

“It came from me” – Māori representation in Ramai Te Miha Hayward’s authorship



BY

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## Mihi – Acknowledgements

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Ehara taku toa, he takitahi, he toa takitini.

## nota bene

Throughout this thesis, I refer to Ramai Te Miha Hayward with both her maiden name that she used in *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940) and her married name to distinguish her from Rudall Hayward. Most sources consulted here indicate she identified as Ramai Hayward, or Ramai Rongomaitara Hayward. Furthermore, discussing her background, I generally refer to her as Patricia, the name sources show she identified with until making *Rewi's Last Stand*.

I have used macrons for kupu Māori (Māori words) throughout this thesis. The only instances in which I do not use macrons reflect their lack of use in the cited sources. Where I use kupu Māori, I occasionally provide in brackets an English language equivalent, or a concept that is closely linked. While this thesis prioritises Māori perspectives, my intention behind these translations and corresponding English words is to provide context to readers who extend beyond the shores of Aotearoa.

## Abstract

Addressing the critical question of authorship in historical film, this thesis considers Ramai Te Miha Hayward's works dealing with Māori and Pākehā intercultural representations. During a time when Māori in film were severely underrepresented, Te Miha Hayward prioritised Māori perspectives in *The Arts of Maori Children* (1962) and *Eel History was a Mystery* (1968), subversively critiquing the continuation of assimilationist integration policy. These contributions, and Te Miha Hayward's extensive interviews and unpublished manuscripts, shed light on the change in intercultural representations between *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940) and *To Love a Maori* (1972), feature films that entail romance narratives. Te Miha Hayward's positionality is key to each chapter's methodology, locating her voice in extensive primary and secondary materials.

This work challenges the debate around film's value as a source of history, engaging at an intersection of disciplines. The analysis of *Rewi's Last Stand* interprets its narrative text and Te Miha Hayward's paratextual discussion through mana wāhine and kaupapa Māori theories. Such interpretation looks beyond the finished text, to Te Miha Hayward's affirmation of its historical relevance. Connecting her work with the social realism genre, *To Love a Maori's* dual narrative speaks to Māori and Pākehā audiences in different ways, further criticizing assimilation and Pākehā discrimination towards Māori. Navigating the issues of authorial ambiguity is central to locating Te Miha Hayward's voice, thereby illuminating her authorship. Hence, I argue her contribution to Māori representation in film demonstrates her self-determination as a filmmaker.

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## Introduction

Wāhine Māori perspectives on history have increasingly emerged through numerous disciplinary fields. In her *Emissaries* exhibition, featured in the 2018 Oceania conference in London, audio-visual artist Lisa Reihana confronted colonial aesthetics in her piece *Pursuit of Venus*, provoking a critical view of the French wallpaper *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* (1804-5), a popular neoclassical wallpaper depicting “Arcadian fantasy” and Rousseau’s “noble savage”.<sup>1</sup> As Linda Tuhiwai Smith states, “The imperial imagination enabled European nations to imagine the possibility that new worlds, new wealth and new possessions existed that could be discovered and controlled.”<sup>2</sup> Reihana’s contemporary representation illuminates attitudes of the imperial imagination toward Indigenous peoples through narratives of encounter, reclaiming the original source and representing it through Māori and Pacific perspectives, talking back to New Zealand’s colonial origins.<sup>3</sup>

From these early encounters, recent sources of history look to New Zealand’s formative years of European settler colonisation. In *He Reo Wāhine* (2017), Angela Wanhalla and Lachy Paterson investigated the voices of Māori women in nineteenth century writing. The 2017 National Library exhibition *Wāhine: Beyond the ‘dusky maiden’*, curated by Ariana Tikao and Catherine Bisley, celebrated mana wāhine (status/spiritual power pertaining to women) through atua wāhine, tīpuna wāhine (ancestral women) pivotal to cultural and physical survival, and contemporary wāhine Māori continuing their legacies.<sup>4</sup> In film, *Waru* (2017) deals with child abuse, telling contemporary stories that entail different perspectives of eight directors, each of whom are Māori women.

This thesis investigates the question of authorship in historical film through the work of Ramai Te Miha Hayward (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu), the first Māori cinematographer. Its origins coincide with recent stories of Aotearoa New Zealand’s colonial history and its

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<sup>1</sup> “Introducing ‘Lisa Reihana: Emissaries,’” Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, NZ, May 15, 2017, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/learn/for-educators/teaching-resources/venice-biennale/lisa-reihana-emissaries/introducing-lisa>, (Accessed 3 April 2018).

<sup>2</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed. (Dunedin, N.Z.; London & New York: Otago University Press; Zed Books, 2012), 23.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 23.

<sup>4</sup> “Wāhine: Beyond the ‘dusky maiden’ | Ki Tua o Te ‘Puhī Kiri Rauwhero,’” Te Puna mātauranga o Aotearoa National Library of New Zealand, 2017, <https://natlib.govt.nz/events/wahine-opens-june-06-2017> (Accessed 5 April 2019).

lived impacts. Considering the issue of authorship, this thesis shows how Ramai Te Miha Hayward influenced expressions of Māori perspectives through romance narrative and educational content, collaborating with Rudall Hayward in filmmaking. Investigating authorial ambiguity, this analysis draws out Te Miha Hayward's voice, identifying examples of her authorship, arguing for her self-determination as a film maker. Comparatively few Māori women have been credited with cinematic storytelling, with white-male filmmakers dominating the film medium. However, in terms of contribution to historical film, Ramai Te Miha Hayward stands out in the whakapapa (genealogy) of film in Aotearoa. Te Miha Hayward brought Māori perspectives into filmmaking, undermining early cinematic narratives of assimilation, through complex historical articulations of Aotearoa and the wider world.

Film culture in Aotearoa New Zealand developed largely through Pākehā desire for postcolonial cinematic articulations of identity. Film perpetuated romanticised tropes of Māori from late nineteenth century colonial literary narratives, which derived from earlier expressions of the colonized "Other" in eighteenth century Western art and science.<sup>5</sup> By the early 1900s, Pākehā sentimentality toward Māori emerged in "Maoriland" literature, no longer perceiving Māori as threatening to Pākehā nationalist desires.<sup>6</sup> Appropriating Māori art and culture, Pākehā attempted to produce a local literary identity, while erasing Indigenous people's presence in the landscape.<sup>7</sup> Film in Aotearoa New Zealand inherited these mythologizing and romanticised narratives of colonial genesis, established at a time when the wars over sovereignty and land had passed, leaving devastating impacts for Māori. European settlement yielded a new populace and a subsequent longing to signify identification with the landscape. Filmmaking during the early twentieth century consisted of Eurocentric and ethnographic representations of Māori people, reflecting imperial and colonial discourses pervading film and literary cultures. Within this culture, Māori women's aesthetic represented as exotic and romanticised, meant exploiting their realities.

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<sup>5</sup> Jo T. Smith, "Postcolonial Affirmations: The Return of the Dusky Maiden in Sima Urale's *Velvet Dreams*," *Continuum*, Vol. 22, no. 1, 1 February 2008, 79.

<sup>6</sup> Judith Binney and Vincent O'Malley, "Chapter Eleven: The Quest for Survival, 1890-1920," in Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris (ed.s), *Tangata Whenua: A History*, (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), 306.

<sup>7</sup> Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, "Maoriland: New Zealand Literature 1872-1914" (Victoria University Press, 2006), 20.



Colonial romanticising of Māori histories reflects an objective of assimilation to British imperial gender norms. As Jo T. Smith observed, “Aotearoa/New Zealand is conditioned and indeed haunted by the legacy of colonization”, evident in stereotypes such as the dusky maiden, which “blurs the distinction”, not only between experiences of colonized individuals, but also between cultures, such as those of Māori and Samoan women.<sup>8</sup> Essentializing women across cultures, colonial representations gave what Stafford and Williams refer to as a “mythologized, decorative presence” to historical narratives, contributing to their erasure from stories of national identity.<sup>9</sup> In *The Fourth Eye: Māori Media in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Brendan Hokowhitu refers to this kind of misrepresentation as “nonrecognition” within the postcolonial politics of recognition in audio-visual media. As such, the aesthetic of the dusky maiden represents political intent, to claim a national aesthetic of exotic feminine beauty comparable to the land’s natural essence, while denying her agency in historical narratives as a purely colonial fantasy.

However, ignoring Māori participation in the filmmaking process also contributes to Indigenous erasure from historical narratives. Such decisions to participate in film had the potential to relate to the world in a new form of cultural and technological expression. As Aroha Harris notes, Rotorua was a popular region for filmmaking, and numerous local Māori worked on these productions. Witarina Harris (née Mitchell) starred in the silent Hollywood film *Under the Southern Cross* as the romantic lead, Miro, and eventually took on the role as first kaumātua of the New Zealand Film Archive.<sup>10</sup> Although filmmaking had the potential to bring benefits to the livelihoods of participants, the question of controlling representation compels historians to determine whose understandings of history prevail and how film as a medium brings together collaborative perspectives.<sup>11</sup> This question relates directly to who is behind the camera and who is in front of it, as Merata Mita discussed in “The Soul and the Image”, addressing the mistrust derived from the early years of filmmaking in Aotearoa,

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<sup>8</sup> Smith, “Postcolonial Affirmations,” 79.

<sup>9</sup> Stafford and Williams, “Maoriland,” 20.

<sup>10</sup> Aroha Harris, “Chapter Twelve: Persistence and Resilience 1920-1945,” in *Tangata Whenua: A History*, ed. Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), 316; Emma Jean Kelly, *Adventures of Jonathan Dennis Bicultural Film Archiving Practice in Aotearoa New Zealand* (New Barnet, Herts, U.K.: John Libbey & Co Ltd, 2015), 53.

<sup>11</sup> Annabel Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past: The New Zealand Wars on Screen* (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago University Press, 2018).

when European filmmakers used the camera and its resultant imagery as tools of colonisation.<sup>12</sup>

### **Voice and Authorship – Theory and Methodology**

This thesis engages at an intersection of theories, from Indigenous, postcolonial, decolonial, film and history disciplines. Barry Barclay's theory on Fourth Cinema signifies the capacity of film to shift the mode of representation from the coloniser to the colonised. Historical archives are filled with representations of Indigenous peoples according to outsider perspectives. Citing Simon Featherstone's discussion of Gayatri Spivak's question of subaltern voice, Hokowhitu argues representation, whether literary, visual, auditory or otherwise, leaves Indigenous peoples "relentlessly constituted in the discourses of power."<sup>13</sup> Barclay's theory reflects film's emancipatory potential to constitute lived realities of indigenous experiences, consciously disregarding the position of the outsider through the concept of "talking in" as opposed to "talking out".<sup>14</sup> Merata Mita was one of the first Indigenous filmmakers to articulate this approach, arguing for the resonance of film's spiritual immediacy with Māori oral tradition.<sup>15</sup> Te Miha Hayward's work preceded these filmmakers' development of decolonial and kaupapa Māori film theories and methodologies. Although Te Miha Hayward is celebrated as the first Māori filmmaker, little attention to the interpretation of her films exists, perhaps due to her relationship with Hayward, and the resultant complexities and ambiguities within their films.

Dealing with such issues of authorial complexity, I investigate the change in expression of intercultural representations between Māori and Pākehā. Analysis in this thesis compares two feature films, *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940) and *To Love a Maori* (1972), and draws on Te Miha Hayward's educational documentaries, *The Arts of Maori Children* (1962) and *Eel History was a Mystery* (1968). The methodology consists of textual film analyses,

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<sup>12</sup> Merata Mita, "The Soul and the Image," in *Film in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Jonathan Dennis and Jan Bieringa (Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press, 1992), 42–43.

<sup>13</sup> Simon Featherstone, *Postcolonial Cultures* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), 10. Cited in Brendan Hokowhitu, "Theorizing Indigenous Media", in Brendan Hokowhitu and Vijay Devadas (eds.), *The Fourth Eye: Māori Media in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt4cgddb>, 103.

<sup>14</sup> Barry Barclay, *Our Own Image: A Story of a Maori Filmmaker* (Auckland, N.Z.: Longman Paul Limited, 1990), 76.

<sup>15</sup> Mita, "The Soul and the Image," 39.

and paratextual analyses of scripts, scenarios, and publicity materials, where relevant. Extensive archival research supports this work, mainly from Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, as well as Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa National Library of New Zealand, the Wairarapa Archive and the British Film Institute. Ramai Te Miha Hayward's audio, video and print interviews, as well as unpublished manuscripts, inform textual interpretations, notably a chapter from her unpublished autobiography. Working with these unpublished materials and interviews is a central methodology in locating Te Miha Hayward's voice, disentangling it from Hayward's.

Secondary sources support the primary source analyses, including the works of Deborah Shepard and Jacqueline Amoamo's chapter "A Creative Life" in *Standing in the Sunshine* (1993). These sources support that Te Miha Hayward prioritised education and social justice throughout her films, working alongside Hayward. Racism in New Zealand, both contemporary and historical, manifested as a recurring theme in the Haywards' work, even as early as 1940 when Te Miha Hayward appeared as the romantic lead Ariana in *Rewi's Last Stand*. Because of Ramai Te Miha Hayward's close working relationship with Hayward, some secondary sources on New Zealand film have overlooked or understated her contribution. Due consideration is given to existing film analyses in secondary sources. However, most show severe limitations, overlooking Te Miha Hayward. Shepard devotes more attention to Te Miha Hayward's work in *Reframing Women – a history of New Zealand film* (2000), *Between the Lives: Partners in Art* (2005) and her recent biography in *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (2019). The discrimination Te Miha Hayward faced as a Māori woman, according to Shepard, led her to recognise the prejudice she would face in the film industry early on, in order "to survive in a white man's world".<sup>16</sup> Shepard's work strives to draw out Te Miha Hayward's influence, yet her voice remains veiled in Shepard's argument for her artistic partnership with Hayward.

The issue of authorship in historical film is the central question in the framing of this thesis. In the films it discusses, Te Miha Hayward took on a variety of roles behind the camera, including publicity designer, co-director, script writer, and producer. In addition, appearing as Ariana in *Rewi's Last stand* (1940), Te Miha Hayward contributed to her

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<sup>16</sup> Deborah Shepard, ed., *Between the Lives: Partners in Art* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2005), 120.

character's historical voice. Her relationship with Hayward in their later films further complicates this question, due to Te Miha Hayward's reliance on Hayward's name for credibility in a white-male-dominated industry, and Hayward's financial reliance on Te Miha Hayward.<sup>17</sup> However according to Te Miha Hayward, it was her own interest in China and educational films that shaped the direction some of their films took.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, the question of authorship is vital when dealing with colonial and postcolonial texts and issues of voice, as Wanhalla and Paterson argue in *He Reo Wāhine*. When "processes of moderation" are at play, "voice may well be modulated through interpretation".<sup>19</sup> At times, interpretations of voice may reflect collaborative acts of agency, but for Te Miha Hayward, her reliance on a working relationship with her Pākehā husband, complicates distinguishing her authorship from Hayward's.

### **Chapter Overview**

A key methodological choice in this thesis derives from locating Te Miha Hayward's voice in the authorial ambiguity of her films with Hayward. Ideally, speaking to her, her whānau and people who knew her well would illuminate her perspective regarding the themes in these films. Any project is constrained through limitations in some way, and this project's limitations lie here. Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, as kaitiaki for much of Te Miha Hayward's work, has put trust in this project, supporting an approach in which finding Te Miha Hayward's voice derives from extensive listening to and reading of her interviews. Subsequently, an interlude seeks to illuminate Te Miha Hayward's voice in relation to her authorship. Rather than claiming biographical intent, this section on Te Miha Hayward's background speaks to her positionality, which she revealed to numerous interviewers and in her written manuscripts. Positioned prior to chapter one, it provides a basis for understanding Te Miha Hayward's subjectivity and positionality as a wahine Māori filmmaker.

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<sup>17</sup> Shepard, *Between the Lives*, 120.

<sup>18</sup> Shepard, *Between the Lives*, 127.

<sup>19</sup> Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine: Māori Women's Voices from the Nineteenth Century* (La Vergne: Auckland University Press, 2017), 11.

Chapter one, “The Romance of Ariana in *Rewi’s Last Stand* (1940)” discusses Te Miha Hayward’s role and relationship with *Rewi’s Last Stand*. Narrative interpretation of intercultural representations draws on the work of Indigenous scholars such as Chadwick Allen, where interpreting Ariana’s character is further informed by mana wāhine theorists Naomi Simmonds and Irihapeti Ramsden. Considering Ariana as an historical agent problematizes Robert Rosenstone’s historical film theory of *false invention* and *true invention*, showing how perspective in historical representations, both filmic and literary, challenges his theory.

Chapter two, “Beyond the Ending” considers Te Miha Hayward’s voice and relationship with *Rewi’s Last Stand* (1940) and its representation of wāhine Māori, long after it was made. Looking past the film’s narrative, the chapter addresses Ramai Te Miha Hayward’s transformative discussion of the film. Indigenous theorist Chadwick Allen’s work also informs how I interpret Te Miha Hayward’s discussion of *Rewi’s Last Stand*. The chapter searches for authorship in this film known for its discursive ambiguity, through Te Miha Hayward’s performance and her later discussion of the film. The analysis centres Ramai Te Miha Hayward’s contribution through her character’s representation as central in the film’s narrative, and her discussion regarding the film’s performative and constructive meaning. The debate surrounding historical film’s relevance in the study of history is challenged through Te Miha Hayward’s theorization around ancestral links with Māori performance.

Chapter three, “Social Realism and Educational Documentaries” follows Te Miha Hayward’s post-World War II time in England from 1946. A decade later, Te Miha Hayward started a documentary series for children. Two of these films, *The Arts of Maori Children* (1962) and *Eel History Was A Mystery* (1968), brought forth Māori perspectives in documentary in an unprecedented way. The chapter links her educational documentary series to British social realism, with reference to films about race relations. The analysis further considers how the Haywards’ time in England prompted Te Miha Hayward’s representations of race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, prioritizing Māori content and offering critique toward the government’s continued push for Māori assimilation.

Chapter four, “*To Love a Maori* (1972) – A Dramatic Documentary” contrasts with *Rewi’s Last Stand’s* (1940) narrative of colonial fantasy, where Māori perspectives inform its narrative while drawing parallels to social realism. Stemming from Te Miha Hayward’s work

in her educational documentaries, *To Love a Maori*'s dual narrative challenges the government's integration policy in both explicit and more moderate ways. The chapter sheds light on Te Miha Hayward's authorial contribution, addressing the critical lack in textual analyses of her work. Considering Barclay's theory on "talking in" and "talking out", this chapter identifies key differences in how Te Miha Hayward articulated Māori perspectives through the film medium, using metonymical characters that speak to Māori and Pākehā audiences respectively, providing contemporary social commentary concerning race relations. Te Miha Hayward's representation of Māori and Pākehā relations emphasised Māori perspectives with a strong "talking out" approach. Identifying instances where the film "talks in" demonstrates Te Miha Hayward's further challenge of assimilation.

*Rewi's Last Stand* and *To Love a Maori* contrast in narrative form, representing a major shift in Māori representation. Ramai Te Miha Hayward's authorship is key in this shift, where the narrative in the former film complies with the myth of integration, and the latter's explicitly challenges it. Searching beyond narrative form and listening to Ramai Te Miha Hayward speak reveals the extent of her authorship in her films, reflecting her contention, "Everything good that has happened to me has happened because I'm a Maori."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Hayward, "Reflections from Ramai," 74.

## Interlude – Locating Ramai Te Miha Hayward’s Voice

The eldest daughter of Roihi Te Miha (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu) and Fred Mawhinney (Irish descent), Ramai Te Miha Hayward was born Patricia Rongomaitara on 11 November 1916 at her maternal grandparents’ home in Martinborough, Wairarapa.<sup>1</sup> The man she acknowledged as her father, James Miller (Scottish descent), was her mother’s second husband. Roihi Te Miha was widowed when Patricia and her sister Wikitoria were babies, as her birth father was killed in Belgium during World War I in 1917.<sup>2</sup> Roihi remarried James in 1920 and moved to Ōruapaeroa (New Brighton), as his family lived in Christchurch.<sup>3</sup> James Miller worked as a fencer and was, according to Te Miha Hayward, a “wonderful man” and “the only father we ever knew”.<sup>4</sup>

Ramai Te Miha Hayward acknowledged the importance her grandmother, Huria Kinihe Te Miha (Ngāi Tahu), had on her upbringing. At about six years old, she moved with her grandmother to the Turanganui settlement in Pirinoa, to live at her great grandfather Hemi Te Miha’s cottage.<sup>5</sup> Te Miha Hayward recalled how these years with her grandmother left a lasting impact on her life.

We never wanted for anything. We had our own chickens and grew our own fruits and vegetables. The Ruamahanga River ran through the bottom of my grandmother’s property and we often put eel traps in there. We had our own horses and rode them regularly to Palliser Bay to our fishing rocks, where the little old fishing lode still stands. I didn’t speak any English til I went to Pirinoa School, near Lake Wairarapa. It’s because I was brought up

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<sup>1</sup> NZ On Screen, “Koha - Ramai Hayward,” accessed October 30, 2018, <https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/koha-ramai-hayward-1989>.

<sup>2</sup> Tamara Martin, “New Zealander: Ramai Hayward,” *Pacific Way*, December 1993, 22, Ramai Hayward Vertical File, Documentation and Artefacts Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision; NZ On Screen, “Koha - Ramai Hayward.”

<sup>3</sup> Martin, “New Zealander: Ramai Hayward,” 22.

<sup>4</sup> Although it is unclear when her parents initially moved to the South Island, Te Miha Hayward recalled how she and her sister used to travel between the Wairarapa and Te Wai Pounamu (South Island). Ramai Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Alwyn Owen, MP3, Circa 1994, Audio Tape, Side 1, Wairarapa Archive, Masterton, N.Z.

<sup>5</sup> Ramai Hayward, “Mihi” (Unpublished manuscript, 1980s-1990s), 1, in “Papers: Ramai Biography” Documentation and Artefacts Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision. Hayward Collection, MA 2616, Folder 11.

with my Maori family that my Maori side is predominant. The Miller's didn't come into my life till I was 12 years old when my grandmother died and I went to live in the South Island.<sup>6</sup>

Huria passed away in 1928, a devastating time for their whānau.<sup>7</sup> The depression years proved difficult for James Miller, who had trouble finding work in the Wairarapa, so his brother Noel, head porter at Christchurch hospital, offered him a job there early in 1929.<sup>8</sup> Patricia and Wikitoria moved to live with their parents. Te Miha Hayward's family grew, as five more siblings came into the world. Eventually, she raised three of her youngest siblings in Auckland, gaining their custody after marrying Rudall Hayward.<sup>9</sup>

Te Miha Hayward's upbringing in Christchurch was significantly different from what she was used to, and she and her siblings were the only Māori students at New Brighton school.<sup>10</sup> At the suggestion of their neighbour John Morgan, a Māori lawyer whose influence Te Miha Hayward recalled as significant, she moved to Auckland to attend Queen Victoria College in 1931.<sup>11</sup> Returning to Christchurch due to the deterioration of her mother's health, Patricia Miller, as she was then, attended West High School for the remaining two years of her secondary school education.<sup>12</sup> Tragically, Roihi passed away in 1935.<sup>13</sup> At age seventeen, Miller moved to Wellington to attend art school at Wellington Polytechnic, living with her Scottish aunty Queenie and her two sons Mervyn and Hemi Te Miha.<sup>14</sup> Pursuing an education in the arts, she held fast to her mother's advice to turn her creativity into something practical. In later life, Te Miha Hayward recalled, with amusement, her mother's words: "now you do something besides art because artists only starve in attics".<sup>15</sup> So, she

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<sup>6</sup> Martin, "New Zealander: Ramai Hayward," 22.

<sup>7</sup> Hayward, "Mihī," 3.

<sup>8</sup> Hayward, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Deborah Shepard. "Hayward, Ramai Rongomaitara", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2019. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/6h2/hayward-ramai-rongomaitara> (accessed 17 December 2019).

<sup>10</sup> Ramai Hayward, "Reflections from Ramai," *Mana Magazine*, 2000, 77, Ramai Hayward Vertical Film, Documentation and Artefacts Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision.

<sup>11</sup> Hayward, 76–77; Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>12</sup> NZ On Screen, "Koha - Ramai Hayward"; Shepard, "Hayward, Ramai Rongomaitara."

<sup>13</sup> Shepard, "Hayward, Ramai Rongomaitara"; Martin, "New Zealander: Ramai Hayward," 22.

<sup>14</sup> Hayward, "Mihī," 3.

<sup>15</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.



decided to learn photography, apprenticed to Henri Harrison at Cuba Studios, who shared an artistic passion.<sup>16</sup>

Living in Auckland after completing her photographic apprenticeship, Patricia Miller opened a photographic studio in Devonport in 1937. The following year she performed in the production of *Rewi's Last Stand*, and her photographic business thrived until she sold it in 1946, then moving to England until 1949. The first opening credit for performance in *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940) appears, "Ramai Te Miha as "Ariana"". Miller appeared as Ramai Te Miha, as she wanted to represent herself with a Māori name in the film's credits. She said she chose the name from her grandfather, who gave her the nickname Ramai, meaning "ray of sunshine".<sup>17</sup>

Ramai Te Miha Hayward's initial interest in auditioning for Ariana was on the condition she could perform waiata (song) in the film. Rudall Hayward approached Patricia Miller at her photographic studio in Devonport, requesting that she audition for the part of Ariana. Miller had a passion for singing, photography and art. In the years Miller spent in Wellington, she joined the Ngāti Pōneke Young Māori Club, singing in the choir. Years later, she remembered learning waiata from Sir Apirana Ngata in Ngāti Pōneke at the age of seventeen in 1934, when he had been forced to resign from his position in the Native Department.<sup>18</sup> Miller learnt and loved the songs of Emira Maewa Kaihau, renown composer of the waiata "Haere Ra", "Akoako o te Rangi" and "E moe te rā", her favourite.<sup>19</sup> Her creative talents compelled her to move to Auckland after finishing her photographic apprenticeship with Henri Harrison at Cuba Studios in Wellington, and a three-year art course at Wellington Polytech. Visiting her relative Robert MacIntosh, who was enlisted in the Navy, and his family,<sup>20</sup> she found that there were several women who had established their own photographic studios, unlike anywhere else in the country at that time. Miller rented some property she inherited from her grandfather and established herself as the first

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<sup>16</sup> Hayward; NZ On Screen, "Koha - Ramai Hayward."

<sup>17</sup> NZ On Screen, "Koha - Ramai Hayward."

<sup>18</sup> Hayward, "Reflections from Ramai," 77.

<sup>19</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>20</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

Māori photographer in a studio in Devonport, the Patricia Miller Photographic Studios in 1938.<sup>21</sup>

When Miller moved to Auckland, she was determined to track down Kaihau, eventually finding her living at Maungawhau (Mt Eden). Many years later Te Miha Hayward recalled how she and Kaihau travelled together to Kaihau's old home in Waiuku. The Kaihau family had fallen on hard times, and the old property lay empty of all furniture but a piano. Kaihau, who had lost her sight, played the piano in the dark as Miller sang, their music echoing through the house. Te Miha Hayward described the "eerie" experience, with the French doors open to where Kaihau and her late husband, former Māori Member of Parliament Henare Kaihau, entertained the Governor General and his wife. Patricia Miller's friendship with Maewa Kaihau led her to perform at an event at the Blind Institute, with Kaihau, and actor and comedian Stanley Knight.<sup>22</sup> Her performance proved instrumental in her journey into filmmaking.

Stanley Knight, who Hayward lined up to play Ariana's estranged father, Old Ben Horton, in *Rewi's Last Stand*, had a former working relationship with him, featuring in his film *On the Friendly Road* (1936).<sup>23</sup> Knight spotted Miller as an ideal person for the role of Ariana, with her good looks and beautiful voice. Hayward approached Miller not long after she had established her photographic studio on Auckland's North Shore.<sup>24</sup> Miller already knew about the film through a friend, Tui Scott, who had unsuccessfully auditioned for the role of Ariana. Miller's photography kept her busy, and she was therefore reluctant to audition, until Hayward came to her studio and convinced her to do so in person. According to Te Miha Hayward, the audition was a disaster due to the poor make-up job she received. Much to her amusement, Rudall Hayward cast her as Ariana based simply on her good looks.<sup>25</sup> Patricia Miller hoped to bring some of Maewa Kaihau's waiata to the screen, however Alfred Hill had already been approached to produce the film's score. Despite

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<sup>21</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>22</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>23</sup> The film featured Methodist minister Colin 'Uncle Scrim' Scrimgeour, whose established the Friendly Road Broadcasting radio station, and was associated with the Friendly Road church, who supported the Labour Party and stood against Peter Fraser. Allan K. Davidson, "Scrimgeour, Colin Graham", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s16/scrimgeour-colin-graham> (accessed 17 December 2019).

<sup>24</sup> NZ On Screen, "Koha - Ramai Hayward."

<sup>25</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

Miller's interest in singing Kaihau's waiata for the film, she recalled Hill had already selected a Tuwharetoa oriori.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, the sound recordings of the waiata in the film was of such poor quality, they were removed when *The Last Stand* edit was made in England.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ramai Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Alwyn Owen, MP3, Circa 1994, Audio Tape, Wairarapa Archive, Masterton, Side 2.

<sup>27</sup> Because the original *Rewi's Last Stand* no longer exists in celluloid, it is unclear what waiata featured in the original release. Maria Cross' thesis on Hill's music in *Rewi's Last Stand* provides insight into possible waiata, suggesting "Oriori" or perhaps "Oriori Mother is Weary". One of the songs according to Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision's records, that Ariana sings to Bob by the river was "Papa pounamu te Moana", an expression that puts forth hope for peace, that the ocean may be smooth and glistening like pounamu. The two waiata that appeared featured with Ariana singing to children in the fortress, and another at the side of the river. Cross also cites "Whakapukepuke" as one of the songs. Melissa Cross, "The Forgotten Soundtrack of Maoriland: Imagining the Nation Through Alfred Hill's Songs for Rewi's Last Stand" (Victoria University of Wellington, 2015), 41; Virginia Callanan and Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision, "The Last Stand," *Gauge* (blog), May 15, 2014, <https://ngataonga.org.nz/blog/archiving-practice/the-last-stand/>; Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 2.

## 1 – The Romance of Ariana in *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940)

*Rewi's Last Stand* (1940), a fictionalised romance narrative amidst the historical battle of Ōrākau of 1864, has prompted much discussion in Aotearoa New Zealand's film history, notably in relation to Rudall Hayward's first two war epics *Rewi's Last Stand* (1925) and *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927). Ramai Te Miha Hayward starred in the 1940 film as Ariana, a young "half-caste" woman of Ngāti Maniapoto and European descent, immersed in a romance story with a colonial-settler trader, Bob Beaumont, during war time. The film's intercultural representations through romance narrative demonstrate support for Māori assimilation, during a time when Pākehā cultural production emphasised a vision of a unified nation. It reflects the time of its release at the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, amidst New Zealand's participation in World War II.

Drawing on the scholarly discussion of the film, this chapter investigates the issue of authorship. The well-established connection between Hayward's narrative and James Cowan's histories, reflects sentiments of nation building and legitimizing Pākehā identities. Ariana's romance and her choice features as pivotal in this narrative, prompting consideration of Robert Rosenstone's concepts of *false* and *true invention* regarding historical representations in film.<sup>1</sup> Ariana's character embodies both forms of invention, as revealed through primary source accounts of the battle of Ōrākau's aftermath. As the film's title suggests, the narrative of the battle of Ōrākau, represented as Rewi Maniapoto's last stand against the British colonial forces, provides the historical context for the film. However, the core narrative revolves around the character Ariana, loosely based on one of the defenders of Ōrākau. As Anabel Cooper aptly puts it, "Fictional characters rubbed shoulders with real historical individuals" in Hayward's films,<sup>2</sup> yet in the case of his main character in *Rewi's Last Stand*, Ariana is both historical and fictional.

In the film, Ariana lives with the missionary Reverend John Morgan and his family at the Te Awamutu mission station. Ariana's estranged father, an ex-whaler and "rolling stone of a schooner captain", disappeared before Ariana's birth, reappearing as a soldier in the

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<sup>1</sup> Robert A. Rosenstone, "The Historical Film as Real History," *Film-Historia*, no. 1, 1995, 9-10 (PDF).

<sup>2</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 19.

colonial forces.<sup>3</sup> Her late mother Takiri, daughter of rangatira (chief) Te Whatanui from Kāwhia, passed away when she was young. She took Ariana to the Morgans to receive a mission-based education, although Morgan claims they adopted her.<sup>4</sup> Morgan's claim to adoption reflects the film's representation of cultural difference. Where settler society saw her adoption as closed, from her whānau's Māori cultural perspective, her time with the Morgans meant coming home at an appropriate time, consistent with the practice of whāngai.

In the film's plot, Ariana becomes entangled in a love triangle between, Bob "Ropata" Beaumont (Leo Pilcher), a trader who grew up with Ngā Puhī in the north of Aotearoa New Zealand, and Tama Te Heu Heu (Henare Toka), warrior from Ngāti Maniapoto, who does her grandfather's bidding in "seizing" her from the Morgans.<sup>5</sup> Tama gets caught up in what the film initially presents as the treachery of Ngāti Maniapoto, taking people of mixed-descent from their Pākehā family members. By contrast, Bob speaks te reo Māori, shows adept skill in the use of taiaha, and demonstrates some understanding of Māori cultural concepts. While Tama represents the perceived separatism of Māori and Pākehā worlds, embodying an anti-hero archetype, Bob represents the unity and "blending" of Māori and Pākehā cultures, as outlined in the film's foreword, thus embodying the archetype of the hero. A typical analysis would thereby see Ariana as the damsel-in-distress meets dusky-maiden archetype, an object of metaphor, rather than an agent with subjective will. However, Ariana's choice, frequently discussed in the film's scholarship, remains at the forefront of the film's narrative. As some scholars argue, Ariana represents the future of Aotearoa New Zealand, in Rudall Hayward's eyes.

Analysis in this chapter owes much to the established scholarship surrounding the film, notably the works of Bruce Babington, Alistair Fox, Martin Blythe, and most recently Cooper. Of these scholars, Cooper takes the least auteurial approach to analysis, accounting for greater influence of Hayward's collaborators. Drawing on parts of Hayward's 1937

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<sup>3</sup> Citation refers to the 1949 British release of *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940). Rudall Hayward, *Rewi's Last Stand / The Last Stand* (Equity British Films Ltd., 1949).

<sup>4</sup> Hayward, *Rewi's Last Stand / The Last Stand*.

<sup>5</sup> Some of the battle footage feature Te Rongonui Paerata as Tama Te Heu Heu. Originally Paerata was to perform as his grandfather Hītiri Te Paerata, but a dispute with Hayward resulted in him leaving the filming altogether. Cooper suggests that Hayward kept some of Paerata's footage in the film, "perhaps in recognition of the connection between Rongonui and his tipuna." Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 70, 81.

scenario, “*Rewi’s Last Stand’: An Epic of the Battling Sixties. A Scenario by R. Hayward Copyright 1937*”, demonstrates marked differences from the film, suggesting ongoing authorial collaboration before, during and after it was written. Textual analyses that focus mainly on narrative tend to discount the performances and subtext in *Rewi’s Last Stand* brought through Hayward’s collaboration with people in the Waipā community. Cooper provides insight into how Hayward negotiated production with people such as Raureti Te Huia (Ngāti Maniapoto), who performed in the film as his whanaunga (relative) Rewi Maniapoto, H.A. Swarbrick and James Oliphant, all three of whom were part of the Te Awamutu Historical Society. Te Rongonui Paerata (Ngāti Kohera, Ngāti Raukawa) also collaborated in filming with Hayward, performing as his grandfather Hītiri Te Paerata, leaving part way through production due to an unknown dispute with Hayward.<sup>6</sup> Hayward subsequently removed Hītiri from the film’s narrative, and used some of the footage of Te Rongonui Paerata as Tama in one of the battle scenes, despite his request for its removal.<sup>7</sup> Hayward consulted with Oliphant and Swarbrick in writing the film’s scenario,<sup>8</sup> which effectively reflected their Pākehā-male subjective perspectives. Comparing parts of the scenario’s text with the film provides some insight into several sections of the film in which Māori voices come to the fore, both in terms of construction and representation.

### **Authorship and Collaboration**

Determining how these collaborations impacted authorship remains ambiguous and therefore difficult. The only version of the film that exists was edited for British release, with a significant portion of the Māori performances cut out. Conversely, Hayward’s reliance on Cowan appears explicitly, reflecting his admiration for Cowan’s historical narratives that drew extensively on Māori oral histories. Paul Meredith’s (Ngāti Maniapoto, Pākehā) reading of Cowan, suggests Hayward’s practices eventually paralleled his mentor’s. Describing Cowan as a “cultural philanthropist”, Meredith reasons, his motivations derived from “promot[ing] mutual understanding and reconciliation between Māori and Pākehā (as perhaps were his informants)” while also seeking to record accounts of the past before his

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<sup>6</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 69–70.

<sup>7</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 80–81.

<sup>8</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 71.

informants passed on.<sup>9</sup> Authorial analyses tend to veil Hayward and Cowan's collaborators, who Cooper endeavours to draw out. Although seeking to depart from an auteurial analysis, it is pertinent to acknowledge the parallels between Cowan and Hayward's works that drew significantly on Māori agency. As Cooper noted, Pākehā men dominated the film industry (evident in themes such as "cultural go-betweens"), but collaboration in filmmaking refutes the director's complete creative control.

*The Last Stand* British edit unfortunately does not provide enough insight into all the content reflecting Māori agency in performance. Hence, scholars of Hayward's work frequently look to presentist, Pākehā cultural production forms of analysis in the film. In reference to the wider debate around historical film, presentist analyses compliment Pierre Sorlin's view of historical film's value as mere "tools", reflected "in the context of its production", in contrast with Rosenstone who emphasises historical film's artifice.<sup>10</sup> Both of these theories privilege the auteur. Further debate amongst film scholars and film makers suggest auteurial analyses deny the collaborative nature of film authorship, calling for greater recognition of script writing. Yet in practice, directors generally receive sole credit.<sup>11</sup> Cooper further stipulates this issue concerning the collaboration of Māori actors in films about the New Zealand wars, where, "Some pushed back against stories they did not like", intervening in their own characters' representations, while also providing expertise on language, aesthetics, ideas and tikanga.<sup>12</sup> Cooper points out that, filmmakers' conversations with Māori casts, crews and collaborators brought authorial perspectives and contributions beyond their credited roles.<sup>13</sup> In both writing and performance, the issue of collaborative authorship complicates the question of voice, impacting textual analysis. These conversations and interactions in producing films seldom get recorded, and there is limited

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<sup>9</sup> Paul Meredith, "Tēnā Koe Hēmi Kāwana: A Ngāti Maniapoto Half-Caste from Kihikihi Greets Mr James Cowan," *Journal of New Zealand Studies (Online)*, no. 19, 2015, 8.

<sup>10</sup> Pierre Sorlin, "Historical Film as Tools for Historians," *Film & History*, Vol. 18, no. 1, February 1988, 2; Marnie Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes to the Movies: Studying History on Film* (Oxford, U.K.: Routledge, 2007), 102.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Wells discusses how competing voices in authorship lead to complications in ascribing authorship, where the scriptwriter often negotiates varying interests, fulfilling a key authorial role. Similarly, Al W. Bordino validates the work of script doctors, or script editors, as cultural producers rather than "below-the-line labourers" devoid of authorial contribution. Paul Wells, "'Surely I Should Get a Script Credit, Shouldn't I?'" Creative, Consultative and Collaborative Script Development: The Oil Kid," *Journal of Screenwriting*, Vol. 8, no. 3, 2017, 303; Alex W. Bordino, "Script Doctoring and Authorial Control in Hollywood and Independent American Cinema," *Journal of Screenwriting*, Vol. 8, no. 3, 2017, 251.

<sup>12</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 25.

<sup>13</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 25.

meaning ascribed to production titles in terms of authorship. As such, reading the audio-visual texts requires interpretation of thematic representations in relation to potential perspective. Determining the extent of Te Miha Hayward's authorship thereby requires consideration of her distinct worldview, as an intersectional wahine Māori filmmaker, entangled in Pākehā cultural production evident in this film.

## The Foreword

Scholars of Rudall Hayward's early films widely acknowledge the influence James Cowan had on his work. Cowan provided Hayward inspiration for his first two war epics, *Rewi's Last Stand* (1925) and *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927), stemming from Hayward's childhood fascination with Cowan's *The Adventures of Kimble Bent*.<sup>14</sup> Despite Bent's claims to Native American heritage, Cowan discussed how he lived much of his life as a "pakeha-Maori" in his 1911 biography.<sup>15</sup> As Babington shows, Hayward acknowledged Cowan's account of Bent as "one of the most thrilling biographies ever written", arguing grounds for the "complicated cross-empathies" in his films.<sup>16</sup> Hayward's fascination with Pākehā and Māori cultural intermediaries likely emerged from his interest in Bent's life, although as Shepard acknowledges, Hayward himself came from an intercultural family.<sup>17</sup> Rudall Hayward was born into a travelling musical family of entertainers, with his British father, Rudall George Hayward, and his British-Italian mother, Adelina Maria Teresa Martinengo.<sup>18</sup> As Cooper argues, Pākehā cultural producers saw intercultural figures as representing a kind of Pākehā creation story, with "the immigrant becoming native",<sup>19</sup> but sometimes intercultural narratives spoke to these individuals' own personal truths.

The foreword that follows the credits in *Rewi's Last Stand* provides the audience with insight into narrative meaning. It is possible this foreword was written for a British

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<sup>14</sup> Lawrence McDonald, Diane Pivac, and Frank Stark, eds., *New Zealand Film: An Illustrated History* (Wellington, N.Z.: Te Papa Press, 2011), 67.

<sup>15</sup> James Cowan, *The Adventures of Kimble Bent*, The NZETC epub edition. (Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Electronic Text Collection, 2006), VIII.

<sup>16</sup> Bruce Babington, *A History of the New Zealand Fiction Feature Film: Staunch As?* (Manchester: University Press, 2007), 56-57.

<sup>17</sup> Shepard, *Between the Lives*, 117.

<sup>18</sup> L. R. Shelton. "Hayward, Rudall Charles Victor", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4h22/hayward-rudall-charles-victor> (accessed 7 November 2019)

<sup>19</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 22–23.



audience of *The Last Stand*, as the scenario's prologue contains an opening montage of shots, beginning with a spinning globe that lands on New Zealand.<sup>20</sup> According to Shepard, the couple hoped for the success of the British release, with Hayward's aim to continue making feature films.<sup>21</sup> As such, it presents an image of New Zealand in a global context, formed out of relatively recent colonial-settler history. The foreword scrolls between the two images of a whakairo panel; one a flipped duplicate image of the other. The foreword states,

In New Zealand after the Maori Wars of the 'Sixties, men of famous British regiments took up land and became soldier settlers.

Near one of the towns they founded, Te Awamutu, the townspeople filmed recently, these pages from a rough-hewn history, re-enacting on the actual locations, the parts played by their pioneering forefathers.

In the struggle for possession of this land of promise, the "Pakehas" (white men), found the Maoris tough and chivalrous fighters, who were often defeated by sheer weight of arms, but were never conquered.

Today, the slowly blending races of white men and brown, live in peace and equality as one people... the New Zealanders.<sup>22</sup>

The notion of Māori and Pākehā as one people, much like the works of Cowan, reflect tension between two seemingly contradictory historical forms, one seeking to show history, and the other seeking to form it. Māori, as people indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand, in participating in national historical projects have struggled within this tension to claim the right to difference. As Chadwick Allen contends, Indigenous peoples are "forced to compete for *indigenous* status with European settlers and their descendants" within the "one people" discourse. Indigenous struggles for land, resources, language, culture, and "the right to maintain *difference*", Allen argues, prompted European settler demands for the view of a singular people with "national legitimacy".<sup>23</sup> Considering how closely Cowan

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<sup>20</sup> Rudall Hayward, "'Rewi's Last Stand': An Epic of the Battling Sixties. A Scenario by R. Hayward Copyright 1937" (1937), 1, Documentation and Artefacts Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision. Hayward Collection, MA2301, Folder no. 5146.005.11.

<sup>21</sup> Shepard, *Between the Lives*, 121–22.

<sup>22</sup> Hayward, *Rewi's Last Stand / The Last Stand*.

<sup>23</sup> Chadwick Allen, "Blood as Narrative/Narrative as Blood: Constructing Indigenous Identity in Contemporary American Indian and New Zealand Maori Literatures and Politics" (Ph.D., The University of Arizona, 1997), 32, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304331049/abstract/3E6FB2C5173941A6PQ/1>.

worked with his Māori oral history informants, one can understand how his historical narratives both comply with and resist colonial conventions. Fox argues Cowan presents two discourses in competition, one that “reproduces the discourse of colonial imperialism” and its “inevitable march of progress toward civilization”; the other that “expresses unease about the motives of the colonisers”.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps adhering to the government’s assimilationist ambitions, Cowan’s dual discourse also appears somewhat unsurprisingly in *Rewi’s Last Stand*, both romanticizing experiences of war, as well as providing a platform for Māori voices under the pretext of assimilation. As Meredith contends, what set Cowan apart from his contemporaries was his empathy for his Māori informants and thus his determination to represent both Pākehā and Māori historical perspectives.<sup>25</sup> Hayward also presented Māori perspectives in *Rewi’s Last Stand*, collaborating with informants Te Huia and Paerata, relationships formed most likely through Cowan’s advisory role to Hayward.<sup>26</sup> Yet, at the same time, Hayward complied with the Pākehā cultural production of “national legitimacy” in his desire for recognition of New Zealanders as one people. *Rewi’s Last Stand* advocated for a colonial narrative in which Māori, as in Cowan’s work, assimilated to a romanticized nationalist narrative. Through both Cowan’s and Hayward’s collaboration with Māori, the film provided insight into what Cooper refers to as a “narrative of unyielding Māori resistance”,<sup>27</sup> a narrative contingent on the performances of the descendants of those Māori who fought against the British imperial army’s invasion at Ōrākau.

## The Romance of Ariana

*Christian missionary discourses ascribed the cultural mores of European women to Maori women from very early on and the effects on mana wahine knowledges, particularly spiritual knowledges, was immense. These discourses portrayed Maori women as wanton, immoral, and undisciplined.*<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Barry Keith, Alistair Fox, and Hilary Radner, *New Zealand Cinema: Interpreting the Past* (Bristol, U.K.: Intellect Books Ltd, 2011), 50.

<sup>25</sup> Meredith, “Tēnā Koe Hēmi Kāwana,” 12.

<sup>26</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 69–70.

<sup>27</sup> Cooper, 72.

<sup>28</sup> Naomi Simmonds, “Mana Wahine: Decolonising Politics,” *Women’s Studies Journal*, Vol. 25, no. 2, 2011, 15. Simmonds cites Johnston, P. & Pihama, L. (1995). “What counts as difference and what differences count:

Mana wāhine theory provides insight into reading Ariana's character in *Rewi's Last Stand*. Drawing on the works of other wāhine Māori scholars, Naomi Simmonds argues for the importance of centering mana wāhine forms of knowledge, allowing "critical reflect[ion]" between wāhine Māori with varied and diverse lived experiences.<sup>29</sup> In *Mana Wahine: Women who show the way*, Erihapeti Ramsden discusses the issue of choice as critical to Māori women, concerning impacts of colonization.

Aggressive colonization has steadily reduced the range of choices for indigenous people. Every expression of humanity has been redefined, and Maori have been recreated in the colonists' image with a whole new mythology to help justify the colonial takeover.<sup>30</sup>

Crucial to the film's narrative promoting Pākehā cultural production, Ariana embodies the ultimate expression of cultural hybridity. Ariana is implicated in a narrative that complies with what Meredith describes as "antagonistic binarisms" within Aotearoa New Zealand's cultural politics.<sup>31</sup> Faced with the choice between two worlds, Ariana negotiates her place in two separate communities, where the demands of Bob and Tama reflects their mutual desire to claim her. Bob goes behind Ariana's back and talks about her affairs with her father figure Morgan, and Tama, when fighting Bob for Ariana's possession, declares "She has no choice!"<sup>32</sup> *Rewi's Last Stand* presents an overtly simplified expression of "half-caste" or bi-cultural identity in the 1860s Waipā region, with Ariana's experience of intercultural identity subsumed in a narrative of national identity.

The character Ariana, like some of the other central characters in the film, originates from the story of someone who survived the Battle of Ōrākau. As Cooper discusses, Hayward took inspiration for Ariana in his film from Cowan's *The Old Frontier*, in which

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Gender, race and the politics of difference." In K. Irwin & I. Ramsden (Eds.), *Toi wāhine: The worlds of Māori women* (pp.75-86). Auckland: Penguin.

<sup>29</sup> Simmonds, "Mana Wahine: Decolonising Politics," 18.

<sup>30</sup> Irihapeti Ramsden, "He Poroporoaki," in Amy Brown, ed., *Mana Wāhine: Women Who Show the Way*, (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Books, 1994), 204.

<sup>31</sup> Paul Meredith, "Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bi-Cultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand," *He Pūkenga Kōrero: A Journal of Māori Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 2, 1999, 14.

<sup>32</sup> Hayward, *Rewi's Last Stand / The Last Stand*.

Cowan published some details of her life in a sub-chapter entitled “The Romance of Ariana”.<sup>33</sup> Filmic representations that manipulate elements of history to serve the purpose of the film, “ignor[ing] the discourse of history,” reflect what Rosenstone refers to as *false invention*. *True invention* on the other hand, engages with the discourse of history,<sup>34</sup> however, Rosenstone’s categories of invention do not account for whose perspective(s) authenticates or denounces historical truth. The discourse surrounding Ariana’s historical representations reflect a narrative derived from the romantic colonial imagination. However, as Cooper argues of Ariana’s character, “her descent and her connection to the mission situated the interracial legacy of prewar Waipā and the acute dilemmas it gave rise to at the heart of the romantic plot.”<sup>35</sup> As such, Hayward accounts for the element of *true invention* to some extent. Cooper problematizes the tension between Ariana as a metonymical character, and as an historical agent. An investigation of Ariana’s representation in the film, and the narrative of its historical sources, deals with this tension, contrasting with how Ramai Te Miha Hayward influenced Ariana’s ongoing representation.

“The romance of Ariana”, a subtitle in Cowan’s chapter about settler life in Te Awamutu from *The Old Frontier*,<sup>36</sup> ironically tells us more about how she has been romanticised in literary and film representations than any romance she experienced. Cooper argues that Ariana’s identity is of more pivotal concern to the plot than the story of romance.<sup>37</sup> However, romance is heavily embedded in Ariana’s decision making. Discussion of mana wāhine theory prompts a different kind of analysis, one that intentionally refuses the colonial gaze in which Ariana is perceived as a metaphor rather than as a historical agent. Despite knowing little of Ariana’s lived reality, her existence demonstrates her power within the narrative as the centre of the story, and therefore the ultimate hero. Where conventional reading would see Bob as the hero, Tama as the anti-hero, here Ariana’s decision governs the direction of the film. This presents historians with a dilemma: how to locate Ariana in a heavily romanticised, layered narrative, without perpetuating her

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<sup>33</sup> James Cowan, *The Old Frontier: Te Awamutu, the Story of the Waipa Valley: The Missionary, the Soldier, the Pioneer Farmer, Early Colonization, the War in Waikato, Life on the Maori Border and Later-Day Settlement*, New Zealand Electronic Text Collection (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington Library, 2014), <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-CowOldF.html>, 81–83; Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 76.

<sup>34</sup> Rosenstone, “The Historical Film as Real History,” 9-10 (PDF).

<sup>35</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 76.

<sup>36</sup> Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, 81.

<sup>37</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 79.

misrepresentation. Several primary sources identify Ariana as an historical agent in the aftermath of Ōrākau. In Te Rongonui Paerata's father, Hītiri Te Paerata's account of the Battle of Ōrākau, he mentions Ariana as a survivor of the war.

We afterwards heard that when the pa was carried Major Mair went in with the stormers to look after the wounded. He found some soldiers trying to kill a wounded woman named Hineiturama, belonging to Rotorua. They did not know, perhaps, that she was a woman, but they were enraged at the death of their officer, Captain Ring. Major Mair carried the woman to a corner of the pa, and ran off to save another woman called Ariana, who was also badly wounded, but when he returned Hineiturama had been killed. I mention this to show that some of the Europeans were kind to us. It is on this account that the Waikato and Taupo Natives have an affection for Major Mair.<sup>38</sup>

Hineitūrama Ngatiki, Ngāti Whakaue rangatira and ninth generation descendant of Tutanekai, fought at Ōrākau with her daughter Ewa, one of six children she had with her first husband, Phillip Tapsell of Denmark.<sup>39</sup> Despite Mair's efforts, both she and her daughter Ewa lost their lives at Ōrākau, with British soldiers bayoneting Ngatiki in revenge for the death of Major Ring. The brutality of British soldiers toward women such as Ngatiki, and Mair's attempt to save her, exposes the atrocity of their erroneous claim that they thought she was not a woman, in an attempt to excuse their behaviour. William Mair himself accounted for Ariana's rescue, in his attempt to save the life of Hineitūrama, which according to Witi Ihimaera, he lamented. Quoting Mair,

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<sup>38</sup> Hītiri Te Paerata, *Description of the Battle of Orakau, as given by the Native Chief Hitiri Te Paerata of the Ngatiraukawa Tribe, at the Parliamentary Buildings, 4th August 1888* (Wellington: G. Didsbury, Government Printer, 1888), 11, <http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/document/?wid=2005&p=1>. Note, the official translator of this account, Captain Gilbert Mair, is the brother of Major W. G. Mair to whom Te Paerata refers. In addition, Mair (translator) was also responsible for the death of Peka Makarini, Te Kooti Arikirangi te Turuki's close ally.

<sup>39</sup> Ernest E. Bush, "The Three Wives of Philip Tapsell," *Te Ao Hou The Maori Magazine*, November 1973, 12, 197893, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, <http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao74TeA/c5.html>. (accessed 8 November 2019); Mark Tapsell. 'Hine-i-turama Ngatiki', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h22/hine-i-turama-ngatiki> (accessed 8 November 2019).

The woman whom I tried to save in the ditch was Hineiturama, formerly the wife of Tapsell, the famous East Coast trader. She, Te Paerata, his son Hone Teri, son-in-law Wereta (my friend!), Piripi te Heuheu, and others making thirty in all were buried in the ditch at the south-east corner of the pa. At the edge of the Manuka swamp, where Ariana was captured, twenty-five were buried.<sup>40</sup>

Two very different descriptions of Mair's action toward Ariana appear in these accounts, where he both saved her and captured her. Vincent O'Malley discussed Hītiri Te Paerata's account in a 2010 report commissioned for a Waitangi Tribunal inquiry.<sup>41</sup> O'Malley's report highlights contextual factors from earlier events, relating to the decision that women and children stay at Ōrākau. Rewi Maniapoto, and his fellow occupants, were acutely aware that after the battle of Rangiriri, the British took Māori prisoners in the hulk of the *Marion* ship, "directly contributing to a reluctance to surrender".<sup>42</sup> The white flag appears with bitter irony in the film toward the end of the battle scenes, considering the significance in the battle's historical context. At Rangiriri in November 1863, Kīngitanga forces raised a white flag to negotiate a truce, and when the British soldiers entered and told them to put down their weapons, they took possession of Rangiriri and over 180 people as prisoners.<sup>43</sup> In the film, the British soldiers raise the flag in much the same way, although the aftermath does not feature. Furthermore, the massacre at Rangiaowhia and Hairini prior to Ōrākau likely influenced the decision to stay together, where Rangiaowhia existed as a sanctuary for women, children and the elderly.<sup>44</sup> Rangiaowhia was the Kīngitanga's economic stronghold, supplying food throughout the country and in overseas markets due to the success of agricultural development.<sup>45</sup> The "wheat bowl of Rangiaowhia-Ōtāwhao" as the centre of supplies for the Kīngitanga, meant it was strategically protected through a series of

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<sup>40</sup> Witi Ihimaera, *Sleeps Standing Moetū* (Auckland] New Zealand: Vintage, 2017), 215–16.

<sup>41</sup> Vincent O'Malley, "Te Rohe Potae War and Raupatu," research report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, December 2010, Wai 898, A22, 163-165.

<sup>42</sup> O'Malley, "Te Rohe Potae War and Raupatu," Wai 898, A22, 161.

<sup>43</sup> Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, eds., *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), 235.

<sup>44</sup> Anderson, Binney, and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, 235; O'Malley, "Te Rohe Potae War and Raupatu," Wai 898, A22, 161.

<sup>45</sup> Ramai Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Alwyn Owen, MP3, Circa 1994, Audio Tape, Wairarapa Archive, Masterton, N.Z., Side 3.

defended territories.<sup>46</sup> The attack and capture of Rangiaowhia holds an infamous and painful legacy.<sup>47</sup> As O'Malley also points out, Te Paerata's claim for the kindness of one individual also points to the absolute cruelty and brutality of the British soldiers.<sup>48</sup>

Ariana's capture/rescue by Mair aligns with Cowan's source in his subsection of *The Old Frontier* entitled, "The Romance of Ariana". Published in 1922, Cowan wrote *The Old Frontier* as a "sketch of the history of the Waipa district" to capture the interest of "the younger generation of colonists".<sup>49</sup> Cowan primarily relied on the journal of John Morgan, "the first civiliser of the Waipa country", and Major Von Tempsky's of the Forest Rangers narrative as historical source materials. Cowan states in his preface, "For the rest, it has been a peculiar pleasure to the writer, as one bred on the old Aukati border, to recall scenes in a phase of life which has passed away for ever."<sup>50</sup> For Cowan, it seems the issue of land borders remained in the past. Unlike his *New Zealand Wars* history, Cowan departs from citing oral testimonies from Māori survivors of the Waikato war, instead providing a Eurocentric narrative, one in which he romanticises post-war settler-colonial life. In chapter eleven, entitled "Camp Life At Te Awamutu", Cowan uses an unnamed source published in London's *Fraser's Magazine*, known to his readers only as "an Army Chaplain", who "narrated with dry humour the romantic little story of a wounded half-caste girl", taken prisoner from Ōrākau on 2 April 1864.<sup>51</sup> The chaplain's description of Ariana Huffs (or Hough) accounts for her imprisonment while belittling the potential terror of her experience of the war's aftermath to a "romantic little story". The original account appears in the November issue of the magazine, "A Chapter Showing how we live at Awamutu", subsequently published as a separate story in numerous newspapers in New Zealand under the title, "A Maori maiden and her admirers".<sup>52</sup> The section about "Arriana" is only a small part of the lengthy account of life in Te Awamutu, written by "P.C.B.", likely the author's initials. Given Cowan's description of this unnamed writer as an army chaplain, and having consulted Hart's army lists, the author appears to be Patrick Beaton, a Presbyterian minister

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<sup>46</sup> Anderson, Binney, and Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History*, 234.

<sup>47</sup> Anderson, Binney, and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*, 235.

<sup>48</sup> O'Malley, "Te Rohe Potae War and Raupatu," 165.

<sup>49</sup> Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, Preface.

<sup>50</sup> Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, Preface.

<sup>51</sup> Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, 79.

<sup>52</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 76; "A Maori Maiden and Her Admirers," *Evening Post*, February 22, 1865, Issue 13 edition, 3, Papers Past, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa.

posted to New Zealand on 1 July 1858.<sup>53</sup> According to the inscription on his memorial headstone, he “served in New Zealand through the Maori war” then moved to London, and “was author of various literary works”,<sup>54</sup> including *Creoles and Coolies: or, Five years in Mauritius* (1859) and *The Jews in the East* (1859), a translation of *Nach Jerusalem* by Ludwig Frankl. The account, as it appears in Cowan describes the following scene, where Ariana waits outside the army camp at Te Awamutu, while a “friendly native” described as a “hunch-back postman” plays his flute to her.

... As soon as evening sets in he takes his stand at the door of his tent and begins playing a sort of dirge. ...One evening we requested him to cease his serenade or to remove elsewhere beyond our hearing. The deformed creature threw himself into an interesting attitude and said, 'It is not for myself I am playing; it is for Ariana Huffs. Every evening she comes out to listen, and I can speak to her with my flute; she knows all that it says.' After this sentimental avowal we have learned to tolerate this black Blondel, this dusky Trovatore. Ariana is a remarkably pretty half-caste, the offspring of an Englishman and a Maori woman. ...<sup>55</sup>

Not only does this narrative representation dehumanise the man playing the flute, it also presents a case for the hegemonic masculinity embedded in British colonial culture. What follows describes a striking similarity to Ariana’s background in *Rewi’s Last Stand*. In the magazine article, Beaton states Ariana’s mother died after being abandoned by her “restless, unsettled” father, leaving her with her maternal family. She then lived with a colonial-settler family until the commencement of war, when the family fled, “and she was carried off by the rebels”.<sup>56</sup> The narrative seems to suggest that Ariana stood outside each night to listen to the man play his flute, describing her as “the object of his adoration”, a

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<sup>53</sup> H. G. Hart, *The New Annual Army List, and Militia List*. (London: John Murray, 1864), 438, The National Library of Scotland, <http://digital.nls.uk/106678219> (accessed 30 October 2019).

<sup>54</sup> “Rev Patrick Beaton (1825-1904),” Find A Grave, accessed November 4, 2019, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/176494126/patrick-beaton>.

<sup>55</sup> Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, 81–82.

<sup>56</sup> Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, 82.



statement Cowan left out of his account.<sup>57</sup> Establishing the unnamed postman as a “deformed creature”, the chaplain’s narrative moves to create a plot device, where Ariana appears as an object of colonial fantasy, rather than as an historical agent. The chaplain, speaking on behalf of the camp, suspects, “that she was tied only by the gentle cords of love, and that a Maori warrior had something to do with her presence there”. Rather than knowing, Beaton bases the following narrative around the “suspicion” playing into his colonial fantasy. He continues, describing the aftermath at Ōrākau.

When the pa was evacuated she was hit by a bullet which shattered her arm; it would have gone hard with her in the indiscriminate slaughter which ensued had not some brave fellow stood over her and defended her life. No less than ten men came forward to claim the honour due to this gallant deed; but this was after the report of her beauty had spread over the camp ... some weeks after the fight an enthusiastic militiaman travelled all the way from Raglan, a distance of thirty miles, ... he stated that he was the preserver of Arriana's life; he could neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep, for thinking of her; so he had made up his mind to make her his wife. ... The lover entered the room with a bashful, sheepish air, and stared at Arriana, who stared at him in return; but there was no recognition on her part, no outburst of gushing gratitude, no rushing to his arms. On the contrary; she turned to the interpreter and coolly asked what the man wanted ... she laughed heartily and told him to go away, as she had never seen him before, and would have nothing to say to him. The poor man begged, beseeched, implored, and looked unutterable things; Arriana only tittered and turned away her head.<sup>58</sup>

Mair and Te Paerata’s descriptions contrast with Beaton’s and subsequently Cowan’s, in their representations of Ariana. In the former two, Mair helped the wounded Ariana, while a group of soldiers killed Hineitūrama in revenge for the death of Major Ring. Conversely, the account of the militiaman from Raglan is a fictionalised romance story. However, there may

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<sup>57</sup> P.C.B., “A Chapter Showing How We Live at Awamutu,” *Fraser’s Magazine*, Vol. 70, July-December 1864, Hathi Trust digital Library, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015028769191>, 623.

<sup>58</sup> P.C.B., “A Chapter Showing How We Live at Awamutu,” 624.

\* James Cowan’s additions. Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, 81–82.

be some connection to Whāingaroa (Raglan) in Ariana's story, based on an 1864 article from *The New Zealand Herald*. The article describes the military camp at Te Awamutu in the aftermath of Ōrākau, noting two women and a boy of the prisoners were taken to Raglan at the request of a rangatira named Kohia. The article notes both women were severely wounded (one in the arm, the other in the leg), one of whom "was a half-caste, and at the time of her capture, her perfect symmetry and general personal attractions were the theme of general comment".<sup>59</sup> Given the possibility that this person referred to in the article was Ariana, the details in Cowan's chapter subsume her in a narrative of colonial fantasy.

Hayward, reading Cowan's subchapter, saw the premise of Ariana as an ideal character in his romantic narrative of nationhood, seeing intermarriage as a "national good".<sup>60</sup> Ramai Te Miha's subsequent casting through her physical beauty meant her performance as Ariana in the film stayed true to Hayward's source material. Furthermore, her own mixed heritage brought an affinity to the possible complexities her character faced, evident in Te Miha's emotive and expressive performance, despite the relative simplicity of Hayward's romance narrative. Lachy Paterson discusses Kīngitanga attitudes to land and people of mixed descent (*hāwhekaihe*), after the introduction of the Native Land Court in 1862. Drawing on late-nineteenth century niupepa, Paterson argues that Kīngitanga Māori "saw *hāwhekaihe* as problematic in terms of land ownership but still located them within the tribal structure", where Māori retained the power to make decisions regarding land.<sup>61</sup> Cooper discusses some of the complexities of life during the Waikato war for people of mixed heritage, how they were able negotiate across cultural lines, suggesting Hayward saw the dramatic potential of these complex pre-war alignments in the Waikato.<sup>62</sup> While Cooper's discussion of mixed-descent people provides a more complex view of history than Hayward allows for, Ariana's character represents this history as a character of *true invention*, embodying the *hāwhekaihe* community in mid-nineteenth century Waikato. Her relationship to Morgan also reflects a tenet of his civilising mission in the Waipā, with the

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<sup>59</sup> "Camp Te Awamutu.," *New Zealand Herald*, Vol. 1, Issue 213, 19 July 1864, Papers Past, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18640719.2.17.2> (accessed 3 November 2019), 4.

<sup>60</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 76.

<sup>61</sup> Lachy Paterson, "Hāwhekaihe: Māori Voices on the Position of 'Half-Castes' within Māori Society," *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, no. 9, 2010, 141–42.

<sup>62</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 75.

establishment of a school at Ōtāwhao consisting of mostly mixed-descent students.<sup>63</sup> At the same time, her character reflects *false invention* through the romantic nationalist narrative as the subtext of the film. But the historical reality is one of greater importance to Ramai Te Miha Hayward's discussion of its legacy, suggesting neither *true* nor *false invention* categories ascribe meaningful historical interpretation.

### **Ariana's choice**

Although the original, unedited ending of *Rewi's Last Stand* remains unknown, there are marked differences between the 1937 scenario, "Rewi's Last Stand': An Epic of the Battling Sixties", and the British release version. Two significant changes between the scenario and the film appear, impacting the film's expression of Pākehā nationalism and the move towards an assimilationist, one-New-Zealander paradigm. Firstly, the change to the resolution of romance triangle between Ariana, Tama Te Heu Heu and Bob Beaumont. Secondly, is the removal of the vast majority of the fighting re-enactment. Significantly, many examples of the Māori descendants' expressions of their tīpuna no longer exist in celluloid. Some twelve excerpts of removed film were found in film reels donated to Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision in 2014. Such lost excerpts contain Ariana performing waiata, Rewi Maniapoto and the defenders in battle, "along with explicit references to Christianity".<sup>64</sup>

*Rewi's Last Stand* grapples with the issue of hybridity in its representation of intercultural characters. Drawing on Homi Bhabha's theory regarding concepts of *hybridity* and *third space*, Meredith discusses the cultural political context of Aotearoa New Zealand, calling for "a more optimistic and complex strategy of negotiating affinity and difference that recognizes the political reality of settler-societies".<sup>65</sup> The film demonstrates some complexity regarding intersectional identities and the negotiation of affinity and difference. However, such complexity is abandoned with Ariana's narrative representation, simplifying her plot arc to "dualistic and antagonistic politics of either Māori or Pākehā", despite the Waipā's history of intermarriage.<sup>66</sup> In the opening scene where Ariana and Bob appear

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<sup>63</sup> Jan Pilditch and Howard Staveley, "Editing Waikato's Christian Missionary Journals," *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, Vol. 23, no. 1, 2005, 40.

<sup>64</sup> Callanan and Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision, "The Last Stand."

<sup>65</sup> Meredith, "Hybridity in the Third Space," 14.

<sup>66</sup> Meredith, "Hybridity in the Third Space," 12.

together for the first time, close-up shots showing their affection reinforce their attraction to one another. Bob asks if she is leaving with him and the Morgan family, and Ariana responds, “Yes, I am going with Mrs Morgan”. Her use of a prefix title for the woman who apparently raised her from childhood seems odd in this instance, suggesting that despite Morgan’s subsequent claim to Bob that Ariana is “one of us”, the Morgans still treat Ariana as an outsider. Bob reaffirms Ariana’s outsider status and gendered positionality when not communicating his concerns to her in this opening scene, telling her to go and hide inside the mission station, denying her any explanation. Bob and Morgan’s subsequent conversation reflects their paternalistic attitudes toward Ariana. Bob tells Morgan “the Maniapotos are seizing all half-caste children as belonging to their tribe”, to which Morgan responds in outrage. The following sections of the dialogue reveal their attitudes.

Morgan:           They can’t claim Ariana. Mrs Morgan had reared her from childhood, we adopted her.

Bob:               Huh, you know how much that’ll count for in their present mood.  
...  
Well, if you want to take her to Auckland with you, we’ll have to act quickly. It’s not going to be easy to smuggle a girl out of the Maori country.

Morgan:           I know, but we must do something Bob, she’s been brought up in our ways, she’s one of us. We’ve got to get her away, to leave her here would be sheer cruelty.<sup>67</sup>

In this scene, Bob is patronizing to Ngāti Maniapoto, suggesting they make their decisions emotionally and Morgan affirms their discriminatory attitudes toward Māori, stating that leaving her with them amounts to “sheer cruelty”.<sup>68</sup> The representation of these men as enlightened intercultural Pākehā presents problems regarding their derogatory sentiments toward the colonized “Other”.<sup>69</sup> Despite the foreword in which the audience is told of Māori and Pākehā as one people, this conversation between Bob and John Morgan represents an exclusionary Pākehā society, founded on a dualistic separation of us and them. As such, the

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<sup>67</sup> Hayward, *Rewi’s Last Stand / The Last Stand*.

<sup>68</sup> Hayward, *Rewi’s Last Stand / The Last Stand*.

<sup>69</sup> Meredith, “Hybridity in the Third Space,” 13.

film's narrative reaffirms the claims that if New Zealanders are to become one people, assimilation must commence at the expense of Māori self-determination.

Drawing on Cowan and reflective of its contemporary cultural production, *Rewi's Last Stand* manipulates Māori women's heroism in its narrative of assimilation. Ahumai Te Paerata (Ngāti Te Kohera, Ngāti Raukawa), Hītiri Te Paerata's sister, features in *Rewi's Last Stand*, immortalized in her response to Mair's request that women and children leave Ōrākau. Te Paerata's (Ahumai) heroism is captured alongside the famous words attributed to Rewi Maniapoto, "Ka whawhai tonu mātou, ake! Ake! Ake!" Te Paerata, standing on the parapet calling to Mair, holding her chest in defiance, "Ki te mate ngā tāne, me mate anō ngā wāhine me ngā tamariki", stating that if the defenders' men were to die, so would their women and children. Hayward's scenario provides insight into scenes possibly removed in *The Last Stand* edit that treated the dialogue with complexity, pointing to the varied interpretations of the words spoken during the final negotiations.<sup>70</sup> In "Rewi's Last Stand': An Epic of the Battling Sixties", an extra page between 31 and 32 appears added to the original manuscript, potentially in the process of filming or leading up to it. In it, Hayward provides dialogue between Bob and Ben, the former translating the conversation between Mair, Rewi Maniapoto, a "messenger" and Ahumai Te Paerata. The conversation provides justification for Mair's request that women and children be sent out, Ben claiming that "we heard 'em crying in the night".<sup>71</sup> Directly afterwards, Ariana and Ahumai are described listening from the parapet. Ahumai "jumps down from firing trench" and runs through a covered path as Ariana follows her. Ahumai then jumps on to the firing step. The scenario describes Ahumai as follows.

154x C.U. AHUMAI TE PAERATA ON FIRING STEP:

This must reveal the fiery impassioned  
defiance of the proud daughter of the  
savage Urewera chief, Paerata - - with her

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<sup>70</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 85–87.

<sup>71</sup> Hayward, "'Rewi's Last Stand': An Epic of the Battling Sixties. A Scenario by R. Hayward Copyright 1937," Part 2, 31A. Although this scene was not in the final edit, it is possible it featured in the original release.

head thrown back and her clenched fists

pressed to her bosom she calls to Mair

AHUMAI: "Ki te mate nga tane, me

mate ana nga wahine me

nga tamariki."

Then fighting he[r] arms akimbo she re-

peats the cry of defiance

"Kaore e mau te rongo - -

ake! ake!"<sup>72</sup>

Hayward returned to the civilized/savage binary in this part of his scenario, but this time seems to challenge its validity in Te Paerata's expression of resistance. Rather than subsuming a rangatira, a woman of authority, in the romantic Eurocentric imagination Hayward draws links between Ariana and Te Paerata in his scenario, as exceptional female heroes. Katie Pickles and Angela Wanhalla discuss the mythologizing of heroines in commemorative narratives, with Huria Matenga as their focus. They suggest that "For heroines in history, it is common for the lines between fact and fiction to be blurred", governed through contemporary values and aspirations of society, sometimes reflecting an intersection of Māori and Pākehā narratives, but ultimately favoring "colonial, national and imperial ideologies".<sup>73</sup> While Matenga's commemoration as an exceptional Māori female hero derived from her action to save the crew of a ship wreck, Te Paerata's heroism derived from her bravery in defiance of surrender. Cowan brought Te Paerata and Matenga together in an article for *The New Zealand Railways Magazine*, published in 1935, entitled "Brave Women: Two Heroic Figures. Ahumai Te Paerata, and Julia Matenga". Suggesting the "courage and devotion" of women in New Zealand needed further attention, Cowan hoped to provide intrigue "for the young generation", "from its popular reading and the cinema",

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<sup>72</sup> Hayward, "'Rewi's Last Stand': An Epic of the Battling Sixties," 32.

<sup>73</sup> Katie Pickles and Angela Wanhalla, "Embodying the Colonial Encounter: Explaining New Zealand's 'Grace Darling', Huria Matenga," *Gender & History*, Vol. 22, no. 2, 2010, 364.

local history of New Zealand's "spirit of the frontier and life on the edge of peril and romance."<sup>74</sup> Of Te Paerata's words at Ōrākau Cowan wrote,

A young woman of noble and fearless bearing stood up on the firing-step inside the earth parapet and cried to Mair:

*"Ki te mate nga tane, me mate ano nga wahine me nga tamariki!"*

("If the men are to die, the women and children will die also!")

...

That was the final word of the defender. Mair did not know then who the woman was, but soon after the war he discovered she was Ahumai. Indeed she was not a woman to be forgotten. She bore to her last days the marks of Orakau.<sup>75</sup>

Cowan argued this was one of a "twofold" example of Te Paerata's heroism, the second when she saved the life of Lieutenant Meade, in apparent defiance of her own people who allegedly sought to kill Meade in a "sacrifice of the pakeha to the Hauhau war gods."<sup>76</sup> Evident here is the civilized/savage binary that undermines mana wairua of the Pai Mārire religion, so heavily embedded in colonial narratives. Cowan presents Te Paerata's exceptionalism as an ideal example of heroism, from a gendered Pākehā perspective. However, such mythologies lack historical contextualization, where the events leading up to Ōrākau, notably Rangiaowhia, perhaps better explain why the defenders thought the women and children's lives were at greater risk in leaving the fortification. Pickles and Wanhalla point to the rise in colonial nationalism in the 1890-1930 period, where "intellectuals searched for distinctions that set the country apart from Britain and other white settler colonies. Maori history, heroes, culture, art and motifs were invoked as distinctive of New Zealand."<sup>77</sup> Ariana's heroism draws links with both Matenga and Te

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<sup>74</sup> James Cowan, *Famous New Zealanders — No. 25 — Brave Women: Two Heroic Figures. Ahumai Te Paerata, And Julia Matenga - The New Zealand Railways Magazine*, Volume 10, Issue 1 (April 1, 1935) (New Zealand Government Railways Department, Wellington), 20, <http://api.digitalnz.org/records/32094934/source>.

<sup>75</sup> James Cowan, *Famous New Zealanders — No. 25 — Brave Women*, 21.

<sup>76</sup> James Cowan, *Famous New Zealanders — No. 25 — Brave Women*, 21.

<sup>77</sup> Pickles and Wanhalla, "Embodying the Colonial Encounter," 374.

Paerata's heroic commemorations, making a choice that resists the typical British gendered conventions while attempting to present a "harmonious" bicultural nation.<sup>78</sup>

Much of the scholarship around Ariana's character considers her role in the narrative plot as a symbolic device. As Babington and Cooper note, interpretations demonstrate audience dispute as to Ariana's survival, due to the lack of resolution, where Ariana's reconciliation with Old Ben as her father, and Bob Beaumont as her lover, remains unknown. Babington suggests the possibility, "that Hayward deliberately chose ambiguity over certainty, avoiding the double bind whereby death reads too pessimistically, survival too facilely, thus emphasising the blending of the races of the epigraph, but realistically emphasising doubts."<sup>79</sup> Such analysis objectifies her character, implying Ariana's metaphorical significance exists bound in a gendered colonial narrative. Cooper also acknowledges Ariana's representation as "heroism, self-sacrifice, beauty" along with her Māori-Pākehā whakapapa, symbolises her as the female "nation-to-be-protected", a wartime cinematic convention.<sup>80</sup> However, Cooper goes beyond what other scholars see, pointing out Ariana's agency.<sup>81</sup>

Interpretations of Ariana's metonymy present a problem in recognising the hybridity and complexity of intercultural relationships as more than symbolic expression. Ariana's choice between Bob and Tama reflects more about the articulation of presentist cultural politics than intercultural relationships in mid-nineteenth century Waikato. After leaving the Te Awamutu mission station with the Morgans, Bob chases after Ariana in a forest after she teases him. When Bob catches Ariana, he jokingly demands payment of utu for her playful insult, and she challenges him to take his claim. Melissa Cross describes the music in this scene as a "romance motif", where the pair laugh and flirt. Bob notices the coin around Ariana's neck, a gift from her father to her mother before he left. It seems likely this is where Ariana performed a waiata as Bob says, "Remember that old tribal chant you used to sing? Something about friendships that endure." Ariana responds "Til a house of life is old and fallen". Upon trying to return to the Morgan's in the following scene, Tama and several

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<sup>78</sup> Pickles and Wanhalla, "Embodying the Colonial Encounter," 370.

<sup>79</sup> Babington, *A History of the New Zealand Fiction Feature Film, 2007*, 78–79.

<sup>80</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 76.

<sup>81</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 76–77.



other men surround them, preparing to take Ariana. Bob claims that the “cloak of the Māori King is over us”, to which Tama responds,

Tama: That is well for you, Ropata. The girl is a Maniapoto. She will return to her mother’s people.

Bob: But she is as much of my people as she is of yours. Her mother is dead, and her choice is to go with me to seek her father.

Ariana: (firmly) Ae.

Tama: She has no choice. She must obey. Stand aside Pākehā ...<sup>82</sup>

The two men talk about Ariana as if she is not there. At this point in the film, Tama’s assertion that she has no choice appears true, in the sense that she must make her decision under duress. Tama and Bob face-off in a taiaha battle, where Tama, the stronger contender, beats Bob and Ariana decides to go with him if he agrees to spare Bob’s life. Fox describes Ariana’s choice as agonizing, between eloping with Bob and staying with Tama and her iwi, based on her “half-Māori” “half-Pākehā” identity. He suggests that symbolically, contemporary Māori faced a similar choice in the centenary celebrations, choosing assimilation or to “seek to retain their lands, culture and identity?”<sup>83</sup> For Māori in 1940, such a choice presents an overly simplistic binary on several levels. Firstly, identity cannot be measured in halves; the nature and position of identity depends on a variety of contextual factors. Secondly, this choice does not acknowledge the complexities of choosing *not* to celebrate the Treaty of Waitangi centenary, considering how the Crown disenfranchised Māori in the years since its signing, and violence of these means. Ariana’s choice sees her turn her back on Bob, who must in this case represent the Crown, and leave with Tama, who represents Māori seeking to retain their land, and their sovereignty, despite the supposed

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<sup>82</sup> Hayward, *Rewi’s Last Stand / The Last Stand*.

<sup>83</sup> Alistair Fox, “Rudall Hayward and the Cinema of Maoriland: Genre-Mixing and Counter-Discourses in *Rewi’s Last Stand* (1925), *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927) and *Rewi’s Last Stand/The Last Stand* (1940),” in *New Zealand Cinema: Interpreting the Past*, ed. Barry Keith, Alistair Fox, and Hilary Radner (Bristol, U.K.: Intellect Books Ltd, 2011), 61.

benevolence of colonial progress. In this way, Ariana the historical agent became subsumed in Hayward's narrative of defining a nation.

The music in *Rewi's Last Stand* reinforces the symbolism embedded in its narrative of colonial nationalism. Cross's musical analysis of Hill's score also reflects a similar focus on symbolism, describing a romance "motif" in musical form, signifying Ariana's "overwhelming desire to change", and its subsequent distortion when, "the Pākehā home future is threatened."<sup>84</sup> Cross's reading hints at the duress in Ariana's "choice", suggesting audiences should be critical of the extent of Ariana's agency. Yet, Cross emphasises the metaphorical significance of Ariana, rather than any real anxiety Ariana may have faced as a hāwhekahe woman during the war. Such analyses overlook the lived experiences of people of mixed descent during the Battle of Ōrākau, emphasising their symbolism in the colonial nation building narrative. Citing Cooper, Cross acknowledges the potential for lived realities, arguing that the musical alternation between motif and discord "may represent cultural memories of personal anxieties and joys inherent in historical interracial relationships."<sup>85</sup> Perhaps because Ariana's character represents more fiction than history, it is difficult to go beyond allegorical analyses. Intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā was reasonably common in pre-war Waikato, with many Pākehā drawn to Māori agricultural prosperity.<sup>86</sup> The fact that John Morgan ran a school largely for children of mixed descent suggests that Ariana's situation may not have been unusual. It perhaps also affirms the desire for missionaries to ensure Māori children of mixed descent were assimilated to colonial life. As such, rather than assuming Ariana's desire for change, the film itself speaks to its narrative's desire for her to change, compelling audience acquiescence.

Rather than seeing Ariana's character as a metaphor for the post-treaty nation state, drawing on mana wāhine theory illuminates what Simmonds refers to as the "in-betweenness", where her lived, although fictionalised, reality is one of a complex array of experiences.<sup>87</sup> Despite the artifice of her character, Ariana represents those people born from intermarriage in nineteenth century Waipā. Rosenstone's concepts of *false/true invention* collide in Ariana's character, where people of mixed descent in the Waipā become

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<sup>84</sup> Cross, "The Forgotten Soundtrack of Maoriland," 67.

<sup>85</sup> Cross, Cross, "The Forgotten Soundtrack of Maoriland," 69–70.

<sup>86</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 75.

<sup>87</sup> Simmonds, "Mana Wahine: Decolonising Politics," 11.

subsumed in a metaphor vying for assimilation. Many existing analyses of Ariana's character present her embodiment solely as metaphor, rather than as someone facing a seemingly irreconcilable existential choice. Such interpretations engage with certain assumptions made by the narrative, perhaps unwittingly. Firstly, that intercultural families, because of their Pākehā roots, would naturally conform to British loyalty in war time. History suggests otherwise, with women such as Hineitūrama and her daughter Ewa both losing their lives at Ōrākau. Secondly, the assumption that Ariana, as a woman of mixed descent, has half of two cultural identities, reflects the colonial politics of blood quantum as an indicator of identity. Third, because of her gender and her Pākehā identity, she must therefore subscribe to the gender norms embedded in British colonial culture. Significantly, these assumptions originate in Pākehā colonial assertions of "bicultural" identity.

*Rewi's Last Stand* (1940) consists of material that perpetuates gendered assumptions relating both to Māori and bi-racial women. The representations of Ariana and Ahumai Te Paerata, are simplified through the embedded colonial narrative. Blythe suggests Hayward intentionally undermined his own colonial romanticised narrative,<sup>88</sup> however this was not without collaboration with Māori in the film, including Ramai Te Miha. A scene in *Rewi's Last Stand/The Last Stand* that did not feature in Hayward's 1937 scenario, demonstrates a contrasting representation of Ariana. Bob and Tama face off in battle and Ariana is forced to leave Bob and return with Tama to her maternal grandfather, Te Whatanui.<sup>89</sup> During the film's scene, Ariana sits with her grandfather inside a wharenuī where he explains to Ariana that her time with the Morgans was meant for her to receive Pākehā education, and then return and take her place as a rangatira. This scene demonstrates Ariana's "choice" in three parts, the second here as the pivotal moment in the film, where her grandfather informs her decision. After leaving the fight scene with Tama, and calling longingly to "Ropata", Ariana goes with Tama into the wharenuī at their marae to see her grandfather.<sup>90</sup> Seated together in the whare, alone, Ariana and Te Whatanui's conversation follows,

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<sup>88</sup> Martin Blythe, *Naming the Other: Images of the Māori in New Zealand Film and Television* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1994), 48.

<sup>89</sup> Although Te Whatanui was a Ngāti Raukawa rangatira living in the nineteenth century, this character appears as a fictional.

<sup>90</sup> The editing as Ariana walks appears stilted. It is possible the British editor cut part of this scene.

Ariana: Grandfather, why have you taken me from the people I love?

Te Whatanui: In time of war, a tribe must gather in its people.

Ariana: So, you took me from the Mokenas.

Te Whatanui: It was the wish of your mother.

Ariana: (surprised)

But my mother she – she sent me to the mission school before she died.

Te Whatanui: To learn the wisdom of the Pākehā, but not to give them your heart.

[close-up shot of Ariana looking up, Te Whatanui in the background]

My sons were killed fighting the Pākehā at Taranaki. My daughter, your mother, is gone. And now there's only you. Her people need you.<sup>91</sup>

Given its absence from the scenario, and its Māori perspective, it is possible this scene was collaborated on in filming. As Ramsden asserts, “Post-colonial life for Maori has often been restricted to a series of brutal compromises. Changing these compromises to choices requires information and the development of skills which help to shape decisions.”<sup>92</sup> In this instance, Ariana’s compromise becomes a choice, due to the information from her grandfather, accounting for her responsibility to her Māori people in wartime. Cooper argues Ariana’s narrative and the film’s subsequent shift away from Bob’s narrative, “invites viewer sympathies in ways that bear closer attention”, where new themes emerge.<sup>93</sup> After this scene, as Cooper claims, Ariana devotes herself entirely to her responsibility to her Ngāti Maniapoto whānau.<sup>94</sup> Babington deals with this scene as Ariana having to “confront her mixed blood”, which seems to understate the complexities faced in her cultural upbringing, shifting from her Māori family as a child, to her mission education with the Morgans. Babington argues that this conversation demonstrates Ariana’s choice is clearly to be with Bob and the Morgans.<sup>95</sup> However, the information she receives from her

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<sup>91</sup> Hayward, *Rewi’s Last Stand / The Last Stand*.

<sup>92</sup> Ramsden, “He Poroporoaki,” 206.

<sup>93</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 78.

<sup>94</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 78.

<sup>95</sup> Bruce Babington, *A History of the New Zealand Fiction Feature Film* (Manchester: University Press, 2007), 77.

grandfather shifts Ariana from a place of compromise to making a decision that is bigger than her. Given the scene does not appear in Hayward's scenario, the question of authorship appears ambiguous, and is possibly a result of collaboration across cultural lines. Without it, Ariana's return to her Ngāti Maniapoto people lacks reasoning, leaving her as the narrative's victim and Tama its villain. The notion of "Maniapotos seizing all half-castes" from earlier in the film, is not only offensive, it lacks any rationality, abiding with early racist cinematic conventions developed from American Western films, based on civilised/savage binaries embedded in popular cinematic culture.<sup>96</sup>

Rather than a clear choice, Ariana is faced with uncertainty of her place, which is both in-between and evolving. It is not until this conversation with her grandfather that she understands why her obligation in war time is to her whānau. The third part of Ariana's choice appears after a scene where Ariana helps Bob escape from Tama and a waka taua. Having gone to the village to look for Ariana, Bob rescues a small boy who gets caught alone in a waka on the Waikato river. Tama, hiding amongst the trees, spots Bob and Ariana embracing. After their escape, Bob tells Ariana about how he found someone (Ben) with the same coin that she carries, trying to convince her to return with him to find her father, concealing his assumption that he has already found him.

Bob: Well anytime there'll be war now. Thousands of soldiers, fighting and burning of villages. Ariana, come away to the Morgans and be safe.

Ariana: [looking up, thoughtfully and then, defiantly] Safe. Māori women fight beside their men don't they? What would they think of me? A rangatira?

Bob: You can't talk like this.

Ariana: [looking up to Bob] Oh Ropata. Don't let us quarrel. Please. I can't change what is in me. There's so little time. Tonight, we are lovers. For us, there can only be now.  
[Kiss]<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Fox, "Rudall Hayward and the Cinema of Maoriland: Genre-Mixing and Counter-Discourses in *Rewi's Last Stand* (1925), *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927) and *Rewi's Last Stand/The Last Stand* (1940)," 52.

<sup>97</sup> Hayward, *Rewi's Last Stand / The Last Stand*.

On the one hand, and problematically so, this scene essentializes Māori practices in war. Although it is true that Māori women fought alongside men in the Battle of Ōrākau, as well other battles throughout the New Zealand Wars,<sup>98</sup> there were numerous circumstances that contributed to the women's decisions to stay and fight. On the other, a possible interpretation of Ariana's line, "I can't change what is in me" reflects the pressure she feels from Bob and the Morgans for her to change, rather than her own desire to change. Such insight reveals more about the weight of colonial pushes for Māori assimilation, than of a choice based on a notion of having half of one identity and half of another. Cooper argues this line pre-empts Ahumai Te Paerata's famous words to Mair during the Ōrākau battle.<sup>99</sup>

In the film, Tama sacrifices himself for Ariana, whom Bob and Ben find in the forest, collapsed between the trunks of two trees. However, in the scenario, towards the end of the battle scenes, Ariana stays in the parapet with Tama. The scenario describes their final moments together in a medium shot where,

173x MED. ARIANA AND TAMA:

Ariana joins the phalanx of people and is  
joined by Tama who comes beside her - - the poor  
girl has been tried beyond endurance - - her  
head is drooping - - her body swaying - - Tama sees  
her plight but forgetful of his own sufferings  
he tries to comfort her. The blustering arro-  
gance of the young warrior has fallen from  
Tama in this moment of supreme trial.

He says simply:

TAMA: "Hold my hand."

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<sup>98</sup> Rawinia Higgins rāua ko Paul Meredith, "Te mana o te wāhine – Māori women - Leadership after colonisation", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/te-mana-o-te-wahine-maori-women/page-5> (accessed 9 November 2019)

<sup>99</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 78.

She looks up and a trace of a smile crosses  
her face.

174x C.U. TAMA AND ARIANA'S HANDS:

Tama takes the girl[']s hand in his and  
holds it with reassuring firmness.

175x C.U. ARIANA AND TAMA:

The girl is looking up into Tama's  
face for a fleeting second in this zero  
minute - - she is taking courage and bracing  
herself for the ordeal that is to follow - -  
something passes between them in this mo-  
mentary glance that signifies that come  
what may they will face it together.<sup>100</sup>

The fate of the pair remains unknown in the scenario, although the message Hayward conveys is one of bravery in defiance of surrender. The scenario also features an epilogue at the end of this scene, after Ahumai Te Paerata's declaration that states, "Caught between two fires, in the Swamp of Death most of Rewi's gallant band saw their last sunset."<sup>101</sup> The

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<sup>100</sup> Hayward, "'Rewi's Last Stand': An Epic of the Battling Sixties. A Scenario by R. Hayward Copyright 1937," Part 2, 34.

<sup>101</sup> Hayward, "'Rewi's Last Stand': An Epic of the Battling Sixties," Part 2, 35.



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**Figure 1**

Page 8 Advertisements, Column 8,  
*Otago Daily Times*, Issue 24950, 24  
June 1942, 8. Papers Past. National  
Library of New Zealand Te Puna  
Mātauranga o Aotearoa,  
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/ODT19420624.2.101.8>  
(Accessed 9 November 2019).

closing refrain suggests Ariana and Tama do not survive, sensationalizing the history for the audience, with the setting as "Swamp of Death", echoing Cowan's description in volume one of *The New Zealand Wars*.<sup>102</sup> However, unlike Cowan's volume, Hayward provides little hope for survival in his scenario, the "last sunset" implying there were no survivors. The issue of survival appears amended in the foreword, asserting that the Māori defenders were "not conquered."

It is possible that the changes Hayward made were directly related to producing propaganda supporting the Māori Battalion in the World War II, of continuing relevance to the government's war effort after the film's release. In an advertisement in the *Otago Daily Times*, this idea appears blatantly, drawing links between the battle of Ōrākau and the Māori Battalions presence in Greece and Crete in 1941 (Figure 1). The focus on heroism and bravery reflects a desire on the part of the filmmakers to shift audience perspective to empathy for Māori characters. Yet at the same time its suggestion of "Deathless Drama" implies the audience can rest assured that no deaths feature in the film, despite its historical basis in war. Ariana, as a Pākehā and Māori character, represents the idealized perspective of one New Zealandness, demonstrating understanding of both identifications. According to Cooper's interpretation, Ariana did not need to be brought back to her adopted Pākehā family; rather, "Ben needs to be brought back to Ariana" – his own personal redemption at having wronged both her and her

<sup>102</sup> James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars* (Wellington, 1922), Volume 1, 396.



mother.<sup>103</sup> It is entirely possible the final scene of the film was intended to be there from the time of the scenario's writing, as there is no definitive suggestion that Ariana and Tama die together. However, based on the tone of the scenario, it seems the ending was altered to reflect the presentist intercultural politics of New Zealand's participation in World War II around the time of the Treaty of Waitangi centenary. Given the change in the romance story between the scenario and the film, it seems the film text sought to alleviate historic sentiments of Pākehā animosity toward Māori, acknowledging the partnership between Pākehā and Māori, although from a significantly limited perspective.

*Rewi's Last Stand's* ambiguity remains contentious, and its analysis draws on dual discourse reflecting the varied perspectives of the filmmakers and their influencers. Cowan's *The Old Frontier* provided significant content for Hayward to explore the national romanticism through which Pākehā cultural producers sought to legitimize colonial narratives of belonging. The film's central character Ariana, derived from Cowan's book, reveals *false* and *true invention* as matters of perspective, where the layers of colonial and Pākehā nationalist narratives mask historical realities. Cooper's analysis draws out historical meaning despite this, questioning how intercultural representations reflect both past and present relationships. However, the narrative ultimately projects Pākehā assumptions about Māori identity, based on problematic binary associations. The complex, three-part choice Ariana's character makes, demonstrates some complexity regarding her agency, but is ultimately undermined by the romance narrative derived from James Cowan and the army chaplain source. Engaging with mana wāhine theory also situates Ariana within the wider discussion of post-coloniality, hybridity, and the diversity of experiences and identity. As such, *Rewi's Last Stand* provides fruitful interpretative understanding, with its decolonial discourse located in the collaborative authorship of Māori informants and performers.

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<sup>103</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 79.

## 2 – Beyond the Ending

Over the years since *Rewi's Last Stand's* filming, Ramai Te Miha Hayward continued to discuss its relevance. Aside from her performance as Ariana, Te Miha Hayward helped Rudall Hayward process the original film negatives, produced much of the publicity material, and, many years later, copied *Rewi's Last Stand/The Last Stand*, along with their many other films, to video through the Hayward Historical Film trust.<sup>1</sup> After filming was completed, Hayward approached Te Miha, seeking her expertise to mend the film's negatives.<sup>2</sup> As a photographer, Te Miha was able to assist Hayward with the post-filming production work, in his laboratory at his mother's house in Takapuna near Lake Pupuke.<sup>3</sup> In an anecdote shared with Lawrence Wharerau in 1989 on the television series *Koha*, Te Miha Hayward gave insight into the post-production work with Hayward, using water from Lake Pupuke to process the film's negatives. A storm prior to the film's processing resulted in its meticulous repair, damaged by the sediment particles in the water from the lake. "I had to retouch hundreds and hundreds of feet of *Rewi's Last Stand* before it...could be printed."<sup>4</sup> Te Miha Hayward felt pity for Hayward's struggle and respected his kaupapa to create films that conveyed the nation's sense of history, including Māori perspectives, seeing her own capacity to awahi (support) his vision.<sup>5</sup> In addition, her theorization and reflection on her involvement represented her ongoing relationship with the film and its core themes of Māori representation and intercultural relationships.

### She Lived: Ariana and Mana Wāhine

*Rewi's Last Stand* continues to generate discussion around colonial nation building and the impact of cinematic romance narratives on cultural memory. The ending of *Rewi's Last Stand* hangs in ambiguity, perhaps deliberately as Babington suggests. Leaving the audience unsure of whether Ariana lives or dies, the ending provides no resolution for Ariana's

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<sup>1</sup> Jacqueline Amoamo, "A Creative Life: Ramai Hayward - Photographer, Artist, Actress, Filmmaker," in *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women since They Won the Vote*, ed. Sandra Coney (Auckland, N.Z: Penguin, 1993), 235.

<sup>2</sup> Shepard, *Between the Lives*, 116.

<sup>3</sup> NZ On Screen, "Koha - Ramai Hayward."

<sup>4</sup> NZ On Screen, "Koha - Ramai Hayward."

<sup>5</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

romance with Bob, and only hints at possible reconciliation with her estranged Pākehā father.<sup>6</sup> Ramai Te Miha Hayward's interpretation in 1994 pulls away from the romantic nationalist narrative, saying to Alwyn Owen that her character,

was actually a real person in the film, Ariana. She was actually there. And, she didn't die as the film seemed to indicate, at the end of the film. She lived, married and had children. But the part of course was played by yours truly, Ramai Te Miha.<sup>7</sup>

In an interview with Walter Harris in 1961, Rudall Hayward said Ariana died at the end of the film, whereas according to Te Miha Hayward, the ambiguity in the ending was intentional.<sup>8</sup> Although Te Miha Hayward acknowledged the uncertainty of Ariana's survival as a character, discussing the film with Owen, she emphasised the historical person Ariana as a survivor. As Ramsden contends: "History usually tells the stories of men who consider that they have been victorious in war or otherwise remarkable," reflecting who controls the historical narrative and its transmission.<sup>9</sup> In discussing Ariana's place in history, Te Miha Hayward brought the focus away from the symbolism in the narrative, dismissing the film's ending, and emphasising Ariana's lived reality.

Te Miha Hayward also challenged the film's existing narrative, arguing for the correction of the historical errors it presents. In the film, governor George Grey (A.J.C. Fisher) sends Bob to dispatch a letter to Ngāti Maniapoto, in which it alleges the Kīngitanga's plans to invade Auckland. Dated 11<sup>th</sup> July 1863, the letter claims, "Europeans living quietly on their own lands have been attacked" and that the Kīngitanga were "assembled in armed bands threatening to ravage the settlement of Auckland."<sup>10</sup> Speaking to Owen, Te Miha Hayward points out this error and its need for correction.

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<sup>6</sup> Babington, *A History of the New Zealand Fiction Feature Film*, 78.

<sup>7</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>8</sup> Rudall Hayward, Interview. Rudall Hayward., interview by Walter Harris, Audio, August 30, 1961, Sound Collection, A1002, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision; Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 88. Cooper cites an interview with Walter Harris and Ray Hayes in 1962.

<sup>9</sup> Ramsden, "He Poroporoaki," 202.

<sup>10</sup> Hayward, *Rewi's Last Stand / The Last Stand*.

Because in the film – which comes from the history books, which is not true, which is being rewritten – it says that the Waikato people were going to invade Auckland, this was Sir George Grey, who was saying this. They *wanted* the Waikato. Wonderful land, they wanted it. The Māori people – it would be absurd of them ... to invade Auckland, what for? ... They had the land... but of course it still remains in the film. And it's wrong, and that's why we need a program to go out – we've got a little booklet. But I think that we need something more detailed which I've written in my memoirs, and gave a talk on, used that a few weeks ago at the Women's Māori Writers week that we had here in Auckland.<sup>11</sup>

Te Miha Hayward affirms that the Crown and its ministers wanted land belonging to Māori because of the agricultural and economic prosperity the Kīngitanga developed there.<sup>12</sup> The suggestion of Kīngitanga attack on Auckland merely provided an excuse for confiscation in the Waikato, as O'Malley shows in his recent work. According to O'Malley, "The Crown did not invade Waikato to save the settlers of Auckland, but to destroy the Kīngitanga", confiscating land as a vital tactic.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, John Morgan's complicity in enacting the subsequent land confiscations remains in the film, described as "the watchman of the Waikato", in a positive tone, rather than a critical one. Hayward once again, echoes Cowan in Morgan's representation as an ultimately benevolent spy for Grey. According to Cowan, "'Te Mokena" was in an infinite variety of ways the benefactor of his Maori flock", but during war time his duty to the government led him to "[inform] of the exact political conditions among the Maoris" advising Grey of the "views and intentions of the Kingites, and so came to be called "the watchman of the Waikato."<sup>14</sup> Morgan had succeeded in introducing European agricultural methods in the Waikato, however Māori had successfully developed a "golden age" of trade sustaining their economic and political independence, exporting goods both in Aotearoa and internationally to Australia and North America. In

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<sup>11</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>12</sup> Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019), 117.

<sup>13</sup> O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars*, 104–5.

<sup>14</sup> Cowan, *The Old Frontier*, 12.

addition, many locals, Māori and Pākehā, depended on their developments for food.<sup>15</sup> Despite the letter's claims, the film determines the Ngāti Maniapoto "seizing of half-castes" as the reason for Grey's threats of raupatu.<sup>16</sup> However, according to Danny Keenan, Grey's ultimate dispute in the Waikato was Māori refusal to acquiesce to shared authority. In contrast with Grey, the Kīngitanga, Tāwhiao, Wiremu Tamihana, Rewi Maniapoto and Wiremu Kingi, according to Keenan, "believ[ed] that a conciliated sharing of power, as foreshadowed in the Treaty, was possible." In the face of the Kīngitanga's "unyielding stance", Grey ordered the 12 July 1863 invasion of the Waikato.<sup>17</sup> In the wake of the Treaty of Waitangi centenary, despite its problematic narrative, *Rewi's Last Stand* addressed the issue of shared authority at a critical time in Aotearoa's history.

At the beginning of the interview, Owen presented Te Miha Hayward with a copy of A.W. Reed's book version of *Rewi's Last Stand*, which Reed credited to collaboration with Rudall Hayward. Te Miha Hayward exclaimed sternly, "What have you got there? The book, Reed's book. ... That is a very naughty book," explaining Rudall Hayward had given Reed the scenario, who subsequently wrote the book without any further discussion. Te Miha Hayward said, "he put a lot of stuff in there that was never in the film. A lot of rubbish."<sup>18</sup> The themes of reconciliation, assimilation, and forgetting the past appear in A.W. Reed's book version of the film, with Ariana and Bob receiving from the Crown blocks of confiscated land, to continue the agricultural work of Morgan.<sup>19</sup> Reed's representation, according to Te Miha Hayward, impacted what people have subsequently thought about the content of the original, unedited film.<sup>20</sup> Ramai Te Miha Hayward's outrage at the sight of Reed's book confirms Babington's interpretation that the book offered more of a "fantasia" of the themes in the film, with Ariana's survival and marriage to Bob Beaumont.<sup>21</sup> The ending in the book offers a bleak view for Ariana's agency, assimilating to a colonial settler dream of land acquisition at the expense of Māori land rights and self-determination.

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<sup>15</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 75; Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>16</sup> Hayward, *Rewi's Last Stand / The Last Stand*.

<sup>17</sup> Danny Keenan, ed., *Huia Histories of Māori: Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero* (Wellington, N.Z: Huia Publishers, 2012), 150.

<sup>18</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>19</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 88.

<sup>20</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>21</sup> Babington, *A History of the New Zealand Fiction Feature Film*, 76.

Through such interviews and paratextual production, Ramai Te Miha Hayward brought forth her subjective perspective regarding the film's themes of Māori representation and intercultural relationships. Cross discussed some of the photographs used in publicity materials arguing images of Ramai Te Miha demonstrate a "submissive" gaze, looking away from the lens, presenting a gendered construction.<sup>22</sup> The photographs of Ramai Te Miha dressed in a kaitaka and hei tiki to which Cross refers were likely taken by one of the few women photographers in Auckland at the time, Nora College, as Te Miha Hayward discussed in her interviews with Owen and Brian Edwards for his show *Top O' The Morning* College won an award for one of the images, entitled "Pride of heritage".<sup>23</sup> As such, an interpretation suggesting submissive construction denies both the photographer's practice and Te Miha Hayward's choice in her own representation, particularly considering her creative control in producing the post-filming publicity material, in collaboration with Hayward.

Arguments regarding the objectification of women in gendered colonial narratives demonstrate important questions surrounding equality and women's rights. Martin Blythe illustrated a publicity poster designed by Te Miha Hayward (Figure 2),<sup>24</sup> suggesting the woman in the top-left of the image appears as "the feminine (Maori) figure as sacrificial object."<sup>25</sup> Blythe's interpretation discounts Māori women's voices both through the words Ahumai Te Paerata spoke, and the way in which Te Miha Hayward constructed the imagery. Alternatively, the woman in the poster appears as an embodiment of power next to an English translation of the famous words attributed to Te Paerata, "Ki te mate ngā tāne, me mate anō ngā wāhine me ngā tamariki." The image shows how both Ahumai Te Paerata and Ariana represent the heroism of Māori women in the battle of Ōrākau, elevating their presence in the narrative. With the man holding the white flag positioned below, he appears looking up from a position of admiration. Considering the meaning of symbolism in this paratextual source, as in the film,

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<sup>22</sup> Cross, "The Forgotten Soundtrack of Maoriland," 67.

<sup>23</sup> Ramai Hayward, *Top O' The Morning* with Brian Edwards. 1996-04-27., interview by Brian Edwards, Audio, April 27, 1996, Sound Collection, 37017, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, [https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record\\_id=220291](https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=220291); Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>24</sup> Amoamo, "A Creative Life: Ramai Hayward - Photographer, Artist, Actress, Filmmaker," 234.

<sup>25</sup> Blythe, *Naming the Other*, 42.



**Figure 2**  
P03843 REWI'S LAST STAND. (1940). From material preserved and made available by Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision. Courtesy of the Hayward Collection. (Cover Image)

the poster suggests it is this woman's expression of mana wāhine that provides the audience engagement with history and the film's narrative. They are the embodiment of mana wāhine, expressed through Ariana as an inter-cultural hero, and Ahumai Te Paerata as a rangatira in wartime negotiations.

### **No time for romance**

Fox suggests Hayward's motivation for representing intercultural romance related to his relationship with Ramai Te Miha. "The intercultural romance depicted in the film", he wrote, "was meant to serve as a trope for the reconciliation between the races taking place both in Hayward's own life as well as at a national level."<sup>26</sup> Such a contention seems unlikely, due to Hayward's claim that the character Ariana does not survive. Ramai Te Miha Hayward disputed suggestions of romance between her and Rudall. However, the fact that "he just went on looks!" when casting for Ariana might indicate Hayward's early attraction to Te Miha.<sup>27</sup> Rudall's affection was likely one-sided until in the process of editing, the feeling became mutual, and they married each other in 1943. According to Te Miha Hayward there was "no time for romance" while making *Rewi's Last Stand*, somewhat ironically.<sup>28</sup> After assisting Hayward with repairing the film's negatives,

Two or three years later, we'd got on more intimate terms by then, and ... he lived at Takapuna with his mother, and he was going through and he just stopped off and he ... came in and I was eating my porridge and ... I thought he'd just got a bit too bossy. [He] was wanting me to do something for him and ... so I got annoyed and picked up my bowl of porridge and dumped it on his head. [laughs] And he looked so funny I just forgot about being angry and I ran out of the shop ... and I was standing there killing myself laughing, and he came around the corner, looking for me, and he'd just put his hat over the porridge and there was all this porridge around his face, and he looked so funny, I think it was then I fell in love with him [laughs].<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Fox, "Rudall Hayward and the Cinema of Maoriland: Genre-Mixing and Counter-Discourses in *Rewi's Last Stand* (1925), *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927) and *Rewi's Last Stand/The Last Stand* (1940)," 61.

<sup>27</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>28</sup> NZ On Screen, "Koha - Ramai Hayward."

<sup>29</sup> NZ On Screen, "Koha - Ramai Hayward."



Te Miha Hayward frequently described her relationship with Rudall Hayward as like Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, going on filmmaking adventures together, with Hayward as the idealist, and her as the pragmatist.<sup>30</sup> “He was trying to do the impossible”, Te Miha Hayward reasoned, “that’s why I called him Don Quixote”.<sup>31</sup> In 1946, Te Miha Hayward sold her photographic business, which had extended to a second shop in Queen street, and funded their travels to England.<sup>32</sup> While there, the couple sought international release of *Rewi’s Last Stand* in 1948, but found they had to reduce the film’s length, as well as remove content deemed unacceptable for British audiences.<sup>33</sup> The waiata performed by Ramai Te Miha appeared in the original edit of *Rewi’s Last Stand*, featuring in the New Zealand release, but were removed in England from *The Last Stand’s* edit due to poor sound quality.<sup>34</sup> Te Miha Hayward recalled Hayward’s difficulty in accepting the changes made to the film in her interview with Owen. “Rudall couldn’t bear to see it cut. He just couldn’t bear it. He’d groan and take off. Grab his hat and take off. [laughs] ... he’d go to the local pub and have a couple of drinks, to restore his – he didn’t drink really but you know he just felt it was dreadful having his film cut.”<sup>35</sup> Despite the anguish Hayward felt, Te Miha Hayward chose to witness the edit for the British release of *The Last Stand*.

### **They are their ancestors**

The England edit further impacts authorship, as much of the battle showed the British soldiers in a negative light. While the film’s romance narrative perpetuates problematic colonial attitudes toward Māori, many of the scenes removed likely challenged these attitudes, with the participation of women and children in the defence of Ōrākau. Extensive tracts of Māori performance appear to have been cut for *The Last Stand*, not only in the wharenuī with Ariana and Te Whatanui, but also when Ariana and her fellow Ngāti Maniapoto greet a waka taua on the Waikato river with a pōwhiri. A lot of the other

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<sup>30</sup> Amoamo, “A Creative Life: Ramai Hayward - Photographer, Artist, Actress, Filmmaker,” 235.

<sup>31</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>32</sup> Deborah Shepard, *Reframing Women: A History of New Zealand Film* (Auckland, N.Z.: Harper Collins Publishers, 2000), 42–43.

<sup>33</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 72.

<sup>34</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 2.

<sup>35</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 2.

performances at Tūrangawaewae marae in Ngāruawāhia did not make the final cut.<sup>36</sup> Of what remains, the film features some spoken narration over the performances, presumably for the English audience's benefit. However, it comes off as ethnographic. Waiata poi seems to be the only song that survived the edit. In the pōwhiri scene outside Tūrangawaewae, when the waka taua arrives, descendants express themselves through Māori performance and historical reliving. The ethnographic tone of the narration does not remove the meaning of these performances as theorised by Te Miha Hayward, for those who performed in the film and subsequently their descendants.

Although *Rewi's Last Stand* was Ramai Te Miha Hayward's first film, she carried its legacy on long after its production. Many years later, Ramai Te Miha Hayward expressed the theoretical implications of filmmaking from a Māori perspective. Filming began in January 1938 over six weeks', with local people featuring, many of whom descended from both Māori and Pākehā people who fought in the Battle of Ōrākau. Playing some of the extras, inmates from Waikeria prison also arrived on set each day for filming. Te Miha Hayward emphasised the importance of the performances during the battle scenes, as an expression of the injustice Māori experienced at the hands of the Crown.

It's on the actual spot. ... It's just you know, incredible. And the vibrations that - ... everybody was affected by it. You see a lot of the descendants were there, both European and Māori. And *intermarried* ones. You know they had relatives of both races. And it affected everybody. ... Well this wasn't very long ago you see, it wasn't very long ago. It's within recent times. 1864 and 1938. It's very close, very close. ... And people still alive, born at that time. ... and still *hurting*, still hurting. Everybody hurt. European as well as Māori, were affected, *very* much affected. Especially at the *injustice* of it all, the wrongness of it all.<sup>37</sup>

Emphasising the descendants of intermarried families, and their continued pain, Te Miha Hayward appears to challenge the notion of an antagonistic binary in intercultural identities. When discussing Te Puea Hērangi and King Korokī as shareholders in Hayward's film and

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<sup>36</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 2.

<sup>37</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 2.

Swarbrick, Oliphant, and Te Huia working on Tainui history at the time, Cooper addresses the issue of raupatu and mentions Ramai Te Miha Hayward's connection to the Waikato.<sup>38</sup> What Cooper misses is that Te Miha Hayward's connection to the Waikato was a direct result of the raupatu in the war's aftermath, where the Crown gave confiscated land to her iwi, Ngāti Kahungunu. Speaking to Owen, Te Miha Hayward described the continuity of "skulduggery" and "thievery" of the government in the imposition of rates on Māori, referring to her family at Waimarama in the Hawke's Bay and Mātakitaki-a-Kupe in South Wairarapa. Because the land was taken, and the rates on the remaining land were doubled, the government discriminated further against Māori.<sup>39</sup>

Ramai Te Miha Hayward's discussion about performance reflects both Māori cultural expression and a decolonial discourse, developed through Indigenous peoples' political movements for self-determination across the world. Māori cultural expression is rooted in performance, where histories are interpreted through iwi and hapū intergenerational transmission of knowledge.<sup>40</sup> Teurikore Biddle contends, "Since time immemorial, Māori have utilized cultural performance – waiata, haka, tauparapara, mōteatea – to express their feelings about their histories, environments, communities and relationships."<sup>41</sup> Ramai Te Miha Hayward also explained to Owen the significance of these performances.

It wasn't acting. It was *living* the part – you just felt as though you were living it. ... The people, the artists – let me call them artists, because many of them were not actors. But of course, our Māori people have got it in their *blood*. You know, for centuries they have done whaikōrero and waiata on the marae and so they've got it in them to be artists. I call them artists. They're not actors, because many of them had never trained to be actors. I had done some acting at high school, college, all that. But we ... you know, it's not hard and fast rules is it? You're allowed to be – express yourself, more or less as you feel. Just as long as you know your lines. ...

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<sup>38</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 89.

<sup>39</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>40</sup> Teurikore Biddle, "'The Power of Performance' The Constancy of Māori Expressional Culture," in *Huia Histories of Māori: Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero*, ed. Danny Keenan (Wellington, N.Z: Huia Publishers, 2012), 58.

<sup>41</sup> Biddle, "'The Power of Performance' The Constancy of Māori Expressional Culture," 58.

...On location, no one ever forgot what they had to say. And as for those *wonderful* lines where Ahumai gets up on the parapet, and speaks, and the young Māori chief gets up. They're not acting ... yes. They're not acting. ... They're thinking of their ancestors and how they were. And for that time, they *are* their ancestors.<sup>42</sup>

Te Miha Hayward's admiration for Ahumai Te Paerata's defiant words reinforce her visual representation in the film poster (Figure 2). Affirming the performance of descendants of Māori who took part in the battle of Ōrākau as reliving the history of their ancestors demonstrates an early example of mātauranga Māori theorization in filmmaking. Furthermore, Te Miha Hayward's assertion about the Māori artists having "it in their blood" reflects what Chadwick Allen describes as Fourth World writers and activists, "asserting indigenous difference" as a means of expression, creating "powerful tropes and emblematic figures for contemporary indigenous identity, including "blood memory," the ancient child, and the rebuilding of the ancestral house (*whare tipuna*)."<sup>43</sup> Te Miha Hayward expressed herself in this way, articulating Māori cultural tenets through the continuity of blood narrative, perhaps as a way of redefining the meaning of the film in collective cultural memory.

Te Miha Hayward recognised the weight of responsibility in producing *Rewi's Last Stand* because many of the people in the film were descendants from the Waikato war. Angela Moewaka Barnes asserts that collectivity and responsibility are foundational to Indigenous filmmakers, which "manifests as a desire for transformation, on and off screen."<sup>44</sup> In an interview entitled *Forever Young*, Te Miha Hayward reflected that,

...it was a great responsibility. Especially the re-enactment of the battle of Ōrākau. ... The battle scenes were close to where the battle took place at Kihikihi, about two miles south of

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<sup>42</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 2.

<sup>43</sup> Allen, "Blood as Narrative/Narrative as Blood," 7–8.

<sup>44</sup> As Angela Moewaka Barnes theorized in her analytical framework, *Kia Manawanui*, transformation describes a key tenet of kaupapa Māori filmmaking. Angela Moewaka Barnes, "Kia Manawanui: Kaupapa Māori Film Theoretical Framework," *MAI Journal (Online)* Vol. 7, no. 1, 2018, 9.

Te Awamutu. The fort was made on the same ridge and the trenches were dug similar to how they were originally. It was an eerie feeling making the film there.<sup>45</sup>

Te Miha describes this process as “like making history”, indicating that from her subjective perspective, the film *Rewi’s Last Stand* represented a temporal continuity in its power to create ancestral links to historical experiences. The urgency for Māori participation in making this history is reflected in the fact that the confiscated land remained in Pākehā hands. This point, about a kaupapa Māori understanding of history, seems to be lost on the unnamed interviewer, who remarked that *Rewi’s Last Stand* “was seen as a film of vital importance to New Zealand’s history and was considered ahead of its time in technical form and style.”<sup>46</sup> The interviewer’s description articulates the film’s value as a finished product, failing to engage with why the re-enactment along ancestral lines was important to the process of history making and what relevance the film had in contemporary Aotearoa. Te Miha’s perspective however, resonates with Barclay’s concept of “divergent gradients” where the “validity and vitality” of film in Pākehā production is most concentrated at “the beginning of its life”, which he describes as a descending, Gradient A. Gradient X however, Barclay describes as ascending, with work conducted in Māori communities increasing “in vigour and relevance” over time.<sup>47</sup>

Te Miha Hayward’s articulation of Māori performance in *Rewi’s Last Stand* as reliving reflects the transformative potential historical film has from a Māori point of view. She provided insight into how the expression of meaning through performance affirms collaborative authorship. Alwyn Owen’s neglect to ask Te Miha Hayward more about the significance of this performative narrative in the production of *Rewi’s Last Stand* (1940) indicates an important point about voice and history. Although Te Miha Hayward theorized the meaning of performance deriving from Māori epistemology during this interview,

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<sup>45</sup> Ramai Hayward, Ramai Hayward, interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, 51143, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, [https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record\\_id=320427](https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=320427); Ramai Hayward, Radio. Ramai Hayward (Forever Young), interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, A1139, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision.

<sup>46</sup> Hayward, Ramai Hayward, interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, 51143; Hayward, Radio. Ramai Hayward (Forever Young), interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, A1139.

<sup>47</sup> Barry Barclay, *Mana Tūturu: Māori Treasures and Intellectual Property Rights* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2005), 102.

analyses of *Rewi's Last Stand* and the Haywards' subsequent films have largely neglected to engage with Māori forms of theorization, overlooking Māori perspectives and therefore collaborative authorship, privileging Hayward's Pākehā-male perspective.

Mana wāhine theory draws links to Te Miha Hayward's mana wāhine expression in the film text and paratextual sources. Ramai Te Miha Hayward's discussion of Ariana, and her paratextual contributions, acknowledge the importance of the character she was playing as a real person from history. In doing so, Te Miha Hayward "pushed back" or "intervened" with the film's historical narrative.<sup>48</sup> Her role in the film bridged performance and production, and her ongoing relationship with the film affirms the importance she placed on revisiting the history of the battle of Ōrākau, and the significance of the film in relation to it. Te Miha Hayward subverted the narrative years on, perhaps moderately so, to affirm the filmmaking as important, not just the film as a finished source, reminiscent of Barclay's Fourth Cinema and Gradient X theories.

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<sup>48</sup> Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 25.

### 3 – Social Realism and Educational Documentaries

*Rewi's Last Stand* (1940) screened in a session put on for influential British documentarian John Grierson, during his 1940 visit to New Zealand organised via Peter Fraser's Labour government.<sup>1</sup> Grierson commended *Rewi's Last Stand* for its focus on showing the nation, further encouraging national identity as the central tenet of filmmaking in his report to the Imperial Relations Trust.<sup>2</sup> His visit eventually prompted the establishment of the National Film Unit (NFU) in 1941, with educational journalist Stanhope Andrews as its producer.<sup>3</sup> Like other filmmakers, Grierson's social realism agenda impacted Andrews ideas, holding Grierson's work in *Night Mail* (1936) to the highest standard of cinematic documentary.<sup>4</sup> According to Geraldine Peters, Grierson's philosophy on nation forming and civic education through documentary film influenced Andrews, particularly in its capacity to show "the faces of New Zealanders at work and leisure".<sup>5</sup>

Andrews recalled Grierson's influence in establishing the National Film Unit in New Zealand, seeing the value of Grierson's films as social commentary.

... if you haven't got anything to say, there's no incentive to say it well. And you can skim over the surface and everybody says, it looks beautiful doesn't it, and it sounds attractive. But the guts of Grierson's films, and or some of ours, was that they said something.<sup>6</sup>

Although Grierson's philosophy underpinned the NFU, government policy and control limited the content of its films.<sup>7</sup> Andrews spouse, playwright Isobel Andrews, collaborated in documentary scriptwriting, also working together in the NFU's series the *Weekly Review*, which Peters argues indicated a significant change in government filmmaking. Earlier

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<sup>1</sup> Stanhope Andrews et al., *Film Making in New Zealand*, Audio, 1962, Sound Collection, 31601, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, [https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record\\_id=206747](https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=206747) (accessed 24 November 2019).

<sup>2</sup> Anabel Cooper, *Filming the Colonial Past*, 90; McDonald, Pivac, and Stark, *New Zealand Film: an Illustrated History*, 104.

<sup>3</sup> McDonald, Pivac, and Stark, *New Zealand Film*, 104.

<sup>4</sup> Andrews et al., *Film Making in New Zealand*.

<sup>5</sup> McDonald, Pivac, and Stark, *New Zealand Film*, 105.

<sup>6</sup> Andrews et al., *Film Making in New Zealand*.

<sup>7</sup> McDonald, Pivac, and Stark, *New Zealand Film*, 108–9.

“publicity-oriented scenic films” were replaced with “propaganda of the war effort and nation building under a Labour government.”<sup>8</sup> Seemingly, the NFU brought Grierson’s ideal into fruition with the *Weekly Review*. Rudall Hayward worked behind the camera in this series, as well as soundperson Jack Baxendale, who constructed the microphone for Hayward’s sound camera.<sup>9</sup> Hayward also worked on newsreels for the NFU, filming Americans in Auckland during World War II.<sup>10</sup> Hayward’s place in this network of documentary filmmakers likely had a profound influence on Ramai Te Miha Hayward’s eventual decision to make educational documentaries. These important relationships continued over the years, with Isobel Andrews writing the script for *Matenga – Māori Choreographer*, made prior to the film *To Love a Maori* (1972), but not released until 1974.

During World War II, Britain and its allies produced more documentaries than ever before.<sup>11</sup> According to Grierson’s contemporary Paul Rotha, British Documentary declined from 1946, stilted by policy limitations, with technical form taking precedence over what the films sought to achieve.<sup>12</sup> John Taylor, Grierson’s brother-in-law, was a producer at the Crown Film Unit between 1946-1948. He recalled it as, “a very difficult time”, where the Crown Film Unit lost all of their best filmmakers, due to the exponential success of commercial films.<sup>13</sup> In 1946, the Haywards went to England, after Ramai Te Miha Hayward sold her photographic studio, funding their trip, the same year BBC television re-opened after war-time closure.<sup>14</sup> While Rudall Hayward’s uncle Henry Hayward advised him to move to America to the hub of feature film making, Te Miha Hayward saw England as a better option, recalling her view to Alwyn Owen in an interview for his radio show *Spectrum*. “I thought, well, he’s English, he should go back to England.” After World War II, the couple travelled to England and, as Te Miha Hayward recalled, they “got work straight away with the BBC as their roving reporters, making newsreels.”<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> McDonald, Pivac, and Stark, *New Zealand Film*, 109.

<sup>9</sup> McDonald, Pivac, and Stark, *New Zealand Film*, 109; Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 2.

<sup>10</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>11</sup> Betsy A. McLane, *A New History of Documentary Film*, (2nd ed., New York, U.S.A.: Continuum, 2012), 243.

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Sussex, *The Rise and Fall of British Documentary: The Story of the Film Movement Founded by John Grierson* (Berkeley, U.S.A.: University of California Press, 1975), 161–62.

<sup>13</sup> Sussex, *The Rise and Fall of British Documentary*, 165.

<sup>14</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3; Sussex, *The Rise and Fall of British Documentary*, 62.

<sup>15</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.



Between 1946 and 1949, the Haywards' operated as the BBC's roving reporters, also receiving documentary contracts with the Crown Film Unit.<sup>16</sup> Te Miha Hayward wrote two screenplays during this period, one for a feature film, *The Goodwin Sands* (1948), and the other for an unfinished documentary *A World is Turning (Towards the Coloured People)* (1947).<sup>17</sup> It is possible that opportunities opened up when BBC television re-established after the war, as they found immediate employment, continuing to take up international BBC contracts later in Australia and China.<sup>18</sup> Rudall Hayward's mobile sound camera also proved an advantage for their filmmaking mobility.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile, in 1946, Grierson went to New York seeking to establish the International Film Associates, though unsuccessfully, due to American paranoia around unfounded allegations of communist sympathies.<sup>20</sup> The tension and sense of fear across Western allies about the spread of communism meant moderate approaches to educational documentaries took precedence, not only in McCarthyist America, but also in New Zealand where the NFU emerged from the war under government control. Grierson sought civic engagement through the film medium in the belief that popular media had the potential to educate audiences.<sup>21</sup> Grierson's theory on documentary meant collaboration and understanding could provide the impetus for committing to societal improvement, dealing with issues such as housing, health, education and values.<sup>22</sup> In the post-World War II context, equality and universal human rights increasingly emerged as themes of concern for documentary filmmakers, notably in the *cinéma vérité* genre. Race relations films came out of the genre of social problem documentary, showing how contemporary racism derived from the persistence of imperialist power.

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<sup>16</sup> Shepard, *Between the Lives*, 121.

<sup>17</sup> Tamara Martin, "New Zealander: Ramai Hayward," *Pacific Way*, no. 22, December 1993, Ramai Hayward Vertical File, Documentation and Artefacts Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, 23.

<sup>18</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>19</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>20</sup> Sussex, *The Rise and Fall of British Documentary*, 164.

<sup>21</sup> As Martin Blythe argues, New Zealand's "social problem" documentaries developed from "the public service tradition associated with the British documentary movement", originating with the work of John Grierson. Similarly, Forsyth Hardy argues, Grierson believed "education is the key to mobilization of men's minds to right ends or wrong ends and urges that the times call for a great change in our thinking and in our values." Furthermore, Blythe argues Andrews adopted Grierson's model in the *Weekly Review* to gain funding from both government and the private sector. Blythe, *Naming the Other*, 94–95; John Grierson, *Grierson on Documentary*, revised ed. (London: Faber, 1966), 256; McLane, *A New History of Documentary Film*, 74.

<sup>22</sup> McLane, *A New History of Documentary Film*, 76–77.

## ***A World is Turning***

By the time Ramai Te Miha and Rudall Hayward left for England in 1946, there was already a well-established network of documentary filmmakers in London. Filmmakers there came from a variety of countries in the British empire as British documentarians had connected with American documentarians at the 1939 New York World's Fair.<sup>23</sup> Working on the film *A World is Turning (Towards the Coloured People)*, Ramai Te Miha Hayward learnt her craft as a filmmaker, writing the script, and working behind the camera.<sup>24</sup> "It was made for the Norman brothers on Wardour Street",<sup>25</sup> a hub of British filmmaking since the early twentieth century, initially intended to include a trip to America to film a community of Quakers.<sup>26</sup> Most significantly, *A World is Turning* featured people of colour in England in a variety of professional roles, without a prevailing narrative of white acceptance.<sup>27</sup> A scene features a white man and a black man sharing a conversation over a drink, yet the rest of the film prioritises the successes of English people of colour in London. One of the six film reels features a scene following the work of a surgeon, in which a woman can be heard in the background calling the commencement of the scene's takes, then relayed by a man holding the clapper board. Given Te Miha Hayward believed she was the only woman working as a filmmaker in England at the time, it is likely the voice coming from behind the camera is hers.<sup>28</sup> Shepard argues Te Miha Hayward's "involvement" in this race relations film "plant[ed] a seed in her mind," bringing into fruition her later films concerning Māori representation.<sup>29</sup> Although acknowledging this film's importance, Shepard understates her contribution to this film, given Te Miha Hayward's positionality as a woman of colour. Furthermore, Te Miha Hayward wrote the screenplay for *A World is Turning*, therefore her authorial input has significant parallels with her later work.

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<sup>23</sup> McLane, *A New History of Documentary Film*, 79.

<sup>24</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3; Martin, "New Zealander: Ramai Hayward," 23.

<sup>25</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>26</sup> Shepard, *Between the Lives*, 122.

<sup>27</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>28</sup> G.L. Norman and Robert Adams, *A World Is Turning (1948)*, Documentary/Propaganda (Norman's Film Productions, 1948), British Film Institute, 468453, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jv-rXtJ4j30> (accessed 14 December 2019); Jacqueline Amoamo, "A Creative Life: Ramai Hayward - Photographer, Artist, Actress, Filmmaker," in *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women since They Won the Vote*, ed. Sandra Coney (Auckland, N.Z: Penguin, 1993), 235.

<sup>29</sup> Shepard, *Reframing Women*, 43.

During the late 1950s to early 1960s, British New Wave developed out of social realism and the French New Wave (Nouvelle Vague). Its documentary style, with real people in real locations, derived from literary realism.<sup>30</sup> The major stylistic differences in Te Miha Hayward's filmmaking after *Rewi's Last Stand* shows how she drew on British film influences in collaboration with Rudall Hayward over the subsequent thirty years. The British New Wave prioritised everyday experiences of reality in narrative and form, rather than constructing romantic fantasy for entertainment. Reality, rather than fantasy, provided audiences with films they could relate to. Post-World War II, and through the 1950s, documentaries generally reflected conservative attitudes due to the onset of the Cold War. According to Betsy McLane, this post-war era of paranoia meant "the spirit of internationalism dwindled by 1948".<sup>31</sup> The 1960s however, brought new possibilities and forms of documentary throughout the world, including cinéma vérité and American direct cinema.<sup>32</sup> Issues of war, racism, and human rights, carved out increasingly politicized intellectual spaces, across the world.

Regardless of this era of paranoia, it seems Ramai Te Miha Hayward embraced this spirit of internationalism, travelling the world making newsreels and educational documentaries with Rudall Hayward. Her interest in seeing the world began in the classroom as a child learning geography, drawing maps for her teacher at Pirinoa school, and gained traction when apprenticed to the photographic Cuba Studios. Te Miha Hayward's French boss Henri Harrison spoke three languages and they often dealt with clients from international embassies.<sup>33</sup> When she moved to Auckland, staying at the YWCA, Te Miha Hayward met a young woman named Irene Young, her closest friend.<sup>34</sup> Of Pākehā and Chinese descent, Young shared similar experiences of racial discrimination growing up in Christchurch.<sup>35</sup> The young women's friendship had a seemingly profound influence on the direction Te Miha Hayward's young life took. Living together in Dorothea Beyda's flat in

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<sup>30</sup> R. Barton Palmer, "The British New Wave: A Modernist Cinema," in *Traditions in World Cinema*, ed. R. Barton Palmer, Linda Badley, and Steven Jay Schneider (Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 55.

<sup>31</sup> McLane, *A New History of Documentary Film*, 173.

<sup>32</sup> McLane, *A New History of Documentary Film*, 243–44.

<sup>33</sup> Ramai Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Alwyn Owen, MP3, Circa 1994, Audio Tape, Wairarapa Archive, Masterton, N.Z, Side 4; Amoamo, "A Creative Life," 234.

<sup>34</sup> Hayward, Ramai Hayward, interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, 51143; Hayward, Radio. Ramai Hayward (Forever Young), interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, A1139.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Oliver Newnham, *New Zealand Women in China* (Auckland, N.Z.: Graphic Publications, 1995), 94.

Bayswater in the late 1930s, the two often went to visit Mabel Lee, whose home was a hub of interaction amongst Auckland's Chinese community, and also brought many local creative intellectuals together.<sup>36</sup> Te Miha Hayward and Young assisted Lee in establishing the New Zealand China Friendship Society (NZCFS) with Shirley Barton in 1952.

After returning from England to Aotearoa briefly, when Rudall Hayward's mother became ill, the Haywards moved to Sydney until 1954. Upon their return, Te Miha Hayward purchased a large house in Auckland's Mt Eden, parts of which they converted to a filmmaking studio.<sup>37</sup> Te Miha Hayward's affiliation with the NZCFS eventuated in her filmmaking in communist China in 1957. After filming a tour of the Chinese Classical Theatre in New Zealand during 1956, Ramai and Rudall Hayward received an invitation to China with their friends Young, Beyda, and R.A.K. Mason, to produce the first English language films since the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime in 1949.<sup>38</sup> The films *Inside Red China* (1958), *Wonders of China* (1958) and *Children in China* (1961) show the country in a favourable light, depicting its success in modernist industry, social welfare, and education, while exploring artistic, intellectual, and historical interests. According to Te Miha Hayward, the China she witnessed differed markedly from depictions in the Western world.<sup>39</sup>

*Children in China* was the first in a series of educational films that Te Miha Hayward made, in collaboration with Hayward, up until his passing in 1974. Writing, directing, and producing the film, Te Miha Hayward's production began her working relationship with the National Film Library, held under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education. As Minister of Education, Peter Fraser sought the expertise of the Auckland Visual Education Association to distribute film projectors to schools, with a fifty per cent subsidy.<sup>40</sup> With the increasing interest in audio-visual educational tools, Walter Harris was appointed as the Supervisor of Teaching Aides in the Department of Education in 1941, "to develop and encourage a more effective method of teaching."<sup>41</sup> Harris established the National Film

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<sup>36</sup> Rachel Barrowman, *Mason: The Life of R.A.K. Mason* (Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press, 2003), 336; Newnham, *New Zealand Women in China*, 94–95.

<sup>37</sup> NZ On Screen, "Koha - Ramai Hayward."

<sup>38</sup> Newnham, *New Zealand Women in China*, 95.

<sup>39</sup> Shepard, *Between the Lives*, 130.

<sup>40</sup> Walter Harris, "The Beginnings of the N.Z. National Film Library, Some Reminiscences" (Manuscript, March 1989), MS-Papers-4148, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, 3.

<sup>41</sup> Harris, "The Beginnings of the N.Z. National Film Library, Some Reminiscences", 4.

Library with a small selection of films located at the New Zealand Government Film Studios at Miramar, Wellington, designed to lend films for educational purposes.<sup>42</sup> Years later, Te Miha Hayward discussed the idea of making an educational documentary about China with Harris, as the documentary filmmaking in the NFU had produced the increased call for audio-visual educational materials.<sup>43</sup> Produced for audiences of school children around the world, *Children in China* shows the lives of children in 1957 China, just prior to Mao Tse Tung's "Great Leap Forward."<sup>44</sup> Some scholars, including Shepard, Edward and Murray, have speculated on the Haywards' left-wing political views, potentially due to the international context surrounding the Cold War, and the international marketing of their films.<sup>45</sup> Their contribution to Cecil Holmes's *Fighting Back* (1949), may have instigated these allegations. Made for the Carpenters' Union, Peters describes *Fighting Back* as "unapologetically tendentious, designed to rouse support for the locked-out workers."<sup>46</sup> However, Ramai Te Miha Hayward affirmed that she and Hayward did not make political films. "It was ridiculous really. We weren't political people although the Americans seemed to think we were." Hayward joked years later, giving a talk at Auckland Grammar School, that the only Marx he knew was the Marx brothers.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps, given the risk involved in making political propaganda, the Haywards made such assertions strategically.

Although their presence in China in a politically polarized time raises questions of their personal politics, education appears at the forefront of this film's purpose. Through their trip, Te Miha Hayward seized the opportunity to make educational films, establishing a long relationship with the National Film Library, producing films on an almost annual basis, in numerous countries, until 1971.<sup>48</sup> After returning from China, she and Hayward established Hayward Film Productions, working on films together over the subsequent twelve years, encompassing Hayward's documentary and newsreels and Te Miha Hayward's

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<sup>42</sup> Harris, "The Beginnings of the N.Z. National Film Library, Some Reminiscences", 4–6.

<sup>43</sup> Shepard, *Reframing Women*, 44.

<sup>44</sup> From 1958 to 1962, the Great Leap Forward social and economic policy led to widespread famine, deaths, and mass murders of catastrophic proportions. See Frank Dikotter, "Looking Back on the Great Leap Forward," *History Today*, Vol. 66, no. 8, 2016, 23–24.

<sup>45</sup> Shepard, *Between the Lives*, 130; Ian Conrich and Stuart Murray, eds., *New Zealand Filmmakers* (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2007), 38.

<sup>46</sup> McDonald, Pivac, and Stark, *New Zealand Film*, 119.

<sup>47</sup> Newnham, *New Zealand Women in China*, 96; Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>48</sup> Shepard, *Reframing Women*, 44.

educational documentaries.<sup>49</sup> Several of the subsequent documentaries the Haywards went on to make demonstrate a change in discourse surrounding Māori and Pākehā intercultural representations. Since the making of *Rewi's Last Stand*, marked changes in Māori representation in their films reflect Ramai Te Miha Hayward's authorship.

### **New Zealand Children's Film Series**

Ramai Te Miha Hayward's educational series of films were shown in schools around Aotearoa, and many sold around the Western world. Te Miha Hayward also produced educational documentation, with the support of various experts, to provide teachers with learning resources. Although the films are numerous, two in particular, *The Arts of Māori Children* (1962) and *Eel History was a Mystery* (1968), demonstrate Ramai Te Miha Hayward's input with Māori content.

Scenes at Birdlings Flat in *Eel History was a Mystery* and Mataatua marae in *The Arts of Māori Children* warrant discussion due to their interpretive significance for the question of authorship. In addition, the Haywards' films demonstrate an interest in the struggle from below, suggesting the influence of social realism broadly in documentary trends in New Zealand. Regardless of Te Miha Hayward's political leanings, her films seem to indicate her critique of societal power imbalances, produced through colonisation and imperialism. Generally, Te Miha Hayward's films represent concern for the rights of minorities and oppressed peoples, dealing with wider themes of social justice, often through educational content. Shepard supports Te Miha Hayward's contention that they both supported one another's filmmaking endeavours. However, this may not have always been so.

Rudall wasn't interested in my educational films. At least, not to begin with. He preferred the excitement of a news scoop but he became more enthusiastic later. He helped me and I helped him. We both helped each other.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3; Shepard, *Reframing Women*, 44.

<sup>50</sup> Deborah Shepard, Interview with Ramai Hayward, 5 May 1990, in Shepard, *Reframing Women*, 46.

Although insisting on the nature of partnership in working with Hayward, Te Miha Hayward offered Shepard an illuminating insight, pointing out his lack of interest in these films, at first. It seems unexpected, considering Hayward's work in the NFU with Stanhope Andrews, who advocated so strongly for Grierson's documentary philosophy. Perhaps, Hayward did not see the serious value in films made for children, where he ultimately aimed to break into the feature film industry. Yet, the educational potential of film appealed to Te Miha Hayward's appreciation for her own education, which she described in a draft chapter of her unpublished autobiography.

We enjoyed learning – especially about the world beyond our shores. It was a matter of pride that Maori pupils were as good as the pakeha [*sic*] children, and in some subjects were better. Being brought up in an entirely Maori lifestyle was an advantage. We felt secure knowing our roots. It gave us a healthy curiosity to broaden our horizons.<sup>51</sup>

Although Te Miha Hayward acknowledged the importance of her education, she also realised the negative impacts of assimilation policy. Te Miha Hayward made these documentaries during a time when mainstream cultural production deterred Māori language use and privileged Pākehā representations.<sup>52</sup> As such, they feature relatively little te reo Māori dialogue. In her childhood, Te Miha Hayward only spoke te reo Māori at home with her grandmother, and when attending school, had to learn English, where students were beaten for speaking Māori.<sup>53</sup> Despite such discrimination, Te Miha Hayward emphasised the importance of her Māori identity as advantageous. Furthermore, she upheld the significance her childhood, living with her grandmother Huria Kinihe and attending Pirinoa School, affirming, "My childhood was the inspiration for the rest of my

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<sup>51</sup> Ramai Hayward, "Booklet c. 1994" (Unpublished manuscript, 1980s-1990s), 2, in "Papers: Ramai Biography", Documentation and Artefacts Collection, Hayward Collection, MA 2616, Folder 11, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision.

<sup>52</sup> Diana Looser, *Remaking Pacific Pasts - History, Memory, and Identity in Contemporary Theater from Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 118.

<sup>53</sup> Ramai Hayward, Top O' The Morning with Brian Edwards. 1996-04-27., interview by Brian Edwards, Audio, April 27, 1996, Sound Collection, 37017, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, [https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record\\_id=220291](https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=220291) (accessed 16 December 2019).

life”.<sup>54</sup> Significantly, the educational documentaries provided an opportunity for Te Miha Hayward to produce content that dealt with race relations at home, in an era when the government’s integration policy sought to further assimilate Māori to Pākehā cultural and societal norms. Te Miha Hayward found the opportunity to educate New Zealand audiences about Māori culture, but it would not be until *To Love a Maori* that she explicitly challenged the barriers Māori faced in Pākehā society.

### ***Eel History was a Mystery***

*Eel History was a Mystery* (1968), one of the later films in Ramai Te Miha Hayward’s series, provides insight into the Māori cultural content emerging in education during this time, albeit with major limitations. According to Joan Metge, the 1962 *Report of the Commission on Education* (Currie Report) demonstrated concern for educating Māori children without much understanding of Māori culture.<sup>55</sup> Throughout the 1960s, Māori educators concerned with bringing Māori content into the educational system pushed up against negative assumptions of Māori students accepted at the policy level, while working with others to make small changes. As Metge stated, the 1970 report, *Māori Education*, from the National Advisory Committee of Māori Education, was significant because “it constituted a major change in interpretation and policy direction, rejecting the former emphasis on Māori deficiencies and advocating acceptance of and respect for cultural difference.”<sup>56</sup> Throughout these years, Te Miha Hayward’s films made for the Department of Education’s National Film Library contributed in part to the increasing emphasis on Māori content in developing bi-cultural education.

The film begins with the opening scene’s main character Hone, a young Māori boy, and Jeff, his Pākehā friend. Subsequently, the film takes its audience through the so-called “mystery” of the eel’s lifecycle, “discussed by the Greek naturalist Aristotle two thousand years ago.”<sup>57</sup> *Eel History was a Mystery* then explores the historical scientific research of Johann Schmidt, a Danish ecologist, and contemporary New Zealand scientist Peter Castle’s

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<sup>54</sup> Ramai Hayward in Martin, “New Zealander: Ramai Hayward,” 22.

<sup>55</sup> Joan Metge, “Maori Education 1958-1990: A Personal Memoir”, *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 2, 2008, 15.

<sup>56</sup> Metge, “Maori Education 1958-1990: A Personal Memoir”, 17–18.

<sup>57</sup> *Eel History Was A Mystery* (Short, Hayward Film Productions, 1968), New Zealand Children’s Film Series, Film and Video Collection, Taonga Māori Collection, F11634, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision.



continuation of his work. Castle speaks directly to the camera about eels breeding in the Pacific Ocean. What follows, hints at the idea that Pākehā should turn to Māori society for understanding of their own place and identities.

After establishing that eels have fascinated scientists for thousands of years, *Eel History* navigates the lifecycle of the young eel elver, arriving from the ocean, at the beach front where we met Hone and Jeff. The commentary leads the audience through panning shots from the ocean up the river's stream, to a long-shot of the Karapiro hydroelectric dam. Music plays in the background, with flutes in staccato, expressing an invigorating tone. The audio commentary states,

They swarm up the Waikato River of New Zealand's West Coast in countless thousands. At the Karapiro hydroelectric dam [medium long-shot of dam] closely packed shoals have been observed fifteen feet wide and eight feet deep. The dam is a formidable obstacle, but the little eels surmounted with astonishing tenacity of purpose. A black mass starts from the water's edge [close-up shot of elvers]. Nothing can stop them if the concrete's wet.<sup>58</sup>

Chinese orchestral music plays in this scene and provides an intense ambiance in the elvers' struggle for survival. It is certainly possible the Haywards intended this scene as a critique of the dam's presence, as according to Amoamo, they made *Song of the Wanganui* (1961) "to publicise the threat of hydro dams".<sup>59</sup> The subsequent scene shows shags as the enemy of the eels, and the Huka Falls as an "absolute barrier".<sup>60</sup> Then, a major shift in focus brings the film's narrative back to Māori perspectives, providing insight into Ramai Te Miha Hayward's own whānau practice of mahinga kai, which she used to help with at Lake Forsyth – Te Roto o Wairewa – during her upbringing. The film shows the adjacent Lake Ellesmere – Te Kete Ika o Rākaihautū – and Birdlings Flat – Te Mata Hapuku –, in Little River – Wairewa – where she spent every school holiday when living in New Brighton – Ōruapaeroa.<sup>61</sup> The commentary continues,

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<sup>58</sup> *Eel History Was A Mystery*.

<sup>59</sup> Amoamo, "A Creative Life," 235.

<sup>60</sup> *Eel History Was A Mystery*.

<sup>61</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4.

Once a year at this lake, eels that are seven or eight years old gather here in thousands waiting for high tides to break over the bar [panning shot from ocean waves to people digging in a bed of shingle] so they can get out to sea to breed.<sup>62</sup>

In this scene, Te Miha Hayward's aunty and nephew, Hine Kinihe and William, feature, where Kinihe explains the process of catching, gutting, drying and smoking eels. This process sustained Te Miha Hayward's Ngāi Tahu whānau over the years, throughout the winter.<sup>63</sup> The dialogue continues as the camera shifts to a closer shot of two men and a boy digging a trench in the shingle.

The Maoris have known about this for centuries, and the chieftainess Hine Kinihe supervises [close-up shot of Kinihe] the digging of trenches pointing towards the sea.<sup>64</sup>

Discussing her aunty with Owen, Te Miha Hayward recalled spending time here during her childhood. Her aunty Hine, her mother's sister who birthed no children of her own, raised children in Te Miha Hayward's whānau through the Māori cultural practice of whāngai. Also, Kinihe often took Te Miha Hayward and others to Tuahiwi, Rāpaki and Little River for holidays.<sup>65</sup>

She took some of our cousins who had lost their mothers and she adopted them. ... we lived in Martinborough ... in Wairarapa, and we would be taken down for long holidays. It was wonderful, because our uncle [Joe Kinihe] was a shepherd and he had a shepherd's hut at Birdlings Flat, way out in the desert you might say where there are only tumbling weeds. And we had Lake Ellesmere on one side and the ocean on the other side and ... it was a wonderful place. There was a tiny little school in Birdlings Flat, which only had about ten

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<sup>62</sup> *Eel History Was A Mystery*.

<sup>63</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4.

<sup>64</sup> *Eel History Was A Mystery*.

<sup>65</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

pupils. And we all used to ride horses to Birdlings Flat to this tiny little school, one room. And the children came – you didn't know where they lived coz you couldn't see their homes, but they were all converged on this little place, by the lake side – Lake Forsyth. And the ocean on one side, and the lake on the other side. And a few batches there. That's where we used to, all our people from Little River used to gather once a year, ... to get the eels before they migrated.<sup>66</sup>

Te Miha Hayward then explained with delight how she had made *Eel History was a Mystery*, stating that William had played the main part in the film.<sup>67</sup> Although he does not appear until these final scenes, William's learning about mahinga kai as the film's final focus provides meaning, from Te Miha Hayward's perspective. During these scenes, the film takes its audience through the intricate process Te Miha Hayward's Ngāi Tahu iwi devised and sustained throughout generations. Although fitting with the educational purpose of the film, this final scene seems to suggest that, for Te Miha Hayward, eels were not a mystery, rather a familiar staple in her life. The films closing scenes demonstrate a rich history of Māori utilising intergenerational knowledge concerning part of the eel's life cycle, to produce food for year-round sustenance. It also centres whanaungatanga in knowledge production and transmission, as well as in her filmmaking methodology.

### ***The Arts of Maori Children***

Several years earlier, Ramai Te Miha Hayward's documentary *The Arts of Maori Children* (1962), also centred Māori cultural expression, as well as her own passion for the arts. The film follows the work of three teachers, Paratene Matchitt (Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Ngāti Porou), Arnold Te Manaaki Wilson (Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Tarawhai, Te Arawa), and Selwyn Te Ngareatua Wilson (Ngāti Manu, Ngāti Hine), who centre their classroom teaching on their Māori art practice. Wilson and Wilson were among the first Māori graduates from Auckland's Elam School of Fine Arts.<sup>68</sup> Educationalist Gordon Tovey, an advocate for bi-cultural education, supported Māori educators in the 1950s, influencing their practice as

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<sup>66</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>67</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

<sup>68</sup> Jonathan Mané-Wheoki, "The Resurgence of Maori Art: Conflicts and Continuities in the Eighties," *The Contemporary Pacific* 7, no. 1, 1995, 7–8.

artist educators.<sup>69</sup> Supervisor of Art and Crafts in the Department of Education, his work represented the foundation of the film's content, with his preceding publication, the 1961 school resource *The Arts of the Maori*. Tovey is credited as Arts consultant in Te Miha Hayward's *The Arts of Maori Children*.

According to Shepard, Te Miha Hayward was encouraged by the success of her filmmaking overseas, notably her first educational film *Children in China* (1957). As Shepard points out, many of these films sought to provide positive representations of Māori, amidst films that represented Māori negatively, such as the NFU's *As The Twig Is Bent* (1965).<sup>70</sup> In *The Arts of Maori Children's* teaching notes, Te Miha Hayward emphasised Māori art's importance in education, affirming Māori children's identity, while providing "self-realisation and satisfaction", which as Shepard suggests, "revealed her desire to educate young Maori about the value of their own culture".<sup>71</sup> Te Miha Hayward produced this film during a time when Māori articulations of identity were heavily underrepresented in audio-visual media. Although the commentary takes a "talking out" approach, the film prioritises Māori perspectives, students, and content in education, demonstrating Te Miha Hayward's authorship. Drawing on her own experiences in discussion with Owen, Te Miha Hayward recalled that she chose photography as a profession due to her passion for art.

Well, I was gifted in art. I went to the Pirinoa school until I was eleven, ... and I showed that I had the gift for drawing. The first story I heard at school was Cinderella. Miss Monroe was our teacher. And we had a blackboard that went around the room, in the primmers room. And I went around the room with chinks and did the whole story, drew it, just from my imagination. ... Only two teachers, there was Miss Dawson who took the standards, from standard one up to standard six. It was a small school. And mostly Māori children there, but there were Pākehā children too. And they realised that I was gifted ... in art and helped me in every way. Right up to standard five, ... I used to do all the maps for Miss Dawson.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Mané-Wheoki, "The Resurgence of Maori Art", 8.

<sup>70</sup> Shepard, *Reframing Women*, 45.

<sup>71</sup> Shepard, *Reframing Women*, 44.

<sup>72</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.

Te Miha Hayward produced film content that prioritised Māori voices, as a “bridging artist” working in education. According to Jonathan Mané-Wheoki, the first Māori educators trained in teaching and arts through educational institutions “were relatively secure in their *Maoritanga* ‘knowledge of traditions and customs’”, calling them “bridging” artists, as the hybrid forms they generated attest.”<sup>73</sup> Significantly, aspects of Māori representation in these films derive from Te Miha Hayward’s authorship, such as the eeling scenes at Te Mata Hapuku. Although distinct from the Western science education narrative, the scene’s location at the end of the film shows that a wealth of ancestral Māori knowledge about eels, in relation to their status as a food source, already existed. “Bridging” the paradigms of Western and Māori educational content, Te Miha Hayward brought a much-needed focus on Māori content into a mainstream educational setting.

The issue of locating voice in the film’s authorship appears starkly in a scene from *The Arts of Maori Children*, where whakapapa appears as a conceptual framework. The scene features the Ngāi Tūhoe whareni Te Whai-a-Te Motu at Mataatua marae in Ruatāhuna, built for Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki (Ngāti Maru, Rongowhakaata), nineteenth century leader, strategist, artist, prophet, and founder of the Ringatū religion. It is positioned between two scenes showing the teaching work of Matchitt and Te Manaaki Wilson. The earlier scene shows Matchitt in the classroom, whose renowned painted works regarding Te Kooti date back to the 1950s.<sup>74</sup> The film’s following scene shows Te Manaaki Wilson, a carver of Ngāi Tūhoe affiliation, in a workshop teaching carving to his students. At Mataatua marae, the film shows the whare whakairo (carved meeting house) Te Whai-a-Te Motu, one of many Te Kooti encouraged his Ringatū followers to build from the 1870s, suggesting their culture and Ringatū religion should influence their carved and painted forms.<sup>75</sup> According to Binney, O’Malley and Ward, these whareni were made “distinct in their painted imagery” reflecting the “fast-changing world” in which their makers lived.<sup>76</sup> Ngarino Ellis discussed Te Kooti, a carver himself, as an early patron of the Ngāti Porou

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<sup>73</sup> Mané-Wheoki, “The Resurgence of Maori Art,” 14.

<sup>74</sup> Paratene Matchitt, “Te Kooti at Ruatāhuna” by Paratene Matchitt, 2011, In-gallery audio tour, Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand, <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/9496>.

<sup>75</sup> Ngarino Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition: 100 Years of Ngāti Porou Carving, 1830-1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016), 83.

<sup>76</sup> Judith Binney, Vincent O’Malley, and Alan Ward, “Chapter Ten: The Land and the People, 1860-1890,” in *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, ed. Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2014), 304.

Iwirākau school of carvers.<sup>77</sup> He viewed whare whakairo “as a symbol of mana Māori”, where carving on the outer-front of whare maintained “a visual link to the past”.<sup>78</sup> On the inside of whare whakairo however, Ellis argues Te Kooti supported the practice of figurative painting due to urgency. Figurative painting’s fast method broke down “the gender division of the arts (male/carving, female/ painting and weaving)”, so everyone of any age could contribute. Carving required extensive time, resources, and expertise, whereas painting “was often innate and simply required timber and pigments”.<sup>79</sup> The methods of anterior carving and interior painting engaged with contemporary storytelling, when timing was crucial, given the extent of Te Kooti and his supporters’ persecution at the hands of the Crown. Furthermore, the unique innovation of painting showed that, “Their focus was on depicting *their* world, one that embraced and reflected their changing landscape.”<sup>80</sup> *The Arts of Maori Children* reflects a similar philosophy and methodology, of experimentation and avant garde, with which Māori artists such as Matchitt, Te Manaaki Wilson, Wilson and Te Miha Hayward, immersed themselves. Rather than supporting the notion that modernist artists worked through new theoretical phenomenon, this scene shows how Māori artists experimented with avant garde methodologies synonymous with the modernist art movement, while articulating their expressions through whakapapa, where the foundation of their work stems from Māori philosophy. Both periods encompassed Māori art created out of rapidly changing contemporary societies.

*The Arts of Maori Children’s* scene at Mataatua marae also shows the details, tīpuna, and history of the whare whakairo at Ruatāhuna. As Ellis argued, Te Whai-a-Te Motu reveals carved links to the past on the outside, and figurative painting of historical stories on the inside, reflecting the present in which it was made. Such reference to links with the past draws parallels with the Māori artist-educators in Te Miha Hayward’s film. Damien Skinner, referring to “Māori modernism” of the same period, argues that as a movement, it revealed “how indigenous appropriations of modernist artistic strategies” act as “tactics of liberation”.<sup>81</sup> Skinner seems to apply an analysis that subverts the European modernist

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<sup>77</sup> Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition*, 193.

<sup>78</sup> Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition*, 83.

<sup>79</sup> Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition*, 83.

<sup>80</sup> Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition*, 83.

<sup>81</sup> Damian Skinner, “Indigenous Primitivists: The Challenge of Māori Modernism,” *World Art*, Vol. 4, no. 1, 2014, 67, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21500894.2014.908788>.

appropriations of indigenous cultures, linked to the descriptor “primitivism”. Skinner argues, “Modernist primitivism” provided Māori artists a strategy to “break with customary or traditional Māori art ... to assert modernist values such as originality and innovation.”<sup>82</sup> In contrast, Ellis views the experimentation with new forms where, “Tradition was at the same time retained and yet broken in order to create a structure that made explicit hapū and iwi identity in new and meaningful ways.”<sup>83</sup> Māori identity, rather than modernist values, remained central to whare whakairo construction. Skinner’s analysis feeds into the politics of appropriation, articulating binary notions of “modern” and “traditional”, overlooking the new practice of whare whakairo. However, referring to Indigenous media, Hokowhitu suggests that “binary notions of modernity and tradition” must be transcended, refuting suggestions that Indigenous peoples use of “available media technologies” compromises their being “authentic or traditional”.<sup>84</sup> Originality and innovation, as values of modernism, contradict the notion that the same movement idealises aesthetics relegated to the primitive. Further, it seems a spurious notion that “traditional” Māori art implies a fixed aesthetic and therefore Skinner’s discussion relates more to methodology than aesthetic philosophy.

The significance of the scene at Mataatua marae, affirms the links between nineteenth and twentieth century Māori artists’ avant garde expressions, during a time when continued assimilationist government policy prevailed. Discussing this scene, Martin Blythe acknowledged such prevalence, yet overlooked Te Miha Hayward’s authorship. Addressing the issue of co-opting aspects of Te Ao Māori in the name of integration, celebrating arts and culture, Blythe states,

... *Arts of Maori Children* (1965) by Hayward Film Production, a film which avoids the rhetoric of decay and revivalism by demonstrating that Maori art and culture continue to change dynamically with the times. ... The non-stop narration does not seek essentialist definitions of what Maori art and culture is; it assumes that it is a relativistic process involving a “fusion” of influences. For example, Arnold Wilson is interested in combining “contemporary trends

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<sup>82</sup> Skinner, “Indigenous Primitivists”, 68.

<sup>83</sup> Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition*, 61.

<sup>84</sup> Hokowhitu “Theorizing Indigenous Media,” 104.

with the work of his ancestors. To be a living force, each generation has to express its own period in its own way.” ... In a lengthy sequence on Te Kooti and the Tuhoe Ringatu people, integration is promoted as a social ideal: the meeting house ridge-pole carvings “symbolize a prophecy by Te Kooti that the Maori would intermarry with the European and eventually become one race.” Therefore, as for the nation, so too, for art and culture. Yet, Hayward’s historical model is finally an essentialist one too, in that it seeks the integration of the two races into one nation. It promotes the genealogy of the Maori New Zealander rather than the genealogy of the New Zealander or the citizen of the world.<sup>85</sup>

Despite overlooking Ramai Te Miha Hayward’s authorship, Blythe seems to support the idea that the film’s vision of integration is into the Māori world, as opposed to the Pākehā world. Blythe identified the problem of integration as important to reflect on the Haywards’ filmmaking under the jurisdiction of the National Film Library, albeit through a rather simple analysis. Somewhat ironically given his inability to see Te Miha Hayward’s contribution, Blythe’s most significant point concerns the “genealogy of the Maori New Zealander”, where the film engages with whakapapa of Māori as the people indigenous to New Zealand. Perhaps by working with the policy of integration on a level supportive of education, Ramai Te Miha Hayward could influence what shape integration took, prioritising Māori perspectives. Reflecting further on this theme of bi-cultural education, it seems also pertinent that during this time, to “talk in” to Māori audiences, Te Miha Hayward also had to “talk out” to non-Māori audiences.<sup>86</sup>

Blythe also overlooked the contribution of an important Māori collaborator, Harry Dansey (Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Te Arawa). A journalist and cartoonist, Dansey’s spoken commentary features in *The Arts of Maori Children*. The transition from Matchitt’s teaching scene in the classroom through to the scene at Mataatua marae addresses the issue of integration, with reference to one of Te Kooti’s prophecies. As Ellis noted, Te Kooti was the first major supporter of the new style of whare whakairo that emerged in the nineteenth century, “organising his own personal team of artists who could be sent to communities to

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<sup>85</sup> Blythe, *Naming the Other*, 114.

<sup>86</sup> Relates to Barry Barclay’s theory discussed in thesis introduction, where film’s emancipatory potential is realized in films that “talk in”, disregarding outsider positionality. Barry Barclay, *Our Own Image: A Story of a Maori Filmmaker* (Auckland, N.Z.: Longman Paul Limited, 1990), 76.



build wharenui for him.”<sup>87</sup> In the scene transition from Matchitt in the classroom, Dansey’s commentary states,

It is generally thought that Māori art has not changed in two hundred years, but the impact of European culture was felt as far back as 1882 in the wild Urewera country, when the largest meeting house ever built was completed.<sup>88</sup>

These lines establish the assumption of a fixed aesthetic in traditional Māori art, which the subsequent scene refutes. As the commentary continues into the Mataatua marae scene that shows Te Whai-a-Te Motu in a series of panning and close-up shots, revealing the carved ancestors, and the painted, historical scenes on the rafter panels. As the commentary introduces Te Whai-a-Te Motu, the camera pans up to the carved tekoteko of Te Kooti, and then across to the misty forest background.

Called Te Whai-a-Te Motu, it was erected by the Tūhoe tribe to honour Te Kooti, leader of the last guerrilla forces to oppose the European government. For years in these misty mountains, Te Kooti evaded every military expedition sent to capture him. Te Kooti was finally pardoned and the religion he founded is still conducted in this sacred meeting house. The ridgepole carving symbolises a prophecy by Te Kooti that the Māori would intermarry with the European and eventually become as one race.<sup>89</sup>

Concerning the issue of “intermarriage”, which Blythe addressed, Binney’s vast work deals with the extent to which Te Kooti adapted Christianity, while resisting European land appropriation. Binney discussed Te Kooti’s dual “lineages”, “One derived from Maori belief that certain individuals are granted the powers of foresight, *matakite*”, the other, “scriptural traditions of prophetic revelation”. According to Binney, Eria Raukura, a war time ally of Te

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<sup>87</sup> Ellis, *A Whakapapa of Tradition*, 193.

<sup>88</sup> *The Arts of Maori Children* (Short, Ramai Hayward (Producer), 1962), Film and Video Collection, Taonga Māori Collection, F22404, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, [https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record\\_id=72944](https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=72944) (accessed 28 October 2018).

<sup>89</sup> *The Arts of Maori Children*.

Kooti, “related how the marriage (*te hononga*) of these two traditions had been specifically revealed by the Archangel Michael to Te Kooti in 1967”.<sup>90</sup> It is possible that the reference to intermarriage in this scene of *The Arts of Maori Children* derived from this revelation, rather than a prophecy. Alternatively, in her later work, Binney addresses the kupu whakaari (words of revelation) that Te Kooti left for Tūhoe regarding Te Whai-a-Te Motu after its completed construction and reopening, as “ambivalent predictions.”<sup>91</sup> One Tūhoe interpretation regards these words as a warning that Te Whai-a-Te Motu should not become tapu (sacred) like Eripitana, another whare whakairo at Te Whāiti in Te Urewera. Another interpretation suggests,

while Te Kooti said that ‘spiders alone’ would become the inhabitants, and gambling the main activity, the people might stay with the house through ‘the unity of the word, of the faith, of the way’ (‘Ka waiho te kotahitanga o te kupu, o te whakapono, o te tikanga, o te tangata ki a koe’). This message left a quest for unity at Ruatahuna, and for fidelity to Te Kooti’s teachings.<sup>92</sup>

Te Kooti’s reference to unity regarding Te Whai-a-Te Motu pertains to a specifically Tūhoe, Ringatū context, where the wharenuī became a council meeting house, rather than a place of worship.<sup>93</sup> The ambivalence of the prophecy relating to Te Whai-a-Te Motu resonates with the ambivalence of *The Arts of Maori Children*’s possible interpretation of it. No known script exists for *The Arts of Maori Children*, so authorship of the scene’s reference to Te Kooti’s prophecy of intermarriage remains highly ambiguous. However, the contemporary policy of integration signifies a key contextual factor at play. The call for Māori assimilation to Pākehā society had been rebranded as integration, through the 1961 Hunn Report (*The Report on Department of Maori Affairs*). Aroha Harris and Melissa Matutina Williams discuss how the Hunn report categorised Māori into three groups. According to the report, the

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<sup>90</sup> Judith Binney, “The Ringatu Traditions of Predictive History,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 23, no. 2, 1988, 169.

<sup>91</sup> Judith Binney, *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera, 1820-1921* (Wellington, N.Z: Bridget Williams Books, 2009), 319.

<sup>92</sup> Binney, *Encircled Lands*, 319.

<sup>93</sup> Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 1995), 471.

idealized group A represented “detrribalised”, assimilated Māori. Group B consisted of an “integrated” Māori majority population, “comfortable in both Māori and Pākehā societies”, which the report accepted. Group C presented the government with its greatest challenge of unassimilated Māori, describing these communities as “backward” and “primitive”, seeking to destroy them.<sup>94</sup> Harris and Williams argue that the Hunn Report reflected ignorance of “the most highly prized elements of Māori culture”, such as whanaungatanga, marae, and ancestral land, which would effectively end with group C’s “elimination”.<sup>95</sup>

The Mataatua marae scene’s authorial ambiguity derives from several potential influences. The prophecy to which the film refers may specifically relate to Māori unity, or perhaps to the union of Christianity and Māori epistemology. Te Miha Hayward’s documentaries for the National Film Library were entwined in the political implications of integration policy governing the Department of Education. Significantly, Dansey’s collaboration likely influenced the film’s interpretation of Te Kooti’s prophecy. Ten years after this film, his play *Te Raukura: The Feathers of the Albatross* (1974) featured in the 1972 Auckland Festival, for which it was commissioned. Diana Looser described Dansey’s play as “a deliberate critical exploration” of “structure” and “understanding”, “position[ing] the past as a space of critical investigation”. Featuring two commentators located in the present, Koroheke the elder and Tamatane the youth, they speak to “interpretation’s performative nature.”<sup>96</sup>

Dansey’s commentary in *The Arts of Maori Children* features similarly. He interprets Te Kooti’s past and the construction of Te Whai-a-Te Motu through commentary, in light of negative representations of Te Kooti, the Ringatū faith and Tūhoe ancestors in Pākehā mainstream media, including Rudall Hayward’s *The Te Kooti Trail*.<sup>97</sup> The reference to Te Kooti’s prophecy seems to pre-empt Dansey’s *Te Raukura*, where Looser argues ambivalence is “one of Dansey’s most important theatrical and political manoeuvres”.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Aroha Harris and Melissa Matutina Williams, “Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970”, in *Tangata Whenua: A History*, ed. Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), 348.

<sup>95</sup> Harris and Williams, “Māori Affairs, 1945-1970”, 352.

<sup>96</sup> Looser, *Remaking Pacific Pasts*, 119.

<sup>97</sup> Jani Katarina Taituha Wilson, “Māori Resistance in New Zealand Feature Film History,” *MAI Journal*, Vol. 7, no. 1, 2018, 34.

<sup>98</sup> Looser, *Remaking Pacific Pasts*, 123–24.

Dealing with the tino rangatiratanga movements of Taranaki prophetic leaders Te Ua Haumēne and Te Whiti o Rongomai III, Looser argues Dansey asserted their “enduring relevance”, juxtaposing two different approaches for 1970s audiences.

Dansey placed the vision of a harmonious bicultural future based on peace, goodwill, and accommodation in tension with a call for more activist intervention, leaving audiences to decide the most efficacious cause of action.<sup>99</sup>

Looser relates Dansey’s approach to the Māori conception of the past “ngā wa o mua”, where present and future shape understanding the meaning of the past. As the film states, “To be a living force, each generation has to express its own period in its own way”, which reveals the film’s questioning of integration through Te Kooti’s prophecy, as someone who fought for tino rangatiratanga, but utilised a “fusion” of Māori and Pākehā methodologies, which the film advocates.<sup>100</sup> According to Binney, Te Kooti’s kupu whakaari, through oral transmission, “warn, tease, and equivocate”, and thus remain alive, “open to new understandings.”<sup>101</sup> The film’s reference to Te Kooti’s prophecy appears to reinterpret the notion of unity in methodology in the context of bi-cultural arts education, pushing back against an integration policy that sought to eliminate Māori culture, language, values and knowledge.

Widespread acceptance of social realism in documentary influenced Te Miha Hayward’s educational focus, providing her a medium to contribute to meaningful change in Māori representations. The tension surrounding the government’s integration policy in educational content indicates the pervasive push for assimilation, acknowledged in a reflexive reference to Te Kooti and a reinterpretation of his kupu whakaari. Māori artists and cultural producers, like Te Miha Hayward, sought opportunities to prioritize Māori expression in cultural production, despite integration’s continuing assimilationist rhetoric. Subversive critique of integration in *Eel History was a Mystery* and *The Arts of Maori*

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<sup>99</sup> Looser, *Remaking Pacific Pasts*, 119.

<sup>100</sup> *The Arts of Maori Children*.

<sup>101</sup> Binney, “The Ringatu Traditions of Predictive History,” 173.

*Children* reveal Māori perspectives that oppose assimilation. Whanaungatanga represents a key methodological aspect in Te Miha Hayward's filmmaking, focusing on children's learning, as in *Eel History Was A Mystery*. The whakapapa of artistic innovation in *The Arts of Maori Children* and interpreting the meaning of integration derives from Māori perspectives, honouring Te Kooti, "leader of the last guerrilla forces to oppose the European government."<sup>102</sup> These films distinguish an idealized understanding of bi-cultural education prioritising Māori content and perspectives, from prevailing pushes for assimilation. Such distinction came into full view in 1971, with the production of *To Love a Maori* (1972).

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<sup>102</sup> *The Arts of Maori Children*.

## 4 – *To Love a Maori* – a dramatic documentary

Filmed in 1971 before the Haywards' filmmaking trip to Albania, *To Love a Maori* (1972) was the last feature film the couple worked on together. Presented in the opening title as "A Dramatic Documentary", *To Love a Maori* reflects bi-cultural subjectivities in its dual narrative plotlines, structured around two main characters. Within this bi-cultural ideal, the film speaks to both Māori and Pākehā on different issues. It encourages young Māori to pursue education in the city, while maintaining links to their communities through whānau and organisational networks. *To Love a Maori* demonstrates these trends in Māori city life during the 1960s, while articulating ways in which Pākehā society discriminated against Māori.

Representations of Māori rural-to-city migration as "urban drift" undermine the agency of young Māori and their whānau, organising ways and means. By the 1970s, Māori families and communities, according to Aroha Harris and Melissa Matutina Williams, managed "whānau-driven migrations" in large numbers, easing the transition to life in the city, while securing the resources of their ancestral lands. Whānau collectively took on responsibility to organise these moves, "ensuring their people – whether at home, maintaining the marae and community, or in town, earning and learning – continued to live in step with the socio-cultural rhythms of their community".<sup>1</sup> Williams describes the complex pathways Māori took between rural Panguru and city homes, as kāinga tahi and kāinga rua, respectively. *To Love a Maori* demonstrates these pathways, encouraging young, rural-based Māori to explore urban life and education, while challenging Pākehā to confront the roots of injustice toward Māori. Significantly, Ramai Te Miha Hayward's own experiences of shifting between rural Wairarapa, coastal Ōruapaeroa (New Brighton), Tuahiwi and Wairewa, Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland cities, resonates with *To Love a Maori's* representation of rural and city home life, amongst whānau, both Māori and Pākehā. Furthermore, the film's bi-cultural romance story derives from the perspectives of a couple who wrote, directed, and produced the film, sharing both an intercultural marriage and working relationship.

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<sup>1</sup> Harris and Williams, "Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970," 344–45.

The implication of Rudall Hayward's Pākehā perspective in the title *To Love a Maori* poses a problem for this film's interpretation. Scholarly discussion of this film frequently credits its authorship to Hayward, despite Te Miha Hayward's emphasis on her role in influencing its making. In an unpublished, handwritten notebook, Te Miha Hayward recalled how the film derived from her work on Māori pre-employment courses at the Auckland Technical Institute (ATI), with students seeking employment in Auckland.

These courses were part of a scheme carried out by the Maori Affairs Department to orientate Maori students from different areas like Rotorua, Whangarei, [and] elsewhere – to city life - ... Mr Ivan Moses was the Princip[al] of the ATI I'm sad to say he died recently – It was Mr Moses who asked me if it was possible for Rudall [and] I to make a film that would encourage more Maori apprentices to take courses ... mainly because the ATI were having astounding results with the Maori apprentices on the Motor mechanic course – they were getting a hundred per cent passes.<sup>2</sup>

Te Miha Hayward also acknowledged the influence of her work on the making of this film in her interview with Alwyn Owen for *Spectrum* and in another called *Forever Young*.<sup>3</sup> Yet, frequently, Rudall Hayward's authorship takes precedence. For example, *The Fourth Eye* describes *To Love a Maori*, along with *Broken Barrier* and *Utu*, as films "by Pākehā directors" that "all served to challenge postcolonial racialized constructions through themes like early-colonial warfare and racial intermarriage."<sup>4</sup> Although superficially accurate, and despite acknowledging Te Miha Hayward as a producer, her co-director and co-writer credits vanish behind Hayward's. Similarly, such an auteur-focused analysis also overlooks the authorial contributions of Merata Mita, Joe Malcolm and Lee Tamahori in *Utu*, in their respective roles as cultural advisors and first assistant director. It is perhaps this complication of dual authorship with her Pākehā husband that leaves Te Miha Hayward's textual work largely unstudied. Perhaps, audiences find it easier to recognize remnants of colonial romanticism

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<sup>2</sup> Hayward, "Booklet c. 1994."

<sup>3</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4; Hayward, Ramai Hayward, interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, 51143; Hayward, Radio. Ramai Hayward (*Forever Young*), interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, A1139.

<sup>4</sup> Hokowhitu and Devadas, *The Fourth Eye*, xxxvi.

as symptomatic of Rudall Hayward's voice than to accept Te Miha Hayward's intersectionality. In addition, it is difficult to draw out interpretations of authorship in a romance story, where previous romanticised narrative representations of Māori significantly undermine agency. Ramai Te Miha Hayward noted Rudall Hayward's desire for the romance narrative in the interview with Alwyn Owen, but also that Ivan Moses had posed the idea of romance as an entertaining way to deal with race relations while encouraging ATI enrolments.<sup>5</sup>

The change in representation concerning intercultural relationships, and the related social commentary regarding assimilation, reflects the extent of Ramai Te Miha Hayward's influence on their collaborative filmmaking by the 1970s. Like *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940), *To Love a Maori* presents a dual discourse embedded in its narrative. Its narrative is two-fold, speaking to Pākehā and Māori audiences on respective societal concerns, reflecting the strong social realist link to Griersonian documentary. The government's integration policy is at the heart of this film's social commentary, although the filmmakers present an ambivalence between moderate and explicit criticism. At times, their critique of the integration myth appears outright; at other times, less so, suggesting their acceptance of some forms of intercultural adaptation, on the terms of people's lived experiences rather than government policy.

While *Rewi's Last Stand* presented an intercultural narrative predicated on a Pākehā worldview, *To Love a Maori's* dual narrative brought together Pākehā and Māori perspectives. Te Miha Hayward emphasised the realism embedded in the film where the romance narrative derived from a combination of choreographer Matenga Kingi's experience in a relationship with a Pākehā dancer, and Diane Francis's script written for the Haywards, "The Baskets of Knowledge", telling the story of her sister and brother-in-law's relationship, that "ran parallel" with Kingi's story.<sup>6</sup> The typewritten cover page appears with the following text, "written for Rudall and Ramai Hayward by Diane Francis."

THIS IS A STORY OF A MAORI BOY AND A

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<sup>5</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4; Hayward, "Booklet c. 1994."

<sup>6</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4.



PAKEHA GIRL, AND SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES  
THEY FACE, AND THE DIFFICULTIES THAT ARE  
FACED DAILY BY MANY MAORI YOUNGSTERS, IN  
THEIR STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY.<sup>7</sup>

Francis's husband, Alton Francis, also contributed to the film as an unpaid camera operator, showing their mutual commitment to the film's social critique and educational potential. The Haywards had already made the film *Matenga – Maori choreographer* (1974) for television, about Kingi's romance and work. Te Miha Hayward discussed the importance of the setting as Te Kaha in the North Island's Eastern Bay of Plenty, because this is where Matenga Kingi was from.<sup>8</sup> *Matenga Kingi* also features in *To Love a Maori*, playing a choreographer named Matanga.

The stylistic decision to connect performance with reality resonates with earlier examples of whanaungatanga methodology in *Rewi's Last Stand*, *Eel History was a Mystery* and *The Arts of Maori Children*. Kingi's whanaunga, Olive Pompallier, played the mother of Tama Muru (Val Irwin), the film's romantic lead who is inspired by Kingi.<sup>9</sup> Pompallier's profession as a nurse informs her character, who shares the same profession, reflecting social realist influence. Similarly, Toby Curtis (Te Arawa, Ngāti Rongomai, Ngāti Pikiao) and Tom Newnham, as educators, likely inform their respective characters' performances.<sup>10</sup> Mr Thompson (Newnham), the schoolteacher at Te Kaha, and Mr Muru (Curtis), Tama's father, discuss the education of Tama's younger brother Riki (Rau Hotere) in the opening scene at Te Kaha. Hence, both whanaungatanga and social realist threads appear strong in the casting methodology for *To Love a Maori*. Audiences affirmed the realism of the film's romance narrative when the Haywards toured with the film. Te Miha Hayward reflected to

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<sup>7</sup> Diane Francis, "Baskets of Knowledge" in "Scripts: 'To Love a Maori'" (Script, n.d.), Documentation and Artefacts Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision. Hayward Collection, MA 2309, Folder no. 5146.006.08

<sup>8</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4.

<sup>9</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4.

<sup>10</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4; Joce Jesson, "Tom Newnham: An Educationalist Who Dared to Differ and Made a Difference (1926-2010)," *New Zealand Journal of Teachers' Work*, Vol. 8, no. 1, 2011, 4–10.

Owen, “as we took the film around the country, it was just amazing the number of people who said that ‘this is what happened to me’.”<sup>11</sup>

Audiences are key to understanding the dual narrative presented in *To Love a Maori*, indicating representations of various Māori and Pākehā perspectives. Barry Barclay discussed the difference between media representations of Māori content that reflect both difference in perspective and audience. Barclay addressed the necessity for media representations of Māori to act as a “communications marae”, speaking to Māori first, as opposed to the “talking out” approach, explaining Māori cultural knowledge, values and practices to outsider audiences.<sup>12</sup> Reflecting on responses from Māori audiences to his series *Tangata Whenua* (1974), made with Pākehā historian Michael King, Barclay argued that “talking out” to the mainstream proved ineffective.

The majority culture seems to have ears like a sponge: you can talk your tongue off, year after year; the ears flap, but in the end you feel you have spent your life speaking to a great sponge which does not seem to learn, but which is ever eager to absorb more.<sup>13</sup>

Barclay’s series screened on television two years after the release of *To Love a Maori*, a film that, as its title suggests, also “talks out” to Pākehā audiences. The film criticised pervasive racism toward Māori and the government’s continued push for assimilation through its policy of integration. Simultaneously, *To Love a Maori* also “talks in” to Māori in several ways, concerning the major demographic shift from rural to city life in Māori communities. While dealing with contemporary issues Māori youth faced in this process, *To Love a Maori* intended to encourage young Māori men into mainstream educational pathways. Given *To Love a Maori* “talks out” to Pākehā audiences, it does not represent a “talking in” style of film because it does not put its Māori audiences first. However, Barclay’s theory provides insight into sections of the film that “talk in”, during a time when the prevalence of institutional white privilege created barriers to the production of films by Māori and for Māori. *To Love a Maori* is so often undervalued due to its technical weaknesses, yet despite

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<sup>11</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4.

<sup>12</sup> Barclay, *Our Own Image*, 75–77.

<sup>13</sup> Barclay, *Our Own Image*, 76.

its “shoe-string” budget,<sup>14</sup> the film indicates challenges Māori faced at the time of its making, and its notable criticism of the government’s policy of integration, from a distinctly Māori perspective.

### Race Relations and Dual Narrative

Although *Rewi’s Last Stand* (1940) dealt with the race relations theme, the historical became the allegorical, reshaping the past for the film’s present-day narrative. *Broken Barrier* (1952), released twenty years before *To Love a Maori*, dealt with inter-cultural romance in a contemporary setting, between a Pākehā man and a Māori woman.<sup>15</sup> Film maker John O’Shea linked *Broken Barrier*’s purpose with the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights: “We take as our text the United Nations declaration of rights: there should be no discrimination”, which appears at the end of the film.<sup>16</sup> According to Lawrence McDonald, “*Broken Barrier* deals directly with the obstacles facing a cross-cultural or interracial relationship.”<sup>17</sup> *Broken Barrier* and *To Love a Maori* share in common the prejudice intercultural couples faced, deriving from their Pākehā lover’s respective upper-middle class families. They are also both influenced by what Barbara Brookes refers to as, “the tide of American cinema and theatre”. *Broken Barrier*, Brookes argues, can illuminate “the porous nature of cultural production in the early 1950s and help us to locate a significant development in New Zealand cinema history within it.”<sup>18</sup> As the development of documentary film has drawn from British social realism in New Zealand, so the feature entertainment film has drawn from American Hollywood.

Once treated as transgressive, as in *Broken Barrier*,<sup>19</sup> intercultural romance appears as normative to the younger generation in *To Love a Maori*, with oppositional attitudes

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<sup>14</sup> Hayward, “Booklet c. 1994.”

<sup>15</sup> See Cushla Parekowhai, The New Zealand Film Archive, 1988, in John O’Shea and Roger Mirams, *Broken Barrier*, Feature (Pacific Films, 1952), Film and Video Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, F9991, [https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record\\_id=67787](https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=67787).

<sup>16</sup> “Broken Barrier,” *Te Ao Hou The Maori Magazine*, Winter 1952, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, <http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao01TeA/c18.html>. (accessed 7 December 2019.); Barbara Brookes, “Broken Barrier and New Zealand Cinema in the 1950s,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 44, no. 2, 2010, 128.

<sup>17</sup> McDonald, Pivac, and Stark, *New Zealand Film*, 135.

<sup>18</sup> Brookes, “Broken Barrier and New Zealand Cinema in the 1950s,” 121.

<sup>19</sup> Brookes, “Broken Barrier and New Zealand Cinema in the 1950s,” 127.

represented as outdated. Such attitudes are similarly reflected in local contemporary literary texts such as Noel Hilliard's *Maori Girl* (1960) and Albert Wendt's *Sons for the Return Home* (1973), suggesting that *To Love a Maori* was part of a wider dialogue in the national and international cultural production of its time, dealing with racial discrimination. *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967) poses a similar theme of racial discrimination through romance narrative, perhaps influencing some of the stylistic decisions in *To Love a Maori*. However, the latter film presents Te Miha Hayward's documentary roots in the use of realism that provides insight into racism in New Zealand, with lived realities as the film's source of material.

As the title indicates, *To Love a Maori's* primary plot concerns Pākehā understanding of Māori cultural worldviews in a romance narrative, from the perspective of Penny Davis (Marie Searell), a young Pākehā dancer and art student. At the same time, the plot surrounding her love interest Tama, his brother Riki, and a relative from their home in Te Kaha, Tina (Connie Rota), articulates how Māori migrating to city centres could seek out mainstream education and employment opportunities, maintaining support from whānau in the face of pervasive institutional racism. The film advocates for education as a way of challenging racism, but equally provides insight into the limitations of mainstream educational pathways for Māori and warns of situations in which they might face exploitation.

The significance of the narrative directed at Māori moving to the city, albeit in a somewhat simplified, didactic way, feeds into this complex history of Māori migration from rural to city life. Williams argues this history "has often rendered Māori people as faceless and voiceless participants in the long march of 'Māori urbanisation'."<sup>20</sup> Analyses that overlook Te Miha Hayward's authorship likewise render this narrative as "faceless" and "voiceless", choosing to simply view Hayward's romanticism. Through the characters Tama, Riki and Tina, *To Love a Maori* brought Māori faces and voices to the fore, fulfilling Grierson's call to documentarians to prioritise "faces", as opposed to landscapes.<sup>21</sup> Penny embodies an idealized young, Pākehā woman, willing to listen, learn, and adapt to life with

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<sup>20</sup> Melissa Matutina Williams, *Panguru and the City: Kāinga Tahī, Kāinga Rua: An Urban Migration History* (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), 13.

<sup>21</sup> McDonald, Pivac, and Stark, *New Zealand Film*, 105.

her Māori lover Tama, and his whānau, although the focus on her learning through arts and crafts suggests a willingness of Pākehā intermediaries to only go so far. Hence, this discussion around dual narrative takes for granted that the dual discourse found in the Haywards' films likely derives from the negotiation of their distinct positionalities.

Evidence of authorial negotiation exists in *To Love a Maori's* script, held at Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, although its interpretation gives rise to further authorial ambiguity. The script contains a combination of typewritten and handwritten leaves, the latter interspersed among the former, as edits and additions in varying degrees of formality. The main typewritten script appears in the same format as *Rewi's Last Stand's* scenario, with scene direction on the left, and corresponding dialogue on the right. The style differs from some of Ramai Te Miha Hayward's script work, further suggesting the likelihood that Rudall Hayward typed this script in his style. The script contains the following foreword, not included in the film, describing a long-shot, on a "golden beach under trees."

We are looking out to sea but in the foreground is a group of Polynesians, girls and boys with horses . . . two girls walk up from the beach with kits of shell-fish. . . Two boys are sitting in idle fashion on their horses. . . one strumming a guitar. . . they are watching a blonde European girl as she moves through the sinuous movements of a dance. . . her hair blowing free as she twirls. The light colour of her simple frock contrasts strongly with the other members of the group. . all Maoris and all dark. The camera drifts across from the scene on to the dark tree trunks across which the Main title fades up, followed by credit titles.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Ramai Hayward and Rudall Hayward, "Scripts: 'To Love a Maori'" (Script, n.d.), Documentation and Artefacts Collection, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision. Hayward Collection, MA 2309, Folder no. 5146.006.08.

No definitive claims to the foreword's authorship appear to exist, though some intriguing observations warrant its discussion. This section of the script appears under a large cross in handwritten ink, with several strewn diagonal marks one way and then the other. The words typed evoke a white-male gaze, embedded with romanticized aesthetics of ethnic difference, drawing links with subjectivity in Roger Miriams and John O'Shea's *Broken Barrier* (1952). According to Brookes, during casting they "had hoped to find a blonde Pakeha [sic] male for the lead role to contrast with Kay Ngarimu."<sup>23</sup> Such aesthetic contrasts imply that ethnic or racial difference derives from a simplified, superficial colour divide. Difficulty arises in interpreting this foreword's intention, and its subsequent omission. However, it seems to indicate a likely difference in perspective regarding Māori and Pākehā representations, and evidence of negotiation in the writing process.

*To Love a Maori's* romantic plot thickens, when Penny discovers she is pregnant, continuing with the realist trend from Francis's *Baskets of Knowledge*. Penny and Tama decide to get married, and Tama picks up over time work at night to get their own apartment, although they have great difficulty in doing so, as every landlord they approach is racist. Eventually, Tama's aunty Mrs Hemi (Ramai Hayward) finds out that Matanga's landlord has an apartment above his, which they move in to. After the wedding, the script features an added scene, appearing in what seems to be Te Miha Hayward's handwriting. After Tama and Penny are married, their friends, a multi-cultural group of Māori, Pākehā, Chinese, and Pasifika people, along with Mrs Hemi and Matanga, come to throw them a surprise after party. The scene presents a utopian allegory for Aotearoa's potential as an inclusive, multicultural ideal, based on the aspirations of a young generation, receptive and responsive to Māori culture, values and perspectives.

Camera cuts to wide open shot Penny drinks a glass of wine

KNOCK! KNOCK!

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<sup>23</sup> Brookes, "Broken Barrier and New Zealand Cinema in the 1950s.," 127.

...? Voice

Can we come in . . . .?

Surprise party (Sound

of gaiety

neighbours pour in

with presents + food)

Camera zooms in to wed cake with

Blonde doll + Maori doll.

L.S. Group behind laden table congratulating

Tama + Penny. Mixed races – Europeans

Chinese Islanders + Maoris.

C.U. Chinese girl wishes greets Tama good luck in Chinese – Tama kisses her.

C.U. Matanga kisses the bride.

M.L.S. Island girls dancing –

“ “ “ Tama + Penny dancing P.T.O

M.L.S European dances with Island girl.

Matanga swings into scene + removes his jacket.

Then removes singlet – dancing all the while – to clapping by the party

Matanga dances round the room – while

Crowd claps. Aunty joins him in a Polynesian dance + they move

Round.

C.U. Matanga as he dances with

Chinese girl –

C.U. Chinese girl.

C.U. Matanga

Short C.U. moving feet –

M.S. Matanga doing a haka dance.

Fade Out.<sup>24</sup>

The scripted scene, which the film's text follows with rock and roll music, reveals some meaningful points of analysis. Firstly, this scene shows the difference in stylistic form between Rudall Hayward and Ramai Te Miha Hayward's scriptwriting. In addition, the reference to the dolls on top of the cake puts into question the earlier suggestion that romanticised aesthetics of ethnic difference, symptomatic of the white-male gaze, directly imply Rudall Hayward's authorship. It should be noted however, the language used in the foreword differs from the visual symbolism evoked, in terms of problematic, ethnographic descriptions versus a kitsch aesthetic visual gesture. Its place in Te Miha Hayward's scene, regardless of its authorial origin, shows the overwhelming persistence of romanticised colonial politics of difference. Yet, critiques that problematize Hayward at the same time undermine Te Miha Hayward's self-determination. Babington, Blythe, Sam Edwards and Stuart Murray overlook Te Miha Hayward's authorship in their analyses of *To Love a Maori*. Such analyses also avoid in depth interpretation of the film, usually commenting on its poor quality. Shepard acknowledges the fact that *To Love a Maori*, New Zealand's first feature film made in colour, preceded the establishment of the New Zealand Film Commission in 1978 and subsequent government funding for film makers.<sup>25</sup> Shepard argues that *To Love a Maori* is Te Miha Hayward's most significant contribution to New Zealand film because "it was one of the first films to expose the problems of being a member of a minority indigenous culture in a white and racist society ... within a framework [celebrating] Maori culture and values."<sup>26</sup> Hence, there is a significant amount of narrative and audio-visual content that can be attributed to Ramai Te Miha Hayward, affirming her claim made to Owen, "It came from me."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Hayward and Hayward, "Scripts: 'To Love a Maori,'" 59 (leaf).

<sup>25</sup> Shepard, *Reframing Women*, 45.

<sup>26</sup> Shepard, *Reframing Women*, 46.

<sup>27</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4.



## Migration, Exploitation and Racism – challenging Pākehā assumptions

Unlike *Rewi's Last Stand*, the completed film *To Love a Maori* has no foreword. At its outset, an idyllic scene of rural life appears in a painted background, featuring a whareniui, surrounded by houses, with rolling hills in the background and a beachfront in the foreground. Over this image, the opening credits' claim to "dramatic documentary" affirm its stylistic origins, as social realism and feature entertainment, demonstrating the respective British and American influences on cinematic cultural production. *To Love a Maori* introduces the Muru brothers, Tama and Riki, who depart from their rural East Coast home at Te Kaha, seeking opportunities in Auckland city. The opening scene begins with images of the whareniui Tūkākī, named after Te Whānau-ā-Apanui tipuna, at Te Kaha-nui-a-tiki marae. A medium-upward shot of the carving of Tūkākī, atop of the front gable, appears in front of the clear, blue sky. A waiata features in the English language in this scene, "My old Marae", lyrics written by Ramai Te Miha Hayward, and music by Ray Gunter and Ensemble, sung by Marlene Edwards.

Goodbye to my old marae

The place I'll love til I die

Where the elders have their say

And the mokopunas play

I'll always miss my marae

Little school upon the hill

Ringin' bell, I hear you still

Deep my roots and centuries old

Land to love and hold

Goodbye to my old marae

Not forever say goodbye  
Hold back tears you must not cry  
Just a smile for on my way  
Someday I'll come home to stay  
I'll always miss my marae <sup>28</sup>

As in *Rewi's Last Stand*, waiata plays an important part in Ramai Te Miha Hayward's relationship with film, further evidence of her authorship. Following the shots of the wharenuī, as the song continues, close-up montage shots appear of people embracing outside, a man performing whaikōrero, and children playing at the school, corresponding to the relevant descriptive lines in the waiata. Te Miha Hayward's lyrics reflect the importance of marae in Māori life, in the context of young people who travel away, as she did to numerous places, around Aotearoa, Te Waipounamu, and the wider world. The significance of this opening scene positions the centrality of marae to Māori perspectives, indicating their precedence in the film, despite its title. Later in the film, the marae's centrality to Māori cultural expression features again, when Tama and Penny meet at Te Unga Waka marae, in Epsom, Auckland. The text speaks to its Māori narrative from the outset, acknowledging Tūkākī, the central ancestor at Te Kaha, and their descendants surrounding the marae.

Babington's interpretation of this scene presents a problem in that he overlooks the marae's significance, arguing the "Auckland-bound exodus" of Tama, Riki, and Tina, along with the waiata's lyrics, "expresses nostalgic regret, but leaving seems inevitable".<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, Babington suggests, "Though the young interracial couple Tama and Penny, visit Tama's parents on the East Coast, and various positives of the old lifestyle are shown, the future clearly lies in the city."<sup>30</sup> Nostalgia and regret imply the marae exists in a fixity of times gone by, playing into the problematic traditional/modern binary. In the last verse of

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<sup>28</sup> *To Love a Māori: Music Tracks from the Film.*, 1972, Side 1, song 2, Sound Collection, 232293, Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision.

<sup>29</sup> Babington, *A History of the New Zealand Fiction Feature Film*, 81.

<sup>30</sup> Babington, *A History of the New Zealand Fiction Feature Film*, 81.

Te Miha Hayward's lyrics, "Someday I'll come home to stay", Babington's claim is refuted, suggesting the future lies in the ancestral homeland, at the marae. The opening scene therefore expresses the central importance of marae in Māori culture. Te Miha Hayward's experience informs this scene, leaving her papakāinga (whānau home on ancestral land), but also returning, a desire which she expressed to Owen over twenty years later. Explaining the spiritual significance of the marae, and indeed ancestral land, Te Miha Hayward reflected,

After the second world war of course, people started to leave. After the war, a lot of our men were killed at the war, and people came to the cities for work, and left their kaingas, their papakaingas. Their settlements. And I suppose here, up here in Auckland, you've got most of the Māori people living around here at Henderson and Ōtara, and around Auckland, for work, came for work and now the work isn't there. Perhaps we should go back to our papakaingas and be by the sea... Like during the years that I remember, from 1919 right up til the depression years from 1929, in Wairarapa. We had our own big gardens, and we had the lake for the eels, and round the coast, Palliser bay, our fishing reserves. And this is what we're fighting for now ... And I feel that that lifestyle that we had then, we had security. And people now are not in that situation in the cities, they're left high and dry.<sup>31</sup>

Babington's analysis unwittingly reinforces colonial claims to superiority, referring to "rural Māori immigrants" moving to the "Pākehā city",<sup>32</sup> ignoring Māori urban spaces such as Te Unga Waka, and that moves to the city did not imply abandoning links to rural homes. Rather, drawing on Williams' work, the marae in *To Love a Maori* represent a central tenet of Māori culture, where Te Kaha-nui-a-tiki and Te Unga Waka represent kāinga tahi and kāinga rua, respectively. For Te Miha Hayward, the need for employment in the city meant the decision to leave papakāinga derived from the inability for rural life to meet the needs of Māori communities, due to increased interference of policy directed at Māori, notably the land "improvements" of the Maori Affairs Act 1953.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, in her own experience, Te Miha Hayward emphasised the need for a career that would support her,

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<sup>31</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>32</sup> Babington, *A History of the New Zealand Fiction Feature Film*, 2007, 81.

<sup>33</sup> Harris and Williams, "Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970," 338–39.

taking her mother's advice, fulfilling her creative talents through photography. Such considerations reflect the film's insistence on the value of direction through educational means to employment, rather than commonplace assumptions of drifting aimlessly into city life.

Tama and Riki's stories speak to the issue of city migration for young Māori men from rural backgrounds. Tama organized his motor mechanic course at the Auckland Technical Institute ahead of the move, as well as his accommodation in a hostel. Riki however, goes to Auckland with no direction and when seeking accommodation with their aunty, Mrs Hemi, he moves in with her Pākehā neighbour, Fancy Pants (Robin Peel-Walker). Fancy, as he is known, offers to help Riki find work and forges him a letter of recommendation on a stolen piece of paper with an official company letterhead. Fancy also gives Riki alcohol and manipulates him into becoming a scapegoat for his criminal activities, giving him a parcel to take down to the wharf to sell. These plotlines for brothers Tama and Riki serve as metonymical characters for how the film advises its young Māori male audience to seek opportunities in the city. Tama's character exemplifies a success story, whereas Riki's story warns against misdirection and the risk of exploitation. The film emphasises the importance of organisational kinship structures Māori maintained during increased rural to urban migration, marking a "major demographic transformation" in the 1960s.<sup>34</sup> Riki eventually joins the army, an option that their aunty, Mrs Hemi, criticizes as "a sad state of affairs when Maoris have to join the army to learn a trade",<sup>35</sup> indicating the limited options for young Māori men in the educational system.

Further dealing with the exploitation theme, the character Tina serves as a warning to young Māori women. Moving to the city, fed up with milking cows, Tina wants to become a singer in a night club. Tama asks Tina questions on the bus trip to Auckland, to which she says that she has no one to stay with, no plans, and goes into the city on her own. After the bus trip, montage scenery of Tina's lone journey features the song, "Go home, Māori girl, go home", as she walks around the city docks. Tina's narrative and the song's lyrics, written by Te Miha Hayward, allude to Noel Hilliard's 1960 novel *Maori Girl*, as Babington suggests.

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<sup>34</sup> Harris and Williams, "Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970," 343.

<sup>35</sup> Ramai Hayward and Rudall Hayward, *To Love a Maori*, Feature (Rudall & Ramai Hayward Film Productions, 1972), [https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record\\_id=69567](https://www.ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=69567).

Babington argues Tina's naivety is the cause of her exploitation, "[leading] her to being forced to become a ship girl, imprisoned and used sexually by the crew."<sup>36</sup> Such analyses both deny Tina's agency, and at the same time make her responsible for her victimisation. Although Te Miha Hayward's lyrics present a conservative outlook, suggesting Tina should go home and wait to find herself a husband, they also point to the importance of community in city life, warning her against isolation. Tina is a victim, rather than an agent in her own exploitation.

Similarly, in Hilliard's novel the young Netta Samuel moves from rural Taranaki to Wellington city, facing exploitation and racism, aimed at both her gender and ethnicity. Bill Pearson's 1974 review of *Maori Girl* argues Hilliard's representation of Netta as exceptional to the norm in 1961.<sup>37</sup> Despite the novel's supposed realism, Pearson argues,

My point in this is not to object but to show that although Mr Hilliard is using realist terms, this is not a realist novel so much as a moral parable, and that his purpose is not to work out Netta's problems so much as to indict pakeha society.<sup>38</sup>

The same could be said for Tina in *To Love a Maori*, however with a key point of difference in that she represents a metonymical warning to young Māori women. Where Netta has no connection to whānau in the city, Tina eventually draws on people from home to turn to. While Netta is represented as an individual amongst many in the myth of "urban drift", *To Love a Maori* shows Tina's support network in the city, despite her aimlessness. Te Miha Hayward's song lyrics, present Tina as subsumed in the "urban drift" discourse around city migration.

Go home, Māori girl, go home

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<sup>36</sup> Babington, *A History of the New Zealand Fiction Feature Film*, 2007, 81.

<sup>37</sup> Bill Pearson, "A Parable of Exploitation - Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays," in *Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays*, New Zealand Texts Collection (Heinemann Educational Books, Auckland, 1974), 97, <http://api.digitalnz.org/records/32176565/source>.

<sup>38</sup> Bill Pearson, "A Parable of Exploitation", 98.

You're too young to drift and roam

Dark beauty can be a snare

When you're trapped no one will care<sup>39</sup>

The song plays over a montage sequence of Tina walking around Auckland's downtown, near the docks. Tina comes up against exploitation, when a Pākehā stranger approaches her, posing as a foreigner. A melancholic flamenco guitar motif plays as they meet, and the stranger takes Tina to the docks, gives her to some other men who take her on board the ship. Later, following the scene where Fancy forges a reference for Riki and tells him to go to the docks to retrieve a parcel, the music plays again, as Riki walks down beside the wharf. The montage scene shifts to Tina coming off the ship with the stranger, and another man, who stuffs cash into her purse. Tina, distraught, stumbles and falls at the side of a building, where Riki finds her. A police officer speaks to Riki, although only the flamenco music is audible, and an ambulance takes Tina to hospital. The scene changes to Penny arriving at Te Unga Waka for dance rehearsal, after which she and Tama go for coffee. Riki arrives in a panic, wanting to speak to Tama outside, who then suggests they go and speak to their aunty, who can call Tina's parents. At their aunty's place, Te Miha Hayward's performance reiterates the metonymical warning of Tina and Riki's narratives.

That's the trouble when a lot of these young Maoris come to town, they've got nowhere to go, and someone always exploits them.<sup>40</sup>

As Te Miha Hayward delivers these lines, the camera shifts to a close-up shot of her, where she looks towards Riki (out of shot) with concern. Then, Fancy steps into the room, asking for his parcel, and swears at Riki for not getting it. Mrs Hemi comes to Riki's defence, explaining the situation, to which Fancy replies "one of those Maori ship girls I suppose." In a close-up shot, Mrs Hemi exclaims, "Nothing of the sort. We know this girl. She's never

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<sup>39</sup> *To Love a Māori: Music Tracks from the Film.*, Side 2, Song 2.

<sup>40</sup> Hayward and Hayward, *To Love a Maori*.

been away from home before. She's innocent." The camera pans across to a close-up of Tama and Penny, staring in anger at Fancy, who refuses to believe it. Mrs Hemi responds,

This is different. She was held a prisoner by the crew on board the ship for four weeks, and they made use of her! It's terrible!<sup>41</sup>

Tama then stands up to Fancy, telling him to "leave Riki alone" and to "do your own dirty work in the future," at which point Fancy slurs at the group and leaves.<sup>42</sup> As in *Maori Girl*, the film presents moral narrative arcs dealing with the danger city life posed to young Māori, but in the midst of a romance narrative. Te Miha Hayward lamented not being able to tell Matenga Kingi's complete story, saying "I wanted to get the *real* story", where his relationship broke apart due to the prejudice of his lover's parents.<sup>43</sup> However, when she and Hayward spoke with the education officer at the Maori Education Department, Turoa Royal, to approve the film, according to Te Miha Hayward, "He promptly told us that we must have a happy ending because Maoris had too much failure to contend with, mainly because their educational needs were not being catered for."<sup>44</sup> Rather than *To Love a Maori* being another example of problematic Pākehā representation, its emphasis on Māori perspectives addresses the "urban drift" myth of Māori migration and social disconnect, providing audiences with a "moral parable" in the genre of social realism.

*To Love a Maori* presents trade-based education as a potential solution to avoiding the perils of city life, while acknowledging institutional racism as an educational barrier for Māori. Early in the film before the brothers depart on the bus to the city, the young men's father, the local Pākehā schoolteacher, and the young men discuss Riki's options with regards to education, standing outside the whareniui at Te Kaha. The discussion of Riki's options establishes his character's metonymy through the following dialogue.

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<sup>41</sup> Hayward and Hayward, *To Love a Maori*.

<sup>42</sup> Hayward and Hayward, *To Love a Maori*.

<sup>43</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4.

<sup>44</sup> Hayward, "Booklet c. 1994."

Riki                    Come on Tama, we better get going.

Mr Thompson    Surely you're not going too Riki?

Riki                    Yeah, I'm going with Tama

Mr Thompson    But Riki, just one more year at school would make a tremendous difference to you for the rest of your life.

Riki                    Oh, I never done any good at school Mr Thompson. You know that. I'm tired of being a failure. I want to earn some money like Jimmy Rawhiti, he's working in the freezing works. Doing alright too.

Mr Thompson    But he was a lot older than you Riki. Another year in school, if you really tried, we might get you an apprenticeship, and a good trade, like Tama.

Riki                    I'm not clever like Tama

Mr Thompson    Well I don't believe that. I think you're just lazy

Mr Muru            Ah, Mr Thompson, Riki never did get a good start in English. If you don't give the little one's attention, they'll never learn to talk properly, and they'll never catch up. We can't afford to keep him at school. It would be better if he went to the city and try his luck there.

Mr Thompson    Qualifications are needed in the city.

Mr Muru            I think it's too late for Riki, he will just have to learn to use his hands, like me. We're not all that unskilled, you know. You know those Māori butchers at the meat works? Have you heard of those forestry blokes who drive those big machines? Ah you white-collar fullas don't know half the stuff, e hoa. Kore take!

Mr Thompson    Too many Māoris end up in unskilled jobs or seasonal work, with no security. Qualifications are the thing these days, you know, that little bit of paper when you go for a job.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Hayward and Hayward, *To Love a Maori*.



Informed authorial collaboration on the part of the performers Curtis and Newnham, both of whom worked in education, addresses Pākehā prejudice toward Māori that produced pervasive societal barriers in both rural and city locales. Critically, the contributors to this scene reflect Metge's contention of early 1960s "individual bridge builders" who "reached out across the cultural divide, advancing mutual understanding", as the government policy of integration continued.<sup>46</sup> Mr Muru, who comes from a working-class perspective, argues for the value of blue-collar work, suggesting white-collar workers such as Mr Thompson misunderstand manual labour as unskilled. Signalling his middle-class white privilege, Thompson is blind to the employment barriers Māori face, inherited from an educational system that failed to support Māori students. From Mr Thompson's perspective, he sees education as a solution to enabling Māori students' success, and therefore social security to acquire employment. With this understanding, however, comes the expectation that Māori will "integrate" into a Western system of education, one in which unequal access to opportunities privilege Pākehā. As Metge discusses, the Hunn Report "criticised the 'apathy' of many Māori parents towards education",<sup>47</sup> which this scene refutes. Mr Muru's desire for Riki to seek employment rather than stay in school comes not from apathy, rather from his disillusionment with a system that failed Riki. As with the earlier discussion of "urban drift", *To Love a Maori* challenges Pākehā assumptions that Māori end up in unskilled jobs due to educational indifference.

As educators, Te Miha Hayward, Curtis and Newnham likely brought understanding of the workings of institutional racism, with Riki's feeling of failure and Thompson's prejudiced accusations of his laziness. Furthermore, it is possible that Te Miha Hayward brought her own experiences of discrimination at school through in this scene. Te Miha Hayward recognized the value of her education, but she also saw its flaws, recalling to Brian Edwards the severity of her punishment when she spoke te reo Māori.<sup>48</sup> This scene criticizes the New Zealand education system and the fallacy of integration. Although supportive of the educational programmes at ATI, Te Miha Hayward and her collaborators acknowledged the institutional racism toward Māori in mainstream education and employment, early in

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<sup>46</sup> Metge, "Maori Education 1958-1990," 15.

<sup>47</sup> Metge, "Maori Education 1958-1990," 15.

<sup>48</sup> Hayward, Top O' The Morning with Brian Edwards. 1996-04-27.

the film. Establishing Tama and Riki as characters embodying contrasting experiences of young Māori men in the educational system, this scene also speaks more widely to conflicting experiences of Pākehā and Māori within said system.

### **Bi-cultural Romance – Meeting the Parents**

*To Love a Maori* advocates for a bi-cultural future, imbued with modernist idealism in the narrative concerning the intercultural romance between Tama and Penny. Tama and Penny meet at Matanga's dance rehearsal at Te Unga Waka Marae. Matenga Kingi's real life experience in a relationship with a Pākehā woman named Raewyn, informs this part of Tama and Penny's romance narrative.<sup>49</sup> Kingi's presence in the movie, gestures to his own unrequited love story as central to the film's plot, and its social realism genre, his experience further signifying the choreography and dance performance within the film. The dance scene between Penny and Tama demonstrates their attraction and curiosity for one another, symbolising the potential for Pākehā to embrace Māori. In the final frame of their first dance scene, Penny kneels and looks up smiling at Tama. The perspective of the camera angles downward toward Penny, emphasising her willingness to learn and join in with Māori artistic expression, despite her lack of knowledge regarding te ao Māori. The cinematographic construction reinforces Penny's character as an ally in the struggle for Māori equality, looking up to Tama both literally and figuratively.

Penny's willingness to learn about arts and crafts demonstrates the limits to which many Pākehā were willing to understand te ao Māori. Referring to Blythe's analysis of *The Arts of Maori Children*, the question of Penny's co-opting aesthetic aspects of Māori culture must be raised. Arts and crafts explored artistic expression but represented a somewhat superficial engagement with Māori culture, knowledge and perspectives. Mané-Wheoki acknowledged that in the "resurgence of Maori nationalism and culture, Maori art plays a critical role in the reclamation and affirmation of Maori ethnicity and identity."<sup>50</sup> As such, *The Arts of Maori Children* and *To Love a Maori* contain textual affirmations of Māori

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<sup>49</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 4; Hayward, "Booklet c. 1994."

<sup>50</sup> Mané-Wheoki, "The Resurgence of Maori Art," 2.

identity within educational and mainstream paradigms. However, Mané-Wheoki also acknowledges the problem with institutional prejudice, where,

...the recontextualization of Maori art from museum artefact to aesthetic object – represents an admission that the dominant culture’s habitual Eurocentric imagining of New Zealand art is an unsustainable fiction. This concession has exposed a legacy of disingenuity in dealing with maori [sic] culture, while highlighting Pakeha insecurity about their own culture.<sup>51</sup>

Although *To Love a Maori* represents Penny as an enlightened, Pākehā ally, a deeper understanding of Māori cultural, societal and political issues, means her character is yet to be challenged to prove her sincerity – a challenge that is posed to her later by Mr Muru.

*To Love a Maori* critiques the government’s policy of integration, as influenced by the Hunn Report, shaping Māori and Crown relations throughout the 1970s.<sup>52</sup> The representation of the Muru whānau and life at Te Kaha subverts the Hunn report’s notion of backward, primitive Māori communities (i.e., Group C), showing the richness of rural Māori life, while also acknowledging the increased pressures these communities faced to maintain it. Penny’s journey into understanding Māori life shifts the focus from integrating Māori to the Pākehā world, to Pākehā understanding the Māori world. The film explicitly criticizes integration policy, in a scene where Penny’s friend Dierdre talks to Penny’s mother while she and Tama are away at Te Kaha. The film also presents less explicit and more nuanced critique of integration policy, with Penny and Tama’s parents’ attitudes toward their relationship.

The scenes where Penny and Tama meet each other’s parents represent an important contrast, where their fathers express concern for their intercultural relationship. While out sailing in the harbour, Penny takes Tama to meet her parents at their home, downplaying her father’s wealth. The film hints at her father’s racism when Penny naively tells Tama about how her father takes pride in New Zealand’s race relations as the best in

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<sup>51</sup> Mané-Wheoki, “The Resurgence of Maori Art,” 3.

<sup>52</sup> Harris and Williams, “Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970,” 347.

the world, a well-touted national myth in Pākehā nation building, reminiscent of *Rewi's Last Stand*. The scene shifts from the couple in a sailboat looking up to her house, to Penny's parents looking out their window toward the ocean, Mr Davis (Desmond Locke) with a pair of binoculars. Mrs Davis (Sybil Locke) comments that Penny has brought a friend with her, exclaiming how tan he is and that he must be a yachtie. Then as the camera zooms in to a close-up shot, Mr Davis shouts, "By God, he's a bloody Māori!", and the film affirms his racism. In instances such as this, *To Love a Maori* shines a critical light on such intercultural representations, admonishing the Pākehā nation's continued drive for Māori assimilation. The subsequent meeting and discussion reveal some important points, the first of which is that Penny's father, who is expecting American visitors, does not want Tama in his house upon their arrival, due to white America's prejudice toward people of colour, rather than his own. The text, via Penny, points again to the hypocrisy of such a statement, where New Zealand's claims to nationhood are based on a history of racist policies, laws, practices and discourse.

Tama's reaction when Penny surprises him by taking him home shows Penny's naivety toward the race relations myth, derived from her position of white, upper-middle class privilege. When about to head out in Penny's sailboat, Tama asks Penny about what her father does, and how he would react to him being Māori. Penny says, "Oh you don't wanna worry about that. You should hear him when we have overseas visitors, sounding off about race relations. Best in the world he says. Maoris are more advanced than most coloured races. And they make good rugby players and soldiers too." Penny chuckles, suggesting she recognises the absurdity of her father's opinion, but she is oblivious to how racist his comments are. The camera shifts to a close-up of Tama smiling uncomfortably but saying, "sounds alright." When they arrive in front of Penny's house, Penny tells Tama they're going to land. Val Irwin's interpretation of his line "I have a feeling you've been holding out on me," demonstrates a critical Māori perspective of Pākehā mythmaking. In the script, the intended delivery of the dialogue is described as "archly", implying a humorous and light-hearted tone.<sup>53</sup> However, Irwin delivered the line with suspicion, creating a tension leading into the following scene's resultant conflict with Penny's father.

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<sup>53</sup> Hayward and Hayward, "Scripts: 'To Love a Maori,'" 26 (leaf).

Penny and Tama have an all-out argument with Mr Davis after they meet outside the Davis' house. Tama extends his hand to Mr Davis, who refuses to shake it.

Mr Davis            Young man, I don't want you to take this personally, but you've come at a rather awkward time. I'm expecting some American visitors I want Penny to meet. As you know, they don't hold the same liberal view on race relations that we do.

Penny                [close-up looking at Mr Davis] It's about time we practice what we preach.

Tama                 [close-up] You mean sir, you don't mind Maoris fighting for you in the army, but you don't want us in your home?

Mr Davis            These men are Texans, I don't want them to know my daughter associates with Maoris.

Tama                 I'm not interested in your American friends Mr Davis, only your daughter.

Mr Davis            Then you'd better go. No Maori is going to marry my daughter.

Tama                 [shocked] We haven't even talked of marriage!

Mr Davis            I don't want to see her dragged down. Marry a Maori and you marry the whole tribe!

Penny                Nonsense Dad, you're out of date.

Tama                 How can you know anything about Maoris when you never mix with them yourself, sir. Young people are thinking for themselves these days. Maoris and Europeans are marrying all over the country.

Mr Davis            Indeed. Not in my family. We've always been respected. We've never stunted Penny, we sent her to a good school. We have plans for her.

Penny                [close-up] You haven't objected to anyone I've brought here before, why object to Tama.

Mr Davis            I've been in the world a bit longer than you, I know what is best. And now young man, you'd better go, before I lose my temper.

Tama            Your daughter invited me. [close-up] If that's the way you feel, you ought to go and live in South Africa.

Mr Davis        [close-up] You impudent pup! Get off my property immediately or by God I'll –

Tama            [Penny grabs Tama's arm and he pulls away] I'll go. I shouldn't have come here in the first place.

Penny            It's sheer prejudice! You don't even know Tama!

                    Tama come back he doesn't mean it he's only bluffing!

Mr Davis        [Mrs Davis holding him back] I'll show you whether I mean it or not! This thing has got to end now!

Mrs Davis       Harry you're crazy stop!<sup>54</sup>

Penny runs after Tama, choosing to leave with him. Tama argues with her, angry, but Penny stands her ground and with a close-up shot of her looking up to Tama and the film's opening music playing, she says, "Tama, I love you." The camera switches to Tama's close-up, whose look softens, and they embrace in a passionate kiss for the first time.

Amidst a romantic narrative, the film addresses some matters of importance that prevailed in wider public debate. As Harris and Williams suggest, widespread recognition of Māori service in World War II and the resultant Māori respect for serving in the military, "somewhat masks the stories of violence, vulnerability and social disconnection, rarely written or spoken about (even if known) within families."<sup>55</sup> Tama's comments about war reflect the ongoing criticism that the public appreciation of the Māori battalion appeared hypocritical, when Pākehā systems, and in this case individuals, continued to treat Māori as second-class citizens, reaffirmed with Mrs Hemi's concern for Riki joining the army. The issue of army service appears differently in the film's script, where Tama's line referred to the United States war in Vietnam, rather than war generally. Further evidence of conflicting perspectives appears in the edits, where the line is crossed out, and Vietnam is replaced

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<sup>54</sup> Hayward and Hayward, *To Love a Maori*.

<sup>55</sup> Harris and Williams, "Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970," 333–34.

with reference to fighting in the army.<sup>56</sup> Across the world, the war in Vietnam stirred people into political action against American imperialism. According to Betsy McLane, filmmakers producing documentaries “[articulated] public opinion about the war, particularly for those who opposed it.”<sup>57</sup> However, Māori participation in war had long been criticized by some in Aotearoa, notably Tūhoe and Waikato iwi, many of whom saw King Tāwhiao and Te Kooti’s respective words against war as setting precedent against participation in World War I.<sup>58</sup> If this film recognized Māori fighting in Vietnam, and not in the World Wars, it would overlook trauma held within living memory, perhaps indicating the script’s reference to Vietnam as symptomatic of Rudall Hayward’s Pākehā privilege. The scene in the film however, criticizing Māori presence in the army generally, provides social commentary on a New Zealand in which many Māori families were torn apart through participation in war in foreign lands, for a nation that denied their equal citizenship, with seemingly perpetual amnesia about its own wars of the nineteenth century.<sup>59</sup>

Tama’s comment about Mr Davis going to live in South Africa reflects further criticism of the Pākehā nation’s treatment of Māori as second-class citizens. The 1960 South Africa Tour of the New Zealand Rugby Football Union excluded their Māori players. Along with the Hunn report, the public conjecture around the tour, Harris and Williams argue, “stimulated a freer public discussion of race – and the politics of separation and integration – that would become increasingly important in the public consciousness.”<sup>60</sup> The year prior to filming *To Love a Maori*, the All Blacks toured South Africa, where Māori and Samoan players were given their government’s status as “honorary white.”<sup>61</sup> As such, the film does not need to explain what Tama means through his suggestion, reflecting the public consciousness of South African apartheid. The conflicting perspectives, around Pākehā views of racism overseas, and Māori views of racism at home, seem to be at play in the script’s edits for this scene.

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<sup>56</sup> Hayward and Hayward, “Scripts: ‘To Love a Maori,’” House Sequence, leaf 28.

<sup>57</sup> McLane, *A New History of Documentary Film*, 255.

<sup>58</sup> Binney and O’Malley, “Chapter Eleven: The Quest for Survival, 1890-1920,” 301.

<sup>59</sup> Vincent O’Malley, “Historical Amnesia over New Zealand’s Own Wars,” *The Dominion Post*, April 23, 2015, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/comment/67944795/Historical-amnesia-over-New-Zealands-own-wars>.

<sup>60</sup> Harris and Williams, “Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970,” 349.

<sup>61</sup> Malcolm MacLean, “Anti-Apartheid Boycotts and the Affective Economies of Struggle: The Case of Aotearoa New Zealand,” *Sport in Society*, Vol. 13, no. 1, January 1, 2010, 75.

By comparison, when Tama takes Penny home to meet his parents later in the film, Mr and Mrs Muru react positively. Although Fox argues both sets of parents oppose Tama and Penny's relationship equally,<sup>62</sup> there are marked differences which appear intentional through cinematography. Tama's parents, respond with delight through their window, with Mrs Muru remarking how beautiful Penny is. In this shot, they look out of their window to the left side of the frame, which contrasts with the earlier scene of Penny's parent's, looking to the right side of the frame. A visual reference of this nature perhaps demonstrates a political statement favouring left-wing, working class values, as opposed to right-wing, upper class status ideals. The genre of social realism derived from class discourse and socialism, so threads of this discourse sometimes appear in narratives concerning equality. At times, tension appears between the way the film deals with discrimination, in terms of working class struggles and Māori oppression. The film's perspectives on white privilege and class privilege appear reiterated in the couple's journeys to each of their parent's homes, where to get to Penny's, the couple arrive on a sail boat to a high up, waterfront property, whereas to get to Tama's, they hitch hike. Although class takes some precedence in the societal critique of the romance narrative in *To Love a Māori*, it is secondary to the issues of white privilege and racism.

The dialogue in the film and the script reveal the possible conflict in authorship, and the conflation of class struggle with Māori oppression, perhaps suggesting Hayward's Marxist intellectualism. After Tama's parents make Penny feel welcome, the next day she tells them about what happened with her parents, expressing her shame at their prejudice toward Tama. Tama's parents suggest to Penny that prejudice is endemic to class stratifications, perhaps revealing Rudall Hayward's perspective.

Penny            I felt ashamed the way my parents treated Tama when I took him home, and now you make me feel so welcome here

Mrs Muru        These are different social classes that keep people apart.

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<sup>62</sup> Keith, Fox, and Radner, *New Zealand Cinema*, 62.



Mr Muru            That's right. Most Maoris are given the labouring jobs. They're working class.  
A few get higher education and are accepted by the middle class.

Penny                You need more than education where I come from. Money. Possessions.  
That's what they talk about. They treated Tama like a stray dog I'd brought  
in off the streets.

Tama                 Penny, you can forget about all that, especially here. I'm rich! I've got three  
horses. We can go riding, swimming, fishing, anything you like. This is life. Ka  
pai.<sup>63</sup>

In the script however, the dialogue appears with several amendments. The changes are handwritten on a typed script, in the same style as Rudall Hayward's scenario, suggesting possible evidence of his authorship.

PENNY

I felt so ashamed the way my parents treated Tama when I took him home...  
And now you make me **feel** so welcome here.

MRS. MURU

~~Its not the colour . . . .It's the different social classes that keep people apart . . . .I  
found that when I was nursing in the city hospitals.~~

MURU

That's right . . . most Maoris ~~get~~ **are given** the ~~hard yaka~~ **laboring** jobs . . . they're  
working class ~~only~~ **A** few get higher education and are accepted by the middle  
class.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> *To Love a Māori: Music Tracks from the Film.*

<sup>64</sup> Hayward and Hayward, "Scripts: 'To Love a Maori,'" Interior of Home scene, leaf 37. Bold, italicized dialogue appears handwritten in black ink. Strikethrough also in handwritten black ink.

It is possible that the harmful conflation of class and race in the scripted dialogue came from Hayward, where the corrections look as if they're written in Te Miha Hayward handwriting. As with the foreword and Tama's comment on Māori in the army, the author of the dialogue changes remains ambiguous, but their presence further suggests conflicting perspectives in the Haywards' collaborative authorship.

Conflicting perspectives arise in another conversation several scenes later, this time intentionally represented in the film. A conversation between Penny and Mr Muru features where, although Tama's parents are welcoming of Penny, Mr Muru expresses some concern at the young couple's union. Mr Muru sits with Penny outside the wharenuī, as she watches him carve a tekoteko. Their conversation, switching between their close-up shots, proves pivotal in the film's critique of assimilation, "talking out" and "talking in" simultaneously.

- Penny            You know, I knew almost nothing about the Maoris until I met Tama. And even I had some of that colour prejudice that most Europeans have.
- Mr Muru        Don't worry. Some of our older people have prejudices. Some very strong. They fear that by intermarriage, our people will be swallowed up, and our Maoritanga will be lost.
- Penny            Do you believe that?
- Mr Muru        Yes, I'm afraid I do. You see, we feel like a small stream moving into a big river.
- Penny            [chuckling] You and my dad will make a good pair. With you its tradition, and with him, well him it's his social status. But we'll win you round, our generation, you'll see.
- Mr Muru        Do you think you can learn to live with us?
- Penny            [out of set] I'm going to try.
- Mr Muru        Love all our children, respect our elders, and cry over our dead?

Penny [smiling] I suppose I'll have to.

Mr Muru [concerned] You won't take our son away from us and turn him into a European, will you?

Penny [changes to serious tone] No I won't do that. I promise you.

Mr Muru You know it's a strange thing your people and mine, we like to live close to our relations, but your people, I don't know. They want to get as far away from their relations as they can.

[both laugh, fades out]<sup>65</sup>

Through this conversation, *To Love a Maori* points out their difference in perspective regarding integration, illuminating the characters' subjectivities in a way that speaks to its different audiences. Mr Muru's comment, feeling like a small stream flowing into a river, refers to Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker)'s poem "Assimilation – No!" from *The Dawn Is At Hand* (1966). The reference to this poem in the film indicates the transnational discourse of Indigeneity developing during this era, in which Indigenous communities across the colonised world sought increasingly radicalised means of resistance. In a radio interview in 1991, Te Miha Hayward recited part of the poem to her unnamed interviewer,

Pour your pitcher of wine into the broader river

And where is your wine?

There is only the river.

That was Kath [Walker], the Australian aboriginal poet. And it means just the same for us Māori people, that we have to retain our culture.<sup>66</sup>

Reflecting on Te Miha Hayward's positionality, Mr Muru's discussion of prejudice could also derive from some of the experiences of her own parents. In an interview with *Mana Magazine*, Te Miha Hayward discussed the racism she experienced throughout her

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<sup>65</sup> Hayward and Hayward, *To Love a Maori*.

<sup>66</sup> Hayward, Ramai Hayward, interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, 51143; Hayward, Radio. Ramai Hayward (Forever Young), interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, A1139.

upbringing. Not only was she reprimanded for eating Māori kai and speaking te reo Māori at primary school, her family were also subjected to arson and theft from Pākehā men who tormented her Pākehā stepfather, James Miller, for his Māori family.<sup>67</sup> Te Miha Hayward also acknowledged the difficulty her stepfather faced from some Māori in marrying her mother, Roihi Te Miha, recalling their protective attitude toward possible land issues and that, “They were horrid to my stepfather”.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps these experiences informed the differing perspectives of Penny and Tama’s parents. Both initially opposed to the couple’s union, the film distinguishes their perspectives – the former from a position of prejudice, and the latter from a position of oppression.

Furthermore, Te Miha Hayward acknowledged that her father lived with her mother’s whānau, in Martinborough, Wairarapa, and that during this time, marriage between Māori and Pākehā was unusual.<sup>69</sup> It is also possible her father’s move into her mother’s Māori community was an important influence on Te Miha Hayward’s representations of intercultural relationships. Her own husband expressed to her his desire to become one of her people, and not the other way around.<sup>70</sup> In the conversation scene, Penny does not understand Mr Muru’s poetic reference, seeing only “tradition” as his concern, and still overlooking her father’s racism as his concern for his “social status.” It is difficult to read the ambiguity in this scene, where Penny appears idealized in her willingness to cross the cultural divide yet demonstrating her ignorance of societal injustice. The evident ambiguity characterizes what Harris and Williams refer to as “a substantial grey area, where the things that were important to Māori – and yet somehow difficult to explain across the cultural divide – competed with the forces of integration for a secure position in modern New Zealand.”<sup>71</sup> In this space, Māori “worked out the creative tensions between tradition and modernity, policy and practice, theoretical Māori worlds and daily Māori lives.”<sup>72</sup> As such, Te Miha Hayward worked with these tensions in this “grey area of

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<sup>67</sup> Hayward, “Reflections from Ramai,” 74–75.

<sup>68</sup> Hayward, 75. Noonuccal’s original poem has “wide” in place of Te Miha Hayward’s “broader”.

<sup>69</sup> Hayward, Ramai Hayward, interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, 51143; Hayward, Radio. Ramai Hayward (Forever Young), interview by Unknown, Audio, 1991, Sound Collection, A1139; Hayward, “Reflections from Ramai,” 74.

<sup>70</sup> Hayward, “Mihi.”

<sup>71</sup> Harris and Williams, “Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970,” 350.

<sup>72</sup> Harris and Williams, “Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970,” 350.

adjustment”,<sup>73</sup> with Māori and Pākehā collaborators, challenging integration in terms that appealed to Māori and Pākehā audiences alike. This scene however, presents subversive undertones, putting Penny in a position of critique, resonating with Barclay’s comments about mainstream Pākehā society, with “ears like a sponge”, “ever eager to absorb more”.<sup>74</sup> Whether intentional or not, Penny’s response to Mr Muru presents the problem with “talking out”. The reference to Noonuccal’s “Assimilation – No!”, “talks in” to its Māori audiences from an Indigenous perspective, cautioning resistance to assimilation in relationships with Pākehā.

### **Baskets of Knowledge – Ngā kete o te Wānanga**

In a narrative of romance, built around the mutual appreciation for the arts, the film frequently addresses the issue of assimilation through integration. It seems the filmmakers’ approach to social realism, perhaps due to their position as educational filmmakers, meant the film presented an idealised and moralised version of reality. Such idealism is demonstrated in the party scene after Tama and Penny get married, which Ramai Te Miha Hayward wrote. Read in conjunction with the themes of racism, exploitation and integration, the film presents an idealistic vision of hope for the future, in the face of overwhelming prejudice toward Māori.

When Tama picks up overtime hours operating a tow-truck service for traffic accidents to make ends meet, the work is high-pressured and dangerous, resulting in his injury. Adding to the couple’s financial troubles, Penny accepts she needs to give up her job due to difficulty with her pregnancy. So that Tama can stay in his apprenticeship, they give up their apartment and Penny goes back to Te Kaha to live with Tama’s family. When the couple are apart, a scene opens with Penny sitting on a veranda with one of Tama’s aunts and three other women. Aunty Hinerangi (Hinerangi Hikuroa Deller) tells Penny about the three baskets of knowledge, which in Māori epistemology, the atua Tāne Mahuta brought back from the twelfth realm of the spirit world for humans to acquire knowledge. The scene opens with Te Miha Hayward’s lyrics in a waiata, “Hoki mai ki au”. As the camera, angled

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<sup>73</sup> Harris and Williams, “Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970,” 350.

<sup>74</sup> Barclay, *Our Own Image*, 76.

upward, pans across trees in front of a blue sky, it fades to a medium shot of the wind blowing through a kōwhai tree. The shot then pans down to a young Māori girl, carrying stems of kōwhai branches, who walks over to the women. The song is a waiata aroha, lyrics written in te reo Māori by Te Miha Hayward, expressing sorrow for the separated lovers. Although the scene's technical finesse is stilted, Penny mouths along with some of the words. The song's instrumental continues to play throughout this scene, with soft vocals humming. Penny talks with Hinerangi, as she shows her how to weave.

Penny            I don't seem to be making much progress.

Hinerangi        You're doing alright Penny. [Close-up shot of Hinerangi's hands and foot]  
When weaving a mat, one uses their foot as the third hand. Very useful.  
  
[ Close-up shot of Penny's hands and foot. Pans up to Penny concentrating  
and smiling]

Hinerangi        Don't pull so hard. You might start something.  
  
[Close-up of Hinerangi, then medium shot of both women]

Penny            It's not easy for me. You people have been weaving for generations.

Hinerangi        I've been looking at your first basket. It's very good. [Penny looks at the  
basket and laughs softly] The first basket you make is always hard, no matter  
how crooked it is, you have to finish it. That's the only way to learn. What  
you start, you must finish. Then give it away to someone. That's the Māori  
way.

Penny            [close-up shot] How long have you people known all these skills?

Hinerangi        Ah [Medium-shot of both women] Ngā mahi o mua. [pause] It goes a long  
way back. Baskets have a special meaning to us.  
  
[close-up Penny. Close-up Hinerangi]

Hinerangi        The Māoris have many gods. There was a supreme god, whose name was  
too sacred to mention. He handed down the three baskets of knowledge.

[picks up basket] The first basket, uruuru matua, contained peace, goodness and love. [hands to Penny, picks up another] The second, uruuru rangi, prayers and incantations [hands to Penny].

Penny           And what about the third basket?

Hinerangi       [picking up another basket] rua tau tawhito contained knowledge of arts and skills to promote the welfare of man. And also, the warning of evil, and all things harmful to man.

Penny           And people called you savages.

[Hinerangi nodding, shot pans in to her close-up]

Hinerangi       And now, you're beginning to learn something about te iwi Māori.<sup>75</sup>

As Hinerangi explains the Māori foundation of knowledge to Penny, this scene “talks out” to its Pākehā audience. It also puts forward an educational Māori perspective, which resonates further with the lines that follow Te Miha Hayward’s reference to Noonuccal’s “Assimilation – No!”:

Pour your pitcher of wine into the wide river  
And where is your wine? There is only the river.  
Must the genius of an old race die  
That the race might live?  
We who would be one with you, one people,  
We must surrender now much that we love,  
The old freedoms for new musts,  
Your world for ours  
But a core is left that we must keep always.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Although Hinerangi Deller’s name only appears in the film’s credits, her name “Hinerangi” is written in the film’s script. Hayward and Hayward, *To Love a Maori*; Hayward and Hayward, “Scripts: ‘To Love a Maori.’”

<sup>76</sup> Oodgeroo Noonuccal, *The Dawn Is at Hand*. (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1964), 42.

In this scene, Hinerangi introduces Penny to “the genius of an old race”, through weaving and instigating her epistemological rupture.<sup>77</sup> The scene also suggests that arts and crafts, and the waiata Penny sings, are only a beginning step for Penny, as Hinerangi comments, “And now, you’re beginning to learn something about te iwi Māori.” Significant to this discussion, the civilized/savage binary so central to the narrative in *Rewi’s Last Stand* is refuted. Interpretively, if Penny in some ways represents how Rudall Hayward’s mindset shifted through his relationship with Ramai Te Miha Hayward, *To Love a Maori* demonstrates a shift in perspective between the making of these two films.

Knowledge, education, and perspective prove fundamental to this “dramatic documentary”. Although *To Love a Maori* is a romantic feature film, its claim in the opening title suggests its realism and its educational intent, both of which illuminate Te Miha Hayward’s subjectivity. Speaking to Owen about her upbringing, Te Miha Hayward paints a picture strikingly reminiscent of *To Love a Maori’s* text.

... we had our families, our whānaus, were in tact so we had the advantage of both cultures. And so, although we had to learn English, and our grandparents thought this was rightly so, that we should learn to excel in English, as we weren’t neglected in Māori. [Be]cause we had that at home and on the marae. And we listened to all the whaikōrero – the speeches were made on the marae. And all the hui that we had. It was an idyllic life.<sup>78</sup>

Although limited in its mainly English language text, Ramai Te Miha Hayward brought Māori perspectives into film, challenging assimilation in *To Love a Maori*, despite its romance narrative. She strived to make viable her passion in arts and filmmaking, collaborating with a man she loved, in a time when Māori women’s voices in film were seldom heard. Although Shepard praises Te Miha Hayward for how *To Love a Maori* “focussed the camera on Maori people and their issues”, this film’s greatest point is its challenge of assimilation, which is very much a Pākehā issue. Therefore, *To Love a Maori* prioritised Māori perspectives dealing with a theme that necessitated a “moral parable” for Pākehā, perhaps justifying the nature

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<sup>77</sup> “Epistemological rupture” credited to Dolores Janiewski, conversation, December 2019, Te Herenga Waka Victoria University of Wellington.

<sup>78</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 1.



of its title. The dual narrative suggests mainstream Pākehā audiences' reluctance towards a film made for Māori audiences, although the issues on which the film speaks to Pākehā, fundamentally concern justice for Māori. Through education and a thematic focus on a bi-cultural romance, the film appeals to audiences from both "talking out" and "talking in" perspectives, reflecting an increasing politicisation of Māori in film, and the wider creative arts.<sup>79</sup> A politicisation which Māori shaped through interaction with government educational policy, working class issues, race relations and Pākehā prejudice, emerging from a "grey area of adjustment".<sup>80</sup> Ramai Te Miha Hayward's voice is at the core of these politicised audio-visual articulations.

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<sup>79</sup> Anderson, Binney, and Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History*, 364–65.

<sup>80</sup> Harris and Williams, "Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970," 350.

## Conclusion

*We were working together, closely. And I wasn't the only person who felt he needed support. You know we've got that lovely Māori word, to āwhi. To support. ... It's a lovely word, āwhina. Ki te āwhina.*<sup>1</sup>

Early on in their working relationship Ramai Te Miha Hayward saw Rudall Hayward's vision as one she chose to support. The reach of her philosophy extended beyond supporting him in their working relationship, contributing to the ongoing resistance against Māori oppression. Continuing assimilationist policy provoked increasingly vocalised Māori criticism and dissent.<sup>2</sup> With te reo Māori revitalisation and the struggle for ancestral land rights, a new era of Māori protest over the 1970s and 1980s defended Māori taonga.<sup>3</sup> During these years, Māori filmmakers emerged whose profound impact developed kaupapa Māori filmmaking, "talking in" to Māori audiences.<sup>4</sup> Merata Mita's landmark documentary film *Bastion Point – Day 507* (1980) follows Ngāti Whātua Orakei's last day of protest occupation, shedding a critical light on the government sanctioned police presence and subsequent arrests. Tama Poata and Barry Barclay's *Ngāti* (1987) was the first film written and directed solely by Māori filmmakers. Barclay's Fourth Cinema theory informed through Māori epistemologies conceptualises and strategizes Indigenous film theory.<sup>5</sup> Leading up to this era of decolonial Māori filmmaking, Te Miha Hayward's contribution found in her films puts forward Māori perspectives.

Engaging with Te Miha Hayward's voice and identifying examples of her authorship demonstrates her self-determination in filmmaking collaboration with Rudall Hayward. Early cinematic narratives of assimilation appear challenged through her work that brought forth Māori perspectives in both film and paratextual sources. The change in narrative

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<sup>1</sup> Hayward, Recorded Interview with Ramai Hayward, interview by Owen, Side 3.

<sup>2</sup> Aroha Harris, *Hīkoi: Forty Years of Māori Protest* (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers, 2004), 15.

<sup>3</sup> Aroha Harris and Melissa Matutina Williams, "Chapter Fourteen: Rights and Revitalisation, 1970-1990," in *Tangata Whenua: A History*, ed. Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), 359.

<sup>4</sup> Barclay, *Our Own Image*, 74–80.

<sup>5</sup> Barnes, "Kia Manawanui," 5.

intercultural representations between Māori and Pākehā in *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940) and *To Love a Maori* (1972) thereby derives from her influence. *Eel History was a Mystery* (1968) and *The Arts of Maori Children* (1962) provide illuminating examples of her prioritising Māori content and perspectives. Considering the question of Te Miha Hayward's authorship, due to extensive textual ambiguity in collaboration with Hayward, meaning is found through her positionality and interpretation of her voice.

Māori authorship in *Rewi's Last Stand* (1940) is perhaps widely overlooked in scholarship due to the film's romanticised narrative and the removal of scenes in *The Last Stand* (1949). *Rewi's Last Stand* and Ramai Te Miha Hayward's performance as Ariana, the film's central character, reveals some vital truths about historical narrative. Ariana's history appears hidden in layered narratives of colonial and Pākehā origins, where a mana wāhine theoretical interpretation addresses the absence of her agency in representation. Considering Te Miha Hayward's discussion of the film, it also affirms her lived reality. Furthermore, Te Miha Hayward's ongoing discussion and preservation of the film consists with Barry Barclay's suggestion that Gradient X affirms the film's increasing importance over time, and Angela Moewaka Barnes' discussion of kaupapa Māori filmmaking as transformative.<sup>6</sup>

Te Miha Hayward's New Zealand Children's Educational Film series brought into perspective John Grierson's vision for social realist documentary in Aotearoa New Zealand, so that Māori faces and voices, were seen and heard. Post-World War II, increased concern for social justice produced films with the theme of race relations, addressing continued imbalances of power. Social realism, as a film genre, appears to have influenced the direction Te Miha Hayward took, prioritising lived experiences over romantic fantasy, in a didactic form with reference to knowledge and the arts. *The Arts of Maori Children* and *Eel History was a Mystery* challenged the government's integration policy through Māori representation in bi-cultural arts education resources.

Te Miha Hayward drew on her Māori cultural values, consistent with social realist style, subversively challenging the government's continued push for Māori assimilation in integration policy. Māori cultural concepts of whanaungatanga and whakapapa

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<sup>6</sup> Barclay, *Mana Tūturu*, 102; Barnes, "Kia Manawanui," 9.

underpinned aspects of Te Miha Hayward's filmmaking, representing key methodological considerations in *Eel History was a Mystery* and *The Arts of Maori Children*. Her aunty Hine Kinihe and her nephew William feature in *Eel History*, where their exchange of knowledge is born out of Te Miha Hayward's ancestral practice of mahinga kai. Te Miha Hayward brought together her intersection of interests in art, education, and film, most notably in *The Arts of Maori Children*. The film's reinterpretation of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki's kupu whakaari regarding unity in methodology presents the necessity of Māori perspectives in bi-cultural arts education, demonstrating the film's resistance against assimilation.

These elements further appeared in *To Love a Maori*, where the dual romance narrative dealt with the theme of racism, consistent with international film culture, but from a perspective specific to Māori and Pākehā relations. In the opening scene at Te Kaha-nui-a-tiki marae, Te Miha Hayward's song lyrics reinforce the visual text, demonstrating the centrality of marae in Māori culture, reinforced later in the film when Penny and Tama meet at Te Unga Waka marae. Although the film presents a bi-cultural ideal, its dual narrative speaks to Māori and Pākehā audiences in different ways, but both aim to address Pākehā discrimination against Māori. In what Aroha Harris and Melissa Matutina Williams refer to as a "grey area of adjustment",<sup>7</sup> Te Miha Hayward worked within the tensions brought through integration policy to challenge it, building bridges across the cultural divide with Māori and Pākehā collaborators.

Perhaps the prevalence of authorial ambiguity during the later years of her filmmaking suggests why Ramai Te Miha Hayward's authorship in film analysis has had such scant attention. Investigating authorial ambiguity reveals Te Miha Hayward's perspective, notably in her reference to Oodgeroo Noonuccal's "Assimilation No!", representing an instance where *To Love a Maori* "talks in" to Indigenous audiences. The general "moral parable" in this film however challenges Pākehā audiences to reflexively interrogate assimilation, drawing on personal stories, perhaps influenced through her lived experiences.

In addition to Te Miha Hayward's authorship, this thesis demonstrates how Māori philosophies in filmmaking, and the immediacy of performance along ancestral lines, challenges thinking on historical film. Ramai Te Miha Hayward's expression of Māori

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<sup>7</sup> Harris and Williams, "Chapter Thirteen: Māori Affairs, 1945-1970," 350.

performance and her paratextual work in *Rewi's Last Stand* demonstrate her transformative efforts in filmmaking. Therefore, Te Miha Hayward's theorization ascribes meaning to the performance of Māori descendants in *Rewi's Last Stand* that challenges the debate around historical film's place in the discipline of history on the basis of artifice, or indeed *false/true invention*. In Hayward's mātauranga Māori theorization, the meaning of the past exists in the present, with the film's reliving along ancestral lines. Despite the romanticised colonial narrative, the reliving of history makes *Rewi's Last Stand* forever meaningful.

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