisation at times provided some opportunities for Māori in the nineteenth century, in balance it proved destructive of their culture, economies, and societal structures, and effectively transformed a

New Zealand that was controlled by indigenous tribal polities into one dominated by Pākehā people and their institutions. Education certainly played its part in this reconstruction.

Taratoa did not possess the benefit of hindsight. The most brutal phase of New Zealand colonialism, the wars between 1860 and 1872 in which the government sought to gain control over land, stamp its authority on Māori, and extinguish resistance – a time during which Taratoa was killed – still lay in the near future. Māori in the 1850s were still able to believe in the promise, despite its fraying edges, of a shared future prosperity with Pākehā. This was particularly true in the first half of the decade. The wars of the mid 1840s were in the past at that time. Other than pursuing land purchases, the government did little to interfere in Māori life, and Māori produce and labour found a ready market in a buoyant economy as the settlers established themselves. While New Zealand remained a Crown colony between 1840 and 1852 the discourses promulgated to Māori promoted the fiction that the British-appointed governor was acting in the best interests of Māori, as well as the colonists.

The rosy picture became problematic after the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852 implemented representative government in New Zealand. Although the provincial councils began in 1853, the central parliament did not meet until 1854 and take over "responsible" government until 1856. But despite still retaining most of the land in the North Island at this stage, few Māori were able to vote because the property-based franchise did not recognize their traditional land tenure systems. This, along with a slow alienation of their land through purchase and the steady influx of new immigrants, clearly showed that power was shifting into the hands of Pākehā settlers, many of whom showed a clear disdain for their Māori fellow citizens.

Not all Māori saw any value in the new pan-tribal project to establish a Māori king, in an effort to stop land sales and thereby retain tribal lands and authority. Indeed many rangatira would have agreed with Taratoa's statement above "that no Maori work will stand". When a cross-section of them met at the government-run conference at Kohimarama in 1860, they provided various, and often connected reasons for not engaging with the Kīngitanga. Many saw the issues through a religious lens.[47] Some, with their desire to maintain good relationships with the government, were pragmatic; too much land had already been sold, or there were already too many Pākehā living in their districts, to be able to turn back the clock.[48] Some rangatira had committed themselves to the new world order, and feared what they might jeopardise if they actively opposed the government. This was not just their remaining lands, but access to material goods[49] and what they believed was the predictability of Pākehā law and land tenure, or Crown protection.[50] Others believed like Taratoa that Pākehā were the source of new knowledge,[51] and they looked to a future in which Māori and Pākehā would equally share the responsibilities of running the country.[52]

Adherence to the King or Queen sometimes sat together uneasily within Māori communities. Taratoa would most likely have been physically present at meetings at Ōtaki in 1857 and 1858 when the Māori population listened to Kīngitanga emissaries.[53] And even if he was not present, he certainly would have known what their sentiments and objectives entailed. Despite criticism of the movement from prominent chiefs, by 1860 the numbers supporting the Kīngitanga were about half the settlement, and that group felt confident enough to hoist the King's flag there.[54] In 1861, the local JP, T.M. Cook stated "Nepia Taratoa, the most influential man of the Ngatiraukawas, [and possibly a relative of Hēnare Taratoa] has not openly declared himself a Kingite; but there is no doubt that he has secretly done so to his own people".[55] Taratoa would have encountered similar divisions when he returned to Tauranga. Although the Crown fought

against "Ngaiterangi" at Gate Pā and Te Ranga, the reference to Ngāi Te Rangi was a term employed by both Māori and Pākehā as a general catch-phrase to describe a number of related albeit independent tribal groupings who lived in the area.[56] There were a number of influential Ngāi Te Rangi chiefs who maintained at least nominal loyalty to the Crown, and after the conflict sought to safeguard their lands from confiscation.[57]

It is therefore surprising, given his rejection of the Kīngitanga while at Ōtaki, that Taratoa eventually aligned himself to the movement in Tauranga. This may have had more to do with hapū allegiances; he was born on Rangiwaea Island, near Matakana Island,[58] and possessed whakapapa links to Rāwiri Puhirake's hapū, Ngāi Tūkairangi, through his mother's side.[59] Eric Ramsden suggests that Taratoa, "considered too impetuous for the ministry . . . joined the Kingite party from a sense of rankling injustice". Ramsden does not specify why Taratoa might have felt this way, whether feeling personal slights from his time as a mission teacher, or dissatisfaction with the status of Māori within the colonial state.[60]

It is likely that Taratoa gradually converted to the Kīngitanga side. In 1861, the local Resident Magistrate, Henry T. Clarke, reported that Taratoa, "a young Chief who has lately returned from Otaki", was attempting to establish his own body, Te Rūnanga Tapu (or Sacred Rūnanga), "whose duty it shall be to keep the peace amongst the different hapus, and to make rules for the exclusive benefit of the Tauranga Natives". Clarke did not suggest that it was a Kīngitanga rūnanga, as he believed that "the sympathy evinced towards the Waikato movement, has very much cooled down", but Taratoa's rūnanga was not sanctioned by the Crown. While Clarke thought "the motive of these men to be good . . . many well-disposed men stand aloof, and will not give their assent until they see the nature of the rules they are to be bound by".[61] The Hocken Library possesses a letter from the Native office official, T. S. Smith in 1863 to a Wiremu Taratoa (most likely Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa) indicating some interaction between them. Smith stresses that the Treaty of Waitangi bound Māori to Britain, while also providing security: "The person who will not be protected by that law is the person who tramples on the Treaty of Waitangi".[62] This suggests that Taratoa may have been questioning the Crown's sovereignty. Certainly, once war began in the Waikato in 1863, Ngāi Te Rangi assisted the Kīngitanga materially, and with the fighting in South Auckland. Taratoa appears to have been drawn into this willingly.

Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa's life and death have certainly resonated in the past and continue to do so. His code of conduct features in various books and television programmes on the New Zealand Wars, and the story that he was the water carrier to the wounded of Gate Pā persisted for some time.[63] Bishop Selwyn certainly believed so, and on returning to England installed a memorial window to the fallen hero in his private chapel at Lichfield Cathedral.[64] Soon after the battle, the soldier-painter Horatio Robley created a watercolour of Taratoa in front of a palisade, based on a photograph from several years earlier.[65] Another watercolour from the same era by an unknown artist shows a tattooed Taratoa (who had no actual tāmoko) crouched over Booth to give him water.[66]

The identity of the person (or people) who bravely provided water has long been an issue. The *Auckland Weekly News* included a colour lithograph as a supplement in 1895, *'For his enemy.' – An episode of the Maori War*, of a Māori male slipping through the lines to give water to a wounded Colonel Booth.[67] In 1885, Arthur Smyth in the *New Zealand Herald* attributed the deed to the "Christian knight", Taratoa.[68] In 1898 conjecture surfaced when Hēni Te Kiri Karamu claimed she was the water bearer, rather than a man named Te Ipu who had claimed the honour, but Taratoa's code remained the inspiration.[69] In 1914, a memorial was

erected in the military cemetery at Tauranga with a marble frieze depicting Rāwiri Pukirake ordering his men to provide water to a stricken Booth.[70] The *Otago Daily Times,* in a 1935 article "The Gate Pa Fight: Heroic Water Carriers", conceded that Hēni Te Kiri Karamu carried the water, but suggested evidence also pointed to Taratoa and others there at the time.[71] Several years later, "J.C." in the *Auckland* Star asserted, based on James Cowan's *The Maori Wars*, that "the old inaccurate stories that gained currency about Henare Taratoa's heroism are, however presented without the necessary explanation that much that is fictional is contained in them", and that Hēni, whose party arrived late to the scene would have been ignorant of any code of conduct that Taratoa may have composed.[72] It was perhaps the code of conduct found on his body that clinched the matter for Ernest E. Bush, writing in *Te Ao Hou* in 1975:

> Beginning with a prayer, containing instructions for the treatment of prisoners and killed, the order concluded with a text from Scripture, words which identified themselves with the action of giving water to those parched and thirsty in the lonely trench. 'If thine enemy hunger,' the words read in Maori, 'feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink.' What more striking proof could anyone wish, to ensure that the young Christian student from Otaki was the hero of the battle![73]

More recently, the code of conduct has inspired further works relating to Taratoa. It featured in a retelling of the story of Gate Pā by Marcus Winter through "sand on a lightbox projection" in 2014,[74] and a recent documentary on Gate Pā by Ngāi Te Rangi historian Buddy Mikaere.[75] Two books on Taratoa appeared in 2014. Patricia Brooks' *Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa: Noble Warrior*, aimed at the high school market, is perhaps the most comprehensive publication on his life to date, although the book's emphasis is on his final years in Tauranga.[76] Debbie McCauley's bilingual *Taratoa and the Code of Conduct* for younger readers focuses almost exclusively on the battles at Gate Pā and Te Ranga.[77] Both books stress the code of conduct, and suggest that Taratoa was one of various water carriers.[78] In 2017 Tracey Tāwhiao of Ngāi Te Rangi produced an exhibition in Tauranga entitled "Rules of Engagement" in association with musician Ria Hall, who also presented a stage show and a music album of the same name.[79] Hall, also of Ngāi Te Rangi, found "compassion, love, fear, vulnerability, strength, resilience, [and] resolve" in Taratoa's code of conduct, and believes that it has a continuing relevance for New Zealand today.[80] While the earlier recounting of the Tauranga Campaign tended to accentuate a now-lost chivalry, more modern readings tend to stress its events as guides for the future. For example, St George's Anglican Church, which sits on the Gate Pā battle site, staged a series of lectures in 2019 on the Battle of Gate Pā. Its website stated:

> By telling the story of the battles, and of Henare Wiremu Taratoa's compassionate battle code and the actions of Heni Te Kiri Karamu we seek to offer a basis for Maori [sic] and Pākehā and people of all races to build mutual trust and respect and work together for the benefit of our city.[81]

So what do Taratoa's earlier writings from Ōtaki tell us, especially alongside the events leading to his death that dominate the discourse? We certainly should not judge nineteenth-century Māori articulations from our present-day understandings, as people's ideas develop out of the contexts they find themselves in, and those can change dramatically. How Taratoa wrote while at the Ōtaki Industrial School reflected his personal circumstances at the time. In the late 1850s, the government's capacity to control Māori was still fairly limited. Many Māori, including those in Ōtaki among whom Taratoa lived, still clung to the belief that colonisation might still work for them, or that the benefits might outweigh what might be lost. In a time of intense and dynamic change, others may have felt there was little they could do to moderate the relentless transformation of their lives. However, by 1864, with his iwi about to face the British Army, Taratoa had undergone a change of mind, and perhaps had gained deeper understandings.

How subsequent commentators have interpreted Taratoa's actions at Gate Pā also reflect their times, and personal or professional agenda. The code of conduct and the water bearing actions attributed to him, however, illustrate that he maintained his Christian faith, a point emphasized by Selwyn's church window, and by other religiously motivated people. For other Pākehā his acts of chivalry perhaps provide a reassuring narrative that help mitigate the cruel and rapacious nature of colonial war, that Māori and Pākehā, as worthy opponents in war, could then come together to build a nation together. For Māori, his actions perhaps give a sense of pride, that he was a decent man ahead of his time, coupled with his noble death fighting for his iwi against the colonizer.

Given that some of his Ōtaki letters were in te reo Māori to Pākehā-run niupepa, they may have escaped later notice, and perhaps now would be seen as too closely aligned to colonial discourses. But it is perhaps worth considering them in terms of education. Few Māori of this time had been as exposed to Pākehā customs and gained so much Pākehā schooling as Taratoa. This investment committed him to ngā ritenga pai and the new world that was developing around him, and his early writing demonstrates a belief that education was the key to material and cultural advancement, as well as to "uru ki nga mahi nui o te pakeha", that is, engaging with, and participating in, the institutions of colonial power and influence. The letters from McLean and Smith to Taratoa also show that he was not beyond seeking clarification on the extent that civil rights applied to Māori.

Although the societal changes were rapid and profound, the official message of the 1850s was still relatively benign, that Māori would see the benefits of accepting the government and its laws and would do so through their own volition. As Taratoa got ready to depart for Tauranga, tensions over land issues in Taranaki were intensifying; he may have considered his optimism misplaced, that the settlers aimed at gaining full control regardless of Māori sensibilities. But although other Māori at Ōtaki had aligned to the Kīngitanga, his 1858 letter to *Te Karere Māori* still argued for the value of education as means of engaging successfully with colonial structures. Once he was in Tauranga he was drawn into active resistance to the state. But, even then, he could not foresee the extent of the warfare, the heavy hand of government, and the loss of land, language, tribal collectivity, and economic opportunity that followed after his death.

The same message to young Māori that they need to be educated to get ahead in life, and to be an asset to their iwi, continued and is as prevalent today as it was in the nineteenth century. The question is not whether education is of value, but whether the form it is taught in is geared for Māori success. Educators may believe that "What is good for Māori is good for everyone", in developing effective teaching for Māori.[82] While some progress has been made, the hope is that the Pākehā will be more inclusive than their forebears, and that education will benefit Māori both individually and collectively, and through them the whole country.

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[1] Patricia Brooks, *Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa: Noble Warrior* (Tauranga: Patricia Brooks, 2014), 12.
[2] "Extracts from Mr Horace Fildes' unpublished biography of Robley; "Major General H. Gordon Robley: Soldier and Artist." [VUW Fildes 1507]".. [This is an appendix in Timothy Walker, "Robley: Te Ropere 1840-1930" (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1985), 381.
[3] Ibid;
[4] Gilbert Mair, *The Story of Gate Pa*, (Tauranga: Bay of Plenty Times, 1937), 11.
[5] For example, *Daily Southern Cross*, 29 June 1864, 3.

[6] Mair, *The Story of Gate Pa*, 86-88; Artist unknown, "Wiremu Henare Taratoa offers water to Lieutenant-Colonel Booth, 1864" (1860s?), Reference Number: A-172-033, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[7] Lloyd Carpenter, "Māori Chivalry during a British defeat: 150 Years of Remembering Gate *Pā*" in *Battlefield Events: Landscape, Commemoration and Heritage*, eds. Keir Reeves, Geoffrey R. Bird, Laura James, Birger Stichelbaut, Jean Bourgeois (London: Routledge, 2016), 35; Steven Oliver, "Te Kiri Karamu, Heni", *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol 1 (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1990), 461; "Gate Pā Memorial Church", *New Zealand History*, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/gate-pa-war-memorial, (accessed 6 February 2019).
[8] Thomas Bevan, *Reminiscences of an Old Colonist: Personal and Historical* (Wellington: Evening Post, 1905), 15. This was also serialised in the *Evening Post*, from 18 March 1905, 10.
[9] A. H. McLintock (ed) *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Vol 2 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1966), 736.
[10] See Lachy Paterson, *Colonial Discourses: Niupepa Māori 1855-1863* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006), 100-135.
[11] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 29 October 1857, 4.
[12] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 25 January 1858, 2. (All translations by author unless otherwise stated.)
[13] Ibid. "...me karanga nui ki nga tangata o tenei pito o to tatou moutere; kia runangatia nuitia e ngā tangata..."
[14] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 29 October 1857, 2; 22 February 1858, 2; 16 August 1858, 2; 13 September 1858, 3; 18 January 1858, 2.
[15] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 12 April 1858, 4. "E hoa ma, me whakaaro koutou ki te reta a Henare Taratoa, no Otaki: he reta pai tena..."
[16] Henare Wiremu Taratoa (transl.) *He Pukapuka Whiha* [sic] *tenei hei ako ma nga tangata e hiahia ana ki te rapu i nga ritenga o te whika* (Wellington: George Watson, 1858). See also Phil Parkinson & Penny Griffith, *Books in Māori 1815-1900: Ngā Tānga Reo Māori* (Auckland: Reed, 2004), BIM483.
[17] I.E. Featherstone to Colonial Secretary, 24 November 1856. "Correspondence relative to the registration of Native voters", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, E-02, (1858), 2.
[18] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 15 October 1857, 2; 3 May 1858, 2; 5 July 1858, 2.
[19] For example, see *Wellington Independent*, 16 January 1858, 3.
[20] For example, see "Correspondence Relative to Money Grants to the Churches of England and Rome, as also to the Wesleyans, for Education of the Natives; and Report of the Appropriation of Same", *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives*, 1856.
[21] *Wellington Independent*, 11 August 1858, 2.
[22] *Wellington Independent*, 28 November 1857, 6.
[23] *Wellington Independent*, 9 January 1858, 3.
[24] "Reports on Native Schools.", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, E-01, (1858), 54-55.
[25] *Wellington Independent*, 11 August 1858, 2-3.
[26] *Wellington Independent*, 11 August 1858, 2-3.
[27] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 26 July 1858, 3. "E hoa ma. He ui atu taku ki a koutou, ko te whea te ritenga Pakeha e rapua nei e koutou? …. kotahi tonu te take o to te Pakeha rangatira, ko te kura anake."
[28] W.P. Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand: A History* (Dunedin: Anglican Church, 1973), 12-14; Valerie Carson, "Submitting to Great Inconveniences: Early Missionary Education for Maori Women and Girls," in *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814-1882*, ed. Robert Glen (Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship, 1992), 70; H.T. Purchas, *History of the English Church in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Simpson & Williams, 1914), 57-60, 65.
[29] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 26 July 1858, 4. "…ko te haere tahi o nga tamariki maori o te kura ki te Whare-kainga o te Pihopa ma, kai tahi ana matou i te tina i nga ra katoa."

[30] "The History of St John's Theological College", *St John's Theological College*. https://www.stjohnscollege.ac.nz/our-history, (accessed 12 April 2022).
[31] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 26 July 1858, 4. "I te tau 1846 ka oti to matou whare, ara, te Kareti, tapa iho te ingoa o to matou kainga, ko Hone Kareti."
[32] Ibid. "Engari, he nui rawa no nga tamariki maori o te kura, no nga tamariki pakeha hoki. He nui nga kai Pakeha i mahia e au. He Purini, he Keke, he Pai, he Here, he Tu, he Pihupa, he Airihihupa, he hanga Tinipia, he Pana, he hanga Rewena, he Tuairihi, he Remaneiri, he tini noa iho nga kai Pakeha i akona e ahau."
[33] Ibid. "…he ako i nga tamariki ririki, ki te tuhituhi, ki te whika, ki te korero Pukapuka, ki te Mapi, ki etehi atu mahi o to kura."
[34] Ibid. "I te tau 1850, ka haere maua ko te Pihopa ki Hawaiki, otira, ki etehi atu moutere ke atu."
[35] Peter Tremewan, "Missionary contacts in New Zealand and New Caledonia in the nineteenth century" in *New Zealand-New Caledonia: Neighbours, Friends, and Partners*, eds. Frédéric Angleviel and Stephen I. Levine (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2008), 117.
[36] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 26 July 1858, 4. "…he tokomaha nga tamariki maori o te kura a te Pihopa i akona ki nga mahi o te Pakeha, ko etehi he kamura, he kai perehi pukapuka, he whatu kakahu, he humeke, he kai mahi Pamu, he kuki, he tuari, he peka tunu rohi, he heremana kaipuke, he tini noa iho nga mahi."
[37] Ibid. "ki te hiahia koutou kia uru ki nga tikanga Pakeha me haere koutou ki nga Pakeha rangatira noho ai; ki te kore me ki atu ki o koutou Minita kia akona koutou ki te Kura."
[38] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 8 November 1858 (Supplement), 1. "…he reta hoki naku i tuhi atu ki a te Kawana, kia korerotia mai e ia he tikanga e uru ai te tangata Māori ki o te Pakeha tikanga. He patai atu hoki naku kia whakamaramatia mai e ia te whakakotahitanga o te Pakeha, me te tangata maori. Otira, ko te tino take o taku patai, he ui atu naku, mo te 7 o nga upoko o nga Ture o Niu Tirani."
[39] See "The New Zealand Constitution Act 1852", *Imperial Acts affecting New Zealand 1840-1856* (New Zealand Legal Information Institute) http://www.nzlii.org/nz/legis/imp_act_1840/nzca185215a16vc72351/, (accessed 12 April 2022).
[40] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 8 November 1858 (Supplement), 1. "...kahore he mea hei arai i te tangata Maori te tu ai ia ki tenei runanga ana whiwhi rapa ia ki te mohiotanga."
[41] Ibid. 'Ekore ra te Kawana e hei te whakaae kia turia etahi atu runanga; heoi ano runanga ko ena kua whakaritea e Te Kuini mo Niu Tirani.'
[42] *Te Karere Maori*, 1 January1860, 11. [Newspaper translation] "E rapu ana ahau ki te take i tupu ai nga raruraru o tenei moutere o Niu Tirani, ina hoki, ka maha nga tau i korerotia nga tikanga ki a tatou, kahore ano tetahi mahi kia oti pai."
[43] Ibid., 12. "Koia au i whakaaro ai inaianei; ekore e tuturu he mahi ma nga iwi tangata Maori; e whai tonu ana hoki te whakaaro o te tangata Maori ki nga mahi rangatira anake, ara, ki nga mahi e whai ingoa ana, ko nga mahi tuatahi ka whakarerea. No konei au i whakaaro ai."
[44] Ibid., 12. "Ko te mea e whakaaro ano hoki ahau, e puta atu ana i roto i te kura te mohiotanga ki nga tikanga katoa, me nga mahi rangatira a te Pakeha, e puta ake ana i roto i te kura. Kotahi tonu te wahi pakeke o te kura, ko te reo Pakeha anake."
[45] Ibid., 13. "No te mea, ka toru enei mahi nui kua tukua mai nei kia tatou. Ko te rongopai tetahi, ko nga kura tetahi, ko te homaitanga o nga ture o Te Kuini tetahi. Tena, me pewhea e mohio ai nga tikanga o enei mahi? Ki toku whakaaro, e hoa ma, me tahuri koutou ki nga kura mahi ai, kia noho tahi ai tatou ko nga Pakeha, kia uru ai hoki tatou ki a ratou mahi."
[46] Letter, Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa to McLean, 22 December 1859. Ref: MS-Papers-0032-0683D-3. Object #1031643, Alexander Turnbull Library.
[47] For example, *Te Karere Maori*, 14 July 1860, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 26, 31; 31 July 1860, 19; 3 August 1860, Supplement, 51; 30 November 1860, 32.
[48] For example, *Te Karere Maori*, 31 July 1860, 14, 46; 3 August 1860, Supplement, 55.
[49] For example, *Te Karere Maori*, 14 July 1860, 46.
[50] For example, *Te Karere Maori*, 14 July 1860,15, 16, 22, 23, 31; 31 July 1860, 15; 3 August 1860, Supplement, 15, 54; 30 November 1860, 17.
[51] For example, *Te Karere Maori*, 31 July 1860, 39; 3 August 1860, Supplement, 62; 30 November 1860, 34.

[52] For example, *Te Karere Maori*, 31 July 1860: 10; 3 August 1860, Supplement: 70-71; 30 November 1860: 13, 15, 23.
[53] *Te Karere o Poneke*, 12 November 1857, 2-4; 16 August 58, 2; *Te Karere Māori*, 30 November 1857, 12-13.
[54] *Colonist*, 25 May 1860, 3; *Otago Witness*, 26 May 1860, 6.
[55] "The Reports on the State of the Natives at the Time of the Arrival of Sir George Grey", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (1862), E-07, 29.
[56] Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana: Report on the Tauranga Confiscation Claims* (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2004), 43-48.
[57] *Daily Southern Cross*, 22 August 1864, 4.
[58] Tauranga City Libraries, *Tauranga Memories: Battles of Gate Pā and Te Ranga.* http://tauranga.kete.net.nz/battles_of_gate_pa_and_te_ranga_1864/topics/show/939, accessed 10 February 2019.
[59] Patricia Brooks, *Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa: Noble Warrior* (Tauranga: Patricia Brooks, 2014), 12.
[60] Eric Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of the Otaki Church, its First Pastor and its People* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1951), 248.
[61] "The Reports on the State of the Natives at the Time of the Arrival of Sir George Grey", *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, E-07 (1862), 41.
[62] Letter, T.S. Smith to Wm. Taratoa, Unknown: Papers relating to Maori (1863-1864), MS-0152. Hocken Collections, Dunedin.
[63] For example, Buddy Mikaere and Cliff Simons, *Victory at Gate Pā?: The Battle of Pukehinahina-Gate Pā: 1864*, (Auckland: New Holland Publishers, 2018), 136-38. Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019), 138, 146; James Belich, Tainui Stevens and Colin McRae, "Episode 3. The Invasion of Waikato", *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga Nuinui o Aotearoa* (Auckland: Television New Zealand, 1998).
[64] "Notes and queries", *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 36, no. 144 (1927): 401.
[65] Horatio Robley, *Taratoa, lay preacher. Killed at Te Ranga*, 1864. Ref: A-033-011, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; Unknown photographer, *Henare Wiremu Taratoa*, c.1860. Ref: 1/2-011005-F, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[66] Unknown artist, *Henare Wiremu Taratoa Offers Water to Lieutenant-Colonel Booth*, 1860s?, Ref: A-172-033, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[67] Wilson & Horton, *'For his enemy.'– An episode of the Maori War*. Ref: C-034-002-3, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
[68] *New Zealand Herald*, 14 February 1885: 9.
[69] *New Zealand Herald*, 12 February 1898: 9.
[70] *Bay of Plenty Times*, 22 June 1914: 5.
[71] *Otago Daily Times*, 3 August 1935: 7.
[72] *Auckland Star*, 16 September 1937: 6.
[73] Ernest E. Bush, "These things we must not forget", *Te Ao Hou* 76 (June 1975): 39.
[74] Annabel Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past: The New Zealand Wars on Screen*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2018), 258-9.
[75] Justine Murray, "Buddy Mikaere on the Battle of Gate Pā", *Radio New Zealand*, https://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/teahikaa/audio/2018621898/buddy-mikaere-on-the-battle-of-gate-pa, (accessed 12 April 2022).
[76] Brooks, *Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa.*
[77] Debbie McCauley, *Taratoa and the Code of Conduct: A Story from the Battle of Gate Pā*, (Tauranga: Mauāo Press, 2014).
[78] Brooks, *Hēnare Wiremu Taratoa*, 47; McCauley, *Taratoa and the Code of Conduct*, 17.
[79] "Rules of Engagement exhibition now open", *Bay of Plenty Times*, 19 October 2017. https://www.nzherald.co.nz/bay-of-plenty-times/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503343&objectid=11934545, (accessed 22 April 2022).
[80] Hussein Moses, 'A Maori missionary's rules for war inspired Ria Hall's new album', *Vice*, https://www.vice.com/en_nz/article/d3d7da/a-maori-missionarys-rules-for-war-inspired-ria-halls-new-album, (accessed 10 February 2019). See also Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 265.

[81] "Summer Public Lectures on The Battle Of Gate Pā", *Eventfinda*, https://www.eventfinda.co.nz/2019/summer-public-lectures-on-the-battle-of-gate-p/tauranga, (accessed 22 April 2022).
[82] Te Kotahitanga, "What's good for Māori…", *Te Kete Ipurangi*, Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga: Ministry of Education. https://tekotahitanga.tki.org.nz/Videos/Interviews/What-s-good-for-Maori, (accessed 9 May 2022).