

6 Songs of war and dissent

Maori anti-war activism and its cultural legacy¹

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With regard to speech-making in the Maori language there is no better qualification than a knowledge of the songs. In them are embedded expressions which are applicable to each and every circumstance concerning the Maori.

Apirana Ngata, 15 May 1929.²

Tēnā Kāwana, Whakapau tō Kaha, I whea koe I mua rā, I taku taioretanga?
Ka tukua e koe, Ka tūtahangatia, Ka āhei tāua kit e peka titoki.

[Now Governor, use all your resources. For where were you in my Ancestors' days? If we work together, we will be able to achieve peace.]

Te Puea Herangi, 'Ngā Rā O Hune', composed circa 1917.³

Introduction

In 2015, the graphic artist Emily Johns created a stunning poster of Te Puea (1883–1952), a Maori woman who became one of New Zealand's most famous anti-conscription activists. Te Puea is shown in Maori dress, shielding men of her tribe from conscription, and stating: 'I will not agree to my children going to shed blood.' This statement was a paraphrase of her ancestor's injunction 'no more blood shall flow' when he agreed to cease fighting British colonisers in the 1860s.⁴ The poster was one of a series of ten celebrating men and women who had resisted war. It might seem unlikely that a British artist commemorating notable peace activists of the First World War should choose to honour a little-known indigenous leader from New Zealand. Yet Te Puea's opposition to the war had a lasting legacy. Her anti-war work intersected with and strengthened campaigns for indigenous land rights. Her conflicts with fellow Maori who supported the war effort were expressed in song, in ways that brought Maori music and issues to new audiences. After the war, she willingly worked with the very leaders she had opposed in order to support Maori veterans and to preserve, invigorate and promote Maori culture within and beyond New Zealand.

Moreover, Te Puea's resistance to war and, in particular, conscription, offers a powerful narrative of women's leadership in the resistance to

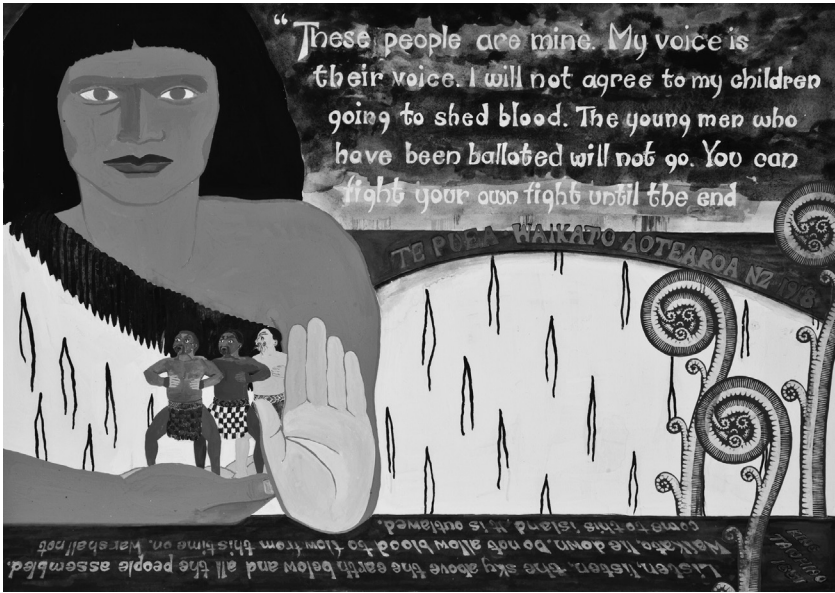


Figure 6.1 Te Puea.

Source: © Emily Johns, with thanks to *Peace News*.

colonisation and its aftermath that has been characteristic of indigenous movements in New Zealand.⁵ The following analysis of the encounters between Te Puea and male Maori leaders over conscription contributes to the growing literature on how the global war shaped regional histories in areas far removed from the main theatres of war in Europe.⁶ It illustrates how a global war was played out in the furthest reaches of the British Empire, creating tensions between different local groups and resulting in exchanges and encounters amongst them. In the case of New Zealand, it brought Maori into increased contact with Pakeha (non-Maori, white, New Zealanders) and with the imperial state.

The New Zealand case study also foregrounds how communities used music to promote but also to resist the war. In the case of New Zealand Maori, Ngata's comment, quoted at the outset of this piece, shows just how important music was in articulating community values and political views in Maori culture. Specific forms and genres of music functioned as a mode of political intervention. Such cases remind us that music offers a rich terrain for historical analysis and increases our understanding of war as a culturally pervasive phenomenon.⁷ In New Zealand, as elsewhere, the music made famous by the war remains relevant and beloved. So how, and why, did the war spark cultural encounters between different groups of Maori that

resulted in such a significant legacy? The answer to that lies partly in the situation of New Zealand at the outset of the war.

New Zealand Maori and the war

In 1914, when war was declared, Maori were a set of colonised communities, a people grappling with their relationship to empire and simultaneously exploring the possibilities of collective action and identity.⁸ Many Maori experienced tribal, or *iwi* and *hāpu* (subtribe) affiliation as more relevant than a collective 'racial' identity. One of the historic differences among Maori that weaves through New Zealand history is a tension between those who chose to ally with the British Crown and those who fought against colonisation and advocated for Maori sovereignty.⁹ Between 1840 and 1914, these fault lines within the Maori population had been exacerbated by land wars, demographic decline and land appropriation.

The tension between Maori over whether and how far to support the British was one that preoccupied the Maori members of parliament when war was declared. The New Zealand government had four seats specifically reserved for Maori representatives (Northern, East Coast, West Coast and Southern). In 1914, the Maori MPs, all men, shared a vision of education, health reform and circumscribed assimilation that they believed would restore the Maori population, land ownership and political power. They were educated professionals and described by scholar and biographer Michael King as 'bridge people' because they moved easily and deliberately between Maori and Pakeha worlds at a time when the two groups were still largely segregated by region, language and cultural practice.¹⁰ Three young politicians exemplified King's model: Apirana Ngata (1874–1950), a politician, lawyer and anthropologist; Te Rangi Hiroa, known in English as Peter Buck (1877–1951), a doctor and later anthropologist who served in the war; and Maui Pomare (1875/6–1930), also a doctor and a politician. Their attitudes to war contrasted strongly with those of Te Puea and the *iwi* of her region.

Tensions over whether to participate in the war animated discussions amongst colonised peoples throughout the British, French and German empires.¹¹ Like other colonial subjects, Maori were quick to assess the value of the war for their own communities.¹² Te Puea and the Maori MPs reached different conclusions. The Maori MPs argued strongly for the New Zealand government to send Maori to the war. They promoted recruitment and on 15 February 1915, the first 'Native Contingent' of 518 Maori sailed for Egypt. Ultimately, about 2,200 Maori enlisted, which represented 4.33% of the Maori population.¹³ This was high in the context of demographic decline that had marked the previous century of Maori history.¹⁴ In addition to 'proving themselves,' the Maori MPs saw the formation of a Maori battalion as an opportunity to forge a collective Maori identity. They believed the training camps would help Maori from different areas discover their

commonalities, especially when they were confronted with the larger world. Ironically, although they disagreed strongly with Te Puea on the issue of recruitment and conscription, they shared many of her goals for Maori well-being, such as solidarity, improved health and education, and cultural revival.

Te Puea probably did not hear the news of war until somewhat later than Ngata, Pomare and Buck. At the outset of the war, she moved mostly within Maori communities and spoke very little English. Her home region was quite isolated, and many local Maori viewed internationalism and global involvement with suspicion. In 1914, many of the Waikato Maori spoke Maori and did not participate in the Pakeha education system. When news of the war reached the Waikato area on the West Coast of the North Island, the men were loath to enlist. Te Puea was equally resistant to the prospect of sending them away to war. This opposition confirmed Te Puea's emerging position as *de facto* leader of the Waikato Maori. She had been born on 9 November 1883, into the Tainui *iwi* (located in the Waikato) as a direct descendent of the first Maori king, and thus strongly connected with the *Kingitanga* (Maori sovereignty) movement. As a young girl, she was noted for her beauty and for her vivacious manner and social lifestyle. She began to find her political voice in 1911 when she campaigned for the Maori MP Maui Pomare who was elected through her support.¹⁵ This made their disagreement over recruitment between 1914 and 1918 particularly pointed.

Te Puea strongly countered the pro-war rhetoric of Pomare and his parliamentary colleagues. She invoked the past treatment of the Maori by the British as grounds for a refusal to serve in a war that she saw as a solely British concern.¹⁶ She linked this opposition to war with the pacifism of her grandfather, King Tawhiao. The Waikato had fought the British fiercely in the land wars of the 1860s. In 1881, after bitter fighting, Tawhiao made peace with the Crown and the *iwi* who supported it. He then warned Maori and British alike that whoever brought war to the country again, 'it would rebound on them.' He reputedly forbade the Waikato to take up arms again, advising his people to 'lie down' and 'not allow blood to flow from this time on.'¹⁷ Emily Johns visually indicates how this saying became the ground for Te Puea's resistance to recruitment by placing these words at the base of the poster of Te Puea in mirror script, as though reflected from the past.

Te Puea referred to her ancestor's pacifism frequently during the Waikato's campaign against military service. She drew on his spiritual practices to strengthen herself and her people. She also linked the refusal to serve with land grievances caused by the seizure of Waikato land after the 1860s war. The reigning Maori King Te Rata had travelled to London in April 1914 to raise the issue of land claims with King George V.¹⁸ The British government insisted that Maori land rights were under the jurisdiction of the New Zealand government. This response intensified the sense among Waikato Maori that they had nothing to gain by enlisting. Upon disembarking back

in New Zealand, Te Rata was asked to promote enlistment. He noncommittally advised his people: ‘Do as you wish but come back on your feet.’¹⁹ Te Puea’s stance was firmer. She apparently responded to the demand to fight for King and Country with the following words: ‘We’ve got a king and until you give us our country, we won’t go.’²⁰ Nevertheless, Maori throughout New Zealand signed up, including some from the West Coast – but none from her tribe.²¹

This short overview of Maori attitudes to war in 1914 illustrates that these responses, whether of dissent or of support, were a product of local history as well as a reaction to pressing global circumstances. It was against this backdrop that music-making and musical campaigning took place. Many aspects of Maori identity, life and politics were, and continue to be, worked out in and through music. Both Ngata and Te Puea understood the mobilising potential of music-making. They each used it strategically in their battle over Maori involvement in the First World War. They targeted their musical campaigns at Pakeha as well as Maori which increased the white New Zealand awareness of Maori culture.²² This did not happen overnight, however. While Maori troops took their music overseas with them when they were deployed, within New Zealand the musical campaigning began in earnest in 1916 when recruitment slowed down.

Ngata’s recruitment *Waiata*: E Te Ope Tuatahi²³

By 1916, the ravages of the campaigns in Gallipoli and France had hit home. Enlistment was dwindling among both Pakeha and Maori. Apirana Ngata, a keen anthropologist and musician, who had already begun collecting, preserving and reviving traditional Maori music, put these skills to work in service of the war. He organised fundraising concerts all over New Zealand with a twofold purpose. The first was recruitment and the second was to raise money for the ‘Maori Soldiers Fund.’²⁴ The concerts were performed to Maori and Pakeha audiences and were successful among both.²⁵

The *waiata* (song) most associated with Ngata’s recruitment efforts is ‘E Te Ope Tuatahi.’²⁶ The song exemplifies how the war generated a variety of regional, national and transnational cultural encounters. Ngata wrote it with composer and musician Paraire Tomoana in 1916 as a call to military service. In Maori composition, the words (rather than the music) form the core of a song.²⁷ Ngata and Tomoana would have laboured over these and they convey the ideals that motivated the Maori MPs to support the war. They later inserted a further verse commemorating the death of a popular young second-lieutenant, Henare Mokena Kohere, in France.²⁸ Its lyrics follow the classic Maori lament genre quite closely, moving from commemoration to grief and a call to revenge. Despite the grave subject, it is an action song, with a lilting melody, and a brisk rhythm.²⁹ The engaging musical character of the *waiata* invites the audience to enjoy it and even to join in.

The first verse acknowledges that Maori enlisted from all over New Zealand:

- 1 *Te ope tuatahi, No Aotearoa/No Te Wai-Pounamu; No nga tai e wha*
[The first contingent was from throughout New Zealand/including the South Island; they were from the four tides]
- 2 *Ko koutou ena E nga rau e rima/Te Hokowhitu toa A Tu-matau-enga*
[You there, the five hundred/the brave Battalion of angry-eyed Tu]³⁰

These words portray Maori coming together from across the land, from all four directions, joined in a united effort (obviously an idealised representation). By explicitly naming areas that had contributed volunteers to the Maori Contingent, the song also sought to shame tribes who had not yet done so.³¹ In verse two, the description of the first contingent fighting together, animated by the spirit of ‘angry-eyed Tu’ (a war god), strengthens this message. Then the soldiers’ sacrifice is honoured in the lines ‘some of you have fallen in Egypt and some in Gallipoli.’ A specific tribute is paid to Henare Mokena Kohere and the mention of his death means that France joins Gallipoli and Egypt, in the song’s topology of travel, war and death. The concrete detail of Henare’s life stands as a tribute to those of all the individual soldiers lost in the war.

Soldiers who have fallen are lamented in the lines ‘love gnaws within us, and pain also.’ Ngata defined the ‘lament’ as a genre driven by grief which ‘agitates the mind’ and finds expression in ‘mournful lamentation and cries of anguish.’ A classic Maori lament calls on the gods, pays tribute to the dead and calls ‘to warrior relatives to go forth and seek revenge.’³² Ngata described them as ‘gems’ and argued that ‘if other races were possessed of such as these, they would value them most highly for their excellence, poetical technique, and beauty of language.’³³ In ‘E Te Ope Tuatahi,’ Ngata and Tomoana created just such a gem.

As the narrative of the *waiata* progresses, the singer/narrator witnesses the departure of several waves of volunteers as an onlooker. He then prepares himself to volunteer. He wonders, if he dies, who will bring the story of his death in battle back to ‘all the people, in sorrow bowed/*iwi nui e e taukuri nei*.’ This positions his people, the Maori, as a collective, joined in communal grief. The song ends with the singer saluting ‘you [. . .] my own true love, as I disappear out of the sight of the land’ [*Me mihi kau atu I te nuku o te whenua, He konei ra e E te tau pumau*]. This line has a beautiful ambiguity – it could refer to the fallen, to the land the warrior is leaving or even to a specific lover. It evokes a haunting image of Cape Reinga in the far North of the North Island known, in Maori, as the ‘leaping place of spirits’ where souls depart from the earth.³⁴ For soldiers who may well be heading to die in a distant land, far from their birthplace *Aotearoa*

(New Zealand, land of the long white cloud), this image must have been moving.³⁵

In form, content, melody, harmony and emotional appeal, the song attempts to speak to, and for, all Maori, transcending regional and political differences. Moreover, this song, along with other wartime hits, also raised awareness of Maori culture overseas. Henare, the soldier honoured in the second version of the song, wrote home that, when he disembarked in Europe, other soldiers sang the original version to him. He wept.³⁶ The song thus became part of intra-cultural and cross-cultural encounters. It sought to unify Maori and it brought Maori sounds and lyrics to Pakeha audiences both within New Zealand and beyond.

Despite Ngata's efforts, recruitment among Maori continued lacklustre and it varied by region. By 1917, no Waikato had enlisted. Maui Pomare was particularly embarrassed as he represented the region that included the Waikato and so he, along with Ngata and the two other Maori MPs, insisted that the Military Service Act of 1916, introducing conscription for Pakeha, be extended to Maori. In practice (and by design), this was only ever enforced in Waikato.³⁷ The selective application of conscription to Waikato was a reprimand to the *iwi* and to Te Rata and Te Puea who supported their men in resisting the ballot for territorial service.³⁸ It led to an intensification of the tensions over enlistment and recruitment that had simmered amongst Maori from the outset of the war.

Te Puea's song³⁹

The introduction of conscription became a key item of discussion at the Waikato *iwi*'s annual coronation celebration and community gathering (*hui*) in late 1917. Prominent leaders argued over enlistment and conscription.⁴⁰ King Te Rata had refused to comment publicly as had Te Puea, although she had organised the *hui*. When her opinion was asked, she sang a *waiata*. Among Maori at that time, protocol varied over whether and how women spoke at important gatherings. Te Puea had speaking rights among the Waikato. However, in this instance, she followed a customary protocol in which men offer speeches and then women contribute a *waiata*. The song was carefully chosen. It often functions as a commentary on what has been said. In presenting her opinion as a *waiata* – thereby making a political intervention through song – Te Puea was deeply observant of Maori tradition and of her role as a woman in this leadership setting. At the same time, she exemplified how Maori leaders, both male and female, used cultural and sonic forms for political work and resistance.

'Te Puea's Song' was understood by all who heard it as advising her people to resist conscription, although its meaning is wrapped in allusion and metaphor.⁴¹ Like Ngata's recruitment song, it is a lament and Te Puea's song similarly employs a jaunty tune that runs counter to the lyrics.⁴² It references the 'sorrow' of the Waikato and the sea, which groans along with the singer,

recalling the defeat of the Waikato at the hands of the British. The first two verses are:

- 1 *E huri rā koe, E te ao nei, I huri rā, I roto o Waikato, Abau rā, ahau rā!*
Au I hā auē.

[Spin on, Circling Globe, (Like my reeling brain), Within Waikato, Ah me, Ah me, I sing a song of sorrow.]

- 2 *E tū, e Rata, I te pou o Waikato, E huri tō kanohi ki te Hauauru, Ngā tai e ngunguru, I waho o tea kau, Au I, hai auē!*

[Stand firm, Te Rata, At the pillar of Waikato, Turn to the West, Listen to the seas, Outskirts of the shore, I sing a song of sorrow!]⁴³

Te Puea's opening, here translated as 'spin on, circling globe' also has the more literal translation, 'you change, in the world, you have changed. In Waikato, I cry.' In these words, Te Puea alludes to an external (global) state of affairs that has disruptive potential for the Waikato.⁴⁴ The singer identifies this disruptive potential, follows it with a cry of grief and then the injunction to 'stay firm.' The line about listening to the sea can be translated as 'Deep waves, from the beach, oh Woe!' which also associates sorrow with events approaching the land of the Waikato from beyond its boundaries.

The song is full of references to the land, which is a key inspiration for, and presence in, Maori music. Te Puea also invokes history when she mentions 'Moerangi Mountain, the place where he rested.' 'He' refers to King Tawhiao, her pacifist ancestor who originally advised the Waikato to stop shedding blood after their devastating conflict with the British over land.⁴⁵ Literary scholar Edward Murray argues that this web of references 'marks out the progress of the King from place to place within the land and defends the land with words, not weapons.'⁴⁶ The widely acknowledged reception of the song as an anti-conscription statement at the time suggests that its references to a changing world are cautionary. The singer's advice to King Te Rata, the monarch and thus pillar of the 'Waikato' (although the term also references a physical landmark), to 'stand firm' implied that he should actively resist conscription. Te Puea later confirmed this meaning: 'They waited for my word,' she recalled to Eric Ramsden in 1944, 'so I sang that song. They then knew that I meant "No".'⁴⁷

It may be argued that Te Puea's later self-fashioning may have shaped these interpretations of her song and its impact. Yet the sequence of events that followed support her assertions. Te Rata's ill health meant that, from this point onward, Te Puea had to lead her tribe in their resistance to conscription. The Waikato men, who had been called for ballot or for medical assessment prior to conscription, refused to show up. Te Puea welcomed them to her community house and sheltered them. This escalated the tension between Te Puea and Maori leaders who espoused conscription. Between 1917 and 1919, Te Puea had to defend and justify her people's resistance

to conscription vigorously. She used cultural expression as a key tool in her defence.

Confrontations and performances

The way Te Puea and her people integrated cultural performance into their resistance to conscription is evident in the confrontations with police and Maori MPs that took place at ‘the pah at Mercer,’ Te Puea’s community, in June, July and August 1918.⁴⁸ Each incident took a similar shape. The police arrived and were received by between 400 and 500 Maori, who offered some form of musical greeting. There was an exchange with Te Puea, after which several Maori were arrested. In each, Te Puea and her people deployed a range of tactics to register protests and women were heavily involved.

In the first encounter, Te Puea used the occasion to publicly quote her pacifist ancestor, stating: ‘if the Government desired any of the Maori to go to the war, the police would have to come and take them, but it was not her wish that any blood should be shed.’⁴⁹ The policemen (seven of them, according to newspaper reports) responded with a symbolic tactic of their own.⁵⁰ They arrested seven reservists, among them the (underage) king’s brother although women of the tribe tried to block their way with a Maori flag. Thus, police (perhaps with the encouragement of the Maori MPs) sent a signal that nobody, regardless of their status in the Maori world, was beyond the reach of the New Zealand government.⁵¹

In July, Maui Pomare, Ngata’s fellow Maori parliamentarian, visited Te Puea. A greeting party waded through floodwater to receive him. The men performed a *haka* (a war dance and chant) waist-deep in water, followed by women singing a *waiata-poi* (women’s action dance-song using handheld flax balls on strings). The *haka* apparently included multiple instances of *whakapohane* (baring of the buttocks) and the *waiata* ended with one of the older women, approaching Pomare and his older companion, and baring her genitals in an adaptation of *whakapohane*: ‘She kept calling out what was the use of her private parts if Pomare was going to take away her husband. By that she spoke for all the women with husbands and sweethearts.’⁵² Te Puea’s biographer Michael King used oral history, newspaper accounts and Te Puea’s later memories to reconstruct the dramatic confrontation. However, his magisterial account needs some nuance. When performed by a woman, this action also reminds the recipient where he or she came from.⁵³ It recalls the role of the mother, the pain and sacrifice of childbirth, and the wisdom gained through bringing another person into the world. The recipient is reminded to respect women’s voices. The gendered Maori act was offered as part of the musical performance of political dissent.

The *Pukekohe and Waiuku Times* from Auckland gave a lively account of the August clash:

The Maori pah at Mercer was the scene of great activity on Saturday, members of the Waikato tribe being assembled there in force [for a]

'korero' to protest against the action of the Government in compelling Maoris to take part in the war. Adopting the pakeha custom of observing Saturday afternoon as a holiday the natives suspended 'business' proceedings [. . .] after the midday 'kai', in anticipation of a visit from the police.

[When police and the reporter arrived] a mock band issued in single file from one of the huts, a big drum and mouth organs comprising the instruments, and the musicians marching in procession round the ground, whilst the followers danced a haka in which grotesque evolutions and contortions of faces abounded. Seated in regal state in the open and at a distance from the din and whirl was the chieftainess of the pah, in the person of 'Princess' Puea, who gazed calmly and indifferently on the proceedings.

All through good humour prevailed and crowds of Maoris at the railway station cheered their less fortunate colleagues. These were taken to Auckland by the evening train and were handed over to the military authorities, a large concourse of natives, apparently advised by telegram or telephone of their coming, demonstratively greeting them on the platform at the Auckland station.

As this account shows, police engaged with Maori protocol, music and dance in these encounters. Moreover, the train station in Mercer and then the train station in New Zealand's largest city, Auckland, became the scenes of further cultural encounters between Maori and Pakeha. Newspapers broadened the site of encounter still further. The clash over conscription conveyed and publicised aspects of Maori culture to Pakeha readers. Reporters used the terms *pa* (dwelling place) and *haka* and several mentioned the *Korero* (debate/talk/exchange of views/discussion).⁵⁴ All accounts describe Te Puea as a 'chieftainess' and many use the term 'princess' in quotation marks, both registering it and challenging it at the same time. Most accounts are as respectful towards her as this one, and all acknowledge her as the leader of the Waikato people and their anti-conscription resistance. Te Puea's leadership status was established in these events and it contributed to her visibility throughout New Zealand. This later helped publicise her performance groups and their tours.

Ultimately, over a hundred Waikato men were arrested for refusing conscription.⁵⁵ In the months between their arrest and their release, Te Puea travelled to Narrow Neck prison camp in Auckland where her men were being held to offer food and support.⁵⁶ She composed two political *waiata* during this time. One is a classic lament for the men in prison.⁵⁷ The other, 'Ngā Rā o Hune' (The Days of June) brings together conscription and land grievances.⁵⁸ The title refers to the arrests of the king's brother (Te Rauangaanga) in June 1918, but also to the beginning of the war between the British and the Waikato in 1863. The song describes the land, and its bounty and advises listeners to seek 'that which was lost,' calling to mind the land

confiscations of the 1860s.⁵⁹ It suggests listeners ‘raise their children on the *rengarenga* and *kawariki* fruit,’ thus linking the future of the *iwi*, by way of children, to the land.

Te Puea’s song here reveals an interesting complexity in her position on the war. Like other leaders of indigenous, colonised or racially oppressed people, she was prepared to negotiate her position if the state was prepared to honour certain political claims. The lyric, towards the end of the song, ‘Now Governor, use all your resources, for where were you, in my ancestors’ days?’ asks the governor-general of New Zealand to use his resources on behalf of the Waikato, rather than stripping them of resources or simply sitting back and watching that happen, as his predecessors had. The lines that follow these assure him that ‘if we work together, we will be able to achieve peace.’⁶⁰ In the second half of the song, Te Puea uses a romantic love motif to hint that reconciliation between the Waikato and the Crown may be possible. The penultimate verse goes: ‘Between my lover and I, Let there be no restrictions, Hold your head up, We will “munch” through the work.’ It implies that Te Puea saw the Maori and Pakeha futures as bound together. Her lyrics suggest that this future could be harmonious, providing both worked at the relationship like lovers.⁶¹

The references to land and history in Te Puea’s anti-conscription songs connected the status of Waikato land claims to the issue of conscription and the campaign of civil disobedience. This is clear in other traces in the historical record. When the police arrived at Te Puea’s settlement to arrest the men resisting the ballot, she not only quoted Tawhiao’s lines about refusing bloodshed. She, and the men who were arrested, argued that the police were breaching the Treaty of Waitangi, an agreement signed in 1840 by the British Crown and by 500 Maori chiefs guaranteeing certain rights and privileges to each in perpetuity.⁶² Te Puea’s reference to the treaty was a legal and political appeal to the rights of Maori under the Crown. Her anti-conscription activism brought visibility to Maori culture and to political claims, simultaneously.

Cultural legacy

In their dispute over conscription, Ngata and Te Puea used *waiata* to engage their people and to articulate their political positions. ‘E Te Ope Tuatahi’ and ‘Te Puea’s Song’ are celebrated, have been anthologised and continue to be performed.⁶³ In addition to being widely performed, adapted and popular between 1916 and today, the songs of Ngata and Te Puea were part of a wave of cultural revival and invention that laid the groundwork for contemporary Maori culture and ‘modern Maori identity.’⁶⁴ Their *waiata* were examples of the ‘action song,’ developed during the war that fused European melodies, Maori words and dramatic group actions. They allowed for topicality and spurred political engagement.⁶⁵ Between 1919 and 1945, these songs frequently recorded the actions of soldiers in war

and were performed by soldiers at war.⁶⁶ They appealed to young and old, Pakeha and Maori alike.⁶⁷ In the preface to his anthology of Maori song, *Nga Moteatea*, published in 1929, Ngata wrote that its aim was to enable 'the preservation and transmission of *waiata* as a living part of the life of Maori communities.'⁶⁸ He and Te Puea succeeded in this. They also brought them to Pakeha audiences.

Ngata and Te Puea believed that Maori economic and social improvement was entwined with cultural survival.⁶⁹ Te Puea, like Ngata, established a *rōpu* (performing arts group) during and after the First World War to raise funds for Maori soldiers and for the development of Maori farming.⁷⁰ These groups served cultural, political and economic aims. They performed traditional *haka* and *waiata*, the new action songs, and popular European numbers. The programming of their concerts was, in and of itself, a product of the cultural encounter between Maori and Pakeha. The performances attracted large audiences of both Maori and Pakeha. Furthermore, the concert parties enjoyed such success that, several years after the war, Columbia records sent a recording crew to produce the 'Columbia Maori Series.'⁷¹ One of the records featured 'E Te Ope Tuatahi,' Ngata's composition. These were advertised widely throughout New Zealand in a striking format featuring Maori carving, another art form that Ngata and Te Puea worked to restore and revive.

Cultural encounters between Pakeha and Maori thus dramatically increased due to the conditions created by the First World War. They were stimulated by news reporting and by Te Puea's consequent visibility which was assisted by her personal charisma and the label of 'princess' she was given by Pakeha. The growth of awareness of Maori culture throughout New Zealand was further fuelled by the patriotic desire to support veterans and the power of the music and performance of the concert parties.⁷²

The fundraising concert tours successfully raised funds to build meeting houses, including Te Puea's own Turangawaewae Marae which is one of the finest in the country.⁷³ The funds, and Te Puea and Ngata's work with the New Zealand government following the war, established and developed Maori farms and community settlements. Te Puea also made an impact on the issue of land confiscation. In 1926, her service to Maori health along with her dissent and her political lobbying helped launch an official inquiry, the Sim Commission, into Waikato claims and the first – unsatisfactory – offer of recompense and a settlement.⁷⁴ The governor-general and the government thus responded to the challenge she laid down in 'Ngā Rā o Hune.' The extent to which Te Puea's reputation had grown since the war is evident in the fact that she was invested with a Commander of the British Empire medal in 1937.⁷⁵ While she maintained an official position of non-violence and non-support for Waikato enlistment in the Second World War, she did not mount another campaign of civil disobedience.

Gender

Ngata and Te Puea had a rich and productive collaboration in the decades between the First World War and their deaths in 1950 and 1952, respectively. They contributed enormously to Maori culture and welfare. Yet, while Ngata had official recognition as an MP, Te Puea, to this day, is remembered as the unofficial leader of the Waikato, the power behind the throne. These are gendered labels. They are descriptions Te Puea would probably embrace. Her use of song was gendered as was her rhetoric – grounded in the language of being a caregiver to her people and evoking the longstanding connection between materialism and pacifism.⁷⁶ The statement in Emily Johns' poster, shown at the beginning of this chapter, which is widely associated with Te Puea, is that she will not send 'her children' to war. She gave her political opinion at the tribal *hui* in song rather than through speeches, in keeping with the gender protocols among many tribes.

Te Puea's actions contributed to a history of strong female leadership in Maori culture. Te Puea offered that leadership from a position that maintained the outward appearance of gender norms. In later years she was celebrated for nursing her tribe through the influenza epidemic that followed the war, and for raising over a hundred orphans left by the epidemic.⁷⁷ Nursing and mothering are conventional female activities, underpaid and with variable status. Yet they allow women to occupy positions of strength and influence. Women are recognised as prominent and numerous composers in Maori culture and women of a noble or chiefly line have often exercised authority. Te Puea used her compositional ability, her noble lineage and talent for leadership to shape the future of her tribe and inspire other Maori women.⁷⁸ Te Puea's legacy, then, is one of gendered leadership, and principled, creative, cultural and political activism.

This case study invites consideration of a broader comparative framework. Te Puea, like women of colour in other colonial settings and black American women, confronted institutional and personal barriers to power due to her race, gender and subordinate relationships to powerful males.⁷⁹ She nevertheless established a strong position from which she used tactics to campaign for her people similar to those listed by Darlene Clark Hine in relation to anti-racist work elsewhere:

Strategic use of media, appeal to diverse publics, dramatic confrontations with white authority, cultivation of relations with high ranking [white (state)] leaders, [. . .] demonstration of intellectual and professional competence, and the invocation of the rhetoric of moral outrage.⁸⁰

Work on gender in the First World War has flourished in recent years.⁸¹ This war, like others, disrupted and realigned gender roles and had lasting effects on the social and sexual relationship between men and women. The case of

New Zealand Maori suggests that the role of indigenous women and dissent in the First World War deserves more scrutiny. How did the war's disruptive effect on gender relations play out in settings where people of colour, and indigenous people in a colonial relationship with Entente or Central Powers were asked to fight?

Music and songs are often understood as patriotic and a source of mobilisation in war.⁸² The power of music to express dissent and to sustain those who resisted war, as evident in this case, deserves further exploration. It also shows how individuals and groups express their identity in cultural forms when brought into contact with 'others' behind the lines. This, combined with a comparative gender analysis across several colonial or indigenous groups, would enhance our understanding of the global nature of the war and how it catalysed encounters that had effects well beyond the theatres of battle. The war of *waiata* between Te Puea and Ngata illustrates the rich vein of material available when we examine song as historical evidence. The legacy of their work is still audible.

Notes

- 1 A note on source: This chapter uses *waiata* as archival and simultaneously living material. I consulted contrasting translations of the lyrics, listened to archival recordings where possible and consulted recent performances available on YouTube. These sources are documented in the footnotes. Newspaper and some parliamentary material were accessed via Papers Past, New Zealand, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/>. Other archival sources are documented in the endnotes.
- 2 Apirana Ngata, preface to *Ngā mōteatea*, dated and signed 15 May 1929, xxxviii, in Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui Jones, *Ngā mōteatea: He maramara rere nō ngā waka maha*, part 2 (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005).
- 3 Translation from Te Manaaroaha Rollo, *Tito Waiata – Tito Pūoro: Extending the Kingitanga Music Tradition* (PhD thesis, Waikato University, 2014), p. 380. Rollo's transcription drawn from Rāhui Papa, Pānia Papa, and Linda Te Aho, *He kete waiata: A Basket of Songs* (Hamilton: Project Team, 2004).
- 4 The poster can be seen at <http://theworldismycountry.info/posters/poster-5-te-puea/> (accessed 17 July 2018). Most sources for the quotations cite Michael King, *Te Puea: A Biography* (Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977, republished 2008). References below are to the original. King conducted extensive oral history in conjunction with using archival material from the Eric Ramsden papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- 5 I am conscious of my limited understanding of *mana wahine* (Maori feminist theory) and of Maori history. I thank Puawai Cairns (Matauranga Maori curator, Te Papa, New Zealand's National Museum, and curator of its First World War exhibition), Monty Soutar (Ngāti Porou, Senior Māori historian, Manatū Taonga/Ministry for Culture and Heritage), Paul Meredith (Ngāti Maniopoto, Te Matahauariki Institute) and Paul Diamond (Alexander Turnbull Library, Maori curator) for their comments on this work at 'Dissent and the First World War' conference of 2017 (Stout Center, Wellington) and in subsequent correspondence. I thank Rewi Pene for his assistance with *Te Reo* (Maori language) and *Tikanga Maori* (Maori culture) and for sharing my work with *iwi* elders

- who offered their support. Te Puea's work had, and has, great value. I try and honour it in mine.
- 6 Much of the work on colonial subjects and the war acknowledges this transnational impact, for example; Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), Santanu Das (ed.), *Race, Empire and First World War Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Robert Gerwarth and Erez Manela (eds.), *Empires at War, 1911–1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Timothy C. Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Anna Maguire, *Colonial Encounters During the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies* (PhD thesis, King's College, 2017).
 - 7 Chris Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland, The Songs & Sounds of New Zealand's Great War* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017); Don Tyler, *Music of the First World War* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2016); Étienne Jardin, *Music and War in Europe: From French Revolution to WWI* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016); Glenn Watkins, *Proof Through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003); Regina M. Sweeney, *Singing Our Way to Victory: French Cultural Politics and Music During the Great War* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001).
 - 8 For more see Judith Binney, Vincent O'Malley, and Alan Ward, *Te Ao Hou: The New World, 1820–1920* (Auckland: Bridget Williams Press, 2018).
 - 9 Angela Ballara, *Iwi: The Dynamics of Maori Tribal Organisation from c.1769 to c.1945* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998); Rahui Papa and Paul Meredith, 'Kingitanga: The Māori King Movement', *Te Ara: Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/kingitanga-the-maori-king-movement (accessed 18 July 2018).
 - 10 King, *Te Puea*, 89.
 - 11 African Americans were engaged in similar discussions and debates. For Indian, Maori, Senegalese and African American discussions see Rachel Anne Gillett, 'Battling on a Different Front: World War One and the Rhetoric of Citizenship for Service', *First World War Studies* 9 (2018), 209–229.
 - 12 For broad colonial context see literature listed in note 5.
 - 13 Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*, 166; Christopher Pugsley, *Te Hokowhitu a Tu: The Maori Pioneer Battalion in the First World War* (Auckland: Reed, 2006); Monty Soutar, 'Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu: A Coming of Age?' in John Crawford and I. C. McGibbon (eds.), *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War* (Auckland: Exisle, 2013).
 - 14 Paul Meredith and Monty Soutar affirmed the significance of this demographic context, 'Waikato-Maniopotō and Dissent' at the conference 'Dissent and the First World War' (Wellington, 2017). See also Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*, p. 165.
 - 15 Te Puea did this at the request of the then Maori king, King Mahuta, thus embarking on a lifelong role as ambassador and public voice for the reigning Maori monarch (the position of Maori king is the product of a complicated regional history). Ann Parsonson, 'Herangi, Te Kirihaehae Te Puea', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1996. Te Ara: Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3h17/herangi-te-kirihaehae-te-puea> (accessed 13 July 2018). See also Fetuunai Varea, 'Te Puea Herangi and Her Influence in the Waikato, 1833–1952', *New Zealand Journal of Public History* 2 (2013), 19–22.
 - 16 Basic narrative drawn from King, *Te Puea*.

- 17 'Rebound on them', Meredith and Soutar, 'Waikato-Maniapoto and Dissent' Te Rita Bernadette Papesch cites and updates this history, *Creating a Modern Maori Identity Through Kapa Haka* (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 2015), <http://hdl.handle.net/10092/11263>.
- 18 Maori leadership in the Waikato was intimately bound up with spirituality which contributed to *mana* (personal power, authority, prestige, respect and gravitas). See Michael Ross, Colin Knox, and Tania Ka'ai, *He Iwi Rangatira Anō Tātou I Mua, Kia Pai Te Whakahaere O Ngā Tikanga Mō Te Iwi. Kia Mangu Ki Waho Kia Mā I Roto: An Investigation into the Guiding Principles and Stabilising Processes of Mana, Tapu, Utu and Rūnanga in Waikato-Tainui* (PhD thesis, Auckland University of Technology, 2015), <http://hdl.handle.net/10292/9119>; Naomi Simmonds, 'Mana Wahine: Decolonizing Politics', *Women's Studies Journal* 25 (2011), 11–25.
- 19 Papa and Meredith, 'Kīngitanga'.
- 20 Soutar's paraphrase, 'Waikato-Maniapoto and Dissent'.
- 21 Some men from the Maniapoto enlisted, see: Soutar, 'Waikato-Maniapoto and Dissent'.
- 22 Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*; Mervyn McLean, *Maori Music* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996); Murray Edmond, "'Whatiwhati taku pēne": Three First World War Poems from the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse', *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 33 (2015), 38–49.
- 23 Throughout the chapter I use song and *waiata* interchangeably.
- 24 Mclean, *Maori Music*, p. 388; Bourke, *Good-bye Maoriland*, p. 183.
- 25 Murray, 'Whatiwhati taku pēne', p. 43.
- 26 This can be heard at Apirana Ngata (composer) Anna Hato (artist), 'Te Ope Tuatahi (Song)', *Cultural Exchange in a Time of Global Conflict*, <http://sourcebook.cegcproject.eu/items/show/260> (accessed 3 December 2020). The following analysis draws on three translations. 1) James Cowan, *The Maoris in the Great War: A History of the New Zealand Native Contingent and Pioneer Battalion. Gallipoli, 1915; France and Flanders, 1916–1918* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1926), <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-CowMaor.html> (accessed 3 December 2020). 2) New Zealand folksong site, created and maintained by John Archer, http://folksong.org.nz/te_ope_tuatahi/index.html (accessed 1 December 2020). 3) Translation Given by Puawai Cairns, <https://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2014/07/24/arohatia-te-reo-learning-50-kupu-hou-new-maori-words-te-reo-and-wwi-research> (accessed 1 December 2020).
- 27 For an analysis of Maori compositional process see Rollo, 'Tito Waiata – Tito Pūoro', pp. 115–121, who emphasizes the importance of the words and their function as poetry.
- 28 Close reading is my own. Context of composition and performance from McLean, *Maori Music*, p. 338; Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*, p. 183.
- 29 See performance by Ngati Kahungunu, www.youtube.com/watch?v=V6_0nKi9414 (accessed 12 July 2018).
- 30 See note 27 on translation and source of lyrics.
- 31 Ngata's biographer confirmed this interpretation in a chapter devoted to the song: Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua: The Life and Times of Sir Āpirana Ngata* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2002), chapter 9.
- 32 Ngata et al., *Ngā Mōteatea*, p. xxxviii.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 *Te Rerenga Reinga*.
- 35 Ngata's poetic skill is evident in another lament for a soldier killed in the war, 'E Pari Ra' which is included, along with 'Te Puea's Song' in the 1985 *Penguin Anthology of New Zealand Verse*, thus 'canonising' them both, see: Murray, 'Whatiwhati taku pēne'.

- 36 Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*, p. 183. See also Maguire, *Colonial Encounters During the First World War* for Maori and cross-cultural encounters in Egypt and Europe.
- 37 'First Maori Ballot', *New Zealand Herald*, 11 May 1918, lists only 'Natives of Waikato Tribe'. Also mentioned by Soutar and Meredith, 'Waikato and Dissent', 2017.
- 38 For the selective application of conscription to Waikato, see King, *Te Puea*, p. 45; Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*, p. 185; Soutar, 'Te Hokowhita a Tu', pp. 101–102.
- 39 The song has three titles: 'Te Puea's Song', 'E Noho E Ata' and 'E Huri Ra Koe'. Two of these adaptations are included, in full, in the database of fifty *Kingitanga waiata* gathered by Te Manaarooha Rollo, 'Tito Waiata – Tito Pūoro', pp. 119–120, and appendix 5.24.1 and 5.24.2. A recording from 1938 can be heard here, www.ngataonga.org.nz/set/item/372?lang=en.
- 40 Here I draw heavily on Michael King's account as do the scholars referenced below. There is some confusion over timing here. King states November, while Bourke states December. Neither gives a precise date.
- 41 See McLean, *Maori Music*, p. 314; Murray, 'Whatiwhati taku pēne', p. 45; Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*, p. 185; Ballara, *Iwi*, pp. 114–115; Papesch, 'Creating a Modern Maori Identity'.
- 42 The tune is based on the European melody, 'Little Brown Jug'. Mclean, *Maori Music*, p. 315. In the close reading that follows quotations are in English. For complete *waiata* see Rollo, 'Tito Waiata – Tito Pūoro', p. 363.
- 43 Rollo, 'Tito Waiata – Tito Pūoro', p. 363.
- 44 My thanks to Rewi Pene for checking this close reading with tribal elders. Their feedback that my work does honour to these *waiata* supports my interpretation and underscores the song's legacy of resistance.
- 45 Rollo, 'Tito Waiata – Tito Pūoro', pp. 115–121.
- 46 Murray, 'Whatiwhati taku pēne', p. 46.
- 47 King, *Te Puea*, p. 87, from archival notes by Eric Ramsden. See also Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*, p. 185; Ballara, *Iwi*, pp. 114–115.
- 48 'Pah' is a misspelling. In Maori the word is 'pa.' The Universal Press Association picked up the reports and supplied them to newspapers throughout New Zealand who printed them sometimes verbatim, sometimes abbreviated. The analysis that follows draws on the following accounts: 'Native Reservists', *Star*, 12 June 1918; 'Seven Maori Reservists Arrested', *Dominion*, 12 June 1918; 'Maoris and Military Service', *Press*, 12 June 1918; 'Military Service', *Stratford Evening Post*, 12 June 1918; 'Seven Maori Reservists Arrested', *Nelson Evening Mail*, 13 June 1918; 'Maoris and the War', *Wanganui Herald*, 12 June 1918; 'Native Reservists', *Ashburton Guardian*, 12 June 1918; 'Conscription of Maoris', *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 12 June 1918; 'Seven Maori Reservists Arrested', *Nelson Evening Mail*, 13 June 1918; 'Maori Conscription', *Hastings Standard*, 12 June 1918; 'Maoris and Military Service', *Waimate Daily Advertiser*, 13 June 1918; 'Maori Conscription', *Auckland Star*, 12 June 1918; 'Seven Maori Reservists Arrested', *Dominion*, 12 June 1918. Newspapers from the far North (*Powerty Bay Herald* and *Northern Advocate*) to the deep South (*Southland Times*) covered the events thus a large swathe of the English-language reading public in New Zealand had access to the story. Chris Bourke notes the story even reached Sydney, Bourke, *Music of Maoriland*, 187.
- 49 'Maori Conscription', *Auckland Star*, 12 June 1918. The full statement used in Emily John's poster appears in Michael King, who cites a Kingitanga meetings minute book, copied by Eric Ramsden at home of Tio Rene, 1947, *Te Puea*, pp. 77, 89.
- 50 'Native Reservists', *Ashburton Guardian*, 12 June 1918; 'Seven Maori Reservists Arrested', *Nelson Evening Mail*, 13 June 1918.

- 51 Monty Soutar and Paul Meredith discussed these complexities of status and *mana* in this incident at ‘World War One and Dissent’ conference.
- 52 King, *Te Puea*, p. 92. See also ‘Māori Objection to Conscription’, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/first-world-war/conscientious-objection/maori-objection> (Ministry for Culture and Heritage). These accounts do not date the visit, but the Pakeha news reports on the July raid note the heavy floodwaters although they do not mention Pomare’s presence.
- 53 Puawai Cairns explained this to me, in response to my presentation of this material at the ‘World War One and Dissent’ conference.
- 54 The Pukekohe reporter also uses the word *kai* (food).
- 55 Murray, ‘Whatiwhati taku pēne’, p. 46.
- 56 The food did not make it through, but her presence was experienced by the men as supportive and at least one prisoner said the men would sometimes pretend that they needed to ‘mimi’ (urinate) to get a glimpse of Te Puea on their way to the prison toilet block.
- 57 ‘Kāti Nei E Te Iwi’, Rollo, ‘Tito Waiata – Tito Pūoro’, p. 354.
- 58 Rollo and Papesch both see this song as articulating key values of the Kingitanga political movement.
- 59 <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/the-treaty-in-practice/waikato-tai-nui,%20> (accessed 20 July 2018).
- 60 The song works in two time periods here, referring to Governor George Grey of the 1860s and Lord Liverpool, the Governor-General since June 1917.
- 61 Lines 30–41 have a suggestive double entendre, depicting the Governor and Te Puea working together to ‘munch’ through the work and ‘shorten the pipe shaft – bite the bowl hard!’ Rollo, ‘Tito Waiata – Tito Pūoro’, p. 397; Papesch, ‘Creating a Modern Maori Identity’.
- 62 ‘Evading Service’, *Northern Advocate*, 20 August 1918. The legal argument about breaching the Treaty then became part of the Appeals Board hearing – again, reported widely, and again, bringing these issues to the public.
- 63 Murray, ‘Whatiwhati taku pēne’, p. 41. Te Puea’s song enshrines the values of the *Kingitanga* to this day and has been used as a model for contemporary Maori music, Te Rita Papesch, ‘Creating a Modern Maori Identity’; Rollo, ‘Tito Waiata – Tito Pūoro’. Maori television includes in its ‘iwi anthems’ series as the anthem of the Waikato, www.youtube.com/watch?v=Khje8am9BAY (accessed 23 July 2018).
- 64 Papesch, ‘Creating a Modern Maori Identity’, p. 79, argues that Ngata and Te Puea were key figures and laid the ‘performative groundwork’ that ‘paved the way for Kapa Haka to come to the fore in [. . .] creating a modern Māori identity’. The seeming contradiction of Te Puea raising funds for veterans while opposing the war is explained by the fact that veterans deserved support as individuals and as Maori, perhaps especially because of their suffering in a coloniser’s war. Conscription and recruitment, on the other hand, were state initiatives that, according to Te Puea, did not benefit Maori either as individuals or as a collective and should be opposed.
- 65 Papesch, ‘Creating a Modern Maori Identity’, p. 80.
- 66 Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*, p. 179, Maguire, *Colonial Encounters During the First World War*.
- 67 McLean, *Maori Music*, pp. 338, 343–344; Murray, ‘Whatiwhati taku pēne’, pp. 41, 47.
- 68 Ngata et al., *Ngā mōteatea*, p. vii. He and Te Puea were not the only leaders and creators involved in this effort.
- 69 Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*, pp. 175, 184; Papesch, ‘Creating a Modern Maori Identity’, p. 26.

- 70 Papesch, 'Creating a Modern Maori Identity', pp. 76–79. Te Puea and Ngata were not alone in this effort: See McLean, *Maori Music*.
- 71 'Recorded Music', *Waikato Independent* 30, 4 December 1930; 'Records of Maori Songs', *New Zealand Herald* 67, 8 April 1930.
- 72 Paraire Tomoana's troupe 1917–1918 tour ended in a well-attended ten-day Christmas run at the Auckland townhall. These touring concert parties raised significant amounts. Bourke, *Good-Bye Maoriland*, p. 179.
- 73 Ngata collaborated closely with Te Puea fundraising for the Marae, was present at the opening of the reception house in 1938, and insisted it be recorded. That recording is held in the New Zealand archives as a national 'taonga' or treasure and can be heard here, www.ngataonga.org.nz/set/item/372?lang=en.
- 74 <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/treaty/the-treaty-in-practice/waikato-tainui> (accessed 23 July 2018). King, *Te Puea*, chapter 13.
- 75 Parsonson, 'Herangi, Te Kirihaehae Te Puea'.
- 76 There is a rich literature on this connection although of course maternalism was also involved when sending sons to war. For an entry into women's anti-war activism, peace, and maternalism see: Lisa Leitz, and David S. Meyer, 'Gendered Activism and Outcomes: Women in the Peace Movement', in Holly J. McCammon, Verta Taylor, Jo Reger, Rachel L. Einwohner (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of U.S. Women's Social Movement Activism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- 77 This way of remembering Te Puea is seen in G. V. Butterworth, 'A Rural Maori Renaissance? Maori Politics and Society, 1920–1951', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81 (1972), 160–195.
- 78 For example, Dame Whina Cooper who, like Te Puea, was revered as 'mother', gained authority and *mana* from work with health and women, and led a hugely influential march and movement for land rights, all of which earned her the title of *Te Whaea o Te Motu* ('Mother of the Nation').
- 79 Kimberlé Crenshaw, *On Intersectionality: The Essential Writings of Kimberlé Crenshaw* (New York: New Press, 2018). For Maori women see Simmonds, 'Mana Wahine'.
- 80 Hine writes about black nurses but her analytic framework is relevant here: Darlene Clark Hine, 'Black Professionals and Race Consciousness: Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 1890–1950', *Journal of American History* 89 (2003), 1279–1294.
- 81 Susan R. Grayzel and Tammy M. Proctor, *Gender and the Great War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), offers an entry point into this scholarship.
- 82 Rachel Moore, *Performing Propaganda: Music Life and Culture in Paris in the First World War* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018).

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