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her 36-year retirement entertained friends, read, played bridge and attended the Pioneer and the Wellington Lyceum clubs. She spent her last years as a patient at Silverstream Hospital, where she died aged 90 on 26 June 1977. C.E. Beeby, a former director of education, later commented that her promotion from the clerical division to a professional post had been a rare achievement in those days. Palmer is recognised as a pioneer in two respects; as one of the early women career public servants and as the first woman to hold high office in the PSA. MARGARET LONG

Macdonald, C. et al., eds. *The book of New Zealand women*. Wellington, 1991

New Zealand herstory, 1984. Auckland, 1983

Paora, Otene ?-1930

Ngati Whatua leader, Anglican lay reader, land negotiator

P4

Otene Paora was born, probably in the 1860s or early 1870s, at Reweti, south of Helensville, the third son of Paora Kawharu and his wife, Rahera Uruamo of Te Taou, Nga Oho and Te Uringutu hapu of Ngati Whatua. He was baptised in January 1873. Otene married Ngahiraka of Waimamaku with whom he had four daughters and a son. Although Reweti remained important to him – he singlehandedly renovated the marae chapel there – he lived principally at Orakei from around 1900. Early in his 30s Otene became a lay reader in the Anglican church, serving in and around Auckland, apart from a brief sojourn in Rarotonga. From 1905 he was patron of Queen Victoria School for Maori Girls and each year organised a fund-raising fair. In 1911 he was a member of a national Maori committee which aimed to support and maintain the mana of their people. In 1914 he was a speaker at an Ohinemutu hui to open a new Arawa church and he gave an acre of land at Orakei for a church.

A man of quiet demeanour, Otene Paora was a skilled and practised orator in both English and Maori. These attributes, coupled with a strong sense of social justice, took him into a wider political arena. The Crown was acquiring Ngati Whatua land, and of primary concern to Otene was the 700-acre Orakei block on the Waitemata Harbour. In December 1868 the Native Land Court had awarded title of the block to the three Ngati Whatua hapu to which he belonged, the descendants of those who had conquered the Tamaki isthmus in the mid eighteenth century under their chief, Tuperiri. At the time it was thought that the court had established an inalienable trust estate for the hapu. However, it soon became clear that the 13 persons named in the title were not trustees but beneficial owners. His attempts to re-establish the essential trust character of the Orakei estate and to warn his people of the potentially destructive effects on Maori society of the individualisation of title to tribal land occupied much of Otene Paora's time after the turn of the century.

He first applied to the Native Land Court in 1904 to seek the inclusion of those descendants of Tuperiri

who had been left out of the title by its allocation to the 13 owners. His application was dismissed. This was to be the fate of his many subsequent attempts either to restore in practice the concept of a trust estate or else to ensure inclusion in the title of all the descendants in the land. For instance, in November 1911 he applied once more to the court, this time appealing against the 1869 order. He asserted that the 13 were merely representatives for the hapu, that females had been wrongfully excluded, and that most of the 13 were not resident on the Orakei block, while many who were and who possessed superior rights were not included. In dismissing this application the court noted that if the matter were to be reopened, it had to be done by Parliament.

Consequently, Otene Paora petitioned Parliament in 1912. When he appeared before the Native Affairs Committee on 10 September he insisted that all descendants of Tuperiri be included in the land, commenting that if the government did not uphold the petition, then it might as well 'build a canoe and put on board that canoe those descendants of Tuperiri who are not included in this land, and let them drift away into the ocean'. Nothing came of this appeal, notwithstanding the inclusion on the committee of Maori leaders James Carroll, Apirana Ngata, Taare Parata, Maui Pomare and Peter Buck.

In the early 1920s Otene Paora was involved in the Ratana movement and he attempted to set up a church deriving from it. However, this Church of the Father, Son, Holy Spirit and Faithful Angels was absorbed into the Ratana church after it was established in May 1925.

Otene continued his campaign throughout the numerous attempts by the Crown to purchase the remaining land at Orakei. Finally, worn out, he appeared before the Acheson inquiry in 1929. This time he had the satisfaction of hearing the sole surviving member of the original 13 admit that he and the others were indeed meant to have been trustees, not owners. However, Otene Paora did not live to see the inquiry publish its findings vindicating his claim. He died at Reweti on 29 December 1930.

Successive generations of his whanau and hapu adhered to his position, and their persistence was rewarded in the Orakei statutes of 1978 and 1991, which empowered the Ngati Whatua of Orakei Maori Trust Board to administer part of the block. This later development vindicated the position he had asserted without success in his lifetime. His advocacy for his people exemplified the wider struggle by Maori to secure their rights. I.H. KAWHARU

Waitangi Tribunal. *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei claim*. Wellington, 1987

Papakura, Makereti 1873-1930

Tuhourangi woman of mana, guide, ethnographer

P5

Margaret Pattison Thom, who was later widely known as Makereti (or Maggie) Papakura, was born at Matata, in the Bay of Plenty, on 20 October 1873. Her father

was an Englishman, William Arthur Thom, a storekeeper who later worked in the Resident Magistrate's Court at Rotorua, and then at Wairoa. Her mother was Pia Ngarotu Te Rihi, a high-born Te Arawa woman of Ngati Wahiao hapu of Tuhourangi, who was descended from Te Arawa chiefs Tama-te-kapua, Ngatoroirangi, Hei and Ika. Soon after her birth, Makereti was taken to the rural community of Parekarangi to be raised by her mother's paternal aunt and uncle, Marara Marotaua and Maihi Te Kakau Paraoa. It was from them that Makereti learnt the genealogies, history and customs of her tribe.

Makereti did not speak English until her father took over her education when she was 10 years old. Periods spent at schools in Rotorua and Tauranga, tuition from an English governess, and three years at Hukarere Native Girls' School, Napier, gave her the language skills and confidence to move with aplomb between the Pakeha and Maori worlds. On leaving school, Makereti went to live at Whakarewarewa, the ancestral home of her people.

The Rotorua region was beginning to recover after the devastating eruption of Mt Tarawera in 1886, and the tourist guiding tradition, which had started at Te Wairoa with expeditions to the world-famous Pink and White Terraces, was transferred to the thermal valley of Whakarewarewa. Under the experienced eye of Guide Sophia Hinerangi, Makereti became an accomplished hostess, entertainer and storyteller. Renowned for her beauty, charm and ready wit, her services as a guide were keenly sought. On one occasion, when asked by a visitor if she had a Maori surname, Makereti glanced for inspiration to a nearby geyser which was called Papakura and immediately responded, 'My name is Papakura, Maggie Papakura'. From that time on she was widely known as Guide Maggie Papakura. The name Papakura was also assumed by close members of her family.

On 7 May 1891 at Wairoa, her father's place of residence, Makereti married Francis (Frank) Joseph Dennon, a surveyor. Her only child, William Francis (Te Aonui) Dennon, was born later that year. Makereti lived for a short while in Wairarapa with her husband, but when he left to work in the Taupo district she returned to Whakarewarewa. They were never reunited and Makereti petitioned for divorce in 1900. Guiding provided a source of income for her while her son was growing up.

In 1901 Makereti achieved international recognition when, in front of a large crowd, she welcomed the duke and duchess of Cornwall and York on their visit to Rotorua. Thereafter she was in even greater demand as a guide. Before 1910 she made a number of brief trips to Australia, and her social activities attracted comment in the society columns of local newspapers and magazines. Makereti was a popular subject for photographers, notably E.W. Payton, C.P. Parkerson and George Isles. Postcards of her clothed in Pakeha or Maori costume, with the headscarf she usually wore when guiding, were widely available.

The welfare of her people was always a major concern for Makereti. Her natural leadership qualities soon earned her respect within her local community and she was a strong advocate for the right of the Maori to self-determination. She had powerful friends, including prominent leaders and politicians such as Peter Buck,

Maui Pomare and Apirana Ngata, and she was not slow to appeal to them for help.

Makereti had a keen entrepreneurial sense and was interested in promoting aspects of Maori culture to gain economic benefits for her people. She wrote a book, entitled *Guide to the hot lakes district* (1905), and formed a concert party with her sister Bella, who was an exponent of waiata and poi. The Reverend Frederick Bennett wrote items for this group.

In 1910 Makereti and her cultural group were invited to take part in a Sydney exhibition. Here they gave concert performances and set up a model Maori village. Such was the success of this venture that Makereti was asked by a syndicate of Sydney businessmen to manage a Maori concert party tour to Sydney and then to England to take part in the Festival of Empire celebrations. Makereti gathered together a touring party consisting of around 40 members of her extended family, including her sister Bella, brother Tiki (Dick) Papakura, the Tuhourangi leader Mita Taupopoki, and a selected group of the finest singers and performers. In April 1911 they left Sydney for London.

They appeared at various venues including Crystal Palace, the Palace Theatre and White City and entertained thousands of visitors with songs and dances, story-telling and whaikorero (speech-making). An accompanying exhibition of Maori artefacts, including a meeting house and storehouse, was equally popular with the crowds. The newspapers eagerly reported the group's activities, including the christening of a baby born to one of their members shortly after arrival in England. A highlight was the launching of a 45-foot canoe named Te Arawa at the Henley Royal Regatta.

Despite favourable publicity the tour was beset by financial problems, and in late 1911 the group decided to return to New Zealand. When they arrived back in early 1912 they received a hostile reception from the people at Whakarewarewa, who were distressed at the death of one of the touring party and angry that half of their number had chosen to remain in England. The financial failure of the venture exacerbated the situation and Makereti received much of the blame.

Her return to Whakarewarewa, though troubled, was brief. During her time in England, Makereti had renewed her acquaintance with Richard Charles Staples-Browne, whom she had met earlier while he was on a tour of New Zealand. The friendship developed into romance and on 26 November 1911 the *Observer* of London published notice of their engagement. Makereti returned to England, and married Staples-Browne at Kensington on 12 June 1912.

Her new husband was a wealthy landowner, and after their marriage Makereti lived at Oddington Grange, near Oxford. With the outbreak of war in 1914, she opened her home and her private suite in a London hotel to New Zealand troops, as a gesture of support and hospitality to her countrymen. Before and after the war she travelled widely in Europe.

In mid 1924 her second marriage ended in divorce, but Makereti continued to live in England. One of the rooms at her Oxford home was furnished with her extensive collection of carvings, cloaks and greenstone ornaments from Whakarewarewa. It was known as the New Zealand room, and it was here that she entertained

guests or lectured on Maori history to students, anthropologists and interested visitors.

In 1926 Makereti enrolled as a student at the University of Oxford to study for a BSc in anthropology. A lifetime collection of notes, journals and diaries was collated and rewritten for her thesis. The same year she journeyed back to New Zealand to consult her elders on the content of her work and gain their approval. On 16 April 1930, just two weeks before her thesis was due for examination, Makereti died suddenly at Oxford from a ruptured aortic artery. Despite protests from her Tuhourangi people, she was buried in accordance with her wishes at Oddington cemetery in Oxfordshire. A year later a memorial to her was erected at Whakarewarewa.

P Makereti's thesis was published eight years after her death by T. K. Penniman, secretary of the anthropology committee at Oxford University, a friend from whom Makereti had sought guidance during the course of her studies. *The old-time Maori*, which Makereti dedicated to the memory of her first teachers, Marara Marotaua and Maihi Te Kakau Paraoa, gives an account and analysis of the customs of Te Arawa from the point of view of a woman. It covers many aspects of daily life, including child-rearing and family relationships, which were generally ignored or treated superficially by male writers on Maori society. Makereti was scornful of the ignorant assumptions of many Pakeha ethnologists and corrected them in her text.

The book has a unique place as the first extensive published ethnographic work by a Maori scholar; however, it received little attention when it was first published, and was not reprinted until 1986. Perhaps the most striking quality of *The old-time Maori* is that while scholarly in approach, it is based on traditionally acquired knowledge and first-hand experience. Moreover, it reflects the self-awareness of its author who was at all times conscious of her lineage and responsibility to her people. T. K. Penniman understood this when in his introduction he paid tribute to Makereti: 'The secret of her own greatness of soul lay in knowing who she was'.

JUNE NORTHCROFT-GRANT

Macdonald, C. *et al.*, eds. *The book of New Zealand women*. Wellington, 1991

Stafford, D. M. *The new century in Rotorua*. Auckland, 1988

Parata, Katherine Te Rongokahira 1873–1939

Ngati Pukenga and Ngati Pikiāo woman of mana

P6

Katherine Te Rongokahira Asher was born on 21 November 1873 at Tauranga. Her father was David Asher, eldest son of Jewish immigrants Hannah Keesing and her husband, Asher Asher, a trader. Her mother was Katerina Te Atirau, who was of very high rank amongst Te Arawa and Mataatua; she was the eldest daughter of Rahera Te Kahuhiapo of Ngati Pukenga, Ngati Pikiāo and other hapu. Te Rongokahira, as Katherine was usually known, was the eldest of 11 children. Her brothers included Albert (known as Opai) and Ernest, both nationally famous as football players, and John Te Atirau Asher, a well-known

negotiator and executive for Ngati Tuwharetoa.

David Asher was a clothier and men's outfitter in Tauranga, and the owner of various trading vessels, which carried goods between Tauranga and Auckland. He spoke Maori fluently, and was a licensed court interpreter. Katerina Te Atirau was frequently in the Native Land Court in the 1880s and 1890s, battling for her family's rights in their many blocks. In 1886 she sold land to keep her husband solvent. David and Katerina formalised their marriage on 27 November 1894, and in the same year David became the proprietor of the Tauranga Hotel. He is said to have been a kind but strict parent, keeping his family away from the hotel business in a separate home. There is no record of the Asher children's schooling, but it is likely, given her later activities, that Te Rongokahira was well taught.

With her careful upbringing, comparatively wealthy background and high rank, Katherine Te Rongokahira Asher was a much sought-after bride. A marriage was arranged between her and Charles Rere Parata, also known as Taare Rakatauhake Parata, of Waikouaiti, in the South Island. His father, Tame Haereroa Parata, was MHR for Southern Maori and had affiliations with Ngati Huirapa hapu of Ngai Tahu, Ngati Mamoe and Waitaha. His mother was Peti Hurene or Elizabeth Brown, also a woman of high rank. The marriage, celebrated in the Tauranga Hotel on 15 June 1896, was regarded as momentous. It was one of the first important marriages between high-ranking families from the two main islands since the 1830s. Charles was then working as a clerk and licensed interpreter for the Native Land Court. The marriage produced one daughter, Peti, and two sons, David and Charles.

Early in their marriage Te Rongokahira and Charles were often in Wellington; they were among the leaders of 'progressive' Maori society, committed to the programme of what was to become the Young Maori Party. From 1905 Charles transferred permanently to Wellington, leaving the Native Land Court to go into business with William Moffatt as land and estate agents, interpreters and native agents. Charles ran the head office in Wellington, and Moffatt a branch in Palmerston North. In 1911 Charles succeeded his father as MP for Southern Maori.

As a leader among Wellington Maori, Te Rongokahira, known to Europeans as Mrs C. Parata, became involved in patriotic work during the South African War (1899–1902). A strong section of Maori society declared its support for the government, but was barred from sending troops to serve because the British did not wish Maori to take part in wars of 'the White Race against a White Race'. Nevertheless, they worked to raise money to support the efforts of those who could go. Te Rongokahira Parata, with her husband, arranged a grand Maori carnival in the Basin Reserve over several days in April 1900. Its object was to increase the 'More Men Fund'. Pene Te Umairangi of Hawke's Bay, Tamahau Mahupuku of Wairarapa and other chiefs gave money and sent men to assist. A model pa was constructed, tents with Maori craftwork on display for sale were set up around the perimeter, and food was dispensed from hangi. Exhibitions of haka and poi dances were held: one comic dance, 'Kiki te Poa' (kick the Boer), appealed to the jingoistic spirit of the times; a Maori rendering of the 'Song of