FAMILY MYTHS IN ORAL HISTORY:

The unsettled narratives

of descendants of a missionary-settler family

in New Zealand

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CHAPTER 4

Family myths of religion

The Williams family has had a long and close association with organised religion. Henry and William were neither the first nor the last members of their family to become ministers of religion. Their grandfather had been a Dissenting minister, and among their descendants were at least 13 Anglican clergymen including three bishops.[1] I interviewed one member of the family who was a retired clergyman, and one who was an ordained deacon doing social work in South Auckland and married to an Anglican priest. In addition to the generations of Williams clergymen, a number of the female descendants married men of the Church and have themselves been actively involved members. In the present generation I interviewed one woman, married to a retired bishop, who is working with Maori and Pacific Islanders in Auckland and also does spiritual guidance. Many other members of the family, men and women, have been dedicated Anglicans serving on vestries and other Church committees, as lay readers, and as synods people. A number have also been noted for their philanthropy and for their continuing involvement with the Maori Church, these two concerns sometimes overlapping.[2]

However, for many of the family, links with the Anglican Church have changed in recent generations.[3] A very few adhere to other denominations or religions, and this has usually occurred through marriage. Among those I interviewed were a Roman Catholic, a Presbyterian and a Jew. Many still acknowledge some affiliation with the Church but have become 'Christmas-and-Easter Anglicans', while others have ceased their association altogether. Of these, some have reacted against the organised religious practice and generally accepted beliefs with which they grew up. One I interviewed claimed to be 'almost' an agnostic. Some have explored other options, adopting beliefs from a variety of sources from 'Deep Green' to Hinduism, while

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[1] Sybil M. Woods, *Samuel Williams of Te Aute*, (Christchurch, 1981), p. 19. According to Sybil Woods family legend has it that Henry Williams's grandfather had left the Church of England to become a Congregationalist while a student at Oxford University, and had been disowned by his father. Woods suggests that this showed the independence of spirit, even stubbornness, which characterizes many descendants.

[2] At this point it becomes difficult to separate matters of religion from those of class and the modern-day ideology of bi-culturalism.

[3] Since 1960 all mainline churches suffered internal divisions over theology, morality and political involvement, and a decline in adherence, membership, and attendance. The decline was most marked for Anglicans who fell from 33.7% of the population in 1966 to 22.1% in 1991 - see Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa. A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, (Wellington, 1997), p. 177. Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia*, (Oxford, 2001), p. 361 notes that in the 1996 census 30% of New Zealanders either objected to stating their religion, or stated that they had no religious adherence.

others have simply drifted away. This declining support for Anglicanism and theological pluralism within the family reflects the trends apparent in New Zealand society since the 1960s.[4] Nevertheless, for many of the family who have embraced different beliefs, the cultural values of Christianity in general and Anglicanism in particular, are still regarded as important. For instance, several expressed nostalgia for the music of the Church, and at a deeper level others drew on Christian and Biblical understandings in constructing their narratives.

Both groups, those still affiliated to the institution and those outside it, have grown up with their perceptions of Christianity and the Church, and of the role played by their ancestors, mediated primarily by their family. They have also been influenced by changes in society and in the Church that have occurred over their lifetimes, gradually reshaping earlier interpretations and beliefs. These perceptions of the past are both partial and particular. Thus individuals choose the particular aspects of their family's religious history which seem relevant, and are interpreted in the light of the present. For some the Williams association with organised religion is seen as an opportunity, for others it is seen as an obligation, if not a burden. Some have accepted the obligation, others have rejected it. For a few the Church has been, at different times and in different situations, both a burden and an opportunity.

The Williamses as Dissenters

The Dissenting tradition is one to which several of the interviewees appealed. One of the family who still appears to share his ancestors convictions concerning personal

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[4] Davidson (1997), pp. 170-1, 188; Breward (2001), 328-30; W. P. Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand. A History* (Dunedin, 1973); p. 236; James Veitch, 'Lloyd Geering and the Great Debate. A Watershed in New Zealand Religious History,' in *Religions and Change* (Wellington, 1983), p. 592; James Veitch, 'The Lloyd Geering Story: A Biographical Essay' in *Faith in an Age of Turmoil. Essays in Honour of Lloyd Geering*, edited by James Veitch (London, 1990), pp. 231-5. The publication of *Honest to God* (1963), by the English bishop, John Robinson, was the first indication to many Anglicans in New Zealand of the theological questions being asked by their leaders world wide. In 1966 the Principal of the Presbyterian Theological Hall in Dunedin, Lloyd Geering, published an article throwing doubt on the historicity of the resurrection. Some found his views liberating, others were incensed, and in 1967 he stood trial for heresy. Not only the Presbyterian Church was polarised. In 1968 a special Anglican synod reaffirmed belief in miracles, the bodily resurrection of Jesus and personal life after death. Ultimately the controversy was a triumph for Protestant conservatism, strengthening both evangelicals and charismatics. Many liberal Christians drifted away from churches after this. In the 1990s the polarity continues with organizations like Affirm and Anglican Renewal upholding traditional creedal beliefs, Vision New Zealand calling for the re-evangelisation of secular society, and Sea of Faith adherents embracing a post-Christian, post-modern world in which people create their own meaning incorporating beliefs from many sources, from New Age to Buddhist to Christian.

salvation and formalism in the Church is an adopted member of the family. He makes his claim to 'full membership' in the family partly on the grounds that his religious understanding more closely matches that of Henry and William, than does the religious understanding of his Williams relatives, whom he sees as bound to the forms and rituals of a corrupted Church and far from the true spirit of Christ. He sees himself as the spiritual heir of the missionaries.[5] In general, however, the Dissenting tradition is much more widely interpreted by the family as dissent with a small 'd'. Those who have left the Church, those who have experimented with other forms of spirituality, those who continue to challenge the Church from within on various issues, may see themselves as part of the dissenting tradition.

Among those who appeal to the dissenting tradition are those who fight for social justice, confront bureaucracy and dare to be different. Like their ancestors, several of the family speak of conversion experiences during which they either gained a dramatic new religious understanding, or became acutely aware of social or racial injustice. They look to ancestors who relinquished the comfortable life of the English middle class for the privations, challenges and dangers of the mission field. One likened her own outspokenness to Henry 'walking without a weapon among cannibals'.[6] Their main inspiration is Henry and to some extent Samuel; and among their highest values is personal integrity. They remember the story of Henry's attempt to protect Maori from the land hunger of the New Zealand Company, which made him deeply unpopular with the settlers and saw him publicly accused in New Zealand and in England of fraudulent behaviour, 'hypocrisy and unblushing rapaciousness'.[7] They remember the stories of his attempts to prevent war between the Maori and British in the North, and of the subsequent unjust attacks on him by Governor Grey, who wished to reduce Henry's influence with Maori. Grey accused him firstly of treason, and later, in the 'Blood and Treasure Dispatch', of requiring 'a large expenditure of British blood and money' to ensure his own land claim. Viewing these as attacks on his honour, Henry refused to give way and was eventually dismissed by the CMS. Henry is portrayed as being persecuted for his staunch support for Maori

[5] Interview with Gary Williams, 20 September 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato. See for instance Tape 2 side A 2.8.
[6] Interview with Elisabeth Ludbrook, 8 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape1side B 27.4.
[7] Colonel Wakefield to *The Times*, London, 5 September, 1840, cited in Lawrence M. Rogers, *Te Wiremu. A Biography of Henry Williams* (Christchurch, 1973) p. 235.

and his determination to do the right thing.[8] Some view in a similar vein the repeated official inquiries into Samuel's handling of the Te Aute Trust. Both are seen as enduring attacks on their own integrity as a result of their defence of the downtrodden.

From Dissenters to bishops – becoming part of the establishment

Among present descendants there are at least four ordained ministers. One, Jon Williams (b. 1934) was a member of the Commission which in 1989 produced a New Zealand prayer book for Anglicans, which was more suited to a contemporary Pacific cultural setting, and used both Maori and English language.[9] The two whom I interviewed were Martin Warren, a retired priest, and Peter Sykes, a deacon. Being ordained in the Anglican Church might be seen as identifying one with the establishment, and indeed in one case the initial choice of occupation may have involved a sense of family duty. However, both men appeared to appeal also to the dissenting tradition of the family. Both expressed a dislike of Church hierarchy and had declined promotions. Peter Sykes, a descendant of Edward, originally intended to be a missionary overseas, but has become a social worker among Pacific Islanders in south Auckland. He has refused full ordination as a priest, and seeks to challenge the Church and society. Martin Warren, a descendant of Samuel and educated in England, had had a charismatic ministry focused on the working class, and in many ways challenged the more traditional approach of his father, the Bishop of Christchurch.[10]

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[8] Rogers, *Te Wiremu*, pp. 235-67

[9] Rex D.Evans (compiler), *Faith and Farming. Te Huarahi ki te Ora: The Legacy of Henry and William Williams,* Revised edition (Auckland, 1998), p. 584. *A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* (London, 1989), replaced the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* in New Zealand.

[10] The charismatic movement grew with extraordinary rapidity world wide in the 1970s and 80s. The Pentecostal churches, which had tended to be small and withdrawn from society, became more visible and supported others in conservative Christians causes. Charismatic renewal also occurred in the traditional churches, which were generally hostile to informal participatory worship using popular music, and the fundamentalist, anti-institutional approach of Pentecostalism. The movement generated deep division within these churches at first, which fostered a spirit of charismatic ecumenism enhanced by the interdenominational summer schools of Christian Advance Ministries. 'Life in the Spirit' seminars in the Anglican parishes brought many clergy as well as laity into the movement by the end of the 1970s, and in the 80s denominational groups such as Anglican Renewal Ministries diminished charismatic ecumenism. See Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa* (1997), pp. 171-3; Breward, *Churches in Australsia* (2001), pp. 329-30; Colin Brown, 'The end of Anglican Innocence? The 'Geering Controversy' and Anglicanism', in James Veitch (editor), *Faith in an Age of Turmoil. Essays in Honour of Lloyd Geering* (London, 1990), p. 214-5.

In addition to the various Williams clergymen, a number of the women have married men of the Church. Among present descendants at least two, Sybil Woods and Maryrose Wilson are married to clergy, and both have been very active in the Church in their own right.[11] Sybil studied the teaching of 'native races' in London, taught at Hukarere School and became involved with the Student Christian Movement (SCM), attending the world conference in 1938. She has been very active in the church all her life, especially in Mother's Union and National Council of Churches (NCC).[12] I interviewed Maryrose who now works with Maori and Pacific Islanders in Auckland, and in her narrative constantly challenges religiosity and hierarchy in the Church .[13]

Reading through the Williams family tree, *Faith and Farming*, it is clear that many other descendants, although not ordained, have followed the lead given by earlier generations. Like their ancestors, they were no doubt influenced as much by contemporary trends in church and society, both in New Zealand and world wide, as they were by family traditions. The fact that among those I interviewed were 'Christmas-and-Easter' Anglicans and regular church attenders – low church, high church, evangelical, charismatic, fundamentalist and traditionalist – attests to this. To whatever shade of Anglicanism they belong, their sense of duty to the Church seems to have remained and many might be seen as pillars of the Church.

Many men and women, past and present, have served on vestries, synods and countless church committees and organizations. Some, like Athol Williams (1899-1990) of 'Te Aute', served as lay readers, taking services in the outlying districts

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[11] Despite the granting of universal suffrage in 1893, women did not assume leadership roles in public life or in the churches. The virtues of domesticity and maternalism continued to be promoted in society by groups such as Plunket and the Country Women's Institute, and by the Church through organizations such as the Anglican Mother's Union, which in 1969 became the Anglican Association of Women. Women had a long history in voluntary and charitable work, which accorded with these values. See Breward, *Churches in Australasia* (2001), pp. 383-7; Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa* (1997), pp. 141-53.

[12] Evans (1998), pp. 144-5. See Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa* (1997), pp.119-24, for an account of the work of the Student Christian Movement and National Council of Churches and their involvement in the ecumenical movement.

[13] As far as I know no female descendants of Henry and William Williams have been ordained, despite the fact that the first woman was ordained in New Zealand in 1959, and that in 1977 the Anglican Church also took this step. By 1987 all diocese had women priests, and in 1989 Dunedin appointed the first woman diocesan bishop in the Anglican Communion. However, resistant attitudes remained, based on theological and cultural grounds. See Breward, *Churches in Australsia* (2001), pp. 383-7; Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa* (1997), pp. 141-50.

where they lived. Several of the family have built churches in their localities. These include the churches at Pakaraka, Pukehou (Te Aute), Wainuioru, and Te Puia. While some interviewees have seen such activities as a duty imposed by their class and family history, others, especially women, have experienced their involvement with the Church as an opportunity to expand their horizons beyond the domestic realm. Some have done this by becoming involved with the Maori church and Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, which they see as continuing their 'missionary tradition'.[14] These last, however, will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Charity and philanthropy

The Williams became a wealthy family and, following the practice of their urban middle class English ancestors, gave generously to charitable and philanthropic causes. While philanthropy may be a class phenomenon, it also has religious underpinnings. Religion dictated social and economic obligations, and the possession of riches was justified by the imposition of a corresponding duty of giving. There was growing social concern in both church and society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This reflected the ideological agendas of the wealthy, namely morality, fecundity, eugenics and empire.[15] In the first half of the twentieth century,

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[14] Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa* (1997), pp. 135-6; Morrell, pp. 224-5. After World War II Maori urbanised rapidly, experiencing cultural dislocation and active discrimination. In 1961 the Hunn Report on the Department of Maori Affairs advocated integration and was the basis of government policy throughout this decade. The churches on the whole followed suit, although there was some awareness in the NCC of the need to work towards bi-culturalism By the 1970s the move towards bi-culturalism was gathering momentum, stimulated by new insights into the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori land claims and cultural renaissance. 1981 saw the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal to deal with Maori land claims.
In the Anglican church there was increasing pressure, spearheaded by the diocese of Waiapu, for the separation of the Maori church. In 1968 at the Anglican General Synod Canon John Tamahori presented a sombre report on the state of the Anglican Maori pastorates. There was decline in the number of Maori adherents, in the number of Maori clergy, and in the rolls of the Maori church schools. As a result the position of the Bishop of Aotearoa was gradually enhanced. In 1978 General Synod established Te Pihopatanga O Aotearoa with its own council. In 1986 it responded to the Report of the Bi-cultural Commission on the Treaty of Waitangi by adopting the principles of partnership and bi-cultural development, and finally putting the office of Te Pihopa on the same basis as diocesan bishops. In 1992 General Synod approved a new constitution establishing three autonomous sections, Tikanga-Maori, Pakeha and Polynesia, working in partnership. In the words of Bishop Hui Vercoe Maori were now 'equal without shadow of domination', and 'responsible for the conduct of the Church's business in [their] own tradition and customs' [Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa* (1997) pp. 137-9.] Methodists have followed a similar path and both churches have attempted to educate their Pakeha membership on issues surrounding the Treaty and partnership. In 1996 Anglicans supported the call from Te Pihopatanga for national constitutional change along the same lines as the Church.
[15] Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich. The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago 1840-1914* (Dunedin, 2002), pp. 158-67. Ideological agenda of the wealthy included faith in the 'potential of education or moral

wars, epidemic and economic depression challenged religious belief. Many people came to believe that living a Christian life was the real test of faith, rather than adherence to any creed, dogma or denomination. While some Christians advocated radical social and political change, others began to see business as vocation, wealth creation as virtue, and philanthropy as duty.[16] Thus changing social and religious values reinforced the family traditions in this respect.

Philanthropic giving was a mark of Samuel Williams's practical Christianity, and Woods admits that there was 'an element of *noblesse oblige* in his benefactions'.[17] He gave to missions, he helped young men get established in life, he formed an endowment fund for church building, and helped with Maori health, education and development. In 1901, determined that the work for Maori and for overseas missions should continue after his death, Samuel established the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust with a fund of 49,000 pounds.[18] The work of this Trust continues today and is administered exclusively by members of the family. Its focus at present seems to be mainly on supporting Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa. It is discussed by a number of those whom I interviewed. Most of them see their involvement with the Trust as continuing the missionary tradition of their ancestors, framed now in terms of

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example as prophylactics against laziness and degradation', and the relief of hardship for the 'deserving poor'. Organizations deserving of support included the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Queen Victoria Jubilee Convalescent Fund, the Victoria League and the Plunket Society. All were concerned with 'domestic arts, the health and early education of children, hospital work, prohibition and imperial glory.' For an analysis of the Plunket Society in this connection see Erik Olssen, 'Truby King and the Plunket Society: An Analysis of a Prescriptive Ideology,' *New Zealand Journal of History* 15, 1 (April 1981), pp. 3-23.

[16] Breward, *Churches in Australasia* (2001), pp. 240-2, 248, 270; Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa* (1997), pp. 105-6, 108-110. Adherence to the mainline churches declined slowly. Anglicans suffered most between 1916 and 1936 with a drop from 42.95 to39.7 percent, but the nominalism of 90 per cent of adherents was a greater problem. Religious social teaching, both here and overseas, underwent change in response to the Depression. Until 1931 there was a 'puritan-pietist response', tacit and sometimes explicit acceptance of the status quo. By 1934 some religious leaders began to support radical social and political change. Labour was identified as the political party which best expressed Christianity in practice.

[17] Woods, *Samuel Williams*, pp. 219-20.

[18] Morrell, p. 155; Woods, *Samuel Williams*, pp. 218-26. Samuel built Maori schools, paid the salaries of district nurses and teachers for Maori, and supplemented the stipends of Maori clergy. He funded the launch of Apirana Ngata's industrial movement for Ngati Porou. A symbol of religious values at Te Aute is the mission-box, which is now in the possession of Jean Maclean. A story is told by Woods, p. 241, and repeated in various forms in the oral testimony, concerning this missionary-box. Samuel had encouraged his grandson, Athol to cultivate his own vegetable garden, and promised him a shilling when he brought him something he had grown. When Athol eventually presented his grandfather with a bunch of large carrots, he was given his shilling, 'but before he had time to pocket it he was aware of a CMS mission-box in the shape of a loaf of bread thrust at him by Samuel. "Now you may put your shilling in here and it can go where it is really needed," said his grandfather!'

Treaty partnership with Maori. This will be addressed in the section on the special relationship with Maori.

Several of the more prosperous family members who grew up in the era of war and economic depression, particularly among the descendants of JN Williams, have used some of their wealth to establish charitable trusts to support education and local community initiatives.[19] Like the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust these too seem to be mainly administered by members of the family. The formation of such trusts seems to me to testify to the value the Williamses have placed on (Christian) philanthropy. When I spoke to HB Williams about the trusts he had established he was not eager to talk about them, perhaps out of modesty, or because of their class association, or because they often also served as a means of tax avoidance. However, those involved in administering the Henry and Williams Williams Memorial Trust were quite ready to discuss it.

Family stories in a Christian frame of reference

A number of the family use religious terminology in their oral testimony. They speak, for example, of their 'calling', of 'evangelical zeal', 'transcendental experience' and 'simplicity'. These are linked specifically to the family history. For instance 'evangelical zeal' is interchangeable with 'missionary zeal', and 'simplicity' may be explained in terms of the lifestyles of the missionary generations. Some also appear to construct their narratives around myths, motifs and stereotypes which are Christian in origin and also have resonance with the lives of ancestors, particularly Henry and Samuel.

Most common in these narratives is the biblical myth of redemption. This embraces images of sacrifice and death, of ransom and paying the price for salvation. There is a story told in most of Henry's biographies that as he lay on his deathbed a boundary dispute arose between northern Maori tribes which threatened to destroy a 20-year

[19] See Evans (1998). The trusts include: p. 588, Jan and Leonard Williams – Springhill Charitable Trust 1967, Frimley Charitable Trust 1975; p. 604, H.B. Williams, snr., and Molly Williams – J.N. Williams Memorial Trust 1945, M. A. Williams Charitable Trust 1968; H.B. Williams, jnr., – Turihaua Charitable Trust 1962, Turanga Charitable Trust 1975, purchase of Eastwoodhill Arboretum in 1963 given to the nation in 1975 as a trust; p. 608, A.B.Williams – charitable trust in memory of the two sons killed in WW2; p. 609, Ruth and Gwen Nelson – charitable trust formed 1966.

peace. Henry, too weak to go himself, sent his sons to try and make peace, and one version of the story tells us:

There followed a stormy meeting of the two tribes at which Henry Williams's sons strove in vain to make peace. The Maoris decided to fight it out next day in battle. The bitterness had become intense; more than 600 furious men were ready for armed conflict, wrought to a pitch of frenzy. Then suddenly, as darkness fell that evening, the word went round both camps in an awestruck whisper: '*Te Wiremu is dead.*'

The Maoris were stunned by the news. No more thought now of fighting and bloodshed. Te Wiremu was dead. A truce was proclaimed at once; every man dropped his weapons. The rival chiefs marched side by side to their dead friend's house to pay together their last tribute of respect, and to carry him to his grave. One of the leading chiefs, who had insisted on being a pall bearer, said after the burial: 'My hand has touched the pall: I can no longer go back to fight.'[20]

The use of the words 'as darkness fell' evoke comparisons with the crucifixion, the story itself suggestive of Christ, the one dying for the sins of all. It is in fact the image from Isaiah of the Suffering Servant, and the Pauline theology of the Christian sharing in the suffering of Christ, that they 'may be glorified with him'.[21] We have seen how Henry and Samuel endured attacks on their honour and integrity for the sake of what they believed to be right. These stories also evoke the image of the Suffering Servant, which is called into play by others in the family whose narratives tell of suffering in the cause of justice, and bearing the wounds for the transgressions and misdeeds of others.

Another biblical image of the life of Henry is reflected in the title of George Davis's biography, *The Shield of Faith*, and in the biblical epigraph: 'The Shield of Faith, wherewith we shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.'[22] For instance, a story told in several books is that of Henry's confrontation with the 'great chief, Tohitapu, who was renowned as a priest endowed with the power of bewitching people'. As this angry chief threatened physical violence and chanted an incantation, the house servants trembled with fear, expecting their master to turn black in the face and fall from his seat. But as the minutes passed and still nothing happened they came to the conclusion that the white

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[20] Phyllis Garlick, *Peacemaker of the Tribes. Henry Williams – of New Zealand* (London, 1941), pp. 56-7.

[21] Romans 8:17, 18; Isaiah 53; 2 Corinthians 1:5 and 4:16-18; 1Peter 4:12-14.

[22] George Davis, *The Shield of Faith: The Life and Times of Henry and Marianne Williams* (privately published, 1998). The author quotes from the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, 6: 16. George Davis is a descendant of Henry Williams.

man's *atua* (divinity) had overpowered that of the Maori .... Though from that day Tohitapu lost his magical power altogether, he bore Williams no malice .... but became a staunch friend ...[23]

Here, and in similar stories in which, for instance, bullets fly around Henry but leave him untouched, we see the evangelist in the image of the Soldier of Christ wearing the 'breastplate of righteousness' and the 'shield of faith'.[24] There are those today for whom faith in the righteousness of their cause enables them to endure.

Henry is also the watchful, omniscient father. His portrait on the walls of many family homes reminds them of his constant presence. One man told me he had the portrait so that his children would be reminded to 'know their story'. Another descendant configures her story around the parable of the prodigal son, beginning and ending under the watchful eye of her missionary ancestors, the portraits of Henry and William.

Another image is that of Christian simplicity. No doubt the life of a missionary family in the1820s was of necessity a simple one, but Marianne also seeks to wean herself of the desire for worldly goods as part of her spiritual development.[25] In Samuel's household in the later nineteenth century a virtue is made of simplicity, despite his considerable wealth. Woods writes:

There was a Franciscan quality to his simplicity of life – an enjoyment of simple things and unostentatious pleasures .... The interior furnishings of 'The House' were plain, it is true. Linen was mended meticulously and each year the carpets were unpicked, turned around and resewn by hand to prolong their life. But there was nothing miserly about such thrifty housekeeping .... Far better to send [1400 pounds] to the relief of famine victims in India than to recarpet their rooms.[26]

A number of those I interviewed, especially those with links to Te Aute, spoke of simplicity, making do with little, not seeking affluence and being content in every situation.[27]

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[23] Garlick p. 27. Tohitapu was chief and tohunga of the Roroa tribe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The story of his challenge to Henry Williams in the early years of the mission was related in the journal of Marianne Williams, quoted in Carleton, Vol 1, pp. 39-43. The same story is told by Rogers, *Te Wiremu*, p. 58, and Davis, pp. 87-9.

[24] See Ephesians 6:14, 16. For other similar stories see Garlick, p. 30, Rogers, *Te Wiremu*, pp. 60-1, Davis pp. 89-91.

[25] Pamela Anne Gillespie, 'The Life and Writing of Marianne Coldham Williams 1793-1879'. (unpublished MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1996) pp. 65-70.

[26] Woods, *Samuel Williams*, p. 227.

[27] Philippians 4:12; see also the parable of the rich fool, and admonition to 'sell your possessions, and give to the poor', since a 'man's life does not consist in the abundance of his possessions', in Luke 12: 13-34.

Finally, Henry is most famously portrayed in his biographies as the peacemaker, a Biblical image which is reflected in Phyllis Garlick's title, *Peacemaker of the Tribes.* Numerous stories are told about his peacemaking efforts, both during the musket wars of the 1830s and the war between Maori and the British in the 1840s. We have seen above the story of his final peacemaking.[28] The memorial dedicated to him by Maori in Paihia in 1876 records that he was: 'A courageous man who made peace in the Maori War.'[29] The peacemaker is a Biblical image, the coming of the Prince of Peace foretold by Isaiah, and Christ as the fulfilment of the prophecy announced by Luke.[30] A plaque in Henry's memory on the wall inside the church at Pakaraka records the words of Isaiah that the swords are beaten into ploughshares and the spears to pruning hooks.[31] Today the idea of peacemaking is transmogrified in the family into Treaty partnership, and the special relationship with Maori. This subject, however, will be addressed in the final chapter.

Memory biographies

The first two memory biographies are those of men ordained in the Anglican Church, Martin Warren, a retired priest, and Peter Sykes, a deacon. Family traditions have influenced their choice of occupation, which in turn influences their narratives. Surprisingly, however, both are narratives of rebellion against what each perceives as establishment values within the family and society. The third narrative, that of Elisabeth Ludbrook, draws on both feminine rebel stereotypes and biblical myths for its structure. All three speak of having had life-changing spiritual experiences, and all are deeply concerned with integrity.

Martin Warren was born in 1934 in Christchurch. His father, a grandson of Samuel and Mary Williams of Te Aute, was Archdeacon and later Bishop of Christchurch.

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[28] Evans (1998), p. 36. Writing of Henry's death, Evans quotes from Stock's *History of the Church Mission Society*: 'now we have seen him die ... triumphing by his very death over the evil passions of the race he so dearly loved, and to whose salvation in body and soul his life had been devoted.'
[29] Evans (1998), p. 37. This is a translation from the Maori: 'He tangata toa ki te hohou rongo i roto i nga riri Maori.'
[30] See Isaiah 2:4 and 9:6-7; Luke 2:13-14; Matthew 5:9.
[31] Isaiah 2:4.

Martin attended the Cathedral Grammar School, Waihi Prep School where he was a boarder, and Christ's College. After a brief time at Canterbury University College he was sent to Oxford and Cambridge Universities to do his theological training. He married while in England and returned to New Zealand where he was ordained by his father in 1958. He worked in parishes in Timaru, Geraldine and Christchurch, and became very involved early in the charismatic renewal movement in 1966.[32] He was appointed a Canon of the Christchurch Cathedral in 1990. When I interviewed him he was retired and living in Le Bons Bay on Banks Peninsula, where he was writing a book.

Peter Sykes was born in 1956 in Masterton, and raised on a 'rehab' farm in the Wairarapa. His grandfather, Brian Williams, farmed at Te Aute, was chairman of the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust and deeply interested in Maori. His great grandfather, Arthur, was a Maori Missioner based at Te Aute. Peter attended local schools in the Wairarapa and then went on to Auckland University. He became a primary school teacher and then a youth worker. Later he went to St John's Theological College and was ordained a deacon in the Anglican Church in 1985. His wife is an ordained Anglican priest and at one time they planned to do missionary work overseas together. Since about 1988 they have lived in Mangere East, where Peter is a community worker among the predominantly Pacific Island and Maori population. He is also chairperson of Project Shelter Ltd, co-convenor of Auckland Diocesan Bicultural Committee and a member of the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust. At the 1998 family reunion seminar Peter was part of the panel of speakers which included Bishop John Paterson, Bishop Ben Te Haara, and Rev. Hakopa Hakaria. Peter's sense of family history is strong, and links between his present and the past are often explicit in his narrative.

Elisabeth Ludbrook was born in 1936 and raised at 'Tupe Tupe', part of the land purchased by Henry Williams in the 1830s. She grew up surrounded by Ludbrook aunts, uncles and cousins living on adjacent farms. Although her older sisters had had governesses and some private school education, Elisabeth attended the local primary school and boarded for a while at Whangarei Girls High School before completing her

[32] Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa* (1997), pp. 171-3. The charismatic renewal was at its height in 1970s and 1980s.

education at nearby Northland College. On leaving school she returned home to help on the farm and in 1963 married a Northland farmer. She was divorced 11 years later and, untrained in anything but farming, was obliged to support herself and her three children as best she was able. They moved first to the Bay of Islands, where she earned a living by selling tickets on a ferry. Later they moved to Sydney, where she did office and sales work, and then they came back to Auckland. When her children left home Elisabeth finally returned to Paihia in the Bay of Islands, where at first she was a companion-help to an aged Williams relative. She has since moved into her own house. Elisabeth does some portrait painting, was chairperson of the 1998 Reunion Committee, and is spear-heading an effort to establish a mission station museum in Paihia.

Martin Warren

Martin is concerned with living up to expectations within the church because he is a member of the Williams family and the son of a bishop. Using biblical myths, his narrative is about rejecting worldly success and trying to remain true to ideals of humility and servanthood, and of the church as a community filled with the Holy Spirit. Partly it is about his experience of the charismatic renewal, and partly about his refusal to accept promotion within the hierarchy of the church and his preference for working class parishes. His narrative is thus also concerned with class.

Martin was well used to speaking both from the pulpit and on radio, and was very much in control of his narrative, parts of which had a quite preacherly tone. He had made some notes beforehand, but did not often refer to them. Martin sees himself led by God, saying 'You don't necessarily have to choose what you're going to be best at, it's what you're wanted at.'[33] The story he announces is that of 'the PK – the preacher's kid', neglected by parents concerned with other people's problems, and facing the conflict of both rejecting and trying to live up to other's expectations of him. He remarks that his father was far more excited about the large pumpkin he had grown for Harvest Festival than he was about the birth of his son.[34] At one point in

[33] Interview with Martin Warren, 20 August 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A, 16.5.
[34] Martin Warren, 2B 15.3.

his story he refers to 'the Bishop, my father', as though this is the appropriate order; later he tells of receiving letters in England from his father signed 'Alwyn Christchurch', just as he would sign an official letter as bishop.[35]

Martin portrays himself as a rather isolated individual. Stories about himself as a child and young man are of being the odd one out, poor at most sports, not able to keep up academically at Cambridge. As his story progresses he begins to make a virtue out of difference. In some ways this could be seen as a story of rejecting upper class values, but it is more than this. It is also a determination to find his own way in the Church and an attempt to be true to the gospel. While Martin feels that he is expected to have an illustrious career in the Church like his father, the bishop, in fact he eschews such a path. One way to escape the shadow of a successful father is to be different. Martin prefers to stay in working class parishes, refusing offers of promotion and Church titles. He also becomes very involved in the charismatic movement at a time when many Anglican bishops and clergy were hostile to the movement.[36] The missionary ancestors also offer models for difference. Although he has chosen to focus on the relationship with his father, there are several moments in his narrative which point to the influence of myths about these more distant ancestors. These will be indicated as the analysis proceeds, but a general parallel with the missionaries may be drawn at this stage. Leaving behind the comforts of a genteel life in England, his ancestors chose the dangers and discomforts of life among the Maori. Then Henry, rather than admit to false charges made against him by Grey, chose dismissal from the CMS. So Martin, rather than becoming part of the Church establishment and assenting to promotion, sees himself as being faithful to the gospel by taking it to those less advantaged. He risks his popularity and his father's disapproval by sticking to his principles.

His narrative begins with a story of his stutter. This is obviously a story well told in the family, since he was probably too young at the time to remember it himself, especially in detail.

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[35] Martin Warren, 1B 20.1, 2B 27.4.

[36] Davidson, *Christianity in Aotoearoa* (1997), p. 171; Breward, *Churches in Australasia* (2001), pp. 329-30. The hostility of the bishops and clergy meant that many Anglican charismatics formed links with Pentecostals and became anti-institutional.

One of my early memories, the first bit I remember really I think was just being told, that apparently I had a stutter .... and my parents eventually took me to the doctor and found that I had the usual number of tongues and things like that, and then came a question to my parents: 'Do you really think he's getting enough attention at home?' And they had to admit that perhaps I was getting overlooked with this rather difficult elder sister and the vibrant, charming, younger sister, and I was the quiet one. So the question then was how do you build up the confidence, how do you calm things down. And so they decided that they would butter me up. The phrase came through again and again was: 'Now come on, eat up your meal, you're a very important person, you're the only son of the Archdeacon of Christchurch.' And this therapy worked .... Yes, I recovered from the stutter largely. Merivale Lane outside the church at Merivale was being extended, and extended roads mean drains and pipes and things and large holes ... I don't know how old I would have been – I would have been certainly I would imagine round about four or something like that, but like any other little boy I had a little cart on a piece of string, and I was helping the men dig their holes. Mostly the men were very helpful and kind apparently, but eventually one got a bit fed up with me being in the way and he said 'Look out sonny, if you're not careful I'll put you in the 'ole,' and I said 'Oh no, you wouldn't dare because I'm a very important person – I'm the only son of the Archdeacon of Christchurch.'[37]

The quiet humour in the last part of this story, told against himself, is typical of Martin's narrative. His position as the 'only son of the Archdeacon of Christchurch' is one that becomes important in his narrative.

Martin did not particularly enjoy school. Although therapy may have fixed the stutter, he also experienced being the 'only son of the Archdeacon of Christchurch' as a social disadvantage.

I remember as a school kid very much this ... I'd see a group of friends sitting and chatting and I'd walk up to them to join them, perfectly naturally, and suddenly the conversation would change because there was a dirty story in it. And there was a certain sort of <u>isolation</u> and that sort of – influence on things. And this came through in many ways I think, over the years.[38]

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[37] Martin Warren, 1A 0.3.
[38] Martin Warren, 1A 2.7.

At age seven Martin was sent to board at Waihi Prep School in south Canterbury. His memories, once more told with humour, revolve around the effects of the bracing climate and his sporting ineptitude. He was no good with a cricket ball, and too tall and lean for rugby, which he experienced as a 'tirade of abuse'.[39] Going on to Christ's College he did at least discover that with his tall build he was good at rowing, and he also enjoyed the brass band.[40] But he was still a misfit:

Again I was not quite one of anybody. The Deanery was just round the corner from College so I wasn't a day boy – I was a day boy but I wasn't. I didn't go cycling across the park to Fendalton. I didn't have any other friends to go home with. I was almost on the spot but I wasn't a boarder. So I didn't have the other networks of friends, and again I was, I suppose, a fairly lonely sort of a lad.[41]

His ability at rowing was an attribute that served him well in subsequent years at Oxford University. On the other hand his academic education at Christs did not serve him well. He describes himself at Oxford as a slow thinker, immature, culturally unsophisticated and struggling to keep up.[42] Martin spends much time in this narrative exploring his experience of Oxford and England, a very formative part of his life. The decision to go to Oxford is seen by Martin as very much part of family tradition to which, as we have seen, he reluctantly and tearfully conformed.[43] After telling me this Martin took a break which lasted about 15 minutes, during which he suffered from physical symptoms which necessitated lying down.[44]

Martin then goes on to compare himself with his father, constantly emphasising difference. His father was more interested in science, Martin in political science, history, architecture and art; his father was a good organiser and public relations man but not good with abstract concepts; and Martin notes with relish that his father was not as good at rowing. Martin had to turn down an opportunity for an Oxford rowing blue for the sake of his studies.

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[39] Martin Warren, 1A 8.9.
[40] Martin Warren, 1A 10.7, 17.1.
[41] Martin Warren, 1A 17.1.
[42] Martin Warren, 1A 10.7.
[43] Martin Warren, 1A 13.4. See excerpt in chapter three.
[44]. I wondered at the time if these symptoms were occasioned by emotional memories. He suffered no further episodes in the course of a long interview.

I actually got a delegation from the Oxford University Boat Club asking me to allow my name to go forward ... to join a training boat for the blue boat .... And I had this immensely difficult decision to make, because an Oxford Blue for rowing was a little bit like being an All Black. And it put – in one case I heard of one boat I think of five out of the eight, or maybe even eight finished up as bishops [laughs], which is wonderful. I suppose it's got something to do with the fact that at least the church sort of makes its way forward by looking to the past [laughs]. I don't know. But at any rate, I had this terrible choice to make – terrific status, acceptance, because I was still feeling as a student very much out of the thing; but I knew if I was rowing 21 or 25 miles a day and struggling with my academic things then, academically I would be <u>really</u> struggling. And so eventually I said no. I've often wondered whether that was one of the great things that would have had an <u>immense</u> difference in terms of the course of life – I've often wondered what effect it would have had.[45]

He wonders wryly if this was a defining moment, a crossroads in his life. Later he talks again about how being in the Oxford eight would have made him more sociable and more popular, and how this might have affected his subsequent career.[46] The story has parallels to the gospel story of the temptation of Christ.[47] It takes place at a difficult and lonely time in Martin's life, a wilderness, and a time when he is about to embark on his career. He is tempted with earthly glory and success, but rejecting it he chooses the harder and truer path. It also has parallels with Henry and Marianne's decision to relinquish worldly comfort for the privations of the mission field.

On a different level it is another comparison with his father, the bishop. The story is prefaced by one about Martin's father choosing between the Church and medicine. He chose the Church in which, of course, he was highly successful in worldly terms. Martin then proceeds to make the claim that he was a better rower than his father, and had to choose between rowing and his studies. He could have chosen status and acceptance, suggesting he could have been as successful as his father in the Church, but he chose the more difficult way. The conflicts of the son of the bishop and of the true disciple of Christ begin to overlap in his story.

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[45] Martin Warren, 1A 14.5.
[46] Notes on interview with Martin Warren.
[47] Luke 4: 1-13.

Reflecting on university days Martin appears to feel that he did, by dint of very hard work, become quite knowledgeable about the subjects he studied, but it was not always a happy experience. He often felt academically out of his depth, he realised that he was new to a 'cultured society like Europe' and had not assimilated the 'art forms, architecture, churches, music', and that he was immature compared to fellow students who had done two years National Service overseas before coming to Oxford.[48]

Yes university days were tough. I knew, I think, the meaning of the – not that I ever really seriously contemplated suicide, but I do remember standing on a London underground railway station platform, and if you've been there you'll know what I mean. As the train approaches there's a roar, there's a rise in pressure, there's a real tension as it comes into the station. And I remember thinking 'All I've got to do is take three steps and jump – that'll be it.' And I remember on another occasion looking over the edge of a bridge at the water slowly flowing very languidly underneath, and thinking 'How peaceful'. I think that whole academic strain and stress, it did have its effect.[49]

At this point Martin diverges a little in the chronological nature of his narrative to explore the question of when he first decided to be ordained. He tells me that for a while during the war he was interested in going to sea, believing this to be a 'genetic' influence from both Henry Williams and his maternal grandfather.[50] But in fact since being a young boy he had also wanted to enter the church:

I think ... by the time I was at Waihi, even then I knew that I wanted to be ordained. God was very real to me. I think my first experience of God – wasn't really, I suppose, an experience of God, but as a kid we had a bach at Leithfield beach, and I remember lying on a camp bed in a tent. We used to sleep outside the bach as a special treat for the kids, and I remember it suddenly dawning on me that I was looking out my eyes from inside out, and I was the only person who was ever going to be able to do that .... I became aware of this, and I suppose at the same time God was about as real to me as I was, very much part of my life, very much part of my prayers. I would talk to him. And when I got to Waihi, I was very happy to talk to people. In fact I got the reputation, I

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[48] Martin Warren, 1A 10.7.
[49] Martin Warren, 1A 19.2.
[50] Martin Warren, 1A 16.2, 28.5.

think, for being a bit of a missionary. Just as other people talk about cricket scores and so on ... this was just perfectly natural for me.[51]

This story marks another spiritual milestone for Martin, the moment when he becomes aware of his relationship with God. It has parallels with the story of the 12-year-old Jesus remaining in the Temple in Jerusalem after the Feast of the Passover.[52] His choice of the word 'missionary' and the belief that it was 'natural' for him to talk to others about God, are both significant indicators of the influence of family myth.

So by the time he went to England he was 'very emphatic' that he would be ordained.[53] His narrative now returns to his experiences in England and his increasing dislike of the establishment in the Church, its hierarchies and its neglect of the disadvantaged.

I'd always been interested – no I'm not quite sure ... I developed this – a dislike of the establishment. My father, because he'd come through from Marlborough, had got many friends who were – you know the whole structure of society in those days was ... the old school tie and that sort of academic – . The universities of Oxford and Cambridge really opened up the doors to power, and all his friends were genuinely very well known, famous names. And name dropping was really part of – it wasn't deliberate, it was just natural, it was the way it was. It didn't go down with me all that much. And I – I suppose also having come from a relatively affluent background, I felt the Church was really there not just for the rich and the powerful, it was there for the working class.[54]

This growing concern, which again seems to be both a reaction against his father and an appeal to his Dissenting heritage, was fanned by a number of the experiences he had in summer holidays while at university in England. One summer his father arranged for him to visit the USA. His chief memory is of the migrant ship on which he travelled, and which 'gave him a feel of a totally different culture':

But for a young theological student it was a great experience. I was in a ... cabin with, I think, about 20 people, and these drunken people coming in. There was a chap in the bunk above me and he would come in – he'd discovered a way through to first class, and Marilyn Munroe was up there

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[51] Martin Warren, 1A 23.0.
[52] Luke 2: 41-52. William Barclay, *The Daily Study Bible. The Gospel of Luke*, lst edition revised (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 30, stresses the importance of this moment, 'the day when Jesus discovered who he was' and became conscious 'that he was in a unique sense the Son of God'.
[53] Martin Warren, 1A 31.6.
[54] Martin Warren, 1A 36.9.

[laugh], so he thought, and he'd come back somewhat drunk at night and he'd go to climb on to his bunk and he couldn't quite make it, and so he'd just lean on his bunk with his shoulders on the thing, and then the knees would go out of lock and suddenly – thump ... as his knees hit the bottom of the bunk and woke me up yet again. And there... were guys there who would pick up girls and have them in bed with them and be performing there. Very good training [laughs].[55]

There are echoes here of the stories of Henry and Marianne's experiences on board the convict ship to New Zealand in 1823.

Another summer he joined the Student Christian Movement mission to Crawley New Town.

And the idea was to try and bring people together, to make community, rather than the big amorphous mass of London. I found this fascinating as a piece of theory. So after, when I had a gap between university and going up to Cambridge, I got a job for two months as a builder's labourer, a gardener's labourer in Crawley New Town. I lived with a family, put on an immense amount of weight with a diet of fish and chips and so on. It gave me a wonderful insight and feeling for the thing, and I really did see myself as being – aiming at a – an urban existence, rather than country. I thought I'd like that sort of life.[56]

Although Martin focuses here on the urban community, it finds echoes in his childhood memories of visits to Te Aute, where he remembers 'the cosiness of that tiny community,' which is his link to the family in the early days.[57]

Finally as part of their theological training, students were sent to observe the worker-priest movement in France. Martin was very impressed:

But the great thing about the worker priests was .... these five men lived together, they had all their money was shared, they wrote their own services together as a team, they had their own Mass, they all went to the same father confessor. They didn't choose each other, they were chosen. And so for five years over that period they were there, they were really moulded to being team people. So that when they went out, the rule was that they had to join in Mass

[55] Martin Warren, 1A 33.3.
[56] Martin Warren, 1A 36.9.
[57] Martin Warren, 2B 11.6.

and have a time of fellowship every week with other members of whatever team they went to, and that was to overcome a sense of fragmentation or loss of faith. But I found that a very moving experience, the depth of it, the – the commitment, the simplicity of it, their intense antagonism towards Rome .... It had a big impact, and it certainly sort of gave me a greater interest in sort of working class situations.[58]

Martin's inclinations expressed here are much more in tune with the lives of his missionary ancestors than with his own father. He is impressed with the small close-knit team, committed to their calling for life, prepared to give up wealth and position, antagonistic towards the church hierarchy, reliant on one another to help maintain their faith, and dedicated to the disadvantaged. Here, also, the lonely young man witnesses community and fellowship.

Also at this time Martin tells how he met and married his wife. He appears to stress the qualities that made her suitable for the kind of life he had in mind, her involvement with Hungarian refugees and with the Cheshire Homes for the disabled.[59] The couple returned to New Zealand, a voyage that seems to be seen as almost a re-enactment of the voyages of Henry and Marianne, William and Jane.[60] Martin was ordained by his father, sent first to Timaru and then to Upper Riccarton, where he was at last among the working class, trying to put into practice some of what he had learned at Crawley and in France. He recalls:

So here was I in – my interest in Pontine, in Crawley – here was I, new housing area, whole idea of community and so on, being interested in it in the sense of community. Asked the street, when the new vicarage was built for us – little street – I asked everybody as they came in, what community of Christchurch they thought they were living in. One said Ilam, because that was the local post office .... Another person said they lived in Islington .... Another person said they lived in Burnside ...I think there were about five different names ... all these names in a stretch of about 10 or 12 houses. And the sense of how did you get a sense of community out of that. So that was interesting how my time in Crawley sort of came together with that.[61]

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[58] Martin Warren, 1B 2.9.
[59] Martin Warren, 1B 4.0.
[60] Martin's wife told me subsequently that she knew she was coming out to New Zealand 'to be a missionary'. Notes on interview with Martin Warren.
[61] Martin Warren, 1B 6.0.

Martin's final comment here suggests that he saw all of this experience as the hand of God leading him.

He worked very hard in Upper Riccarton for two years and was angry when he was asked to go to Geraldine, a large, wealthy, country parish. Here he had the difficult task of following in the footsteps of a very powerful and extroverted vicar, who had 'gone to pieces' when his child died after a long remission of illness which appeared to be the result of intense prayer by the parishioners.[62] Many of the parishioners were also confused and unhappy about what had happened, and Martin had no answers for them. It was out of this experience, that he became involved in the charismatic renewal.

He tells the story of how this happened in some detail. At the time there were many young clergy who were feeling overwhelmed with their responsibilities, so the bishop organised a retreat to help them learn how to cope with stress. Because of his experience in Geraldine, the main issue for Martin at this time was the question of prayer and healing.[63] At the end of the retreat he and a few others asked for prayer. He is not specific about what happened, but describes it as 'an extraordinary experience of acceptance and love'.[64] This is another spiritual milestone, and the equivalent of the biblical stories of Pentecost. Martin says he became one of the leaders of the Anglican charismatic renewal in Christchurch, leading services in Cathedral Square of sometimes 18,000 people. He later reveals that the charismatic renewal was another source of difference between himself and his father, a microcosm of what was happening throughout the church at this time with respect to charismatics and conservatives.[65]

In Martin's narrative at this point, the interpretation of dreams becomes a central focus. I understood him to see dreams as a communication from God, based biblically on the stories of Jacob, Joseph, Samuel, many of the Old Testament prophets as well as Paul in the New Testament. For instance, telling of when he was

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[62] Martin Warren, 1B 9.4.
[63] Martin Warren, 1B 16.0.
[64] Martin Warren, 1B 20.1.
[65] Martin Warren, 2B 9.3. See Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa* (1997), p. 171; Breward, *Churches in Australasia* (2001),pp. 329-30.

invited to move from middle-class, rural Geraldine to working-class, suburban Hornby, he does so in a way that evokes the call of Paul into Macedonia: 'During the night Paul had a vision of a man of Macedonia standing and begging him, "Come over to Macedonia and help us." *And when he had seen the vision, immediately we sought to go* into Macedonia, concluding that God had called us to preach the gospel to them.'[66] Martin says: 'Both Lee and I had dreams just before we got the letter inviting us to come. *We knew, and so we went.*'[67] [italics are mine] This appears to be the call to mission, a call also experienced by his ancestors.

Hornby was a 'very poor working-class parish', which Martin says his father regarded as a terrible waste of his life.[68] He had seven or eight church centres, as well as industrial, air force and hospital chaplaincies to look after. For a time he ran a very successful youth group which attracted delinquent youth, but he says that eventually he had to close it down, because although he could speak about the love and power of God, 'they could not encounter it for themselves, because the rest of the parish was not renewed.'[69]

The significance of his time in Hornby seems to be that it was a vindication of his belief in the prophetic nature of dreams. He recalls that while still in Geraldine, he had had a recurrent dream in which there was a fire in the church, but afterwards the building, instead of being 'black and ugly', was brown and 'felt good, really good'.[70] The understanding of this dream is a drama that plays out for much of the rest of Martin's narrative.

One of the churches in the parish was very derelict, so they began a rebuilding programme. When the architect chose brown for the colours of the restored church, Martin says he realised that this was the church of his dream, emerging from the fire. He tells the story thus:

Fire is a symbol of the coming of the Holy Spirit, charismatics praying for renewal. Sure it had been happening, it really was happening and the

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[66] Acts 16: 9, 10.
[67] Martin Warren, 1B 26.2.
[68] Martin Warren, 2A 18.3.
[69] Martin Warren, 1B 29.0.
[70] Martin Warren, 1B 24.6.

congregation was really coming alive. Some really good things were happening. There was a lovely feel about it, a real community of pretty good caring. So I preached about that. This is what – God is really doing something. And somebody else had a dream and they had been in the parish hall and came out and looked at the church and it hadn't got a roof. What happens when you raise the roof? That's when you really sing isn't it? So we thought about worship and we preached quite a bit about worship and improving the quality of worship, what it really means to worship. And the level of worship went up. Somebody else – meeting in the hall, came and looked in the church, saw it full of rubbish and rubble and so on, and looked out the window. There in the driveway was a clothesline full of dirty washing. Dirty washing hung up in public! What's that mean? That's when people have rows. That's when they sort it all out in public and everybody else knows what's going on. Sure there were some broken relationships in the church. So I preached about that. Then a fortnight after the last nail went in I was on the loo when the doorbell went, very loudly and very long. When I got there, there was nobody but I could hear the roar and the breaking glass. The church and the hall both got completely destroyed in the fire. The new extensions were badly damaged but repairable. And we were left with a chance of having to rebuild with an insurance pay out, indemnity only, about $18000. It was an incredible load of pressure. And the grief of people who had really slaved to do it and to see their extensions damaged and looking awful – it was an horrific grief thing. But somehow it happened. It was rebuilt, and it was good, it was really good – and people really valued it. And I don't think I could have survived that if I hadn't had that dream, and I knew it was going to be OK. There was a feeling that God has got it under control. It's going to be OK. Now the whole point of that is that I had seen – <u>they</u> had seen, not just I – but other people had seen dreams about the future, and they proved accurate. And I have seen many dreams like that, many of them.[71]

Martin then goes on to explain that it is out of this experience and many others like it, that he is now writing his book, seeing the future through both dreams and other means.

The Bible talks about the future. There is hope, there's incredible hope of a new age of justice and peace and love, which makes the whole world worth

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[71] Martin Warren, 1B 39.5, 46.0.

while. So my book is about that. There are other possibilities, yes, but it will only happen when people are really prepared. People only really get motivated when the crisis is on. Crises bring out the best in people .... Don't know if you ever ... read a book called Future Shock? – Alvin Toffler –

Alvin Toffler, mmm.

And one of the things that book did for me was to ... give me the idea that society can behave like – can have a breakdown just as an individual can have breakdown .... And I believe society is heading into that sort of breakdown – that sort of crisis – and we'll come out of it into the sort of age of hope.

This is in your book too?

This is the theme .... But as I understand it the real guts of the biblical story is that humanity is capable of going through a global cultural conversion, and suddenly the whole value structures, the pendulum swing, we've got a very strong swing towards a totally market-orientated economy. And it's interesting now that on the radio this morning that some country – can't remember where it is – is talking about going to the IMF wanting funding for a social security blanket. In other words the financial – they're recognising, as things are getting really bad for them, that the market economy is really fundamentally failing the people [laughs].[72]

Towards the end of the interview we return to a discussion of his parents. He remembers with sadness that neither were able to express their pride in him as they were both 'stiff upper lip type people'. His mother would not see him off to boarding school at the station because she would cry, and only once came to a service that he took:

That I think was probably the only time, with one exception which I'll mention in a moment, the only time in her life when she came to a service that I took. Now ... she was very proud of my being ordained. That was very important, absolutely, but the only time that she – she would listen in to [my radio] broadcasts, but that was private, she wasn't showing anything. The only other time that she's been at a service that I took was when she was dead. And she didn't want a large family gathering, but after the service in the cathedral, a few friends were invited round to the house, but I had to go to the crematorium alone and take her committal. It was tough, with one undertaker whom I knew quite well, standing –

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[72] Martin Warren, 2A 0.6, 2.5, 3.7, 5.2.

That was her wish?

That was her wish, specifically. I think she was really saying, in a sense ... that 'Yes I want you to be there, I value what you've done, but I haven't been able to express it'. That's what it said to me. Nevertheless there was a sort of – sadness and pain that it couldn't have been earlier. My father did come. I think the first time he came to something I was taking a retreat in the Community of the Sacred Name ... and he was proud as punch, but he couldn't express it. Later on when my mother had died ... he would come and have lunch with us occasionally at Hornby, and extraordinarily he, for whom – yes, one of the sad things of life was that – a thing I've hinted at I think but not made explicit – was a real sense that going to Hornby was a terrible waste of my life. 'After your education you should be getting - you should be having a more important parish than that.' And that <u>really</u> hurt.[73]

He goes on from these rather painful memories of his parents, to expand on his view of what the Church should and should not be. While these views might have made his Dissenting ancestors proud, they are a reproach to his own father:

Because as far as I'm concerned the love of God is not just for the wealthy. And the church really, for its integrity, if it doesn't succeed in a working class area is somehow not the church. And I suppose right back from my days in Crawley that was part of my conviction, that the church cannot live just to the level of the – quote – 'aristocracy'. And I got very hurt by the large number of people who kept saying to me when I was in Hornby, 'What are you doing there? You should be having something more important than this.' People, all sorts of people said it, people who should <u>never</u> have said a thing like that .... It showed a real weakness in their understanding of what the church really is. I have always disliked the use of titles in the church. In fact I once moved a motion at synod that the diocese commends the reduction of the use of honorific titles of status within the church .... I've no objection to a title which indicates the job that person is doing, but I object to phrases like, with a father who was bishop, 'My Lord' .... And that is, you know, that is so far from the humility of the gospel, it's nonsense. And people would ring up and say, 'How do I address a Dean? Is it the Very Reverend, the Most Reverend, the Right Reverend, the Not Reverend or – ?' [laughs] And what does the word reverend mean? It means someone who ought to be revered. And the whole point

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[73] Martin Warren, 2A 18.3.

about service is that you are there to care for other people, not to be collecting the honour for yourself. And so I have a very strong resistance to that.[74]

Martin says he was an embarrassment in the diocese because 'as a bishop's son ... he ought to be something', but although he finally and belatedly accepted the position of Canon of the cathedral, he has now given up even wearing a clerical collar because it sets him apart.

Martin's narrative is about both living up to and living down his father, a conflict that is fought out in the religious arena. His narrative is marked by three main spiritual milestones: his sudden awareness of his relationship with God when he decided he wanted to be ordained, his experiences while at Oxford, and the Pentecostal experience which changed his ministry. The main turning point in this narrative seems to be his refusal to accept a place in the Oxford University rowing eight. This story is a metaphor for his decision to take a path different from that of his father, and at the same time draws on the biblical story of the temptation of Christ in the wilderness. As his career in ministry begins to open out before him, Martin sees himself, like Christ, rejecting the way of power and glory and choosing the more difficult way.

Martin has been born and raised in the South Island, seen relatively little of his extended family at Te Aute and had little to do with Maori. And yet his narrative owes more to the missionary influence of his ancestors than mere ordination in the Anglican Church would suggest. It seems to me that his evangelical insistence on remaining in ministry among the working class is more than just a form of resistance to his father. It also harks back to his missionary ancestors in two ways; firstly because Maori are seen to be among the working class, thus a vicarious mission; and secondly because like his ancestors he eschews worldly advantage to pursue his chosen course. His more distant ancestors thus provide the model of resistance to the immediate ancestors, not only his words but his chosen course a reproach to his father. Martin himself points to Henry Williams in his choice between a career in the navy or a career in the church. Despite this resistance, Martin's regrets regarding his mother's inability to express her pleasure in his work and his father's disappointment in his choice of parish, indicate how much their approval meant to him. Martin's

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[74] Martin Warren, 2A 21.5.

desire for his parents' approval and his determination to resist their influence is expressed in the tension between different aspects of the family myths of religion.

Peter Sykes

Despite having been raised in the Wairarapa, Peter is profoundly influenced by his Te Aute antecedents, and the link to the missionary myth is much more explicit in his narrative. Living and working in a Pacific Island community, he is concerned with multiculturalism, and places great importance on 'knowing your own story' as the basis of identity. He therefore makes very conscious links between his own life and the stories of his ancestors in his choice of occupation, his rejection of the pursuit of affluence, his fight for social justice and his challenges to the establishment. The link here with his Dissenting ancestors seems inescapable.

An important influence in Peter's life was his maternal grandfather, Brian Williams of Te Aute, a man who was deeply interested in Maori history. Peter is also very conscious of links to both the Church and to Maori through his great grandfather, Canon Arthur Williams, who succeeded Samuel Williams in charge of the Maori Mission for the Waiapu Diocese, and through his great great grandfather, Edward Williams, who was a judge of the Native Land Court. Both were fluent speakers of Maori.[75] He views the Williams family as having a special role with respect to biculturalism and the Anglican Church. However, Peter's religious views are not conventional and he claims to have little affiliation with the institutional Church. His belief in the importance of 'knowing your own story' as the primary basis for cultural and personal identity, is one which he attributes to the influence of his grandfather. It is a belief reinforced by living and working among Pacific Islanders and Maori. Living with integrity is an important concept in Peter's narrative. His key themes are about encouraging people to discover their own stories, about the fight for social justice, and about challenging the establishment, whether the Church, the Employers and Manufacturer's Association, the Government, his peers in well-paid jobs, or certain groups of Maori and members of the Williams family. He often makes statements like 'I believe', 'we believe', 'I've always had a belief'.

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[75] Interview with Peter Sykes, 11 February 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 7.0

Peter sees the Williams family history as a 'pastoral-missionary tension'.[76] The word pastoral here could be understood either as a reference to pasture and the care of sheep, or, with some irony intended, as the care of souls. It is the first sense that I think Peter intends, or at least it is the one he follows initially in his narrative. He begins his narrative by describing how this is manifest in his own childhood situation, his mother linked to the Te Aute missionary part of the family, but living on a 'rehab' farm which had once been a part of the 'Te Parae' Williams's estate in the Wairarapa. ***So we grew up surrounded by the Williams landowners .... It was sort of the landed gentry versus us [laugh]), the tenant farmers almost .... Yeah people like Alister Williams at 'Te Parae', they were the feudal lords who would chair committee meetings and run the fund-raising committee, much like the old English sort of local parochial committee. And so we would go and visit them on almost state visits.***[77]

Peter's most frequent family contacts were with the Sykeses, but he would also holiday regularly with his grandfather, Brian Williams, near Te Aute. He remembers Brian as 'semi-mythical', a person of 'enormous mana', gentle, astute, reflective and articulate, prepared to listen and to ask questions at the right time.[78] Although Brian, as a farmer, could be seen as belonging to the traditional landowning side of the family, Peter puts him in the 'missionary' camp, along with Samuel, Edward Marsh Williams and Edward's clergymen sons, Alfred and Arthur:
Well [my mother's] grandfather was Edward Marsh and of course he was a Maori Missioner who spoke fluent Maori. They related to the Maori leadership ... knew the East coast off the back of their hands, and it was such a different setting. And then you get into Brian and the war, the way the war dislocated everything, and seemed to break some of that ... relationship and make –. Brian went on to the farm and lost the contact that Alfred had, and Edward Marsh and them had through the church, and Arthur had through the church .... But during the 60s with Roy [Brian's son-in-law, Roy Seymour of Tuwharetoa] becoming a member of the family, Brian picked up those links and really became an acknowledged holder of whakapapa, somebody who, possibly because of the mana of the Williamses, the leaders – people's lineage and story goes on for a long time [laughs] – and people have long memories,

[76] Peter Sykes, 1A 10.5.
[77] Peter Sykes, 1A 0.3.
[78] Peter Sykes, 1A 3.9.

and I think that allowed him to have access to information and stories. And because Samuel had started Te Aute and Brian was a direct relative .... he therefore was one of those who put his hand up and became a leader in that bicultural partnership. Others [of the Williams family near Te Aute] became leaders in more traditional, sort of feudal ways [laughs].[79]

There are a number of small slips here that may be of significance. Peter speaks of Edward Marsh Williams as his mother's grandfather. In fact he was her great grandfather, but this elision has the effect of bringing the missionary generation closer to the present. Peter also claims that Edward Williams was a 'Maori Missioner who spoke fluent Maori'. He was correct on the second point only, since Edward was never ordained, but this error slants his view of the family history in favour of the Church. However Edward's two sons, Alfred and Arthur, were Maori Missioners, a fact that Peter appears to assume that I know. He argues that World War II broke the continuity of the family's relationship with Maori through the Church, a relationship which was resumed only after Brian's daughter married a Maori and Brian himself became interested in whakapapa. Peter thus distances himself from the 'traditional landowning' Williams gentry, the pastoral side of the family who benefited so much from the partnership with Maori, and claims through Brian, the farmer, the missionary side as his own heritage, those who helped forge the partnership with Maori:

[B]ecause of Brian, I – it was not even a choice, the links are there. I can still go ... even though I have been on a totally different parallel journey, I could still go to any of the maraes on the East Coast or in the north, Ngati Porou or Ngapuhi, and claim that right to stand.

Because of your relationship to Brian?

Yes. Well not necessarily Brian, but the Williams whanau. And even here in Mangere when I've stood and spoken on the marae, and during the whaikorero said, 'I come here as a visitor and a stranger, but I also can claim to stand as a Treaty partner, as somebody who has walked in partnership with the Maori people since the 1820s.' Then they will in many cases, the kaumatua, not the radicals necessarily, will acknowledge that journey, that partnership, and that story. And that is the power of whakapapa I suppose. And it's one of the things that the Williams family like any other sort of – what do you call them – great families [laughs], grandiose, story-telling families [laughs] – that's part of

[79] Peter Sykes, 1A 7.0.

– I mean that lineage is power, lineage is relationship, and whakapapa is about creating relationship.[80]

While Brian has been a powerful influence in Peter's life, he argues that there have been other formative experiences and influences. He regards his mother as a 'strong advocate of the Williamses', who remembers the family history and who helped to pay for younger family members to go to the reunion. But growing up, at times he had the feeling that being a Williams was 'like being forced through a drain pipe. Even as a 16 or 17-year-old, feeling like somewhere in this there is some sort of expectation of because I'm related to the Williamses there is something genetic about having to follow a path.'[81] Even today, both as a clergyman and a grandson of Brian, he feels a pressure to become chairperson of the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust.

The 1973 family reunion was also an important moment for Peter, made more so by a spiritual experience at that period of his life, which he returns to later in the narrative. Of the reunion he says:

It was really the first time that I'd had contact both with the family en masse and listened to the stories, and secondly had contact with the story of the family as it impacted on the Treaty of Waitangi. And Pihopitanga, the Maori Church.... the whole of the Anglican Maori church was present, all 28 of them. And that was because of Brian ... His role in that reunion was to invite Bishop Bennett and Maori clergy, both within the growing Maori Missions and Maori ministers who were in the mainstream Church, to come a long and be part of that journey. And that was quite significant, because I mean it put it in context that, basically the Williams Trust has sponsored the outreach of the Maori Church in New Zealand at that point. And they'd kept that story going as advocates. You know, whether people like how they did it, or whatever, they were crucial. I suppose you could say like te ahi ka, holders of the flame, they, throughout from 1823, through the Treaty right up to the present, have kept on saying 'How are we affirming Maori, our Maori partners? And how do we train, resource and empower to the point where basically they're able to do their own

[80] Peter Sykes, 1A 11.2.
[81] Peter Sykes, 1A 19.3.

thing?' And the Trust has always done it in a way that I believe in terms of partnership, has broken away from a paternalistic, patronistic type model.[82]
As Peter recalls this reunion experience he brings its relevance for him into the present with his work on the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust. This is typical of his narrative, not just a chronological sequence, but constantly moving to and fro between past and present.

Peter speaks at length about the Trust, the importance of keeping it in the family, partly as a way of 'maintaining the [family] story'.[83] He discusses the current problems the Trust is experiencing in maintaining its partnership with Maori in Pihopitanga:
You take any partner for granted you're likely to get a slap on the face. And so we went to the Wananga and just talked really and said, 'Look, you know we want to be heard, we want to be recognised, and we want to be in conversation. Who do we talk to? Remember your journey'. Because that's what they used to say to us [laughs]. See, when Pihopitanga wanted resources they would say, 'Remember. Remember your forbears, remember the journey of Henry and Edward and Arthur'. And so we're saying, 'Remember [laughs] – yeah, remember the journey. Remember those that have supported and walked with you, and laughed with you and cried with you.'[84]

He then goes on to talk about how the reunion experience made him realise the importance of social groups telling their stories and having rituals which celebrate significant events. 'When we stop telling stories, when we stop celebrating rites of passage, life becomes a solid continuum.' Now working in a largely Pacific Island community, he says part of his job is to help those communities to discover and tell their stories and celebrate their important milestones.[85] Living and raising his children in that community he also deliberately takes time to tell them their own family stories 'so that my children can be proud of their journey, their story'.[86]

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[82] Peter Sykes, 1A 30.1-33.9.
[83] Peter Sykes, 1A 23.1.
[84] Peter Sykes, 1A 33.9.
[85] Peter Sykes, 1A 39.3.
[86] Peter Sykes, 1A 42.7.

Peter's narrative now turns from these reflections back to his own life course. He returns to his university years, and his decision to go teaching.

I suppose because of the Williams connection, working cross-culturally has never actually been a phobia of mine, and also working for affluence [laughs] has never been a goal. So I've always had a sort of a social – social justice thing that goes back to Brian, Brian's questions and Brian's analysis. And so I ended up teaching in central Auckland.[87]

He talks about his educational philosophy, using learning styles that affirm people rather than concentrating on numeracy and literacy outcomes. However these attitudes challenged the system in which he worked and contributed to his decision to leave teaching.[88] As he explains later in his narrative:

I believed that if I was doing my job properly, it didn't matter what topic or content people were looking at, they could get the skills to achieve the literacy and numeracy goals, and they would probably do it better because they were passionate about it. However, the school said no, you have to study Chinese hats on week one, and I thought, you know, bureaucracy and the learning environment. And the cap-all really was that the kids were coming to school hungry and tired. There was a major gap between the understanding of what family support in the school and that dialogue – and I much preferred working with families, so I left in a sort of evangelical zeal.[89]

Although this is the only time that Peter refers directly to his own 'evangelical zeal', it is a prominent feature of his narrative. His earnestness is mitigated however by the ability to laugh at himself.

Peter goes on to talk of the family service centre he runs in Mangere East which, because of his belief in a 'holistic existence,' provides education, health and social services. He talks of the importance of a sense of belonging, of finding a 'place of standing' before going out into the wider community and encountering difference. He speaks of trying to create synergies between cultures and languages, of maintaining relationships despite radical differences, of overcoming the hegemonic view of the people of Mangere as a class of 'house cleaners' and 'show people', of mental health as a social and cultural problem rather than a medical one. Finally he is concerned

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[87] Peter Sykes, 1B 3.8.
[88] Peter Sykes, 1B 7.0.
[89] Peter Sykes, 2B 14.1.

about the competence and accountability of social agencies, and about the neglect of 'tikanga Pakeha' in Mangere, all of which he is planning to talk about in Wellington, challenging those in power to promote change.[90]

Eventually Peter returns to the question of reunions. In 1998 he felt there was too much partying and big showy events, and not enough time for people to learn and talk about the family story.[91] He sees this as a growing need now that the family is dispersing all over New Zealand and overseas, and so losing touch with their family history.

And so many of those young people have been overseas and spent a number of years overseas and have come back and are wanting to understand their own stories. And because their parents are the next generation up, who sort of became the first level of diaspora, they haven't always told, or valued ... have not passed on the stories to the next generation. It's like some people in the war never ... declared what it meant to them, and so what happens is the following generation has lost the connection to the two generations back who could have told them, who lived it. I'm in the exceptionally privileged place of being on the Trust where those people get together and do do story-telling. And the Trust every two or three years ... we actually use the evening specifically for story-telling, and we get some of the older members of the family to come in and say, 'What was it like?' You know, people like Jean McLean and Bill talking about their father and their grandfather, and the old aunts and the different farms, and the different – relationships with – the – Ngati Kahungungu in the Hawkes Bay/Heretaunga areas.... They talk about those in a deliberate sense and last time we had that, and we also had people like John Paterson come and say in the wider context of the Anglican Church this is the impact that this family has had, both historically and critically. And saying, 'These are some of the areas that you've stuffed up [laughs] – and these are the areas of significance, this is where you have journeyed, this is where you have been part of it.' And so while at the last reunion people were starting to come back and that, there is a sense that if we don't tell those stories now, then the stories get lost.... Because of the diaspora you very quickly get absorbed into other spaces.... And one of the things that the Williams family, for better or worse – there are still cores of Williams

[90] Peter Sykes, 1B 8.0-45.0.
[91] Peter Sykes, 2A 1.9.

hatcheries, like the East Coast, like the central Hawkes Bay, Wairarapa ... and Bay of Islands, and there's still quite a core up there, and that means that there's still that dialogue. And the last reunion basically placed a seed amongst a number of those younger, sort of 18 to 40 year olds .... And so the seeds are planted with them to start asking questions and to be proud of the fact that we are here, we've got both a critical and a historical role to play. I mean I've got a particular role because of my connections, because of my, I suppose, theological and political experience, to keep posing those questions.[92]

Peter goes on from this point to say that at the time he was doing his theological training there was much debate on the Treaty, and he has had to think quite hard about it. He does not see Henry Williams as a 'saint', but as a man of 'integrity and courage'. He argues, perhaps somewhat disingenuously:

One of the arguments I suppose was whether Henry Williams intentionally sought to hoodwink the Maori or the Pakeha. I think he was proactive for Maori, my reading how he lived his life. There were some things he tried to eradicate out of Maori culture, but he walked to Wellington to make sure that the Wakefield Company did not mandate the whole of Wellington. You know, that's not the image of a person who wants to rip the system off.[93]

Peter sees the Treaty as a 'prophetic document' because it talks about protecting rights of guardianship rather than of ownership of natural resources; he believes that guardianship should be a collective one in which each culture recognises the other's different stories and understandings of the land and we 'value our own taniwha'. He then ties this back to teaching his children their own stories especially the Celtic; the meaning of their tartans, the places their forbears have come from, their heritage of music and art and literature, and more recently the history of, for instance, the evangelical movement of which Henry Williams was a part.

So we're teaching our kids that they can search out, if they want, an indigenous spirituality to follow through ... [that] they've got a legitimate spiritual culture that they can claim, before they have to – you know, New Zealand's in a great age where everyone wants to claim some sort of traditional

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[92] Peter Sykes, 2A 5.8.

[93] Peter Sykes, 2A 11.3. While it is true that Henry Williams opposed the large-scale acquisition of land in the Wellington region, his presence there was occasioned by other concerns – see Rogers, *Te Wiremu*, pp.234-5.

spirituality but Christianity's not good enough. So we say, 'Well, find something that's authentic, that you can link back to, that tells something about your story, because then you can stand with honesty with your own story. If you capture somebody else's you're an imposter [laughs].'
Is Celtic so far back it's not real for them though? Don't you also have to say, like you talked about us all having taniwhas (sic), it's the experience of recent generations too?
But they need to know that the stories like Arthur and Merlin, the stories of Braveheart ... they're part of their stories. They don't always have to go to Maori for legitimate fairy stories, myths. And they don't have to go to Ulysses and the Greek epics to have their own story.[94]

I ask him about the names of his children, Luke Wiremu, Samuel Joseph and Joanna Mary. He explains that each has one biblical name and one Williams family name. His eldest son for instance, Luke Wiremu, was so named as 'a direct claiming on our part of that [Williams/Maori] journey'. Peter believes the children's names will become part of their own personal stories, because 'people live into their names'.[95] (This begs the question, which I do not ask, in what way has he 'lived into' his own name. However, one could hazard the guess that he would see his first name, Peter, as making him a follower of Christ, sent to spread the gospel, and his second name, Brian, as an invitation to tread in his grandfather's footsteps with regard to the relationship with Maori and living unpretentiously.)

We go on to talk about the extended family at Te Aute, the loss of homestead and what it means, and eventually the influence of his grandfather on Peter's own understanding of culture, and his own love of Maori history and whakapapa.[96] This he says has taught him to value his own culture and to encourage others to value theirs without being judgmental.[97]

Eventually I asked him how it was he decided to go to theological college. He explains how after leaving teaching he became a youth worker, the church providing his rent and food and paying him $5000 a year. He sees these two years as 'quite

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[94] Peter Sykes, 2A 20.0.
[95] Peter Sykes, 2A 25.9.
[96] Peter Sykes, 2A 33.0-46.0.
[97] Peter Sykes, 2B 0.1.

prophetic', in that he developed his present model for working with people, listening to them, helping them make links with others and resolve their own issues. During this time he and Vicky got married and began to think of doing mission work. They went to St Johns to get a suitably challenging training and part of this was to spend a month in the Philippines. He recalls the experience:

So we went to the slums of Manila and we went to the missionary Manila and saw the total contradictions – you know a lot of church people live in missionary ghettos. They didn't have any Philippino friends – they did things to the Philippinos.... We saw the affluence, we saw the indigenous church when we went down to Mindanao where people were facing the Christian-Moslem debate, we talked with the different church leaders ... and said, 'What sort of person – I'm a New Zealander. We're training for ministry. What sort of person do you need to come as a church support worker?' And they said, 'Well, can you do this at home?' We said, 'Well not yet.' They said, 'Well don't come back – [laughs] – don't come back until you can do it in your own community.' .... We decided we didn't have the arrogance to go back, and at that stage we ended up going back to Ponsonby and continuing the work.[98]

This suggests the idea that the mission continues in New Zealand.

He goes on to explain how he sees his role as a deacon and servant:

I've always had a love-hate with the institutional Anglican Church, and – I mean I'm ordained as a deacon, not a priest. I don't believe my job's to do the magic, my job's to open the door for people so the magician can meet with the others ... My role is to be the servant God, present and giving sort of life connections to people where ever they are. And if that connection allows them to go into the holy table, well that's great, but I'm more trying to get the holy table to come out to where the people are [laughs] – to find God where they are, rather than have to play the game.[99]

This rather cynical view of religious practices within the Church as magic and game-playing, is again reminiscent of his Dissenting ancestors. Peter claims to have chosen a more practical role as deacon in simply helping people improve their lives.

I asked Peter to give his view on the mission to Maori undertaken by his ancestors.

Well it's a similar one. The thing I admire about those people though is they came and lived, they gave their life to it. The missionary endeavour now is a

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[98] Peter Sykes, 2B 21.5.
[99] Peter Sykes, 2B 21.5.

sort of a consultancy, and a much more critical analysis of the valuing of life. I mean I have real difficulty in the exclusive nature of Christianity. God is present, and I have no problem with a God, whatever we call that in my spirituality. I have no problem with believing that Christ was a prophetic immanence of God. However I have real difficulty with the exclusive immanence of God in Christ, and that leads me to some trouble in terms of trying to convert everyone to that mindset. What I try to do is convert people to finding ... whatever language they want to, to identify into their understanding of a God, in that bigger picture .... I mean to me spirituality is about being able to acknowledge that we are part of a bigger realm of some sort. I mean that's why in terms of what we do, I don't have the answer for people, I don't have the answer for how do people live good lives. My philosophy is that people need affirmation to find that and name it for themselves. It's not my job to judge or divine the language of how they do that.[100]

I asked Peter how it was he came to join the Christian group called Navigators when he first went to Auckland University. This is his reply:

I joined Navigators because I fell into it. I had a spiritual experience, a sort of road to Emmaus experience .... Before I left Wairarapa I was involved in an accident and had a sort of experience which ... challenged me to think about the bigger picture, and being ... in relationship and ... resourcing of people. In more conservative terms I suppose to love and to serve.[101]

In the university hostel Peter's room mate and several others were members of Navigators, and he recalls:

One of them particularly challenged me and said, 'Well look, you're saying this and doing that.' You know, continually there's always these challenges to live – live what you talk. So that's why I became involved with them and I was quite interested in their – I mean they provided a support network and a good, interesting, in terms of learning ideology and growth, at that time they provided an information and a mastery base that allowed me to go on and argue further on. But like a lot of fundamentalist churches ... they give you that foundation,

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[100] Peter Sykes, 2B 25.5.

[101] Peter Sykes, 2B 28.8. Peter refers to the story of the two disciples walking to Emmaus after the crucifixion, when they were joined by a third man. It was not until much later in the day when the man broke bread with them that they realised it was the risen Jesus. Luke 24:13 – 35.

but they didn't allow me to go on and develop my own analysis of it. At that point I left and became an Anglican again [laughs].)[102]

However, Peter tells me that now he and Vicky are no longer really part of the institutional Church, which they find 'narrowly conservative' and 'traditionally male'. Instead he says they are just part of a 'community of faith', which represents one of the 'polarities' of Anglicanism.[103]

I ask about his earlier comment that working for affluence is not a Williams goal, a comment which echoes claims of Christian simplicity in other Te Aute family narratives. He replies that the choice of work and lifestyle that he and his wife have made, has meant that often they have had only a part stipend and have only just been able to buy a house. When he sees many of his peers in government jobs or as lecturers, he feels he too could have had those jobs, but says 'I'm in the community working, because that's where my integrity says I need to stand.' At the same time, he says, he recognises that he earns at least twice what many of his clients receive.[104]

Approaching the end of the interview, we discuss family memorabilia. He says he is not a 'great collector of antiquities', and has given away several items. He does, however, have a portrait of Henry Williams on the dining room wall, and a copy of one of his naval chronicles 'as just a reminder of story-telling for our kids'. He also has some of the Maori research writings of his grandfather, Brian. But he has given away a sketch of Tohitapu by Henry Williams, which he once possessed, to St John's Theological College. He explains the reason for this:

I had another print of Tohitapu I gave to St John's College. Henry Williams did a number of sketches of the prophet – tohunga – which I felt was better at St John's College than hanging on my wall [laughs]. Yeah, so I tend to give them to people, or put them in places where they'll be some value.

I would have thought having Tohitapu on your wall would have been good story-telling for the kids.

Yes it would have been but it's not a resolved one, and –

What do you mean by that?

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[102] Peter Sykes, 2B 28.8.
[103] Peter Sykes, 2B 36.7.
[104] Peter Sykes, 2B 39.9, 3A 0.1.

Well I mean ... part of the reason in giving it back to the church was to remind the church of the journey of ... providing integrity for the indigenous spirituality. And Tohitapu by nature was a direct area of conflict between Williams, as an evangelical missionary, and the traditional Maoritanga, and it's part of the Anglican Maori church that they've never really talked about. In fact one of the conflicts when the prayer book was put in place was the debate ... between the sort of understanding of God as Io, as opposed to the God as Atua. And so the indigenous – indigenization of the Christian Gospel was opposed to indigenous spirituality of God. And that hasn't really been resolved as far as I can see. I don't know how much that dialogue's still going on. I'm bit out of the loop.

You actually gave them that picture though as a challenge?

Yes. Well I thought St John's College needs to actually take seriously, and in some ways – it's probably lost it – you know [laughs].[105]

This is yet another example of the theme of challenging the establishment, dissenting from the traditional Church. Although this particular issue is not something that Henry Williams himself would have understood, Peter still appears to see it as being in the ancestral tradition.

Just as Peter is trying to tell his children their story, so, he says, he is intentionally living out 'the stories that have been planted. Some of them are my own and some of them are other's. I decide which ones of my parents and my forbears that I take on... and discard the others.'[106] As an example of this he tells me that although his son is very successful academically he wants to be a farmer, following in the footsteps of Peter's father and grandfather, and Peter approves of this choice, partly because he thinks it is 'quite subversive' that Luke refuses to be forced into a more academic career. I ask if he sees himself as subversive and he agrees that this is so, but confesses that it is sometimes 'quite scary' because:

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[105] Peter Sykes, 3A 2.9. References here to Io and Atua are explained by Bronwyn Elsmore, *Like Them That Dream: The Maori and the Old Testament*, 2nd edition (Auckland, 2000), pp. 81-4. In the 1860s knowledge of a traditional cosmology headed by a supreme God, Io, was spread among Maori. Whether this was indeed a traditional concept or one which owed its existence to missionary teachings is not determined. However, Maori came to equate Io with the God of Israel, Jahweh/Jehovah, or Ihowa in Maori, rather than with the Christian idea of father God, Atua, or his son Jesus, who was often referred to in the New Testament as Ariki, a demi-god, emphasising his human qualities. Thus Maori came to consider Jahweh/Ihowa and Io to be the same, a connection supported by the fact that both Jahweh and Io are sacred names regarded as esoteric knowledge.

[106] Peter Sykes, 3A 10.4.

I'm always in the situation where I'm the outsider or the different person. .... I try to create questions for people ... questions in partnership, rather than being antagonistic ....to question, to challenge, to open doors, to see what happens .... [But] even if I radically disagree with people I still try to maintain a value of them as people. I can't bring about a better community if I destruct along the way .... If I start talking about a just society, then everything I do is just.[107]

In answer to my comment that to live like this requires a degree of earnestness, which others have commented on as a family trait, he replies:

Well, sometimes I scare people because I am so earnest, and I'm not prepared to make light of people's difficulties. People's lives are serious things ... but you can do it with a sense of humour. And also I don't have any great sense of my own self .... My integrity is about living my life in the best way that I can, and helping them live their life the best way they can.[108]

Despite the earnestness to which he admits, Peter laughs a lot, at times enjoys his subversive role, and is often cynical about powerful people and institutions.

There are two myths operating in this narrative, interdependent on each other. One is the family myth, that of the Williams as missionaries, in which religion and biculturalism meet. The other is the cultural myth of the servant God, which is by its nature subversive, and is expressed in the ideals of Christ-like living, the search for authenticity and integrity, the refusal to compromise with yourself and trying to 'live what you talk'. Both include elements of subversion, the notion of standing in defence of the powerless and challenging the establishment. Peter's emphasis on these aspects of myth enable him to reconcile in narrative the conflict he feels between the pressure to fit the family mould and the need to resist this.

Elisabeth Ludbrook

I stayed with Elisabeth in Paihia for several days in November 1999, while doing interviews with other family members. My interview with her took place over two sessions several days apart, and as well we had many unrecorded conversations. Elisabeth chose to begin the first session by talking about recent events in Paihia that

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[107] Peter Sykes, 3A 15.0.
[108] Peter Sykes, 3A 15.0.

concerned her and the wider family. Two days later we recorded her life narrative. On both occasions Elisabeth portrayed herself as fiercely independent and a rebel: she is a three-year-old determined to saddle her own pony, a teenager set on breaking every school rule, a sole mother having an affair with a much younger man, a woman brave enough to speak out on moral issues when the rest of Pakeha society is too afraid. Standing up for what is right, she also portrays herself as defender of the underdog, the powerless and the suffering. It is the story of the rebel woman, a narrative stereotype using stories of transgressive behaviour as symbols of a 'utopia of freedom' and change.[109] At another level her story is also a myth of redemption, reflecting elements of the parable of the prodigal son and Pauline suffering servant theology.[110] The rebellious younger child, disgraced by her divorce and an extramarital affair, leaves her home and family and is reduced to doing any work she can find to support herself and her children. Finally she returns to Paihia, where she is welcomed and surprised to feel so at home, becoming immersed in the family and its activities. Then she who has been forgiven is chosen among all the family to be the bearer of forgiveness for those who have wronged the ancestors.[111] Elisabeth is constantly aware of 'the old missionaries looking down on her', and expresses a sense of predestination as she asks 'Why me? Why was I chosen?'

Elisabeth begins her story with the events of the past month, a story which immediately identifies her as a defender of the honour and integrity of Henry Williams. In the spring of 1999 Kingi Taurua, one of the leaders of the local Te Ti Marae, Waitangi, announced that he intended to remove from the building the carving of Henry Williams, which forms one of the centre poles. His reason, according to Elisabeth, was his belief that Henry Williams had stolen land from the tribe. This was reported not only locally but also in national newspapers and on television.[112] Elisabeth wrote to the local paper 'sticking up for Henry Williams ... because the accusations were unfair', but says her letter was not published because the editorial staff are 'pro-Maori' and afraid of retribution. Some Maori, including the Anglican

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[109] Luisa Passerini, 'Women's Personal Narratives: Myths, Experiences and Emotions', in *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives,* edited by the Personal Narratives Group (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989), pp. 190-94.
[110] For the parable of the prodigal son see Luke 15: 11-32.
[111] For instance in Paul's letter to the Colossians 3: 13, he writes: 'As the Lord has forgiven you, so you also must forgive'. See also Luke 6: 37.
[112] For example *New Zealand Herald* Oct 8 1999, p. 8; Oct 9-10, p. 4.

Bishop of Tai Tokerau, Ben Te Haara, were also opposed to the removal of the carving and invited Elisabeth to join them in protest at the marae. She says she was ready to go when the removal was suddenly called off.[113]

Reflecting on the situation around Paihia, Elisabeth distinguishes between a group of 'radical' Maori 'who are against Henry Williams and anything to do with early missionaries and anything to do with the land', and those who remain 'loyal to Karuwha'.[114] She moves back in time to when Kingi Taurua made a claim on land around Paihia, recalling that it was the first time she had seen 'Pakeha fear':

They wouldn't speak – there was a television crew up here looking at this, and no one would give an opinion, and I wasn't used to that personally .... It was not right, so I had a little say back then all that time ago on national television.[115]

She explains to me that she believes 'radical' Maori do not understand the situation properly, because they are looking at the very large tracts of land which Henry Williams held in trust for Maori from the 1840s. This, she tells me, was intended to protect Maori interests, to stop 'the government' buying the land cheaply and selling it on at a profit, but it failed because in the end the government confiscated all the land held in trust by missionaries and sold it.[116] The 11,000 or so acres that Henry bought for his children in the 1830s is not an issue, according to Elisabeth.

After some discussion in which she explains to me her understanding of Maori protocol, we move on to talk about her current work for a Williams museum in Paihia. For some time, she says, she continued to work with an earlier proposal to put the museum in the 'Mary Williams' house on Karuwha Parade, but when this scheme failed she turned her attention to buying back some of the land further along on the parade on which the original mission buildings once stood, land that surrounds the present Anglican church at Paihia.[117]

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[113] Interview with Elisabeth Ludbrook, 8 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, tape 1 side A 0.3.
[114] Karuwha - see glossary. The name is used here as a way of emphasising Henry Williams's close relationship with Maori.
[115] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1A 5.2.
[116] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1A 10.2.
[117] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1A 28.2, 32.6, 38.1, 40.5, 1B 0.1.

Elisabeth's story is interrupted from this point by a number of phone calls relating to the removal of the Henry Williams carving from the marae. This makes the interview rather disjointed, but also gives it immediacy. For the moment the removal is once more to go ahead. Between calls she tells me about what she sees as the refusal of other Pakeha to speak out on the land claim, and about her investigations in the Alexander Turnbull Library, which convinced her that her ancestors were 'squeaky clean':

I came away so proud of them. I was proud of them because in the land transactions I read a land purchase by George Clark saying – there'd be four lines of so many horses and so many blankets and so many spades – the payment. When I read Henry's he'd paid over twice what everyone else was paying, and he didn't have much money anyway. I just thought he was <u>so</u> particular about doing it right, that he even paid twice what all his contemporaries were paying.[118]

It was this knowledge, she says, which gave her the courage to speak on television on the programme, Te Karere. When I asked her how people reacted to what she had done, she replied: '<u>Huge</u>. They thought I was a great big hero, and I had phone calls from cousins in the Wairarapa saying "Good on you, girl! But don't get in too deep." But I'm thinking, "Well what did <u>I</u> do? I just sat there and said what I knew" '.[119] Although not asking directly, these last remarks have the ring of the question 'Why me? Why was I chosen?' This is the first time it occurs in the narrative, but not the last.

After further discussion on her museum plans, I remind her that when I first phoned her I had said I had no idea whether the history was relevant to the family any longer. Her reply to this is quite emphatic:

I grew up with that.

Discussing the history?

Well yes, because I grew up at 'Tupe Tupe' and Ohaeawai, and we had those two very large etching portraits of Henry and William on the dining room wall. So as a little child I remember sitting under those two portraits and thinking, 'That old missionary's watching me again.' .... But my father always talked about it, he always talked about the history a lot, which I suppose his father

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[118] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1B 1.4.
[119] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1B 4.1.

had done also. And it's different growing up like that. We were surrounded by Maori .... [and] we grew up with our extended family, and my father was always talking about it, it was coming up, you know ... and it related through the Maoris so much because they would introduce it ... [an] example, OK? If someone like old Tame Clark at Ngawha died, suddenly the story of how he's shorn for my grandfather because his father had worked with the missionary, George Clark, so they knew each other already. There was all this inter-relating, whenever there was a happening.[120]

Here we see the importance in mnemonic transitivity, of talking about the history not only in the family and the extended family, but with the community of those who have known the family over the years, perhaps to be seen as overlapping mnemonic communities.[121]

She is in the process of telling me some of the old stories she recalls hearing, when we are once more interrupted by a phone call about the carving. Elisabeth returns to the interview with a reflection on Henry and Marianne living among Maori, in which she draws parallels with her present concern of protesting the removal of the Henry Williams carving:

Well to come here and live with your wife and small children amongst cannibals who were into tribal wars totally ... to come and live and walk ... amongst them without a weapon ... It registered with them more than anything else he could have done I think, personally, was to walk in amongst these warring tribes with no weapon. And talk to them, and make friends with them.

Are you saying that they liked that fearlessness and ... being prepared to stand up for –

Mmm. I'm quite sure they did.

Do you feel that, when you do this, what you're involved in? It's something they actually respect. I mean it may land you in a bit of controversy and strife at times but basically they respect you for it. Is that what you're saying?

I think so. Yes I do. Not just me – I mean that's taking it back to me, but I think, watching them, ... the people the Maoris come to or involve locally, if they're Pakeha they're always seem to be ... a particular calibre where they are simply honest, courageous people. I don't know how else to put it. And I'm

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[120] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1B 20.8.

[121] Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago and London, 2003), p. 4.

sure ... that the reason Henry and Marianne were so successful here was because they were so honest and courageous.

So where this discussion started a minute or two ago with the reasons that some members of the family are keeping their heads down, so to speak, are you saying ... that it's a mistake to try and duck it, that it should be faced?

I'm <u>definitely</u> saying that. I really sympathise with the ones who have young children, because that puts them in a fear area and those young children come ahead of ... whatever the ideals are may be leading them, but once you're through that period of time where you haven't got young children who are going to be threatened on the way to school, what's there to be afraid of? That's my question. And yes ... I don't think anything like enough people come forward to say, 'That's not right.' It saddens me. It really does. Because if there's one thing the Maori respect it's the person who comes forward and says, 'That's not right'.[122]

Here, though she tries at one point to deflect focus from herself, Elisabeth appears to envisage her outspoken opposition to what is happening as being in the ancestral tradition, seen metaphorically as walking among cannibals and warring tribes with no weapon.[123] Thus Elisabeth appears to link the stereotype of the independent woman to her 'honest and courageous' ancestors.

She then goes on almost immediately to tell me a story from her childhood in the 1940s, which I think is intended to mark the beginning of her understanding of Maori:

Well I remember my brother and I going and visiting the Maoris just lived down the hill from where we lived. Now we would have been, I suppose we'd have been five and nine. And the Maori kids were our friends. So we went to their house and they lived in a corrugated iron – shack. It was really probably half the size of this room we're in now, and it had a dirt floor and it <u>ab-so-lutely</u> stank. Because back then, and you probably remember from your own schooldays, Maoris still smelt like Maoris. We used to call it the Maori smell. And they – it was very potent, it was very distinctive, it was their own particular smell, and they all smelt like it. And we went there and in this – shack there was the area where the mother cooked which was like a corrugated iron

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[122] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1B 27.4, 31.0. These arguments echo what is written about Henry Williams. For instance Phyllis Garlick writes, p. 27: 'The Maoris were impressed both by his fearlessness and his physical prowess'; p.30:'The Maoris admired courage before everything, and such encounters won for him the respect and gradually the trust of the tribes.'

[123] There is a reference to this in Garlick, p. 14. However it is in connection with Samuel Marsden rather than Henry Williams.

chimney that stuck out the side. I mean the health regulations of today would have a fit. You walked in the door straight on to the dirt floor. Now everything was like made out of ti-tree, and the bunks up the side of the wall for all the children, they were simply layered like in shelves. And then there were some sacks, they would be oat sacks or something like that there was so much of back then, and they divided off the parents' bedroom. And the parents' bedroom was simply a wider big bed area made out of – everything was slatted ti-tree all bumpy and lumpy and uneven. And then the koaka was put on the top of that, and that's where they lived. So Sam and I visited them there. And there's no window – if there's window it's got a sack over it, it's very dark. And there was a creek so the water was taken from the creek, all bathing was done in the creek, all the clothes were washed in the creek. It was three metres from the house. And I remember going home and saying to my Mum, 'Why do Maoris live like that?' – I'd have been nine – and she said, 'Darling, they like to.' And it was years and years later when I began to know more that I realised that they were so poor – they were so poor.[124]

This story appeared to be a well-told tale, being related again in the following session. It is a view of Maori which would seldom be expressed today, but told here because it signifies for Elisabeth her sympathy for Maori. This is linked in the narrative with her disgust at the events at Bastion Point in 1951 and 1977, and her approval for many of the claims to the Waitangi Tribunal.[125] She argues that she supports just claims for compensation, but that not all Maori claims are just, and when they are not she is prepared to stand against them.[126] She thus portrays herself as sympathetic to the plight of the underdog, but also a woman who, like her ancestors, seeks the truth and displays moral courage.

In the second interview session Elisabeth starts with her childhood and proceeds with a more or less chronological narrative, beginning with a picture of herself as a three or

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[124] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1B 35.7.

[125] In 1869 the Native Land Court set aside 700 acres at Orakei as a reserve for Ngati Whatua. Subsequently, despite numerous court actions and parliamentary petitions by the tribe, the government proceeded to buy up this land, and evict the occupants. In 1951 some were evicted from their kainga and relocated in state houses. In 1977, when the government again moved to subdivide 60acres at Bastion Point, the Orakei Maori Action Committee occupied the land and demanded its return to Ngati Whatua. The government sought an injunction from the High Court ruling that the occupation was illegal, and in May, 1978 600 policemen were sent to clear the protesters and demolish their buildings.

[126] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1B 40.4.

four-year-old determined to saddle her own pony.[127] She continues with her memories of the war years, which show her both independent and in sympathy with Maori. The Maori Battalion was camped on their farm and after school she would secretly visit the men in the camp whom she recalls would 'give me ... sweet biscuits and sit me on their knee and tell me stories'.[128]

Recalling her school days she says that with three older sisters she says she could scarcely wait to get there, but:

I finally got to school and my first day of school really turned me off school for the next 12 years, because .... at playtime the children all gathered around me and just stared at me. It was very strange .... So I ran behind the shelter shed to virtually hide myself, and all these children, and there would have been a good 12 of these children, sort of not much older than me, and they followed me around and I stood with my back against the shelter shed wall. And these children stood in a great big circle all the way round me – and no one said a word, they said nothing. And I just stood there and I said nothing ... it was really extraordinary .... I never ever saw them do it to another child in all my school years, and I have no idea why it was me.[129]

Elisabeth does not treat this as simple childhood curiosity or even as victimisation. Instead it seems to mark her out as different in some way, as chosen, and it is the second time in her narrative that she asks 'Why me?' It is an event that she will refer to later as having some significance.

She recalls that the family lived 'on the edge of the village' with a 'wide variety' of children nearby, although in fact most of the Maori children went to the two Native Schools in the area. She continues her memories of school with a repeat of the story of visiting the Maori family living in the iron shack beside the creek, and another of a boy who was punished every morning for being late, because his father required him to milk the cows:

He had these deep, deep cracks in his hands from milking, dreadful .... So of course if he got the strap they would bleed. And then he'd have to get on his pony and go straight home after school and be there for the evening milking.

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[127] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2A 0.4.
[128] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2A 6.6.
[129] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2A 7.5.

And really his life showed in his face. And there were quite a few kids who lived like that. They were very poor but the parents were – it's like the parents had children to have workers. Dreadful, but true, it's true of the times. So Terry used to turn up and get the strap again in the morning – never a smile, you know those kids who never smile. And even as a child your heart would bleed for them because you knew how they were living.[130]

In this context both stories are used to demonstrate her empathy with the underdog.

Weekends are seen as a time of great freedom and independence, symbolised by the mobility afforded by ponies and the ability to ride around the district visiting friends all day long.[131] They would often visit their Ludbrook cousins, or the Masons 'who lived in a beautiful old home called "Ahiki" '. But she recalls that while she would visit poor people who lived in 'little dark overcrowded houses', she could never invite them to her own house, which was big and rambling with each child having its own room.[132]

Memories of home are very cosy and no doubt some of the activities Elisabeth recalls have also fed into the making of family myths. Her memories are of story-telling and sing-songs around the fire at night, of listening to Children's Hour on the afternoon radio, of dressing up in old clothes from the big trunk in the attic, of wet days making scrapbooks at the dining room table. Again she recalls that 'the two missionaries would gaze down upon us.'[133] Later there were Ludbrook family tennis parties and winter dinner parties with poker and pontoon.[134] However, she completes this nostalgic journey with an assertion once more of her rebellion, with memories of the excitement of the older girls returning home every school holidays, and how within a few hours she would be in trouble with them for having dirty feet and being 'badly spoken'.[135]

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[130] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2A 19.2.
[131] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2A 22.0.
[132] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2A 19.2.
[133] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2A 27.0, 33.4.
[134] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2A 30.8.
[135] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2A 33.4.

Later in the interview she tells a story concerning her grandfather which again demonstrates her fearlessness in standing up for what she believes is right, just as Henry Williams used to do:

Every year [my grandparents] would come up by train from Dannevirke, where they had a big farm, and they would stay for a month. And my grandfather just thought we were the pits – oh, he thought we were the pits. And I remember being something like 11 years old, and Sam and I were playing at something ... and my Mum was calling us for dinner. We were obviously having our meal a little ahead of the adults with the grandparents there. So she was calling us and calling us, and we were saying 'coming', and doing whatever we were doing. And my grandfather jumped up and he waved his fist in the air and he yelled at us, and he said 'Get to your mother, get to your mother!' He said 'Suffering Abraham, get to your mother and do as you're told. How you suffer!' So we both sort of shot to our feet and tore out the door at a fast pace. Then we were charging half way across the hall, and I was always sticking up for my bro who was four years younger, and no one ever dared sort of do anything to Sam because they had me to deal with, that kind of stuff. We went charging across and... our grandfather's virtually charging along behind us waving his fist in the air and saying, 'Suffering Abraham, how you suffer!' And I remember thinking, 'He can't do this! He can't do this to Sam'. So I stopped in the middle of the floor and I turned round and I – I was only a little kid, and I looked at this man who was all of six foot two and he had these eagle eyes and this great big nose and staring down at me, and I remember standing in the middle of the floor and saying, 'Yes we suffer, yes we suffer. Whenever you're here we suffer, suffer, suffer.' And this old man was looking at me and he threw his head back and screamed with laughter .... We became just the greatest friends from then on. I just loved him to pieces, but he was very intimidating.[136]

Eventually Elisabeth was sent to boarding school in Whangarei herself. She recalls the first few days:

And I remember these little country girls crying all night with homesickness. And I was one of them the first night, and I got sort of into the first hour and I could hear all these kids sobbing, and I remember sitting up in bed and thinking, 'Everyone's crying, everyone's – so homesick.' And I was so angry with every parent who ever sent a child to boarding school. They cried for

[136] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 3B 3.3.

three weeks, those kids. They were just little farm kids... out of Mourea and Pouerua and Whangarei Heads, never had to wear shoes for longer than an hour at a time. And we were one of them. So, that was my introduction. I really – I think the rebel in me definitely came out when I was at boarding school because I can remember standing in front of the rules of the house. There were something like 46 rules of the house on a big notice board. And I remember reading it through – I was standing there all alone, and I was reading it through and thinking, 'How dare they. You can't talk after lights out and can't run in the corridor. You can't use a telephone if you want to call your parents. How dare they! I'm going to break – every – one – while I'm at this place.'[137]

Elisabeth says that most of her rebellion was just 'silly and adventurous', but when she was told she would not be allowed to attend her sister's wedding because she had not completed a detention, it hardened in the face of perceived injustice. She recalls the day after the wedding:

I remember we were all seated in our big drawing room at home and I virtually strode up and down the floor with my finger in the air saying, 'I will not go back. You cannot send me back to that ridiculous place.' .... I hated injustice really. So anything unjust I seemed to react super strong to .... So I went back and completed the year, and then I went on to Northland College, which meant that I got on a school bus at the farm gate everyday, and I absolutely loved that place, I absolutely loved it. It was 75 percent Maori, it was the worst school in the country reputation-wise ... and I absolutely loved it.[138]

At Northland College, Kaikohe, Elisabeth remembers that she did well at athletics, and living at home was able to train her horses and ride in shows.

When she left school she went home to work on the farm until she got married. She recalls her marriage very briefly:

So I got married after that and we went farming at Maungataroto, my husband and I, and – that was pretty disastrous really.

Mmm, that was the 25 years you told me were not good.

Twenty-five years, yes, 25 years – probably a bit more than that really. So I'd had this wonderful upbringing and freedom – and then I – I came out of my

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[137] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2A 36.9, 42.5.
[138] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2B 0.1, 1.9.

marriage after 11 years with three small children, and really I was it, because my husband never paid any maintenance. There was nothing to support us but myself. My parents had retired from the farm so they had no income. And I was suddenly, with no training and no experience except farming, thrown into a world where I had to survive with three small children.[139]

She got a job selling tickets on the Opua ferry, and received lots of family support. But she says things changed when her daughter got into bad company at secondary school, and her siblings withdrew their support because she was having a love affair with a man 17 years younger, whom she refused to marry. She says: 'I had become the bad girl .... My family were horrified. This was the mid 1970s so it was happening a lot, but it was still pretty new in families like ours.'[140] She took the children to live in Sydney, and reflects on this move as a major step in her growing independence:

It did a lot of things for all of us, but especially for me, because I went from being notorious to totally anonymous, and I went from being the very poor cousin of a very wealthy family to being totally on my own, and what I was inside this body is what I did for four people, just to bring home that wage. So for three years I got jobs and worked .... It established me I suppose in my abilities to cope.[141]

After three years she had to return to organise affairs with her ex-husband and pay off debts. She describes her 12 years in Auckland as a period of barely surviving on one meagre wage as her children grew through their teenage years.[142] This period of Elisabeth's life, away from home and family and struggling to manage, may be seen as her time in 'a far country', at the end of which, finally, the prodigal returned to Paihia.

At this point there was yet another phone call, and when Elisabeth returned she was anxious to talk about something else entirely, saying: 'It's something I really need to share.' This was an event that had happened only about four months before the interview, when the head of the CMS had come to New Zealand as part of a world tour of sites of CMS missions. Bishop Ben te Haara had phoned Elisabeth and asked

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[139] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2B 4.9.
[140] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2B 6.3.
[141] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2B 11.2.
[142] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2B 14.7.

her, as a descendant of Henry Williams, to join a group of Maori churchmen and New Zealand representatives of the CMS for a day of visiting sites around the Bay of Islands. At lunch Elisabeth sat with the CMS visitor and she recalls the conversation:

She looked at me and she said, 'Elisabeth, it was a very, very bad thing that happened to Henry Williams under the Church Mission Society. And you know,' she said, 'grossly unfair treatment and should've been firmly apologised for a long, long time ago.' And I said, 'Well, really it was, Diane.' And she said, 'Well, you know it's in all the records of the Church Mission Society ... it's one of the greatest mistakes.' And I said, 'Well, so it should be.' I found words actually coming out of my mouth that I hadn't thought, but that's the way it was. And one of the other ladies there, one of those lovely, smiley church ladies who do good things all their lives, she jumped into view and she waved her hands and she said, 'But Elisabeth, it wasn't really the CMS's fault. It was really George Grey and Bishop Selwyn that brought it about.' And I said, 'Not entirely.' I said, 'Yes, they were his accusers, but the Church Mission Society had had 25 years of hard labour, his uncle was a member, they were his friends. Why did they betray him? Why did his uncle betray him? It should never have happened.' And there was this stony bloody silence [pause] – and then Diane looked at me and she said, 'But they did reinstate him, Elisabeth.' And I said, 'Yes, but he refused to be reinstated, Diane.' And she didn't know that, this lady from London. She got a very strange look on her face and said, 'I had no idea.' And then I looked at Bishop Ben and I said, 'Ben, I'd really like to leave this conversation now, and I'd like to complete it in the Pakaraka church.' And Ben's a wonderful support, Bishop Ben, and he nodded and we changed the subject, and just talked about something else. But it had put – a note in a day that was quite – different.[143]

Elisabeth is once again racing to the defence of those who are wronged, in this case Henry Williams himself. She also seems to suggest here that she is being used as a mouthpiece, speaking words that she says she had never thought.

At the end of the day when they reached the Pakaraka church she describes what occurred:

So we went into the church and Ben said a prayer. And most of the group had dropped off by now, there's just a hard core of us. There was Diane from

[143] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2B 18.6.

London and there was the two Maori canons, Bishop Ben and myself, and the Church Mission Society from Christchurch and Hamilton, and this one local lady. Well, I got up at the front of the church and I looked at them all and I said: 'Diane, I – I really wanted to complete our conversation here because Henry and Marianne – their graves are just behind where I'm standing, and this church was – the first church here was built by their children. This is where they came after being excommunicated from the church. And they lived out their lives in Pakaraka. He always worked in the church, always was working for the Lord, but he never again joined the Church Mission Society.' And then I started walking up and down – I couldn't believe the pain in me! It was just humungous! And I just stood there and I looked at them all, and I said, 'I can't believe the pain in my body. It's just huge.' And tears were rolling down my face and everyone else has got their handkerchiefs out, and I said – I said, 'I'm going to stand here and I'm going to take Henry's hand and I'm taking Marianne's hand and I'm reaching over all the generations of Williamses here, and we're standing here and saying we totally forgive you for this misdemeanour made all those years ago by the Church Mission Society.' And we're all weeping .... And I said, 'I cannot believe the pain that's in my body. If I can feel like this, then their – pain – must have been so huge'. I said, 'You've been forgiven a long, long time ago but I'm taking this opportunity, while you're in New Zealand and I'm here, to stand in this Pakaraka church and forgive the Church Mission Society.' I tell you, [laughs] we all gave each other big hugs, and everyone moved up and hugged me, and I looked at Bishop Ben and said, 'Please can you say the prayer because there's no way I can talk.' It was the most extraordinary day, and it was the most extraordinary experience .... And all I could do was just sit in the bus and think, 'Why me? What did I do – I didn't deserve this.' [Elisabeth now crying and laughing to relieve the tension] It really was so strong, so strong. So, I actually haven't been able to talk about it really. I had no idea I felt like that. [long pause] [144]

Elisabeth's sympathy for the underdog seems to have moved on to a different level. She evokes an image of the cross, a picture of herself standing in the church, arms outstretched, taking on the hurt of Henry and Marianne and the family in what she describes as physical pain. In asking 'Why me?' Elisabeth seems to convey the idea that she is chosen by God to be the one who bears this pain, and who, therefore, can forgive the CMS. The story seems to have the hallmarks of the biblical idea of the

[144] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2B 18.6.

Suffering Servant, derived from the servant songs of Isaiah, chapter 53, and from Pauline Suffering Servant theology.[145]

This was an enormously emotional story, as indicated by both her tears and her laughter to relieve the tension. Not until she has collected herself do we go on to discuss the experience. She likens it to the earlier one of her first day at school, when all the children stood around and stared at her, suggesting here the idea of prescience or of predestination.[146] She also reminds me of the story that, when he was dying, Henry Williams was heard to say, 'How cruel! How cruel!', and tells me she believes the hurt that he suffered has passed down through generations.[147] Like the shame of young Germans born since the war, or the pain of the descendants of African slaves, this experience is a graphic example of how, as Zerubavel indicates, things that have happened to our social group before we even joined them may be experienced 'as if they were part of our own personal past'.[148]

Elisabeth appears to see this as a powerful transcendental experience. Afterwards, she recalls:

I felt as if something inside me that had been there all my life, had been removed and it was very nice without it. It was like a – whole, warm thing – that said now everything's all right. That's the only way I can explain how I felt afterwards .... It felt totally healing.[149]

Although a relatively recent experience, Elisabeth says her life has been different since. She has felt more content and the mission station museum project, which had been just a dream, has now begun to move and feels 'exactly the right thing' to do.[150] It is as though the whole episode represents to her a sign of God's grace and approval.

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[145] See for instance Paul's letter to the Colossians 1:24 'Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and in my flesh I complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is the church'. In his commentary on this verse William Barclay writes that Paul 'thinks of the suffering through which he is passing as completing the sufferings of Jesus Christ himself.... To suffer in the service of Christ is not a penalty but a privilege, for it is sharing in his work.' William Barclay, *The Daily Study Bible : The Letters to the Philippians, Colossians and Thessalonians*, 1st edition revised, (Edinburgh, 1975), p. 126.

[146] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2B 26.6.

[147] Elisabeth believes these words are quoted in Rogers, *Te Wiremu*. In fact it is in Carleton, Vol 2, (1877), p. 351. It is quoted again by George Davis, p. 140: 'while he was in a coma he was heard to say "Cruel, it was cruel."'. Elisabeth has had access to all these books.

[148] Zerubavel, p. 3.

[149] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2B 31.3.

[150] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 2B 44.9, 3A 0.1.

We talk about other matters less fraught with emotion: her move to Paihia, the organization of the reunion, her investigations into Henry Williams's land purchases, the museum project, her memories of her parents and grandparents, the Ludbrook land and its history, and finally the family books and memorabilia she has. She finishes the interview by explaining the presence of the portraits of Henry and William hanging in her hall. They were offered to her to hang in the museum when it opens: ***So I went and picked them up and brought them home. And I looked at them and I just thought these men really have followed me around all my life, and now, all these years later, suddenly I'm living back up north, and I'm doing all these things family-wise, and now I've got their two portraits to look down on me all over again ... so there they are all this time later watching me, still watching me.***[151]

Although Elisabeth says she is no longer a Christian, but adheres to some Eastern mystic beliefs, Biblical stereotypes, stories and beliefs appear to play a strong part in her narrative, especially the notion of redemption. She is chosen as Moses and David and Samuel and countless others in the Bible were chosen. She is used as a mouthpiece, in the way that God promised to Moses when he claimed to be lacking in the eloquence needed to lead the Israelites.[152] The missionary ancestors look down on Elisabeth as God might look down, watching her. Henry's cry is like that of Christ on the cross: 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'[153] Christ is the Suffering Servant, but in Pauline theology the servant of Christ, can share in the work of Christ on the cross by taking on another's suffering and thus helping to pay the price of redemption. Both Henry Williams and Elisabeth take on this role of the suffering servant in her narrative. The biblical myth becomes family myth.

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[151] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 3B 45.3.
[152] Exodus 4:10-12. In verse 12 God says to Moses: 'Now therefore go, and I will be your mouth, and teach you what you shall speak.'
[153] Mark 15: 34.

The oral testimony

Religious beliefs and practices are often seen today as extremely personal matters that no longer necessarily have much to do with the Church. Narrators are often reticent in speaking about these subjects. For some this may be because they believe it is a private matter, for others perhaps it is because, although the answers provided by the Church may no longer serve, they have given questions of religion and belief little thought. My own reserve in this area also made interviewing difficult. I found it hard to encourage reticent speakers to be more expansive on matters of religion, and conversely, I myself sometimes retreated in the face of the religious zeal I encountered in others. Despite this view of religion as a personal and private concern, such beliefs remain shaped both by changes within society and the Church itself, and by what people have experienced within their families in childhood, whether they adopt in part or reject the example set. In these interviews, religious beliefs and practices are also influenced by class attitudes and by views on the Williamses' special relationship with Maori. It is impossible to escape the interconnectedness of these traditions.

In the first section below I look at the narratives of those who claim to have reacted against or resisted the family religious traditions for various reasons. The next examines those who believe that these traditions have been for the most part a positive influence in forming their own beliefs. This ranges from those who simply see their current involvement in the church as more or less aligned with family tradition, to those who point in specific ways to long-standing family links of which they are proud. Thirdly I look at a group for whom social service and 'trying to help other people' is the essence of their own belief and claimed as part of the family's religious tradition. The fourth section looks at the Williams family tradition of philanthropy through charitable trusts, both those which fund the Maori Anglican Church and Maori education, and those which supply other needs in New Zealand and world wide. Finally I examine expressions of religiosity in narrative. This includes the use of religious language and images by some members of the family, and also conscious resistance to this kind of religiosity. It also includes narratives involving

transcendental experience. It is among these narratives that we find those most strongly influenced by their perceptions of family tradition.

Reacting against family religious traditions in narrative

Reaction against the religious tradition of the Williams covers a range of positions. Some may dismiss Christianity, but still adhere strongly to particular family values with a religious basis. Others reject church-going, but believe in living according to Christian values. The life experiences of others may have led them into religious quests, finding answers that appear to have little to do with family tradition. Complicating this analysis is the fact that these processes have been going on over several generations, so that some follow the beliefs of parents or grandparents who themselves have earlier rejected Williams tradition.

One or two of the family expressed very strong views on the missionary enterprise itself. For instance John Russell announces forcefully that he doesn't 'give a damn who anybody worships', and thinks it is 'rude' to tell other people they should give up their gods and worship yours.[154] John claims to be a 'fatalist' and thinks of God as simply 'a higher power'.[155] Nevertheless, his values, the standards by which he measures his actions, appear still quite strongly influenced by family (and judging by the language employed, highly gendered). John admires his maternal great grandfather, JN Williams, for his public-spiritedness, which showed foresight and the ability to get things done, and he admires his paternal grandfather for his concern with his 'fellow men'. For John this means not exploiting others, standing for 'decency and honesty' and 'a fair day's pay for a fair day's work', and 'putting a little bit back' into the community. Most of all it means being 'your own man', standing up for what you think is right, and not being afraid to state your own opinion.[156]

Virginia Williams is another opposed to the idea of mission, which she appears to see as the precursor to colonisation, sounding quite uncomfortable with her family origins:

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[154] Interview with John Russell, 9 June 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, tape 2 side B 33.5.
[155] John Russell, 1A 32.1, 3A 0.2.
[156] John Russell, 1B 0.2, 2.8, 6.4, 8.3.

I mean I just think the whole thing about imposing one's religion on other people is absolutely appalling, the whole missionary stance. I don't agree with that at all .... It reminds me – some friends of mine used to have a map, an old map of England up in their loo and there was a quote from Milton on it that said 'Let not England forget her precedents in teaching other nations how to live,' [laughs] – and I thought the absolute arrogance of that. And I do think that although these guys came out absolutely believing in what they did – well I assume that they did ... I just think that the whole act of mission is flawed – absolutely – totally. Gosh! Where did that come from! I don't quite know where that came from [laughs]. But I do – so I think that they all came out here on a kind of a – how we actually got here is kind of strange.[157]

When asked about the part the Church has played in her life Virginia simply says that she does not remember 'a strong faith within the family at all'. They went to the little Elsthorpe church at Easter and Christmas, and she remembers her father reading the lesson at ANZAC day services. At boarding school, she says, 'we had chapel twice a day and church - we had Communion and Evensong on Sunday.'[158] She concludes: ***So I never had a strong faith I suppose – and I don't go to church now, except for funerals and weddings .... I sang in the choir at school and I love to listen to church music. But in terms of faith, I mean I was confirmed as we all were just because everybody else was, and ... it's not that I disbelieve in God, but I don't see organised religion ... as a place for me, and I find that the whole sort of Anglican stiff upper lip kind of stuff – this is – strange – yeah .... I don't believe in a Christian God I suppose, I do believe in a kind of universal God that's part of us all.***[159]

It might appear from these two statements that religious values have played little part in Virginia's life. In fact quite the opposite is true. Teasing apart the rest of her narrative, we find the story of someone trying to overcome a sense of victimhood and take responsibility for herself. Virginia started her narrative with memories of living in a family enclave which gave her a 'firm knowledge of where she stood in the scheme of things' and 'that seemed very, very solid'.[160] Part of this 'scheme' was the

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[157] Interview with Virginia Williams, 11 August 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 23.4.
[158] Virginia Williams 2B 0.5.
[159] Virginia Williams 2B 1.5.
[160] Virginia Williams, 1A 2.8, 6.4.

kind of formal adherence to Anglicanism mentioned above, which is common in the oral narratives of the Williams. But in Virginia's case this was tested and found wanting.

When Virginia was away at boarding school her mother died. She and her sister came home, but were not allowed to go to the funeral and were sent straight back to school afterwards. She says: 'It was such a mistake. I mean it's taken me years and years and years ... to really come to terms with that.'[161] A year later her father remarried to a widow with four children. She recalls: 'It was like my home had been invaded by all these people.'[162] Some 15 years later as a young woman returning from two years in South America and a broken engagement, and unwilling to continue the veterinary work for which she had trained, she 'dropped out'. She became 'immersed in the encounter group scene' run by Bert Potter, and later, with her partner and baby, lived in a community. She was thus involved for years in the 'process of finding oneself or whatever'.[163] She explains that she was 'looking for a sense of herself that wasn't just part of the family, but that was for me a separate identity', although nowadays she has come to value some things about her family she then discounted.[164] She sums up the result of this search so far by saying:

What I went into it looking for was a sense of being responsible for my own life and ... you can look back and say, 'My mother died when I was 12 and that's why I'm the way I am, poor me', or else you can say, 'Yes that's what happened ... and just get on with things.' And I think it was that sense that I'm absolutely responsible for what happens to me, and that anything that comes up as a problem I can see as a challenge and something I can live with.[165]

The first two excerpts throw very little light on the questions that have really mattered to Virginia. Rather it is her own on-going search for self-understanding that makes sense of, or at least helps to explain the first two excerpts. In fact the family religious tradition has failed to provide her with answers to her questions. Her narrative is that of a quest for alternative answers.

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[161] Virginia Williams, 1A 26.4.
[162] Virginia Williams, 1A 38.3.
[163] Virginia Williams, 1B10.2, 12.2, 2B 4.1.
[164] Virginia Williams, 1B 13.5.
[165] Virginia Williams, 2B 4.1.

Like Virginia, many of the family were brought up with the Church playing a large part in their lives, both within the family and when they went to boarding school. Oral testimony suggests that quite a number have reacted against this over the generations. When Megan Payton was a child she remembers going to church with her mother, but her father, descended from three generations of bishops, never joined them. She said he maintained that he had 'had enough religion when he was at Bishop's Court in Napier when he was a little boy, thank you very much, so he didn't need any more.'[166] When Sara Williams lived at 'Mangatawhiti' in the Wairoa hinterland, they would have church once a month for the whole community. Later when they lived close to Wairoa her parents became involved in the building of the new Anglican Church, and her father was sidesman, People's Warden and a synodsman. At boarding school she remembers twice-daily chapel services. She says it was 'too much', and that she herself is not involved with the Church.[167]
Keith Williams speaks derisively of the religious practices of elderly Williams relatives, his Aunt Olive, who helped her parents with the Christian education of Maori children, and his Uncle Ulric, a doctor with an interest in alternative medicine including faith healing. He says:

Oh, the Lord ruled the table didn't he. I used to go over to stay with old Aunt Olive over in Wanganui. She had a house right opposite the boys college there in Liverpool Street .... And after about three days of cold porridge for breakfast, and prunes if you were lucky, and listening to the Lord being extolled over it before you ate it , the Lord wore a bit thin – had quite enough. She was batty in the end.

So both Olive and Ulric then?

I think Ulric had an ulterior motive. His association with the Lord was purely commercial I think. But she was genuinely a disciple.[168]

For Keith religion is about how you treat other people.

Religion has 'always been part' of Judith Myers's life, but not always the same religion. When she was a child the family attended the local country church near

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[166] Interview with Megan Payton, 16 March 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 36.7.
[167] Interview with Sara Williams, 22 September 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 4 side A 23.0.
[168] Interview with Keith Williams, 17 September 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 33.8.

Timaru, but when she married she converted to Judaism. She says partly it eliminated her problems with doctrine of sin, and partly it may have been a reaction to being obliged to go to church and the sense that Christianity is 'over and above your everyday life'. By contrast, she finds that in Judaism 'it's the way you live your life, the way you treat people,' and this makes more sense to her, although she confesses: 'I still love the music and hymns and all these things – that doesn't go away.'[169]

Jo Raine is Nelson's deputy mayor and a person with a strong social conscience. However she finds her family connections, which include Bishop Octavius Hadfield as well as the Williams, 'quite embarrassing' and 'inhibiting'.[170] She says they were well off and well known and:

it was something to live up to and particularly living up to the Bishop. You know I have to go to church a lot on sort of things now – you know, I sort of laughingly say yes, I come from a long line of bishops – because I do. Reverend Tuckey in Wellington you see, he's a relative and he started Wellington College I think .... There were a lot of bishops and religious people, reverends and what have you, and I ... always had the feeling that we had to behave better and be a bit better than other people because of that .... I found it inhibiting in many ways. But I don't discuss it with anyone now – at all, but I just don't mention it .... I prefer them not to – well no, doesn't worry me if they find out accidentally, but I'm not going to tell them, put it that way.[171]

HB Williams, says he lived too far from church to go regularly as a child. However he recalls sardonically that his father, who was elderly and rather distant from his children, would do his duty by them in the matter of religion:

He used to take us for walks in the bush, and read us the Bible on Sunday – did his noble duty there .... We used to walk up into the bush where he'd made tracks, together with Sir Andrew Russell's eldest son who lived in Gisborne as a bachelor, used to come out on Sunday – he was Dad's godson. And we'd make these tracks up through the bush at the back of the house, and we used to sit on an old root of an old puriri tree and he'd read us a bit out of the Bible.

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[169] Interview with Judith Myers, 14 March 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 0.1.

[170] Jocelyn Raine's great grandmother was Catherine Williams, daughter of Henry and Marianne, who married Rev. Octavius Hadfield. Hadfield came to New Zealand as a missionary in 1839 and was Bishop of Wellington from 1870-90 and Anglican Archbishop from 1890-93. Evans (1998), p. 346.

[171] Interview with Jocelyn (Jo) Raine, 11 November 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 23.6.

He thought, I suppose, 'I've done my dash, I've done my stuff with the family – I've read to them out of the Bible.'[172]

At Christ's College he remembers 'we got a lot of religion' and 'by the time we left school we'd had enough of religion.'[173] Nowadays he resists his wife's pressure to go to church, arguing that living by Christian principles is enough for him.

Elizabeth goes to church every month .... She's much more religious than I am. You know one tended to say in those days, 'I'm religious,' when you really weren't, you were a hypocrite. I said to her, 'What's the good of me going to church if I'm a hypocrite .... You know, I'm going to church because you want me to go, not because I want to go.' I mean that's true isn't it, it's been true of a lot of people. I think I lead a reasonably Christian life, Christian principles suit me fine, you know, in the way of living and looking after other people, but I'm not what you call a regular church-goer.[174]

As we have already seen. Eric Williams's memories and his present views on religion are shaped by his espousal of egalitarian beliefs. Today, he says, he is an agnostic and 'a questioner'.[175] In contrast, Eric's brother, Bill (W.A.) Williams, has been involved in the Church for much of his life. Recently, however, he has taken a 'sabbatical ' from the Church as he goes through a reassessment of his beliefs, which he thinks were a family tradition 'programmed' into him as a child. He explains this to me, saying Henry and William were Congregationalists before they joined the CMS, and this tendency was continued at Te Aute where everyone was low Church and evangelical. His father was a lay reader, and had a 'fundamental' belief in miracles. At home they had Bible stories and prayers every night at bedtime, and hymn sessions 'from Golden Bells revival stuff' around the piano on Sunday evening. Their governess, Sybil Williams, was the daughter of a clergyman, who held and taught beliefs similar to his parents. When he went into the army during the Korean War he says it was his first time 'out of the power of that environment'.[176] He recalls

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[172] Interview with HB Williams, 19 January 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waiakto, Tape 2 side A 20.5.
[173] HB Williams, 2A 33.5.
[174] HB Williams, 2A 33.5.
[175] Interview with Eric Williams, 2 June 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 31.9, also 2A 31.9, 39.4, 42.1, 45.2, 2B 0.1. See chapter three.
[176] Interview with Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 3.3, also 2A 20.5.

his sergeant, a man whose behaviour and values challenged Bill's own religious beliefs as well as his class values:

He was a boozer and a womanizer .... And a bloke who swore like a trooper, and yet in any sort of situation he was really caring and decent, and this was a tremendous conflict for me – in what I'd grown up with and the values I'd been – had been programmed into me, to find that here was a guy who lived by standards that my family wouldn't have anything to do with, and yet – he was a really good guy.[177]

But he did not really begin to question it until after he married. He claims 'the rot' began when they had a 'bigoted fundamentalist' vicar at Otane.[178]

Nevertheless for years Bill remained a chalice bearer, a lay reader, a member of the vestry, of Waiapu Synod, of the diocesan standing committee and of General Synod. But he has gradually shifted from an evangelical and fundamentalist position to a more 'liberal' outlook, under the influence of people like Bishop John Spong.[179] He wrestles with questions like whether it matters if you believe in the crucifixion and resurrection. At a service some months before I interviewed Bill he made a decision:

When the service began I started thinking about why I was in church and what my journey through the Church had been, what had driven it. And I realised that although it had not been unhelpful, or necessarily unpalatable, that I was – my journey had been sponsored really by my programming .... So I thought right, well it's not that I dislike the Church, but I'll take sabbatical leave from the Church, or more perhaps than a sabbatical [laughs], and if I feel called to go back to the Church or want to – feel it's the right thing to do – I'll go back. But the debate within me now is that if I go back to Church what am I going back for – what are my reasons for going back? And my difficulty I suppose at the present since I've been out of the Church .... I find it much more peaceful being with Maori worship, and being at Te Runanganui, and going to some of the services at St Faiths in Ohinemutu I've found a very pleasant experience. But I think I am wrestling with some of the strictures of the ... general creed and philosophy, the structure of worship in the Church. And I think the confusion is whether I go to church because I'm part of the institution, so in a sense I'm paying obeisance to the institution, or whether I'm going to church

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[177] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 1A 22.8.
[178] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2A 20.5.
[179] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2A 10.7.

because I feel that this is the best place that I can discover and continue my relationship with God. And so I think that's really where I'm at. I still see myself as a Christian, although – yes I do, and if I sound a bit hesitant about that I'm having some difficulty defining what my Christianity is because it seems to be changing a lot.[180]

Bill says he likes Spong's views on women in the church, his liberal views on homosexuality and premarital sex, and his non-judgmental approach. He says: 'I just found that he seemed to be celebrating something that was positive, and not sort of dwelling in "thou shalt not".'[181]

We talk too about the hymns that he says still 'touch buttons' for him: 'I vow to thee my country' and 'The day thou gavest Lord is ended' which were sung at the funeral of his son William, killed on service with the Royal Green Jackets in England; and 'What a friend we have in Jesus' which is known in the family as the 'buggy tune' since it is the one which both Uncle Allen Williams and Samuel used to sing while driving the buggy. These hymns speak to him of 'family and the loss of family'.[182] Thus Bill's religious beliefs remain fluid and under examination.

Bruce Hutton has been a Sunday school teacher, a vestry member and says he is a regular church-goer, but he 'tends to be Presbyterian' like his grandmother.[183] He says he is also like his father, who only wanted the Salvation Army at his funeral because he thought there was too much pomp and ceremony in Anglicanism.[184] However, Bruce has also been a member of a number of different clubs such as Rotoract and Rotary. He likes their team spirit, the commitment and the good work they do.[185] His main interest is the Masonic Lodge, and he has been the Master of two Lodges. Both his father and grandfather before him were Masons, and Bruce is especially proud of his grandfather's record as Master of the Greytown Lodge and Foundation Master of the Martinborough Lodge.[186] He shows me photos of his grandfather with these Lodges. Bruce also has the gold cuff links that his grandfather

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[180] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2A 13.9.
[181] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2A 18.5.
[182] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2A 25.6, 28.4.
[183] Interview with Bruce Hutton, 27 November 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, Univeristy of Waikato, Tape 3 side B 11.1.
[184] Bruce Hutton, 3B 14.2.
[185] Bruce Hutton, 2B 33.0.
[186] Bruce Hutton, 1A 25.7.

wore to Lodge meetings, which he himself wears for special Lodge occasions.[187] The inconsistency between the acceptance of Masonic ritual and the rejection of Anglican 'ceremony' goes unremarked.

Bruce appears to be much influenced by his parents' and grandparents' values and views on religion. However, his continued association with a church other than Anglican means he is far from typical of the present day Williams. There has been a significant break in the relationship between the Huttons and the rest of the Williams several generations earlier, which may account for this difference. In fact Bruce's preference for less ritual in church and his social service values tie in quite well with the religious values of the missionary generations, but he makes no such connection in his narrative. This is not surprising given his apparently limited knowledge of the missionaries.

Adhering to family tradition

Others in the family have not reacted against the religious beliefs they were brought up with, though they may be selective in what they adopt. As we have seen, although Martin Warren followed in the footsteps of his father, great grandfather and great great grandfather by becoming ordained, he saw his preference for working class areas as a protest against the hierarchical nature of the Anglican Church, epitomised by 'the bishop, my father'. In addition, the views expressed in the oral narratives reflect changing societal and church views.[188]

In her narrative Rachel Miller portrays herself as 'arty', academic and eccentric. Her own parents and those family and friends she most values are all of similar ilk, 'very interesting people'.[189] Religion and art are central to her narrative. She says the Anglican Church has always been important in her life, and 'interesting' because of

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[187] Bruce Hutton, 3A 36.9.

[188] For an overview of these changes see Morrell; Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*; Breward, *Churches in Australsia*; See also Peter Donovan (editor), *Religions of New Zealanders* (Palmerston North, 1996); Brian Colless and Peter Donovan (editors), *Religion in New Zealand Society*, 2nd edition (Palmerston North, 1985); James Veitch (editor), *Faith in an Age of Turmoil: Essays in Honour of Lloyd Geering* (London, 1990).

[189] Interview with Rachel Miller, 21 October 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 2.2, 6.6, 10.7, 29.6, 36.3, 40.6, also 1B 0.3.

the various groups to which she has belonged, which have shown her Christianity from different perspectives and brought her to her present understanding and belief.[190] Using expressions such as 'I was led', she explains how she first became interested in Anglo-Catholicism, then in Russian Orthodoxy, in Friends of Israel, Messianic Judaism and finally the charismatic movement with its focus on Bible study and the healing ministry. Going further back she appears to link her own journey with that of her father. He, she says, was interested in the establishment of Western Christianity, while she has '[gone] even further back with the Jews'.[191]

Before we began the interview Rachel told me she thought her religious views lined up with those of Henry and William Williams. When asked later to explain this she was not very certain, but said she preferred more of a spontaneous, prayer meeting approach to worship than a set form of service, explaining: 'See the CMS and John Newton and the early people – I suppose they originated with the Clapham sect.'[192] She also preferred a less academic, more 'Bible-centred' approach and she was critical of Bishop Selwyn for insisting that ordination required a knowledge of Hebrew and Greek. It is a moot point whether the 'spontaneous' worship of charismatics is the same thing as Henry and William's aversion to liturgical ritual involving altar candles and vestments. Another difficulty with this linkage is that Rachel's seemingly detached view of religion as an 'interesting' journey through various sects would probably have been inimical to her dedicated missionary ancestors.

Jean Maclean acknowledges the 'severity' of her family's religion in earlier generations.

You know, in Dad's childhood and Brian's childhood ... they took very literally the bit in Deuteronomy that you don't work on Sunday, and absolutely nothing was done, nobody worked on Sunday. All the food was prepared on Saturday – but nobody, no maid, no gardener, nobody – at all. So some of those things were very ... strictly adhered to.[193]

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[190] Rachel Miller, 2B 27.5.
[191] Rachel Miller, 2A 17.1.
[192] Rachel Miller, 2A 9.2, 11.8.
[193] Interview with Jean Maclean, 8 June 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 3 side B 29.5.

The family also had a long-standing tradition of support for missions. Both Jean and her brother, Eric, told me the same story of Samuel and the mission box.

When Dad was a little boy ... Samuel said, 'If', he said, 'if you will grow me some vegetables, I will pay you'. And Dad grew some carrots, and took them over very proudly to show him, and he was given a shilling. And then [very quietly] he took him on his knee and he put the missionary box in front of him – [becomes quite shrill] and the shilling went into the missionary box [laughs].[194]

However Jean acknowledges that things were 'much lighter' for them growing up in the 1930s, reflecting a general change in society and the Church at the time. However, they certainly had to go to church every Sunday, and Jean's elderly relatives did expect the children to contribute to missions, giving them each a Dr Barnardoes box and a starting donation of half a crown at the beginning of each school term. Jean laughingly says that they seldom collected anything more than this, while Eric remembers these rituals as being given pocket money.[195] Both agree, however, on the diminishing severity of religious practice at 'Te Aute'.

Jean says her father carried on the family religious tradition of a practised faith, a tradition which she herself has tried to continue:

So a reality of Christian living was something in our home, not just something that was a sort of formality. Dad was a lay reader at the Pukehou church, and he ran a Bible class when we were kids. He had a boys Bible class and ... five or six young men came and one of them walked five miles to come to that on a Sunday afternoon .... And he used to read us Bible stories on Sunday, and he made them marvellous because he would take us walking, and we would go and do things in the bush at the bottom of the garden and then when we made paths and a house or something like that, then he would sit down and we would have the story. Mum wasn't anything like as imaginative – I remember her sitting us down ... on a garden seat in the garden trying to tell us about Stephen being stoned and it was as – it was as dry as old bones to us because it didn't have any of the magic of Dad's taking us walking or adventuring first,

[194] Jean Maclean, 3B 29.5.
[195] Jean Maclean, 1A 29.7.

you know. So yes I did grow up with – I grew up with a faith that was trying to be practiced, you know.[196]

As well as this there was a new influence, which probably accorded well with the religious views of earlier generations of the family, and gave it fresh impetus:

You talked about Moral Rearmament – was the family involved in that movement?
Yes Dad and Mum in 1938 had been at Interlaken at a conference, and – that was when it was the Oxford Group it was called, and they had gone to that. And yes, Dad in particular was – well both of them really – very influenced by that. And they came back and encouraged us to have what they called 'quiet times' – Eric used to call them howdies because you said howdy to God. Quiet times in the morning and listen to what God might say to you, and read something from, I suppose there were books or the Bible, and then ... there was a sort of a sharing as a family, you know, of being family together and any thing that cropped up ... that had sort of annoyed somebody or got in the way, that was cleared up.[197]

When she went to board at Woodford, Jean used to get up early and go to her older sister's room for 'howdies', where they would read together from a book called *Victorious Living.*[198] Today Jean volunteers her assessment of the place of religion in her life:

I don't want to go round talking about a Christian faith but I can honestly say that I've had – that Christ is the most wonderful friend, that I have never, never been let down .... And so I see life as an adventure and I think Christian life's the greatest adventure, and I love life really, and it's full of joy – and I've found what joy is too, a bit. It's something that runs very deep ... it runs deep through sadness and ... difficulty and the fun times as well. I think it's the grace of God that's just there all the time you know.[199]

Like Jean, others in the family speak of strong Christian role models whom they feel have influenced their own belief and practise. Gerald Williams grew up in the isolation of Anauru Bay on the East Coast. Every Sunday morning after breakfast the

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[196] Jean Maclean, 3A 0.3.
[197] Jean Maclean, 2B 44.6. Moral Rearmament was founded by an American evangelist, Frank Buchman. It started as the Oxford Group in the 1920s, and in 1938 it became known as Moral Re-armament. The movement stressed moral and spiritual values, complete honesty in interpersonal relationships, and aimed to change the motives of people and nations to form a basis for social, racial and international understanding. For a discussion of the Oxford Group and Moral Rearmament in New Zealand see Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa,* p. 114.
[198] Jean Maclean, 3A 0.3.
[199] Jean Maclean, 2B 29.1.

family would have prayers in the dining room, but the first time he remembers actually going to church was at Napier cathedral with his Uncle Fred Williams. When it comes to religion, Gerald says he admires his father, who was:

as Christian a man as any man that I've known ... he was scrupulously honest and he had consideration for other people, and things like that. He wasn't a great church-goer. He didn't really believe in that. He rather scoffed at people who just went to church every Sunday because it was the right thing to do, you know, to be seen in church. I mean he just thought people like that were just rather pathetic. I mean you don't have to go to church to be a Christian ... that was more or less his attitude. But he practised Christian beliefs in just about everything he did.[200]

Priscilla Williams is descended from three Williams bishops, and the example of her father, Canon Nigel Williams, is important to her. She becomes quite emotional speaking about him early in her narrative:

Both my parents were very ... advanced, very tolerant in their outlook in questions for instance such as homosexual rights, or race questions. I know that when we were in Marton was the very beginning of the Springbok tests, and my father marched in protest in Marton, I think with about two other people. And that would not have been understood at all in Marton. It was not considered for the vicar there, who was regarded as being a sort of pillar of society ... to do such things as this. And my father isn't a natural rebel anyway .... [H]e felt very strongly about such things as tolerance. He was a very ... remarkable person. I don't know that I'm capable of even discussing him adequately. He was the most Christian person that I have ever met and very beloved by everyone.[201]

Priscilla recalls that when they later moved to the decaying inner-city parish of Newtown, Wellington, her mother would empty her father's pockets of money lest he give it all away leaving her unable to pay for groceries.[202] Later Priscilla returns to memories of her father, speaking of the spiritual and practical example he set for both his close family and the wider family:

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[200] Interview with Gerald Williams, 31 August 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 4 side B 7.3.
[201] Interview with Priscilla Williams, 11 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 12.4.
[202] Priscilla Williams, 1A 15.8.

I would love to be someone even half as great as he was, but I would never be able to. But he gives an example of really someone leading what is a really, really Christian life, which is very difficult .... He had a love for everybody – I mean it was a real love your neighbour. .... He led a very spiritual life. His morning always started at 6.30 with the saying of the Eucharist or another prayers ... and that went right through, virtually as long as he could .... And if we were somewhere where we couldn't [go to church] on a Sunday we would have Communion as a family of course, a private one, but we always went to church as a family. So we had a spiritual example there. It was very important to him, the spiritual side. Also ... the incredible love for everyone. I mean there was no one he didn't show love and consideration to no matter how awful. I mean I would think my tolerance level and my mother's was pretty well nil, but my father's was incredible, so he was a very great example. He would do anything for anyone, he didn't think about himself at all – I mean ever ...

It must have been quite hard for the family.

Yes, my mother used to say constantly that it was very trying living with a Christian. I mean she loved him dearly, she adored him .... [And] the wider family all loved him very much and when ... there were family feuds – I have to say that two of his brothers broke up rather badly on matters to do with the land, family land, as is inevitable in a lot of these cases – and didn't talk to each other ...but they both talked to my father. I mean he was always ... the peacemaker of things, so they always wanted him to conduct all the family weddings and funerals and christenings and so on, you know. So he was very much a centre for them .... They would all feel that they wished they were like him but they weren't, and so he was – he was very important in the whole – in their lives really.[203]

In Sydney Priscilla attends high church Anglican services and confesses she doesn't know whether she is 'indulging in the lovely music' or seeking spiritual refreshment. High church was also her father's preference, despite his evangelical family roots.[204]

In Priscilla's narrative we see how the Williamses tended to regard their family clerics as leaders, and also call on them to perform the important religious rites. Other narratives confirm this. Douglas Davies describes how in the early years of his

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[203] Priscilla Williams, 2A 25.0.
[204] Priscilla Williams, 1A 12.4.

marriage he lived in Christchurch, and asked his very distant relative, Bishop Alwyn Warren, to christen his children:

I always remembering him saying when we let him know we were on the family tree, he said, 'I always love to lay my hands on my relatives'. Something like that – you know, keep it in the family.[205]

Kirsty Burbury is another proud to be descended from three generations of bishops. Her earliest memory involves her grandfather in his official capacity christening her twin brother and sister in the drawing room at 'Ruangarehu'.[206] Church was very much part of family life as a child. Kirsty cannot remember a time when her father was not the Vicar's Warden. Sunday services were held in their sitting room at 'Ruangarehu', and she recalls that only on Christmas Day would they go to church, which was an hour's drive away. Church has also been important to her as adult. At first it was a retreat from an unhappy marriage; it was 'one of my anchors', she says.[207] Later, through doing Bible in Schools and participating more in the life of the Church, she was challenged to become more out-going.[208]

I've been a very regular parishioner of St Luke's and I go regularly to services. I was licensed to administer the chalice about 15 years ago I suppose, and so I've done that ever since. I do it on a Thursday morning twice a month ... and once a month on a Sunday morning at the eight o'clock service. I also read the gospel at those services, and - that's been something that I've rather – I feel has helped my ministry within – the Christian faith. I studied EFM – Education for Ministry – for four years, and I felt that I grew quite a bit through having done that. But St Luke's has always been a constant ... in my life, because I have felt the need to go regularly, and certainly in earlier days when the children were young, it was – I would go to evensong ... and that was an absolute haven for an hour – Sunday evening. Leave the kids at home with their father and I would go to church, and sometimes I was so tired I would just sit there. I wouldn't hear any of the service, but other times it was better.[209]

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[205] Interview with Douglas Davies, 8 October 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 35.2.
[206] Interview with Kirsty Burbury, 8 June 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 2.1.
[207] Kirsty Burbury, 1A 26.8.
[208] Kirsty Burbury, 1A 42.9.
[209] Kirsty Burbury, 1A 42.9.

Kirsty says she has felt an 'obligation ... to live [her] life to the very best of [her] ability' and 'not to let [her] forbears down by any action [she] might take'.[210]

The narratives of the three Ludbrook sisters provide an interesting insight into the way their family's religious traditions flow on into their own lives in various different ways, and how intertwined family, religion and community may become. Elisabeth Ludbrook remembers that 'Grandpa Ludbrook' gave the land for the post office, the church, the school, the football grounds and the Returned Servicemens' Association (RSA) hall at Ohaeawai, and also built the dairy factory and the church.[211] She sees him as a generous community leader, willing to accept the duties associated with his class. She goes on to say:

And they built the church, he and Hannah built the church, and took the services at Ohaeawai ... she would play the organ and he would take the service every Sunday. So they'd go there and ring the bell and all the local villagers would come and they would take the service .... This was about 1905 – 1910. And they put in the altar as a memorial to Hereward following his death in France in 1918 ... and that's still there. And Granny Ludbrook had planted that flowering cherry tree in the garden outside the church. When we were kids we used to go to Sunday school there, and we would tie our ponies up to this beautiful big spreading cherry tree .... Yeah, he was a wonderful builder and caretaker of ... those ones in the family who needed taking care of.[212]

The image she evokes is that of church-going that was very much part of the family and its history in that place, about belonging and leadership in the community. Although Elisabeth herself has now moved away from the Church, she remains closely linked to the family and its community roots in Paihia.

However, her sister, Beatrice Haslett, says that wherever she and her husband have lived they have been involved in the Church as part of the community. Now living in retirement in Campbell's Bay, Auckland, she says, 'It's quite important when you live in this kind of no man's land – there's no village ... [so] it's quite a big part of our belonging here.'[213] Her own children were brought up going to church also:

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[210] Kirsty Burbury, 2A 39.0.
[211] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 3B 7.2.
[212] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 3B 7.2.
[213] Interview with Beatrice Haslett, 6 August 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 15.8.

I expected them to go to church and all this. These people who say, 'Oh no they've got to decide for themselves.' If I'd let my kids decide for themselves they'd all be still swimming in the sea. I think ... you've got to encourage them.[214]

She thinks they are now more serious about their religion than she is. Beatrice herself is anxious not to seem 'unbalanced' or too serious in her religion, reminding me that her father's generation were known for 'the gin sling and the Charleston', while she and her mother 'were the first girls who ever wore beach pyjamas at Paihia [when] no woman ever wore pants'.[215]

We haven't lacked balance – [laughs] we've had plenty of other influences, but certainly when we were growing up Granny and Grandpa always went to – you know, Dad always went to church while his father was alive, when his father was around, but he didn't go a great deal otherwise, but Mum and we always went. It was certainly a big influence, and of course all the churches round about were built by the family. I mean where does it become not a family thing? It's quite hard for me to divide that.[216]

In her narrative Beatrice wrestles with the question of whether this is a family influence, which she says would be from both her father's missionary ancestors and her mother's Quaker ancestors.

The third Ludbrook sister, Patricia Finlayson also recalls as a child going regularly to services at the Ohaeawai and Pakaraka churches built by her ancestors. She too remains involved, helping in the co-operating parish of Pio Pio where she now lives, and working amongst other things in the Opportunity Shop to raise funds for St John's Ambulance and the upkeep of the local church.[217]

The Church became much more important in the life of Wendy Falloon, once she had children. Like Kirsty Burbury, she found it gave her time as a busy mother to be alone and meditate.[218] Later she became more actively involved. She has been a vestry member, does the flowers at the local Anglican Church in Carterton, and has

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[214] Beatrice Haslett, 2B 14.6.
[215] Beatrice Haslett, 2B 11.3.
[216] Beatrice Haslett, 2B 11.3.
[217] Interview with Patricia Finlayson, 30 August 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side B 45.0, also 2A 0.1.
[218] Interview with Wendy Falloon, 20 March 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, tape 2 side A 18.5.

done several courses to 'learn more about Christianity'. She has several friends who have been ordained and has thought about this for herself.

I've often thought why. I think that is definitely a family – I didn't do it <u>because</u> of Henry Williams but I think I did it with that in mind. I sort of felt I had a duty and I thought it was – you must give to your community, I've always felt that, and I felt that was a way in which I could do it.[219]

While it is mainly women who talk about Christian example, church-going, and community, it is mainly men who talk about church buildings. Asked how much involvement he has had with the Church, Tom Reed's primary interest seems to be the roof of the Paihia church. Built as a memorial to Henry Williams this property is adjacent to Tom's home. He says:

Yes, I've had a bit to do with the church all right. Yes, the church ... there was a bad gale here, and blew the ridging off the church so that the altar was exposed you see, and other damage was done ... and HB Williams senior ... he came up and he was concerned about it, but he got hold of me and he said – well he said, 'I can't ... do this work from Gisborne – it's long way to come. Do you feel you could do it?' he said, 'and just send the bill to me.' So I did that and we got quite a lot of it done – the ridging was all put right ... and an awful lot of work done on the spire because at the base of the spire there was leaking .... The gargoyles didn't work – they were built so as they were higher you know and they didn't work at all and it was all coming down into the porch which was all rotting. So it was quite a big job, so I did know a fellow called Dave Wilson, who had a very swept up plumbing show in Whangarei .... So I thought to myself well the best thing to do with it was to line it in copper, which is quite a big job, and catch it all and send it down out of the way – because copper doesn't deteriorate in the salt. So I went to see Dave Wilson, and he said 'Hello' and I said, 'Well Dave you'll be a Presbyterian wouldn't you?' And he said 'Yes I am.' 'Well', I said, 'Church of England today.' [laughs] I told him what I wanted – 24 gauge copper and I wanted it at a decent price you know. Yes he said, 'Yes I'll do it for you.' .... So that's how we got that done. And it came out very reasonably. So the bill was simply sent to HB Williams – he paid

[219] Wendy Falloon, 2A 14.5.

for it out of the Trust and it was all done and the work was done on that basis.[220]

Tom's story of his work for the church seems little different from that which he told about the County Council and the Historic Places Trust. While more detailed than most similar ones in the cohort, it is otherwise typical of those told by Williams men whose religious devotion is often expressed in caring for the bricks and mortar of local churches, not infrequently built by the family in the first place. It is also not unusual for them to look to one of the H.B. Williams Trusts for funding.[221]

HB Williams still appears to feel a strong sense of family duty towards the Church, although he refuses to attend services. One of the family charitable trusts which he helps run had recently helped with the refurbishing of the local church, and although HB was supposed to officiate at the opening ceremony, he was getting his eldest son to do so in his place. He says:

I'm involved with the Church and we help the church terrifically with the charity, and at the moment we're supposed to be opening a two-million-dollar refurbishing for the parish old church, which has been the sort of church hall and that sort of thing and they've refurbished it and they – I won't be there actually, I'll be in the South Island actually, but Marcus will open it.[222]

Tom Bunny says he comes from a 'fairly church-minded family' and still goes to the monthly service at Bideford in the Wairarapa. He bemoans the fading sense of community, but his main focus is on the preservation of the 125-year-old church.[223] Tom Williams tells me that the Taueru church had its origins in 'Te Parae' station 'way back'; it was 'the sort of family church in this area', built near the original main entrance of the station.[224] Nowadays the district holds its Christmas carol service each year at 'Te Parae'. In the narratives of all these men the sense of place and of duty deriving from class, shares the stage with any sense of religious devotion.

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[220] Interview with Tom Reed, 9 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side B 36.7.
[221] Tom Reed, 1B 42.8.
[222] HB Williams, 2A 33.5.
[223] Interview with Tom Bunny, 13 march 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side B 21.4.
[224] Interview with Tom Williams, 15 March 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 3 side A 0.4.

The family tradition of social service and philanthropic trusts

The idea that helping others is a family trait has a history going back to Henry and Marianne, and to Samuel and Mary. There are many instances of helping other missionaries and their wives if they were in difficulties, of extended hospitality to travellers, of work among the destitute, the sick and the dying.[225] Such efforts, while demanded by circumstances, were also probably seen as examples of that daily conduct which gave evidence of salvation. The tradition continued in subsequent generations. On the East Coast, TS and KS Williams were known for the help they gave both family and non-family, Maori and Pakeha. Tom Reed remembers that while HB Williams senior, as the eldest of his family took responsibility for other family members in difficulties, his younger brother, AB Williams, did all sorts of good work for people that was never recognised:

He did an enormous amount of work for people. I mean the Te Puia Hospital for example, at Te Puia Springs, when I was there – a natural gas field up there you know, and typical of AB was – he decided to put this natural gas on to the hospital ... so they could use it for lighting and laundry you see .... So I remember being given match boxes and staggering all through this ...swamp ... just to see what was a good flow .... So AB arranged for that to be tapped and put on to the hospital, so that was the sort of thing he did all the time [laughs]. Nobody knew anything about it, but he did that. And yes, AB was remarkable chap. At 'Puketiti' he had a big sort of old men's rest home in there – I don't know what you'd call it, but all these old shepherds you see, there were an awful lot of those people .... They each had their little hut and he was keen on them doing some gardening, so he took me round ... one Sunday to visit them all in their plots and things, and it was very very interesting – told one fellow to clean the place up a bit, and he ... went butcher's hook, and AB said it was damned dirty and to clean it up a bit. So he had this sort of conversation as he went through. And all these people fed in the cookhouse you see, and it was a pretty big organization. They were just treated as old age pensioners. Nobody knew anything about it but they were. Had their own shows and lived and ate in the cookhouse .... They were all people who'd

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[225] Woods, *Samuel Williams*, pp. 125, 154, 238-9; Sybil Woods, *Marianne Williams: A study of life in the Bay of Islands New Zealand 1823-1879*, 4th edition (Christchurch, 1997), pp. 64-8.

worked for AB, you see. But he didn't publish it in the paper or that sort of thing. Oh yes he ... did a lot for people, no doubt about that.[226]

Many present members of the family also see the work they do for others as part of family tradition. Nicola Grimmond acknowledges that the spiritual dimension of her life is important to her, especially as she gets older and has faced serious illness. She practices a type of Buddhism which impresses her because of its simplicity, and has a 'personal ethic that is probably the deepest of deep greens', a belief in the intrinsic value of maintaining species diversity. But she also continues to draw on various aspects of her past. She still goes to church occasionally although she no longer serves on a vestry, and she still adheres to the family and school ethic of 'look after others before you look after yourself'.[227] She concludes this discussion with the following observation:

And you know I think the family heritage has a lot to do with it, and you don't realise how much that is true until you go to something like one of those reunions, and you listen ...I felt quite proud of ... some of the things I heard there coming out, and I thought Peter Sykes ... was a charming, concerned and ... good to see the ... next generation doing something.... Peter is an Anglican minister but he works for the homeless and unemployed .... He and his wife are both Anglican ministers and they do good things on a practical level, I suppose is the thing, and I just thought it was good to hear that.[228]

Nicola is also proud of what her father did in his retirement as a prison counsellor and president of the Prisoners Aid Society. Among other things he arranged a house in Turangi for visiting families of prisoners at Rangipo prison farm, and to have prisoners able to sleep with their partners when they visited. Nicola says: 'I think that was bloody good and I was really thrilled and proud of him.'[229]

She herself has worked hard to get student services in the university, and sees this bent for social justice as ' a family thing'. She tells me:

I was on the [Otago] University Council because I've had a strong bent for – ... I suppose this is a family thing of social justice and facilitation and things like

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[226] Tom Reed, 2A 5.4.
[227] Interview with Nicola Grimmond, 17 August 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 16.8, 21.8, 24.5, 25.2.
[228] Nicola Grimmond, 2B 28.2.
[229] Nicola Grimmond, 3B 9.1.

that. And it came from teaching students who had problems ... didn't have enough money, had emotional problems, were physically ill – you know, all those sorts of things. And consequently I pushed hard for a high profile student services, really from the early 70s right through to the 90s I worked politically, both within the university and within the country, and internationally for ... student services.[230]

Reflecting later on stories she has heard about Henry Williams she says that one of the skills she has brought to this political work is 'something I feel ... I have almost by bloodline and that's his negotiation and mediation skills between warring parties'.[231]

Nicola Bush too, speaks of a practical Christianity. The daughter of Bishop Warren of Christchurch, she says that both parents had a strong empathy with people. Her father was a padre during the war, and despite his education at Marlborough College and Oxford University, she says he had the ability to get alongside 'local people and alcoholics'. Meanwhile her mother took in 'waifs and strays'. 'She was a people's person basically and a doer.'[232] Not much worried about theology, Nicola says she herself has always been involved with the community groups at the Cheviot Church. Being useful to others seems to be the core of her belief. For the last 20 years she has done physiotherapy work in Cheviot, cancer support work, been involved with St John's Ambulance both driving and training nurses, and been president of the Plunket Society.[233] Nicola admits she gets 'tremendous satisfaction out of helping people', and says, 'there's always somebody who needs something'.[234] She and her husband are some of the oldest in the district now, but she says they will stay on for the moment: 'I guess the things that decide where you're going to be is where you can be useful to someone, and if you can be useful – I mean, what are we given life for if it isn't do something, isn't it really.'[235]

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[230] Nicola Grimmond, 2A 35.9.
[231] Nicola Grimmond, 3A 9.8.
[232] Nicola Bush, 23 July 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 17.0, 21.3 24.1, 25.7.
[233] Nicola Bush, 2A 0.1, 1B 41.8, 2A 1.0.
[234] Nicola Bush, 1B 39.7, 2A 1.0.
[235] Nicola Bush, 2A 17.4.

Eric Williams is another who believes simply in trying to help others. He may have rejected the religious beliefs of his ancestors, but he admired his father's determination to help others even when it made him unpopular, saying:

And also he helped two of Hitler's ... refugees. One was a Jew, one was just a real stroppy German anti-Nazi and he lived in a little cottage that we had .... And he and his wife and daughter came out from Germany, helped by Athol. They lived there and he helped on the farm for a while and eventually got a job somewhere else. But Dad had to give him a job for 12 months or something like that .... He was pretty generous minded as far as those sort of things were concerned .... And Lutz Krieg was the German Jew who spoke about five languages – very talented person – and he ended up on the farm also for a while working .... Many [people] thought that Hitler was doing a great job getting rid of these bloody Jews. Anyway Athol had a different idea, and did his bit there.[236]

He speaks of how he tries to put this into practice in his own life, as an employer of just a few men:

And I suppose that feeling of trying to help other people who are being wronged, or who I feel are being wronged, whether they be wealthy people who are trying to grind others down, trying to grind the workers down – I would like to see a fair pop given to everybody. And if I am an employer with a very good income I would like to spread – share some of that with my employees. I realise that it's not nearly as easy to put it into fact as it is to theorize about it, like the breakfast cereal man ... Hubbard.[237]

After years of being a reluctant farmer, Bill (W.A.) Williams finally left the family property and moved to town partly to allow a 'latent social conscience to find its way out'. He took human relations and counselling courses at the polytechnic and ran the Farm Information Centre in Hastings, which acted as an employment agency.[238] He says his decision to go farming was also part of his family's 'bloody programming thing – I ought, you know'.[239] The rejection of both his occupational and his religious programming seems to have become focused in the decision to do social work.

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[236] Eric Williams, 1B 25.9.
[237] Eric Williams, 2A 7.7.
[238] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2A 36.2.
[239] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2A 38.5.

Other members of the family have directed their efforts into philanthropic trusts
Over several generations members of the Williams family have established numerous charitable trusts, which disperse funds to worthy causes from the Maori Church to schools and building community facilities. The family tradition of philanthropic trusts seems to have begun, at least in New Zealand, with Samuel Williams. In 1901, in order to ensure the continuation of his own philanthropic giving both to the Maori mission and to other missions around the world, he established the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust. Woods notes that between 1930 and 1969 this Trust gave nearly 650,000 pounds to church, educational and welfare institutions to benefit Maori, and 380,000 pounds to overseas missions.[240]

Members of the family who serve on the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust tend to see this work as part of their religious duty. For instance, although Hugh McBain admits to only occasional attendance at church, he appears enthusiastic about his contribution to the Trust, which he sees as part of his involvement in the Church:

But the Church – land our Trust is part of that Church – we're involved in that Church set up – likes to think that it's a blueprint for the future of the nation – working together, you know going forward as a partnership

The Anglican Church does?

Yeah, as a partnership, doing our own thing but going along together, and the Henry and William Trust likes to think that it's very much part of that.[241]

Hugh is disappointed at the reluctance of younger members of the family to connect with the Church, and also with their apparent impatience with Maori.[242] In his narrative these two, the Church and Maori, are linked together.

This is also evident in the narratives of others who serve on this Trust, such as Peter Sykes. He describes in some detail how they seek out other members of the family to

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[240] Woods, *Samuel Williams*, p. 226.
[241] Interview with Hugh McBain, 12 June 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 19.4.
[242] Hugh McBain, 2A 23.1.

serve when they need the particular skills of, for instance, an investment broker or a lawyer.[243] He then goes on to defend this practice:

This is the way the Henry and William Memorial Trust still operates?

Yeah. And I would actually encourage that, because I think as soon as you stop doing that, then you lose the purpose of the – it no longer becomes a Williams family trust, it becomes a beneficent trust. And part of it is maintaining that story, part of it is, for me, is quite consciously playing that game of telling the story [laughs]. Because as soon as we do that then it becomes no different from any other trust that we're part of .... It's part of maintaining and developing a community and developing a story – and so it's no different [from the work I do developing community in Mangere].[244]

Peter believes that just as important as the philanthropic work itself, is the process of valuing and thus maintaining the story associated with the Trust and its advocacy and sponsorship for the Maori Anglican Church.[245] He likens this to the Maori concept of 'te ahi ka, holders of the flame', saying that whether others approved or not the Williams family has 'from 1823, through the Treaty right up to the present ... kept on saying how are we affirming Maori, our Maori partners?'[246] As we have seen, Peter believes that knowing who you are through story-telling and ritual, is part of the mythical and the mystical. He says it provides your 'value base' and 'if you don't know who you are, you can't stand'. He believes that avoiding the past is part of the settler mentality.[247] For Peter then, participating in the Trust is one of the rituals that helps celebrate his family story and provides some of the mythical and mystical elements of his life, that which allows him to 'stand'. It forms a part of his religious practice as he understands this.

After spending some time reflecting on the religious 'programming' he received from the family as a child, Bill (W.A.) Williams has this to say about the Trust.

It started off like feeling privileged to be a member of the Trust, and I've never perhaps felt – although I might have used the expressions 'I ought to do this' and 'I ought to do that', I've felt it was part of the - the mission. It may have been driven subconsciously from the early days, where one goes back to being

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[243] Peter Sykes, 1A 23.1.
[244] Peter Sykes, 1A 23.1.
[245] Peter Sykes, 1A 29.2.
[246] Peter Sykes, 1A 31.5.
[247] Peter Sykes, 1A 39.3, 42.7.

told that – again – that I was very privileged to grow up in the environment in which I grew up, to be sent to the good schools I was sent to, to have the benefit that the family has provided, and therefore I had a duty to give some of this back, so I think it was that whole business of serving blank dash mission is so strongly programmed into – so strongly programmed into some of the Williamses round the Te Aute area that it really takes over. And I rationalise it by saying if I wasn't doing that I'd probably be boring myself doing something that was useless, and it's nice to feel that you've done something that's good [laughs]. So those are the rewards perhaps. It might sound pretty sick reasoning and I suppose it is, but if one's honest with oneself, this is part of my imperfection. I was too late in discovering liberation. But even in acknowledging that, there's a certain liberation.[248]

At the point that I interviewed Bill he was still the chairman of the Trust, although he had 'taken sabbatical' from the Church and was re-examining many aspects of his life. He appears to still find the work of the Trust rewarding, but would wish it was not also part of his 'programming', which gives it the appearance of a trap. His brutal honesty about his inability to abandon his work for the Trust, nevertheless demonstrates the depth of the influence of the myth of the family mission, and perhaps also of the teachings of the Oxford Group and Moral Rearmament in this particular family.

Other members of the family besides Samuel have established charitable trusts for different purposes.[249] However, HB Williams was the only member of the family to whom I spoke who had personally established any of these trusts. At first he was not eager to speak about them, appearing to want to downplay his philanthropy. He did however admit that they give to schools, both private and state, to charities like the Heart Foundation, and to the Red Cross. His family are on the trusts and once a year they select the charities to which they will give money which are 'mostly things that

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[248] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2A 40.3.

[249] After the war A.B.Williams set up the Arnold Williams and Heathcote Beale Memorial Trust, and H.B. Williams (senior) established the J.N.Williams Trust in memory of sons who were killed. The J.N.Williams Trust funds projects in the East coast region. H.B(senior). also set up the H.B.Williams Educational Trust which helps fund private schools, and his wife established the MA.Williams Charitable Trust. In the present generation, H.B. Williams (junior), has established the Turanga Trust, the Turihaua Charitable Trust, and helped with the setting up of the Eastwoodhill Trust, while his sister Jan established the Frimley Foundation, the Springhill Charitable Trust, and the Longacre Charitable Trust. Iain and John Gillies, *East coast Pioneers: A Williams Family Portrait. A Legacy of Land, Love and Partnership*(Gisborne, 1990), pp. 323, 267. They note that 'many additional charitable trusts have been set up by various members of the Williams family'.

the family tend to be interested in'.[250] HB concludes by praising other members of the family who do actual work for charities, saying 'it's in the Williams blood, shall we say'.

I always say to people ... 'The people that you want to thank are the people who've got nothing, but they give their time.' So many people will give hours a day towards something, and it's your own personal time. They get nothing for it .... I think it's marvellous. I mean it's no problem going past a box and putting in $5, it doesn't cost you anything does it really, just that you can't spend it on anything else. I think the dedication of some people is absolutely marvellous. So.[251]

He thus tries to downplay his own contribution, by comparing it with those who do the work, and ends with a challenging, 'so', apparently in case anyone should think he is puffed up by what he does, and to end my enquiries.

Religiosity and transcendental experience in narrative

In the language of some members of the family there is a degree of religiosity, or religious sentiment. This is particularly apparent when they speak about Maori and Te Pihopitanga, although it is not restricted in this way.

Despite Bill (W.A.) Williams's present attempt to disengage from his religious programming, it remains evident in the language he chooses for a speech he made at a recent Maori Synod – Te Runanganui. In this speech Bill says he was trying not just to restore the relationship with Maori, but to pass on the inspiration to others on the Trust, who do not have the 'Te Aute ethos' of dedication to justice and partnership and mission.[252] During the interview he reads part of his speech:

I want to talk about our relationship as partners. Although this Trust was established only at the beginning of this century by Samuel Williams in memory of his father, Henry and his uncle, William, the relationship goes back to 1823 and our old people in whose memory we stand. The Treaty of Waitangi and the gospel of Jesus Christ are in our bones as they are in yours, and this is what binds us together. As one of your clergy expressed it very movingly

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[250] HB Williams, 1A 22.3.
[251] HB Williams, 2B 43.2.
[252] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2B 2.4.

some years ago, the relationship between our two tikanga, the Treaty, is a covenant, a solemn promise which can be likened to a marriage and Christ was there at the signing. 'I, Maori, take thee, Pakeha, to have and to hold from this day forward for better or for worse, for richer for poorer, to love and to cherish and so on. I Pakeha, take thee Maori, and so on.' Ever since Christ has been watering the seed – 'This is my body, this is my blood' – from the communion service. Our relationship has journeyed since that time, sometimes for better though not always. However the bond has never been broken. It is a taonga for us both to be held in trust from God, and it relies on our trust in each other for its well-being.[253]

His metaphor, albeit second hand, in which the Treaty and the partnership between the Williams and Maori are envisioned as the sacraments of marriage and communion, appears to give the Treaty sacred status.

Bill's sister, Jean Maclean, uses the same metaphor in her narrative, also acknowledging the Maori clergy as its source.[254] It seems to be a notion that appeals to those with the 'Te Aute ethos'. In fact following the family tradition of 'living the gospel' seems to be very much 'living the Treaty' for Jean. She tells me:

Christ says 'Love as I have loved you' – that's all – it's really the two great commandments in the Bible – 'Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and mind and strength, and your neighbour as yourself.' That's all it is. It's the Treaty and the gospel all interwoven and wound up together.[255]

Jean also speaks of her involvement with the Maori Focus Unit of the Mangaroa Prison. Describing her experiences she concludes in religious terms of spiritual food, Christ's forgiveness, and new life:

And so in a place where I would never have imagined at all, that I would be richly fed, so I am being, you see. And you find that – the things that I've been so conscious of that in our history I could wish being different, so too you know Christ's forgiveness is there for that – and sets us free to create something new.[256]

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[253] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2B 11.0.
[254] Jean Maclean, 2A 40.0.
[255] Jean Maclean, 2B 27.1.
[256] Jean Maclean, 3B 6.3.

Later in her narrative she speaks of one of Maoridom's leaders, Whata Winiata, using religious images of sacrifice and prophecy:

I think Whata's a prophet .... He is outspoken, and I think prophets always have been. I mean I'm saying that because I think that's what he is, I think he's a man with vision who's prepared to – who simply spends his life, gives his life, for ... his people, to lead towards true partnership in this country.[257]

Maryrose Wilson on the contrary appears to find religious sentiment and religious language distasteful. Her own remarks about religious matters are down to earth and often seem calculated to shock. She tells me she thinks when people go to communion they are often so solemn they look as though they 'have taken poison'.[258] When her grandson tells her he finds church exciting, she says to me, 'I nearly said "You could have fooled me!" '[259] She tells about the time she refused to accompany her husband to a bishop's conference:

When Godfrey went to Lambeth I thought well I'm not going to just listen to a whole lot of bishops. My mother used to say with clergy, they're like manure, thinly spread they're beneficial but in a heap they stink [laughs]. So I went to this Benedictine community [in New Mexico] to get a diploma in spiritual direction, and – I must tell you this because it's funny – on the first night you had to introduce yourself. Now it was getting awfully boring what people were saying, and so – dear me! – I said, 'Actually I'm the only one here that sleeps with a bishop.' Dead silence! I thought, 'God, I've wrecked this!'[260]

Maryrose is nevertheless very serious about her faith, but she makes a definite distinction between this and the Church

I think as far as my faith is concerned, it's the mainspring of my life – my relationship with God and with other people, and I can't do the work I'm doing without a strong relationship with the source – meaning God. Because, I mean what people have suffered – sometimes I think, 'What – how on earth can I help them?' So I just have to rely on what I believe the spirit – if I can keep in touch with the spirit I'll be OK.

And you don't look to the Church for that necessarily?

I don't look to the institution. I mean, my quarrel with the institution that I think the Church should be a sign of something different than the status quo –

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[257] Jean Maclean, 4A 8.3.
[258] Maryrose Wilson, 1A 5.1.
[259] Maryrose Wilson, 1B 4.7.
[260] Maryrose Wilson, 2A 21.8.

and too often it's just like the status quo – greedy, jealous, bitchy, ambitious, you know.[261]

Several other members of the family spoke, like Peter Sykes, of their transcendental experiences. Sarah Williams cherishes her convent education for its rich spiritual and cultural experiences, recalling the glory of chapel singing, especially in Holy Week, and the momentous joy of her First Communion.[262]

But way back there at my First Communion – Ah! bliss. Joy entered my heart. I – that was a genuine ... that was really full-on spiritual experience – a full-on transcendental experience. And the beauty of everything, the cherishing, the momentous imagery of it all. We had wonderful singing, you know. I'm nearly in tears now thinking about how beautiful and how moving it all was. We had Prie-dieu – we had the French names for them – special kneeling places, each one an individual one. They were covered with beautiful heavy white satin and bunched up with white ribbons either side with flowers tucked in. We had our own special ... little booklet with the order of the mass in it and our name in gold on it. I mean nothing was spared, it was just wonderful ... I will never, never forget it. It was my first – my first real transcendental experience.[263]

Although now an irregular church-goer, such transcendental experiences have remained important to Sarah. In her narrative they seem to confirm to her that she is on the right path for her life. But her religious zeal is directed into the belief in biculturalism. In recent years she has made a point of attending Waitangi Day commemorations. Recalling one such occasion when she was asked to read the Treaty in Maori at Government House, she says:

[W]hen you're in a situation that is sacred, a situation that is powerful in terms of symbolism, you're really in the eternal present .... And in the eternal present you see the forbears – the ancestors, and you see the current numbers – you and me, and Mary Hardie-Boyes and everybody else, and we're enacting something that is totally part and parcel of what's gone before, and it's a magic thing – it's timeless. You're sort of lifted up into eternity a little bit – do you know?

So this is another transcendental experience?

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[261] Maryrose Wilson, 2A 21.8.
[262] Interview with Sarah Williams, 24 February 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side B 12.3, 16.0.
[263] Sarah Williams, 1B 16.0.

Very nicely picked up – yes, huge buzz ... the real buzz is to see people's hearts and their eyes, and to see the light in the eyes, not only from Maori who were thrilled, but also from Pakeha.[264]

Sarah believes that the Williams were spiritual pioneers in New Zealand, and with the invitation issued by Maori at the 1998 family reunion to be 'real partners,' they should be pioneers again in Treaty partnership. Sarah says she is looking for the right moment to disseminate these ideas among the family, or as she says:

passing on the rongopai – the current gospel. In that sense I've got religion [laughs].

This is the missionary zeal I think you referred to.

Absolutely, part of the DNA isn't it![265]

Thus for Sarah transcendental experience has become closely tied to family and to the relationship with Maori.

Gary Williams insists that he is in the same spiritual tradition as Henry and William Williams, amongst those with their minds opened to an understanding of what God is doing in the world, and aware of the continuing battle between good and evil. He tells me: 'I don't speak any differently from Henry and William. They had the same understanding as myself.'[266] Although Gary was adopted and not a Williams by birth, his spiritual alignment with the missionary ancestors makes him, in his view, more truly their descendant than most of those who are.

As a younger man Gary suffered from depression, which he says was because he 'lacked answers'. When he read the Bible and Hugh Carleton's book on Henry Williams he seems to have found the answers he was seeking.[267] Speaking of his experience of being 'born again' or enlightened, he admits that at first it was probably hard for others to live with his zeal and enthusiasm, and draws a parallel between himself and Henry in this respect:

That [being born again] falls on your carnal self, your natural nature, and of course you take it a bit heavily, and I think that Henry Williams, he was apparently really zealous when he first started – he obviously saw that light

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[264] Sarah Williams, 2B 2.5. Mary Hardie-Boyes was the wife of the Governor-General at the time, and a member of the Williams family.
[265] Sarah Williams, 2A 27.7.
[266] Gary Williams, 2A 2.8.
[267] Gary Williams, 2A 17.6.

too. I haven't seen where it's written but you know I've been told ... that he was a really hard man to deal with when he saw the reality of things.[268]

Since this time Gary has come to understand the world in terms of a spiritual battle. Interpreting history in the light of the Book of Revelation and the prophetic tradition he explains to me how he sees the prophets of the Church – Martin Luther, Charles Wesley and others – usher in the different ages of the Church.[269] However, with each spiritual revival, he tells me, the renewed Church gradually becomes bound by rules and regulations again and moves away from God.

The Wesleyan age in which those people came out, ... in scripture you can actually place where Henry and William were, I mean where New Zealand was at, at the time It fits very nicely, so it brings us to know where things are at today. You can see the Anglican system and the Wesleyan system go back in underneath their mother which is termed the whore in [Revelations] ... you know the whore and harlot they talk about – and because if you were to commit adultery against the Lord with their own doctrines and things like that, and so you can see now the very – the Roman system which Henry Williams was so against and the evilness of what it was doing to the people, and you can see the Anglicans now marrying back in to her, and starting to speak the same thing.[270]

Just as the prophets were persecuted, so people like Henry and Gary himself will be persecuted in this spiritual battle, because they are the enlightened, the elect, separated out by God.[271]

Gary believes that Henry was the greatest man New Zealand has had because of his spiritual understanding.[272]

You're probably familiar with Henry with the story of Tohitapu, the priest who maku'd (sic) Henry ... and Henry never died .... Of course if you got maku'd by a person – you know, witchcraft – then you died in those days. You know the power of Jesus in those missionaries was really strong, you know. It wasn't Henry Williams, you see, and if people were willing to look past Henry and past William to see what it was that was in them, it's absolutely amazing, because

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[268] Gary Williams, 3B 14.0.
[269] Gary Williams, 2A 14.4, 25.0, 3A 15.6.
[270] Gary Williams, 2A 0.2.
[271] Gary Williams, 2A 2.8, 3B 27.2, 3B 30.1, 35.3, 2B 31.1, 33.8, 36.7.
[272] Gary Williams, 2A 8.8.

those men knew that they were sons of God. They weren't Anglicans, they weren't Church Missionary Society, they weren't anything. They actually had that life in them, and that's why the Williams family have been so blessed today.[273]

However, because 'certain Christians', by which he means Governor Grey and others, opposed Henry Williams, and thus rejected Christ in him, they set New Zealand on the path of utu and social and spiritual decay, says Gary:

[B]ecause the Holy Spirit that was in him was rejected – they didn't reject Henry, they rejected Jesus, which is the resurrected Christ ... but because they rejected that, the whole of New Zealand has fallen into this monstrosity of a trap you see today.[274]

Shortly after this he adds another perspective:

Back in early New Zealand with the turning down of that ministry that Henry Williams had, and others, no doubt, that's the result of it – they turned away – they turned away from God. It was people that called themselves Christians put Jesus on the cross.

Are you saying the same thing happened here?

Well it's pretty obvious.[275]

Today he says New Zealand is moving into the 'Laodicean age', when those in the Church become 'luke warm'.[276] He sees many of his Williams relatives in this light, staunch supporters of the Anglican Church, but bound by rules and dogmas.[277] He says:

It would be nice to see the Williams[es] ... realise that ... doctrines of mankind – there's no life in them – like the creeds and dogmas and systems of Church and so on. And you know they put their whole lives into it ... but they don't know – it's like their minds are closed. And I have big confrontations at times

Do you? With members of the family?

Yeah, whenever I meet them.[278]

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[273] Gary Williams, 2A 0.2.
[274] Gary Williams, 2A 6.5.
[275] Gary Williams, 2A 32.3.
[276] Gary Williams, 2A 14.4. Gary refers to Revelation 3:14 -22. 'And to the angel of the church in Laodicea write: .... So because you are luke warm – neither hot nor cold – I will spew you out of my mouth. For you say, I am rich: I have prospered and I need nothing; not knowing that you are wretched, pitiable, poor, blind and naked. Therefore I counsel you to buy from me gold refined by fire, that you may be rich, and white garments to clothe you and to keep the shame of your nakedness from being seen, salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see. Those whom I love I reprove and chasten. So be zealous and repent.'
[277] Gary Williams, 2A 2.8.
[278] Gary Williams, 2A 2.8.

I'm sure God has blessed them, because ... of their forefathers. But they shouldn't look at their forefathers to follow them, they should look at the Word, you see what I mean. Because people look at the forefathers to follow, but they shouldn't, they should look at the Word that those forefathers had because that Word's eternal.[279]

Just as Sarah awaits the right moment to spread the 'rongopai' of biculturalism among the Williams family, so Gary appears to wish to awaken the family to their true spiritual heritage, as he understands it.

Conclusion

Organized religion is of ever-decreasing importance in the lives of most New Zealanders and most of the Williamses, but the religious traditions and myths of the family still appear to have influence in the present generations, even among some of those who resist the pressure of family traditions or find them inadequate to their needs. The Ludbrook family closely link their religious belief and practice with involvement in the local community, and point to numerous examples of this in earlier generations of Ludbrooks. Others speak of the important example and teaching of the practised faith of their parents, in prayer, in bible study, in attendance at church, in generous giving, in care for others and in working for social harmony. The strength of this tradition is especially strong among those with Te Aute links, although some now view it in a negative light as 'programming'. Peter Sykes also attests to the importance of the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust as an agent in 'maintaining the story'.

These religious traditions find expression in narrative in complex ways. This chapter demonstrates not only the rich diversity of ways in which family myths of religion may be used in narrative, but indeed the polarities that may result from this process. From claims of agnosticism to dedicated Christian faith, from vehement opposition to mission as the imposition of one's beliefs on others to those who cheerfully admit to

[279] Gary Williams, 2A 0.2.

their own 'missionary zeal', all may be claimed as conforming to or resisting the family's religious traditions.

These polarities may arise in part from divergent images of the Williams family's religious beliefs and practices. On the one hand are those of formal Anglicanism, hegemony and the status quo, images of settler churches dotting the countryside and bishops in the drawing room; on the other are those of a Dissenting tradition, of disdain for ritual and 'magic', of active social concern, of challenge to the status quo. But these images themselves generate differing responses in narrative across a wide range of possibilities. For instance, the experience of formal Anglicanism may be seen as meaningless, inhibiting, a reason for turning away; or it may be a comfortable family link to mark special occasions; or seen as a family tradition which one feels a duty or is even proud to uphold. Likewise, the Dissenting tradition may be used to justify agnosticism, stubborn independence, charismatic worship or the determination to practice a 'living Christianity'. It may be the link to resistance to formal structures and creeds within the Church, or be the motivation for helping prisoners and refugees, or establishing a trust to assist drug addicts. Even those who have turned away from the church may confess that they 'still love the music and the hymns and things', attesting to the strength of the church as a mnemonic community, and the importance of music and singing in the creation of collective memory, even among those who have essentially left the group.[280]

This wide range of responses points to the multiplicity of meanings that may derive from the 'same' story from the past, which 'continue[s] to provide legitimate insights about contemporary events'.[281] Narrators focus on particular aspects of the family story while seeking spiritual insights in the contemporary situation of religious plurality and a predominantly secular and individualistic society. If there is a unifying factor in these narratives it may be in the concern for integrity, as for instance with Bill (W.A) Williams, wrestling with his programming to discover what, if anything, lies beyond it. Integrity is spoken of time and again both in relation to the narrators'

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[280] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* translated from the French by Francis J. Ditter and Yazdi Ditter, with an introduction by Mary Douglas (New York and Toronto, 1980), pp. 183-5. First published in French in 1950.

[281] Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Lincoln and London, 1998), p.43.

own lives and the lives of their ancestors, Henry and Samuel in particular. Julie Cruikshank writes, in a different context, of stories or myths that may continue to 'connect ... those areas of life that seem to be disintegrating'. She uses Mikhail Bakhtin's metaphor of a centrifuge with two 'countervailing forces'. In the USSR of the 1930s Bakhtin saw 'authoritarian speech displacing local ideas to the margins, and irascible orality magnetically straining to hold a center.'[282] Here perhaps we see the centrifugal force of increasing religious fragmentation and uncertainty striving against the central value of integrity.

Complicating matters further, we discover that within a single narrative an individual may portray him or herself as simultaneously conforming to and resisting a family myth, a schism which produces yet again a sense of unease. Thus in the memory biographies of Martin Warren and Peter Sykes we find conformity couched in oppositional or resistance terms. Both tell of deciding at a relatively early age to become ordained, and indicate the missionary element in their intentions. But both oppose the hierarchical and formal nature of the Church, by refusing promotions and by drawing on the missionary aspects of their ministries. Martin, for whom this is also a form of resistance to his father, does so mainly through his insistence on his mission to the 'working class'. Peter does so through his advocacy, in a multicultural environment, of 'knowing your own story', individual and communal, as a means of spiritual understanding, rather than looking only to the Bible. Other family myths relating to class and culture form the foci of their resistance.

We should note too, the use in a number of these narratives of the myth of the spiritual journey of the Christian, narratives of redemption in which the meaning of events often finds parallels in the life of Jesus. The milestones of this journey as they appear in the Williams narratives, include awakening to an awareness of God, the transcendental experience as calling, the wilderness experience and the decision to forgo wealth, power, reputation for dedication to God's purpose, and similarly, suffering for one's beliefs, the motif of the Suffering Servant. For some of the Williamses, and not only the ordained, these milestones have resonances both in their own lives, and also in those of their ancestors. The use of Christian myth in this dual

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[282] Cruikshank, *Social Life of Stories*, p. 94.

sense suggests the possibility of overlapping collective memories, or perhaps the Williams family as a remembering community falling within the ambit of the mnemonic tradition of the Church.

Most commonly mentioned of these Christian myths is the transcendental experience as a moment when 'the eyes were opened', but perhaps the most striking occurs in Elisabeth Ludbrook's narrative when she takes on the suffering that Henry also endured, becoming the conduit for forgiveness and healing between the family and the CMS. These spiritual journeys introduce a sense of the timeless in which the past is recycled in the present. Such narratives may have resonances with the Jewish liturgical commemoration of contemporary events which acquire meaning only when 'subsumed within Biblical categories of events', and which, Gabrielle Spiegel suggests, show how memory in general may 'reincarnate' the past, making it live again in the present as historical events are psychologically experienced 'cyclically, repetitively, and hence atemporally'. However, the same narratives are also concerned with Christian teleology and purpose, memory, as Spiegel says, not only preserving 'fragments of the past' but facing 'forward from the living present to an imagined future'.[283] These contrasting visions of time, the cyclical and the linear, are not incompatible as may at first appear. If we reject the view that all events are unique occurrences, viewing some of them rather as recurrences of similar events, or generic types, not identical but similar, then history may be seen as not exactly repeating itself, but 'rhyming'. Time may thus be seen as moving forward as it also moves in cycles.[284]

Finally, the myths of religion overlap with other myths of the Williams family. They overlap with those of class in such matters as the sense of duty to one's community, the importance of maintaining the local church, the upholding of traditional values seen as Christian. However, the Williamses tend to invoke their religious tradition most strongly in connection with the notion of 'social conscience'. Whether this is expressed in the actions of individuals helping refugees and prisoners, or the activities of family philanthropic trusts helping drug addicts and homes for the elderly, such

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[283] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time', *History and Theory* 41, (May 2002), pp. 152, 162 .
[284] Zerubavel, pp. 23-5.

work is seen as true to and often inspired by the family's Christian tradition. Because some of these activities occasionally involve risking one's popularity with peers and being seen as different, they are usually linked in narrative to the idea of the Williamses as Dissenters. Working with and for Maori has a particular resonance as the most immediate and obvious link to the missionary past; and so above all, these testimonies demonstrate the strong link between family myths of religion and those of the Williamses' special relationship with Maori, which will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Myths of the Williams family's special relationship with Maori

The Williams family has had a long association with Maori. They remember Henry's part in the Treaty of Waitangi, his role as a peacemaker between warring factions and his designation by Maori as 'a father indeed to all the tribes'.[1] Some remember the work of William and his descendants in compiling the Maori dictionary. They recall the work of Samuel and Mary at Te Aute College, the members of the family who have been Maori Missioners, and the words of Apirana Ngata praising the help given by the Williamses to Ngati Porou farmers.[2] In each generation there have been members of the family who have worked with and for Maori through the Church, in education, in farming and in law. Their role has often been paternalistic, seeing themselves as protectors, advocates and teachers. The ability to speak Maori has been seen by the family as both the key to this relationship and evidence of it. The Williamses' dedication to Maori is believed to have been reciprocated through loyalty and support for the family. Some today still appear to see the Williams family destiny linked with Maori, although now most would probably prefer to speak of partnership, based on the Treaty.

In examining the oral testimony on the family relationship with Maori one must bear in mind the extent to which Pakeha perceptions have been influenced by the political and social change of the last three decades.[3] The rapidity and extent of Maori urbanization after World War II at last brought Maori and Pakeha into closer contact than they had experienced for a hundred years.[4] The Maori experience of disadvantage and discrimination in this situation led, by the 1960s, to protest and change. The result has been a Maori renaissance, exemplified by the increased

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[1] Phyllis Garlick, *Peacemaker of the Tribes. Henry Williams – of New Zealand* (London, 1940), p. 58. Henry Williams's abilities as a peacemaker between tribes was both a result of and a cause of his mana among Maori, according to Robin Fisher, 'Williams, Henry', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB), Vol 1, 1769-1869*, edited by W.H. Oliver (Wellington, 1990), pp. 593-4.

[2] For Ngata's speech see *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD) 1915*, Vol 174 (Wellington, 1915), pp. 616-19. The relationship between Ngata, Ngati Porou and the Williams family on the East Coast is described by Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua. The Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngata*, (Auckland, 2001), pp. 100-106. See also Sybil M. Woods, *Samuel Williams of Te Aute* (Christchurch, 1981), pp. 215-18.

[3] See for example Michael King, *Being Pakeha. An encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance*, 1st edition (Auckland, 1985). Two subsequent editions were published in 1986 and 1988. See also Michael King, *Being Pakeha Now. Reflections and Recollections of a White Native* (Auckland 1999); Michael King (editor), *Pakeha. The Quest for Identity in New Zealand* (Auckland 1991), with essays from a number of well-known New Zealanders; James Belich, *Paradise Reforged. A History of the New Zealanders. From the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland, 2001), pp. 486-7.

[4] This change is perhaps less pronounced for the Williams who were themselves predominantly rural people until recently.

teaching and use of the Maori language, and the formation of a political party, Mana Motuhake, seeking Maori self-determination. Above all the Waitangi Tribunal and Treaty settlement processes have given Maori issues a central role in New Zealand politics, and Maori themselves have become a 'far more visible component of every aspect of the country's life'.[5] This process has strongly influenced the perceptions of many Pakeha. By some it has been welcomed as an opportunity to right long-standing injustice and forge bicultural partnership, by others it is resented as creating fresh injustice and division. While some of the Williamses are critical of these changes, most have welcomed them.

Among those I interviewed were some who see their work and lives as still engaged in some way in the project which the family began 180 years ago. For several, the relationship with Maori is perpetuated in a formal sense by their role as trustees on the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust, fostering the Maori Church and through their association with Te Aute College. Of these some have made the relationship more personal, forming valued friendships with the Maori with whom they work and learning to speak the Maori language. Another whom I interviewed had used her fluency in the language to work as a translator for the Waitangi Tribunal, regarding her involvement in the righting of historical injustice to Maori as part of the family tradition. Yet another, on his return to live in New Zealand, had embraced Maori culture almost as his own, learning and eventually teaching the arts of carving, navigation and taiaha. Statements in the oral testimony include comments such as 'it's in the DNA' or 'it's in my bones', suggesting a sense of inevitability or destiny about the family relationship with Maori.[6]

Remarkably few of the family have been married to Maori, although I managed to interview two. Both explored the complex realities of their relationships, one in particular seeing the marriage union as the fulfilment of the family tradition. Two of the interviewees were of Maori descent through their mother. They were brother and

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[5] Michael King, *1000 Years of Maori History. Nga Iwi o te Motu* (Auckland, 1997), p. 98. For a summary of these changes see Ranginui J. Walker, 'Maori people since 1950' in Geoffrey W. Rice (editor), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd edition (Auckland, 1992), pp. 498-519; also Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 471-87.

[6] Interview with Sarah Williams, 24 February 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 27.7; interview with Jean Maclean, 8 June 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 15.3.

a sister, but only the former drew on the narrative motif of union. Another whom I sought unsuccessfully to interview, expressed considerable ambivalence about her Maori ancestry through her grandmother, giving me to understand that this was at least a part of her reluctance to be interviewed.

For many however, the family relationship with Maori has become somewhat distant, though in most of the narratives it is recognised as having been significant in the past. Some mention ancestors who spoke Maori, while others have felt impelled to learn at least a smattering of Maori themselves. Others recall relationships with Maori in childhood and, less often, in adulthood, which they regard as a continuation of the family tradition. Some believe that they have an innate sympathy for Maori, which makes them more understanding of the need for Treaty settlements than most New Zealanders. While many feel alienated by what they perceive as radical Maori, they believe they still empathize with Maori whom they would regard as more traditional.

Speaking Maori

The ability to speak Maori is accorded importance by many of the family. It is well known that Henry Williams and his son, Edward, translated the English version of the Treaty of Waitangi into Maori, explaining it to the assembled chiefs and persuading them to sign. For several generations this has been a source of considerable pride for the family, although in recent decades the debate about the accuracy and intention of this translation has left some confused and ambivalent about this.[7] Also William was responsible for producing the first dictionary of the Maori language and translating the New Testament into Maori. His son, William Leonard, and grandson, Herbert, worked on subsequent editions of the dictionary. This work is a source of pride to

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[7] For criticisms of Henry's involvement in the Treaty see for instance R. M. Ross, 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi: texts and translations', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 6, 2 (1972), pp. 129-57, and Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington, 1987), pp. 39-59. Criticisms had been made much earlier by William Colenso in *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington, 1890), but the family appears to disregard these since Colenso was seen by them as being prejudiced by his antipathy towards Henry. [Henry had insisted Colenso put the CMS name to the Maori New Testamant rather than his own. Colenso was openly critical to the CMS of the missionaries owning land, see Frances Porter (editor), *The Turanga Journals 1840-1850: Letters and Journals of Williams and Jane Williams Missionaries to Poverty Bay* (Wellington, 1974), p. 148. Henry had also refused to allow Colenso to marry his eldest daughter. In discussing this last with her sister-in-law, Jane Williams called Colenso an 'ignorant empty headed young man', not worthy of her niece, *Turanga Journals* p. 112. Colenso was dismissed from the CMS in 1852.]

some members of the family, while Samuel too was acknowledged as a 'Maori orator'.[8]

Like most Pakeha New Zealanders today, few of the family speak Maori, although quite a number of those interviewed were proud that their father or grandfather had been able to do so. Such claims appear in the testimony as evidence of the close relationship. Others have made an effort to learn Maori themselves, most seeing this both as an appropriate response to current bicultural ideology and a duty reinforced by family history. One was interviewed the day after returning from a one-week Maori immersion course at Otaki. However, only one is really fluent in the language, sufficiently so to work as a translator and transcriber for the Waitangi Tribunal, and to speak as a representative of the family at official Waitangi commemorations. Just as each previous generation has had those who spoke Maori, she sees herself fulfilling this role in the present generation.

Stories of sympathy, understanding and friendship with Maori

The majority of those interviewed raised the question of the relationship with Maori. About half told anecdotes which were designed to emphasize their empathy with and understanding of Maori. Sometimes these were anecdotes about parents or grandparents rather than themselves. They included a grandmother who was called Mum by the boys of Te Aute College, and a father who used to eat huhu grubs with local Maori. Sometimes they were stories of personal experiences ranging from childhood visits to the dirt-floored whare of a Maori schoolmate to being invited to sit with the kaumatua rather than the manuhiri at marae functions. Most telling as evidence of the family relationship with Maori were series of anecdotes covering

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[8] Williams Williams, *A Dictionary of the New Zealand Language*, 1st edition (Paihia, 1844), 2nd edition (London, 1852). Later renamed *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, the 3rd and 4th editions were produced by William's son, William Leonard in 1871and 1892, and the 5th edition by his grandson, Herbert, in 1917. The 7th revised edition is still in print. Williams Leonard Williams was regarded as the 'most eminent Maori scholar of his generation', according to Frances Porter, 'Williams, William Leonard', in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vol 2, 1870-1900*, edited by Claudia Orange (Wellington, 1993), p. 582. Also Ihaia Hutana recalls that '[Samuel] was familiar with the deep sayings and the expressive idioms of the Maori. He was well versed in Maori customs. He was a Maori orator, and his audiences were never tired of listening to him. He introduced many Maori proverbs into his speeches, and sayings which are now obsolete. He was also able to introduce many humorous sayings in his speeches, which would create such bursts of laughter amongst his hearers that the final part of his sentence would be lost.' - see William Temple Williams (editor), *Pioneering in New Zealand. Life of the Venerable Archdeacon Samuel Williams* (published privately, 1929), p. 191.

several generations, for instance a son who, like his father, had played rugby with local Maori and socialized with them at the pub.

Others told of long-term friendships, or even of friendships with particular Maori families over several generations. Most of these were aware that the claim to 'have a friend who is Maori' is regarded with suspicion today, since it often prefaces a litany of criticism of Maori. They were prepared to make the claims, nevertheless, as evidence of the on-going relationship between the Williams and Maori. These friendships often seem to be restricted to Maori who are perceived as 'traditional' and 'well-brought up'. Those seen as 'radical Maori' are usually those who fail to recognize or respect the family relationship.

While some interviewees could make no claim to personal friendships with Maori, they did express an understanding of the injustices and problems faced by Maori and the justice of Treaty settlements. They often seemed to feel that their understanding was greater than that of the average New Zealander, and was informed by family sympathies.

Maori involvement at the funerals of some of the Williams ancestors is important in the written tradition of the family.[9] For instance, Lawrence Rogers and Phyllis Garlick make much of the events surrounding the death and burial of Henry Williams. As we have seen, when Henry lay dying two local tribes were preparing to fight. His son, Edward, had tried to make peace and failed. However when news of Henry's death reached the Maori they gave up all thought of battle to attend his funeral and carry him to his grave. The story continues that afterwards the warring tribes made peace. Rogers heads his section on Henry's death with a Maori farewell: 'Haere, Te Wiremu, Haere, Haere, Haere!' He also begins his description of these events thus: ' "Peace was made on his arrival and peace was made on his departure." So wrote the

[9] Hugh Carleton, *The Life of Henry Williams. Archdeacon of Waimate, Vol 2* (Auckland, 1877), appendix O, pp. lxxvi-lxxix, letters of Rev. Matthew Taupaki and Rev. Renata Tangata to Sir William Martin after the death of Henry Williams, August 1867; Garlick, p. 57; Lawrence M. Rogers, *Te Wiremu: A Biography of Henry Williams* (Christchurch, 1973), pp. 302-4; for Samuel Williams see Woods, *Samuel Williams,* pp. 258-9; John Thornton, *In Memoriam. Samuel Williams 1822-1907* (Gisborne, 1907), includes excerpts from the *Hawkes Bay Herald,* 18 March 1907, which describe how Samuel's coffin was carried by Maori to the graveside, and the service held in Maori and in English. William Temple Williams (editor), pp. 171-213, also contains numerous Maori tributes to Samuel after his death.

Rev. Renata Tangata to Sir William Martin.'[10] Likewise Sybil Woods records that when Samuel Williams died at 'Te Aute', Maori gathered round the house to tangi for days, were his final pall-bearers and brought 'four magnificent feathered cloaks as *roimata* (presents to bereaved persons), and placed two on his coffin and two on the floor at his feet.'[11]

Descriptions of the funerals of relatives also appear in the narratives as evidence of the depth and significance of the family relationship with Maori over generations. These funerals had been attended by large numbers of Maori, whose leaders had spoken movingly in tribute both to the deceased and to earlier generations of the family. Such memories were treasured and dwelt on with great pride. They echo the stories told of the funerals of Henry and of Samuel.

'Partnership'

Over the last two or three decades the idea of Treaty partnership between Maori and Pakeha has assumed greater prominence in public life. This appears to have revitalised the sense of the relationship for some in the family. In particular the fact that Henry was one of the signatories seems to have made the partnership a personal one for some. For others partnership is seen in religious terms, as the living out of the gospel injunction to love one's neighbour, or likened to a marriage relationship. The idea of partnership with Maori now finds expression within the family in a variety of areas of involvement.

Sometimes partnership is seen as being expressed through the traditional family channels. This is perhaps most evident in the work of the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust and its support for Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa. A large proportion of its annual disbursements go to this cause, but more important than the money for many of the trustees, is maintaining the relationship with Maori. Some recount in detail their visits to Maori Synod and to hui on marae, recording their pleas for understanding and inclusion. The continuing, though sometimes strained, relationship with Te Aute College and Hukarere Maori Girls School is another

[10] Rogers, *Te Wiremu*, p. 302.
[11] Woods, *Samuel Williams*, pp. 258-9.

traditional area of involvement. Five of those I interviewed were born and brought up in the close vicinity of the College, have known the students and their parents, have worked there or been involved in College governance.

Some members of the family have points of contact with Maori through their work. Although outside the traditional family areas of interest, these too can be seen in mutually reinforcing terms of family and Treaty partnership. Five are involved in some kind of social work, both through the Church and through secular organizations, and raise issues in their testimony of social justice for Maori, affirmative action and paternalism. Two or three others recall particular situations in which they have become involved because of family connections, such as leading a work delegation at a formal function on marae.[12]

As earlier noted, one of the family, Sarah Williams, is a fluent speaker of Maori and directly involved in the work of the Waitangi Tribunal. She also has a consultancy instructing Pakeha to act properly and genuinely on marae, and at the time of the interview was exploring ways to assist the wider family to a greater understanding of Maori and of their own responsibilities under the Treaty. All of these activities Sarah sees as her responsibility under Treaty partnership.

Finally there are those who see the relationship in terms of marriage. One or two spoke of the ideal of the Treaty as a marriage partnership. One woman, married to a Maori, saw her relationship as the culmination of the family relationship, while the son of another Maori-Pakeha union saw himself as the embodiment of biculturalism, not only in the genetic sense but also in the turns his life has taken, bringing him into intimate contact with his Williams history and Maori culture.

[12] Interview with Sheila Williams, 25 June 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 2.8, 35.5.

Deep belonging

The concept of deep belonging has been discussed in the introduction in connection with the work of Terry Goldie, Peter Read and others.[13] It was raised in Chapter Two in connection with the use of local indigenous knowledge of land. It now reappears in connection with the myths of the Williamses' special relationship with Maori.

In two or three testimonies there is a suggestion that acceptance of the Williams by Maori is something much more significant than partnership. Rather, there is a sense of deep belonging to New Zealand, of being part of a much longer history and culture than the Williams can lay claim to in New Zealand. Not only do they claim a history in this country reaching back beyond 1840, but one even beyond 1823. There is pride in having names bestowed by Maori such as those given to Henry Williams himself, Te Wiremu and Karuwha. Some used the term Ngati Wiremu to describe the family, suggesting tangata whenua status. But above all the greenstone hei tiki which was given to Henry Williams by Maori, and is still in the family's possession, is understood by some as a symbol of deep belonging by one or two interviewees. It is seen as making the family not only part of the history and culture of Aotearoa, but part of the land itself. While most of the family are unaware of the stories associated with the hei tiki and hence of its significance, those few who are attach enormous importance to it.

Memory biographies

The memory biographies in this section examine the narratives of three of the women interviewees. Two of these women draw on the family myth of the special relationship with Maori to give meaning to their lives beyond the domestic realm. The third uses it to give a special significance to her marriage.

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[13] Peter Read, *Belonging. Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 178-84. The term 'deep belonging' was developed in the introduction from a discussion of 'connecting to deep time' between the environmental historian Tom Griffiths and Peter Read. For further discussion on this theme see: Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures* (Kingston, Montreal and London, 1989), pp. 13, 223; John Moreton and Nicholas Smith, 'Planting indigenous species: A subversion of Australian eco-nationalism' in *Quicksands: Foundational Histories in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand* edited by Klaus Neumann, Nicholas Thomas and Hilary Ericksen, (Sydney, 1999), pp. 166 –175; Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 5-6.

Sarah Marianne Williams was born in Wellington in 1939 into one of the more gentrified branches of the Williams family, and enjoyed a very privileged upbringing. While her father was away at the war she was raised at 'Longwood', the home of her maternal grandparents near Featherstone. When he returned the family lived in Wellington and spent holidays at 'Longwood'. Most of Sarah's schooling was at Erskine Convent of the Sacred Heart in Island Bay, Wellington. Later she was sent to the English convent of Roehampton, and to another in Rome. She attended Victoria University, worked for some years and in 1970 married Tom Larkin. From 1971-76 they lived in Tokyo where Tom was the New Zealand ambassador to Japan. On their return Sarah went to the Wellington Polytech to learn Maori, and now works as a translator and transcriber for the Waitangi Tribunal and runs a consultancy helping Pakeha who need to work with Maori to develop some of the cultural skills they need. Her narrative is constructed in terms of the dichotomies of class, religion and culture which she encountered both as child and adult, and how this prepared her for 'entry to the Maori world'. Vital to Sarah's story is her decision to learn Te Reo Maori.

Jean Maclean was born at Pukehou in 1926, and raised at 'Te Aute' where her father, Athol Williams, was station manager and for thirty years the chairman of the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust Board. Through her great grandparents, Samuel and Mary Williams, she is descended from both Henry and William Williams. She was educated by a governess until she was old enough to go to Woodford House. After leaving school she spent one year at university and then started nursing training. In 1947 she met and married Jim Maclean, also a Williams descendant whose father, great grandfather and great great grandfather had all been clergy. Jim was working on 'Te Aute' and later became station manger until he retired to Havelock North in the early 1980s. The couple had four children, and when all were at boarding school Jean began learning Maori at Te Aute College, worked in the College library for some years and also served on the Woodford House Board of Governors. Jim was Chairman of the Te Aute Trust Board, the Te Aute College Board of Governors and the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust, and he was also a member of the Pihopitanga O Aotearoa Trust Board and Te Runanga O Te Pihopitanga O Aotearoa. Jean was very interested in and supportive of her husband's work on these boards and a member of Te Runanga herself. Since Jim's death in 1991 she has continued to take

an active interest in these areas and to develop her Maori language skills. Although spending much of her life as a farmer's wife and a mother, her story is about continuing the family's missionary tradition. The reconstruction of Te Aute College, the development of Pihopitanga O Aotearoa and the new constitution of the Anglican Church in New Zealand are central to her narrative.

Anne Seymour was born at Waipawa in 1938. She was raised at 'Kutere', once part of the 'Te Aute' estate, which was given to her grandfather, Canon Arthur Williams, and then farmed by her father, Brian Williams. Her father was an important influence in her life and when he developed a deep interest in local Maori history, Anne was his helper. She was educated at the local Otane primary school and then went to Iona College. On leaving school she studied fine arts and then began training as a nurse until, in 1961, she married Royston Seymour of Tuwharetoa. They have three daughters. Anne worked as an art teacher in the 1970s, and she and Roy farmed 'Kutere' for a while until it was sold in 1986. Anne then returned to nursing until a recent severe illness forced her to retire. In her narrative Anne talks a great deal about her father, and appears to see her marriage to Roy as representing the culmination of the mission to Maori.

These narratives share four features in common. For all these women, evidence of their understanding of Maori is an important aspect of their narratives, and links in to the public ideology of biculturalism. Sarah and Jean make much of having learned Te Reo Maori, an attribute highly valued in family tradition where fluency in Maori is always noted. Anne claims knowledge of the 'real' Maori view of the Williams family, which is not as favourable as some in the family might wish. All three use the myth of the special relationship with Maori as a means of giving their lives significance beyond the confines of domesticity. For Jean and Sarah this comes in the form of their work with Maori, while for Anne her marriage itself is given a greater meaning. All appeal to religious traditions and understandings. Sarah and Jean construct their experiences as conversion stories, Anne puts her marriage into a biblical context, and Sarah interprets transcendental experiences as affirmation of her chosen path. This points to the difficulty of separating out the religious tradition from the myth of the special relationship with Maori in Williams tradition. Finally, all point to different ways of understanding the world through a Maori perspective.

Evidence of their acceptance by Maori is also important in their narratives, but at the same time it is clear that their path is not always smooth in this respect.

Sarah Williams

Sarah was very articulate and enthusiastic, her narrative long and enormously rich and complex. It is the story of her 'entry into the Maori world', and how the dichotomies of her early life, the sense of living in two worlds, prepared her for this. The dichotomies are those of class, religion and culture. It is a story in which various political events and the changing national ideologies of biculturalism and egalitarianism interact with her own experiences, with the Williams myth of the special relationship with Maori and with a sense of religious calling. In part it is also based on the myth of woman as rebel, Sarah using her family history with regard to Maori and class as the springboard to a fulfilling career beyond the home. It is a narrative rich in metaphor, including that from both the Judaeo-Christian tradition and from Maori culture.

The idea of dichotomy, of living in two worlds, is present from the outset. She frames her memories of childhood in terms of point and counterpoint, which expresses this idea of two worlds. Sarah begins her narrative with memories of life at 'Longwood':

We had woods – quote – we had two or three woods with paths and with – in one woods you would come, not on a crowd of daffodils but on – on bluebells, wonderful, wonderful haze of bluebells. It was so beautiful – it was wonderful space, it was tremendously English, and the farm – I used to go round the farm quite a lot with my grandfather. It was a home farm so it was just a hundred acres and he and Jock who was the guy who did everything else – used to run it. Outside the – outside the – the refuge if you like – there were very, very tall gums planted around the perimeter of the garden, and along the drive and so on – but outside that the wind blew – the wind blew off the Rimutakas and the wind used to – exhilarate me and it would sound in the wires and so on and so forth.[14]

The dichotomy here is of New Zealand and England, the colonial looking back to origins and forward to possible futures. As she insists later: 'We were truly New Zealanders ... we were Anglophile New Zealanders ... but we were absolutely New Zealanders.'[15] However,

[14] Sarah Williams, 1A 2.8.
[15] Sarah Williams, 2A 8.6.

Sarah still uses the expression 'coming out' from England, and although she catches herself in the act, it nevertheless suggests a subconscious orientation of England as Home.[16] Her choice of the word 'woods' is an interesting one. New Zealanders speak of 'bush' or 'forest' but seldom of 'woods', which have a very English connotation. Her insertion of the word 'quote' after her first mention of woods indicates an awareness that this is somewhat out of place, but she continues to use it. Also while she speaks of that most English of the symbols of spring, bluebells, she brings in a reference to the English poet, William Wordsworth: 'all at once I saw a host, a crowd of golden daffodils.' Both the images and culture of England are to the fore. Beyond the 'English' world of 'Longwood' lies another exciting, mysterious world of rugged bush-clad hills bearing a Maori name. Things native are fenced off by symbols of colonialism, the Australian gum trees. One world is a refuge, the other a challenge. She recalls the wind, which in Judaeo-Christian tradition is often used as a metaphor for the spirit of God.[17] For Maori too, wind and breath may represent spirit.[18] Even her reference to the wires, whether electric or telephone wires, suggests power and communication. And so this excerpt, like many others in the narrative, is both rich with dual images and metaphor and suggestive of things to come, a story of manifest destiny.

Sarah speaks of her life as a dichotomy in many other ways as well. There are dichotomies of class. At 'Longwood' they had servants and sometimes the servants' resentment showed through:

In this world of order and plenty and so on and so forth ... every now and then one would see the kind of things that made it – one would see the awkwardnesses or even – even a little flash of hatred, which would sort of flash out, and which reflected ...how the wheels were grinding beneath [laughs] the surface so to speak. But at one time my grandparents employed someone to be a chauffeur and they called him by his last name. The name I forget, probably traumatised out of me [laughs], but I

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[16] Sarah Williams, 1B 36.5. Sarah's use of the expression, 'to come out', reminds one of how, even after six generations, colonial viewpoints can persist in small slips of the tongue such as this. See Ashraf H.A. Rushdy, *Remembering Generations. Race and Family in Contemporary African American Fiction* (Chapel Hill and London, 2001,) pp. 129-30. In an interview with an elderly black women, the daughter of a slave, the interviewer was 'struck by the ease with which [the woman] invoked the word "master"', which reminded him how proximate slavery is to the present.

[17] Acts 2:2. On the day of Pentecost when the disciples of Jesus were gathered together, the Bible says that 'suddenly a sound came from heaven like the rush of a mighty wind', followed by what appeared as tongues of fire, after which the disciples became men 'filled with the Holy Spirit', and with a sense of mission.

[18] H.W. Williams MA.(compiler), *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th edition, (Wellington, 1971), pp. 38-9. The Maori word, hau, has numerous meanings including wind, breath, and the 'vitality of man'.

once said good morning to him – 'Good morning, Pitts.' And he said, 'Good morning Williams.' Oh – phew – OK – Mmm! That was quite something![19]

At home in Wellington however she recalls that life was more 'egalitarian'. She remembers that her father often did not charge the patients he thought could not afford to pay, and although her mother employed an Irish woman to do cooking and cleaning, 'she didn't live with us'. Sarah and her sisters would visit this woman who lived in a state house and was married to a wharfie, Ted Denniston, an active trade unionist. Several times Sarah recalls she went to the wharfies' Christmas picnic with their children, and concludes: 'We were enormously privileged to be able to go to that.'[20] The other side to this privilege of befriending the cleaning woman's family was the privilege of parties at Government House: ***We were also taught at home to curtsey, and I can remember when we went to parties at Government House and how we used to practice curtseying, and – drawing the foot you know – you put the pointed foot out and drew it round in a half circle and came right round behind it and so on. So I could give you an effortless curtsey any time ... and that was a most important part of our manners was the ability to curtsey and to shake hands at the same time actually as curtseying. That's what we did for the Dowager Queen of Thailand.***[21]

There were also dichotomies of religion. The New Zealand gentry were almost exclusively Anglican and went to Anglican boarding schools, but Sarah was a Roman Catholic and went to a convent.[22] She revelled in the richness of Catholicism, recalling somewhat prophetically: 'I used to have a holy picture of a knight dedicating his sword at an altar ... and I used to pretend that I was that knight.'[23] She loved the beautiful Neogothic chapel at Erskine, where the music was 'glorious', and says: 'Singing in that chapel, that was bliss, absolute bliss; and the rituals were so rich, I mean Holy Week was just a miracle, it was a miracle.'[24] She recalls her First Communion as her first transcendental experience, but it was not her last.[25] Others occur in her narrative and all seem to have the purpose of putting the seal of approval on her chosen path.

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[19] Sarah Williams, 1A 14.7.
[20] Sarah Williams, 2B 24.3.
[21] Sarah Williams, 1B 20.2.
[22] There was also a group of Anglo-Catholic families who numbered themselves among the gentry. These included the Vavasours, Cliffords and Johnstons. Sarah's grandmother was Meta Johnston.
[23] Sarah Williams, 1A 25.0.
[24] Sarah Williams, 1B 12.3.
[25] Sarah Williams, 1B 16.0.

However, Catholicism also had its drawbacks for Sarah. For instance, she dreaded the moment when she had to tell her Anglican cousin she could not eat meat because it was Friday.

One thing that used to make ... me very nervous was that if I was ever staying at some of Anglican rellies [laughs] – that I would, if it was a Friday, I wouldn't be able to eat meat. And I do remember one ... of my father's first cousins, and I had to stand up to her in her vast kitchen. She was a cordon bleu cook and very enormously efficient and so on and so forth. My father said of this generation that they lost the spirituality ... but they kept the prejudices, and I think that was right. This cousin, when I said to her, 'Look cousin, I'm awfully sorry but I can't eat meat today,' she actually slapped my face, not hard, but ... it was really scary. And I had to summon up all my courage to say that to her.[26]

Such dichotomies may be seen as part of competing mnemonic traditions within Sarah's wider family. In these few examples and countless others Sarah is not only aware of the differences, but alive to the tensions that they generate. All these experiences she argues have given her a feeling for 'a certain insider/outsider thing', and an awareness of what it feels like to be in the minority.[27] And so the idea of living in different worlds permeates her early life and narrative, foreshadowing future events.

Another theme in her narrative is that of rebellion. She is proud of her Williams grandparents because they were different. She reports with delight that her grandfather 'had a very bad press in the family', partly because he was 'laid back' and not sufficiently hardworking, partly because he read 'appalling books' of the 'gutter press' such as *How to Win Friends and Influence People,* but mainly because of who he married.[28] Her grandmother however is her real hero. 'Born out of wedlock', 'highly intelligent, extremely good-looking and a very powerful woman', Granny Williams was resourceful and had 'done all sorts of things to keep herself afloat'.[29] Her grandparents first met at the Masterton Club, where:

[S]he ran the bar in the dining room or something like that. Can you imagine! And there was my grandfather you know, laid-back, good-looking, getting on you see, and I think she just laid her eyes on him and thought 'Ah – you know – great!' And

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[26] Sarah Williams, 1B 9.4.
[27] Sarah Williams, 2A 10.7.
[28] Sarah Williams, 1B 1.9, 2A 0.1.
[29] Sarah Williams, 2A 0.1, 2.2, 6.7.

good for her, basically ... She had a really top quality headpiece on her .... So, I mean she's somebody I'm very drawn to – because of her intrinsic qualities, and because of what she managed to pull off – you know [laughs] .... I see that as an absolute splendid – you know exact opposite to where men on the make marry up – I mean why not? .... I admire this stuff![30]

At this point in talking about relations, Sarah is diverted from the chronology of her narrative into talking at length about the 1998 family reunion, and it is not until after lunch that she returns to the story of her earlier life. For the purpose of clarity in this analysis I will reverse the order.

In the1960s Sarah studied for a BA, and entered her 'adolescent twenties', trying to live down her upper class family, to be 'classless'. She says: 'I believe enough in the egalitarian myth to try .... to live in that kind of way.'[31] On the one hand Sarah became a 'postie' which upset her father despite his 'egalitarianism'. On the other hand she still 'went to all the dances', meaning the private dances organised among the gentry, and had her own coming-out dance at 'Longwood', which had programmes and was 'really beautifully done'.[32] Later she worked at 'polite jobs' in Sydney and in the UK, and then she came home and married an Irish Catholic. Sarah explains the impact this would have had on her family. She points out that while her family was Anglo-Catholic, in New Zealand Irish Catholics dominate.

Our particular brand of New Zealand Catholicism ... I have to put it in this way, it's the non-Irish of us you know ... and when we were at Erskine that was another very interesting thing. For instance we used to sing a hymn which I loved, loved the tune of the hymn which is 'Faith of our fathers, living still in spite of dungeon, fire and sword,' and our mother said that that was not a good hymn for us to be singing, you know, because it was about the Irish, and it wasn't our hymn .... I think whether you were Catholic from an Irish Catholic, or an English or Scots Catholic ... was a class thing at that stage of the game .... So we were in the minority, the ones that weren't Irish were in the minority, but we were taught to feel ourselves immensely superior,

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[30] Sarah Williams, 2A 2.2.
[31] Sarah Williams, 2B 13.6.
[32] Sarah Williams, 2B 13.6. Sarah acknowledges that being a 'postie' in the 1960s was quite a fashionable thing to do. Here she met people in the Wellington world of the arts.

basically. Perhaps that's why I've married an Irish Catholic [laughs] .... And I mean that was quite a thing for my family, for me to marry somebody Irish [laughs hard].[33]
Here the dichotomies in her narrative begin to coalesce with her stories of rebellion.

However, rebellion against her upper class origins was short-lived. Tom Larkin worked in the Department of Foreign Affairs and soon after their marriage he was appointed as Ambassador to Japan.[34] So despite her Irish Catholic husband, she recalls: 'I was suddenly in the situation which linked me back in a way to 'Longwood'... [because] one of the obvious things is that you need to be the hostess with the mostest, and you know my Granny [Riddiford] was nothing if not that.'[35]

They had an intensive course in Japanese before leaving, and on arrival Sarah found she was one of the very few diplomatic wives who spoke the language of the host country. She says, 'What I realised there was that language is like <u>really</u>, <u>totally</u> the key to understanding a culture. It is just the best means.'[36] Throughout her stay in Japan Sarah practiced what she calls 'domestic diplomacy', explaining the cultures of the Japanese and New Zealanders to each other through the medium of embassy entertaining. Again she says: 'It was that whole two way thing going on all the time.'[37] In speaking of this time in Japan she also recalls her experience of Italian culture, which she calls a 'sub-plot' of her own culture, and her experience in England:

[In England] we were invisible except in as much as we could ape – like our English numbers, in terms of our voices and manners and everything else ... we were from you know a lesser – you know lesser evolved world [laughs] etc, etc, ... What I felt angry about was that ... there was simply no acknowledgment of the fact that you know, intelligent life you know could actually [exist outside England] – extraordinary![38]

Here I think she is trying to express a parallel between attitudes she encountered in England and those that colonised indigenous peoples met with in their colonisers. She also constantly makes links between all the cultures she has experienced: between the 'grandeur

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[33] Sarah Williams, 2B 17.0.
[34] Tom Larkin was ambassador in Japan from 1971-76, a period which coincides with the beginnings of change at home in terms of Maori protest, and with the development of New Zealand's anti-nuclear testing policy. A frigate with Government representatives aboard was sent to Mururoa to protest the French nuclear testing.
[35] Sarah Williams, 3A 6.2.
[36] Sarah Williams, 3A 14.5.
[37] Sarah Williams, 3A 8.0.
[38] Sarah Williams, 3A 19.5.

and presence' of St Peter's cathedral in Rome and the famous Buddhist temples of Japan; between pantheism and ancestor worship in Japan and the concepts of mauri and whakapapa for Maori; between the Maori idea of being 'bonded to the land' and the question asked her in England, ' And are you Yorkshire?'[39] She is still constructing her experience in terms of dichotomy, and also seeing herself as constantly 'being in the minority'.[40]

In Sarah's narrative all these things tumble out in rather disordered fashion. In her description of their final return to New Zealand she tries to give some understanding of how this pot-pourri of experiences in New Zealand, England, Italy and finally in Japan had affected her:

Why did I decide to come back and learn Maori? We used to come back straight down the Pacific [via Hawaii], so that whole sense of people who live in the Pacific, and what the Pacific was about, was much stronger to one you know, because it wasn't counter-balanced – or sort of thrust into by Australia. .... Anyway when we arrived back down, and I think it was when we came back finally – and that's right – we came in at Auckland airport – and we'd flown down the Pacific and so on and I'd thought about the Hawaians and everything – and then there was a notice up saying 'Defense de fumer'. What! What's French doing in my country! You know ... the French nuclear testing had begun already – Mururoa had begun already. Ooh! What the hell was going on here? You know I felt really – ooph! .... And then I thought – and UTA was flying out of Auckland still at that stage you know – and – it was the first language I saw when I came in – and then I thought 'OK. Well what's English doing here? – well that's all right, we're here you know, we're - that's fair enough, you know.' And then I thought, 'But hey, you know there's Maori!' Because – that was the original language here – and you know, one knew Maori – and we heard them – you know, waiata-a-ringa and haka – and I mean – where's Maori? It wasn't anywhere, not anywhere![41]

Her reference to 'the Hawaians' and her exclusion of Australia, coupled with her questions about French and English are used here to emphasise her awareness of New Zealand as a Pacific country rather than simply an off-shoot of Europe, and a place therefore where one should understand the language of the indigenous people. In the narrative this story functions as a sort of 'road to Damascus' experience. Her eyes were opened and shortly

[39] Sarah Williams 3A 29.9, 19.5, 23.7.
[40] Sarah Williams, 3B 12.1.
[41] Sarah Williams, 3B 2.9.

after this she decided to study Maori language, and so, as she herself puts it, she 'entered the Maori world'.

Whenever Sarah is talking about the time since then, there is a sense of constant negotiation between cultures. In speaking of the reunion, or describing her work, she portrays herself as a go-between between Maori and Pakeha. Here she has been talking about the support she has had from Maori in her study and work. I ask her:

Do you see this support coming from Ngati Porou or just from Keri or the Kaa family?

Well yes it is. I mean she's the founthead. She's the one who says to me, 'You are the messenger to the Pakeha. That is your role. You know, that is your role with the language ... you are the messenger to the Pakeha.' And I totally, totally go along with that. That's just cool.[42]

Sarah argues here that her role is consecrated by Maori. However, she also admits that her relationship with some Maori who have supported her has been strained at times, partly because she has gone on to connect with other iwi, and partly because her ability to speak Te Reo Maori fluently is seen by some as taking over their 'most intimate taonga'.[43] She sometimes walks a thin line between acceptance and rejection, and has had to learn to be 'discreet' in the use of Maori, but it is not something she dwells on in narrative.

She goes on to describe that work, at the same time demonstrating to me how she has developed a 'Maori mindset':

And what that has realised for me on the ground now is that in my consulting practice ... I do two things. One is I consult one on one with people – and they have to ... be doing a job that I believe to be important .... and the first thing which is a general whole cultural number really, weaving people into the Maori world. I build for people a genuine presence in the Maori world .... The second thing I do is I teach them some of the language but totally, totally embedded in context.[44]

[T]he other thing I do – I do transcription, translation – and – the fisheries one was the biggest one I've done. It was 6 months work – on documents. I also briefed the Pakeha report writers who had good hearts and minds but not much knowledge. And of course that all becomes surreal as well because – it's an extraordinarily interesting process, but of course who's got what mind sets ... who is really Maori,

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[42] Sarah Williams, 3B 20.9.
[43] Sarah Williams, 3B 15.5, 24.9.
[44] Sarah Williams, 3B 20.9.

who is really Pakeha physically, and the difference between that and metaphorical, the identity. But then you get Maori who've got mindsets that I don't any longer have, you see what I'm saying, and you get someone like me who can understand the Maori mindsets where other Maori mightn't. So all the time you have to suss people out – you know, where are they coming from, how much do they understand .... You know I've had Pakeha, the nicest people say to me, 'But include that in the report! That's off the wall!' You know. And I just have to say, 'Look Maori are inclusive. They include all – you know all this stuff should be included etc, etc.' But they just don't get it, because they know the government specifications for report writing and it doesn't come in. And it takes years in a way to get that kind of feel and understanding that that really does work.[45]

Sarah speaks of how much she enjoys the richness of the oratory and politics, the history and religion at the hui she attends in the course of her work, saying: 'That's wonderful food ...that's the best kind of dehyd for your journey as a warrior if you like. It's wonderful stuff.'[46] Here she uses a mixed metaphor, the 'dehyd' referring to food for tramping which is a predominantly Pakeha pursuit, and the word 'warrior' appropriating Maori imagery, but also evoking the earlier religious image of the knight. It is appropriate to pause here to note that the concern for cultural meaning which has dominated Sarah's narrative, her memories of her 'English' childhood, her interest in temples and cathedrals, her determination to learn Japanese, her attraction to luxuriant ritual in the Church and in the home, is a clue to her later involvement with Maori. In the 'Maori world' she discovers a similar richness of culture, tradition and ritual, which as a Williams she can link into.

Returning now to Sarah's memories of the family reunion in 1998. For her the seminar was the most important aspect. The gathering was addressed by several Maori clergy, and this is what Sarah understood them to say: 'We, the Maori, want genuine partnership with you, the Williamses, as the Treaty intends. Learn our language, marry our people, and show that patience and persistence and forbearance that your forbears showed.'[47] So Sarah decided to take up this challenge, to find some way of helping members of the Williams family become

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[45] Sarah Williams, 3B 28.2.
[46] Sarah Williams, 3B 31.8.
[47] This is a brief paraphrase of the actual narrative, Sarah Williams 2A 23.9.

more familiar with the Maori language, and also to make a point of attending Waitangi Day commemorations at Waitangi itself each year on February 6.[48]

She recalls the 1999 commemorations at Te Ti Marae, noting every evidence of acceptance by Maori and of her ability to move in and understand Maori culture. Having asked Hakopa Hakaria for permission to attend she was placed by him in the care of a kuia, and was thrilled to be introduced as a 'moko of Karuwha'.[49] She found herself sitting with her back to the main pole, which is the one with the carving of Henry Williams, and between two men, one from Nga Puhi and one from Ngati Porou. For her this was highly significant since she says Maori themselves would choose to sit thus, against their ancestor and between people with whom they are most strongly associated.[50] She recalls meeting a descendant of Hone Heke, the first Maori signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi. Sarah introduced herself using both her names in Maori:

[I said] 'I am called Hera <u>Mariana</u>,' and he said, 'Oh! Mariana!' And he turned on that beautiful thing that they do, you know, when they are really well brought up traditionally, and they've got the headpiece and the heart. He said, 'I remember that when Hone Heke's bones were exhumed, Mariana wept over them.' And I said 'Oh!' and I thought, 'Ah, this is the old tradition working,' and I said, 'Oh, that's wonderful!'[51]

The use of her names in Maori and the stress on Mariana is important. She is emphasizing the link with her great great grandmother, Marianne Williams, who was highly regarded by Maori, both then and now. This story indicates both the significance she puts on recognition of the historical link by Maori, and her own view that she has a special link with her great great grandmother, that being given her name was, as Sarah puts it, 'portentous'.[52]

Later she recalls Waitangi commemorations in the year 2000, at which she was asked to read the Treaty in Maori at the official function at Government House. The Governor-General at that time was Sir Michael Hardie-Boys and his wife, Mary, is

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[48] Waitangi day commemorations are held in many parts of the country but those held at Waitangi have special significance, whether or not they are designated the official commemoration for that particular year.
[49] Sarah Williams, 2A 31.0.
[50] Sarah Williams, 2B 5.9.
[51] Sarah Williams, 2A 34.7.
[52] Sarah Williams, 3B 35.5.

one of the Williams family. Here is how Sarah remembers that experience and explains it to me:

Do you know about Maori time perspectives – how they view time?

No, I don't – you tell me.

Basically they're the opposite way round to us – all right? – So the past is in front of them – right? – and the future's behind them.

Oh yes.

Right? You know that? Right. Now there's another thing that happens which is that ... when you're in a tapu situation that is sacred, a situation that is – powerful in terms of symbolism, you're really in the eternal present – all right? That's – that's how they see it. And in the eternal present you see the forbears – the ancestors – and you see the current numbers – you and me, and Mary Hardie-Boys and everybody else – and we're enacting something that is totally part and parcel of what's gone before, and it's a magic thing, it's timeless. You're sort of lifted up into eternity for a little bit – do you know?

So this is another transcendental experience?

Very nicely picked up – yes, <u>huge</u> buzz. And the buzz comes – I mean people will say yes, because you know, you were able to read the Treaty really well in Maori and so on and so forth, and you've worked hard to do it – well, we've all worked – but the real <u>buzz</u> is to see people's hearts in their eyes, and to see the light in the eyes, not only from Maori who were thrilled, but also from Pakeha. [53]

As Sarah explains this to me she is both describing and enacting her go-between role, the sense of living in two worlds operating on two levels simultaneously, both in process and content of the narrative. She consciously adopts a Maori perspective, envisaging the family drawn in across the generations – Sarah herself and Mary Hardie-Boys and Henry Williams who signed the Treaty – and thus transforming the present into a continuation with the past.[54] The whole event and Sarah's role in it are affirmed for her by the transcendental or religious experience, again also with elements of Maori spirituality.

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[53] Sarah Williams, 2B 2.5. Note: in Maori 'the past' and the space that 'lies in front of the viewer' is expressed by the same word, 'mua'. Judith Binney, 'Songlines from Aotearoa' in Neumann, Thomas and Ericksen (editors), *Quicksands*, p. 219.

[54] Eviatar Zerubavel discusses the integration of past and present in *Time Maps. Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago, 2003), pp. 37-40, 45-52. Zerubavel suggests that the 'present is largely a *cumulative*, multilayered collage of past residues continually deposited through the cultural equivalent of the geological process of sedimentation'. He writes of the '"adhesive" act of memory' which allows us to 'mentally transform series of non-contiguous points in time into seemingly unbroken historical continua', and of the importance of 'tradition' as a ritualised effort to integrate past and present and of historical re-enactments to do so through imitation.

It seems to me that there are four themes in this narrative, which are closely intertwined. One is the constant sense of living in two worlds, expressed in various different forms, and producing a perception of dislocation. The second is the theme of the independent woman, of a rebellion against the family which is focused on class and of forging for herself a role beyond the domestic sphere. Both her grandmother and Marianne Williams serve as role models in this respect.[55] The third is a growing awareness of the special relationship with Maori that derives from her family heritage and is reinforced by the ideology of biculturalism. There is an interesting interaction between these two. Maori may be seen as being generally of a lower class, and so on the one hand this association parallels that of her enjoyment of the trade union picnic and her postie friends. On the other Sarah's emphasis on the cultural richness of her early life of privilege, finds a parallel in traditional Maoridom. And the fourth theme is the sense of the transcendental and of a spiritual calling, which is expressed both in the content of the narrative, but also in the tone of missionary zeal. Thus Sarah appears to deftly transform the family missionary myth into a powerful justification for her choice of action, and a means to sustain it.[56] It also appears to be a means to try to reconcile the dislocation suggested by being an 'Anglophile New Zealander', the alienation of living 'out' here, far from European culture. However the adverse reactions of some Maori and of some Pakeha to her involvement, disturbs the composure of her narrative. Living in two worlds maybe stimulating, but it is not always comfortable.

Jean Maclean

Jean Maclean grew up and lived most of her life at Te Aute, and her narrative moves effortlessly between her own life and those of her ancestors. She is seen by some as an important teller of family stories and indeed she describes in much more detail than

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[55] Sarah is clear that Marianne Williams is her role model, and that she is not a woman tied solely to domestic activities. In the article she wrote about Marianne Williams for *DNZB Vol 1*, p. 595, she stressed that Marianne went to New Zealand 'not just as a wife, but a fellow-helper in the work of mission.' Sarah listed Marianne's activities in Paihia as not only rearing and educating a large family, but running a refuge, hospital, hostel, church and official residence, while also running a school to teach Maori girls and training teachers, and writing copiously.

[56] Luisa Passerini, 'Mythbiography in oral history' in *The Myths We Live By*, edited by Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London and New York, 1990), p. 52-5. Passerini writes of 'myth as part of the history of the imaginary', that which inspires people and keeps them going. She gives the example of Italian women members of the leftist terrorist organizations of the 1970s who 'seized on a common imaginary world to sustain their choice of action', a world of heroic revolutionaries, of resistance as clandestine work and armed struggle, of fighting for the oppressed.

any other narrator, the missionary enterprise of Henry and William and their wives, and the establishment of Te Aute College. She also speaks of her own childhood there and her 'yen somehow to be a bridge between our two peoples', Maori and Pakeha.[57] This is the focus of her narrative, which moves constantly between past and present, as she describes her growing relationship with Maori through the College and the Church, a relationship she clearly sees as rooted in family history. The key refrain of her narrative is 'I grew up in the shadow of all that', meaning the stories of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, of the founding of Te Aute College and the struggle and self-sacrifice that this entailed, of the relationship with Maori, of generations of the extended family living nearby and of a 'faith that was trying to be practised'.[58] The central theme is thus one of continuity of family tradition, especially with regard to Maori and the Church. Like Sarah Williams, Jean almost neglects to talk of her own children until I question her about this, and appears to use the family missionary myth as a means to escape the constrictions of domesticity.

My interview with Jean took place only a few days after her return from a week-long immersion course in Maori language at Otaki, an experience which probably influenced her choice of narrative opening, using elements of Maori protocol. She began by acknowledging the importance of ancestors, and singing the Maori song, 'E hara i te mea', which she then translated as: 'We're not just the products of today ... the love we have today didn't just come from us ... it was handed down from our old people, our tupuna.'[59] Jean then proceeded to describe first her mother's family coming from Scotland to Taranaki, and secondly her father's family, going back to their English roots.

William's father died when he was only four... and there were 11 children in the family and there were still five of them who needed to be looked after at home, so his mother ... had to do something to earn a living for them, and she started this girls' school, which William's older sister as she grew to be 16 or so helped with. And I've been interested in that because it gives a picture of education for girls that goes right back in our family. And William grew up in that atmosphere and later had its repercussions with Hukarere being started. And Henry was an older brother who fought ... in the Battle of Jutland or

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[57] Jean Maclean, 1A 34.5.
[58] Jean Maclean, 1A 17.9, 10.2, 25.7, 15.0, 21.3, 29.7, 3A 0.3.
[59] Jean Maclean, 1A 0.3.

something like that ... and had a narrow squeak and decided that he would – if he came out of this alive he wanted to give his life to God. And that was when he trained for the ministry. And Marianne, who he later married, I think must have been a wonderful woman. Her father was a lace-maker in Nottingham and he became the sheriff, and Marianne's mother had died when she was just in her teens and so she became his consort. [60]

Jean gives considerable emphasis here to the role of women in the family, their independence and resourcefulness.

Her narrative proceeds with selected family stories: Henry Williams and his disapproval of the New Zealand Company; Samuel and Mary coming from Otaki, where they had temporarily replaced Octavius Hadfield, up the Manawatu River to Te Aute where they lived in a 'scrubbed out pataka' and then built a 'two-roomed raupo whare'.[61]

[T]hey had ... four children under five in that little place, and not only themselves, but it became a – it was on the track for people travelling and came to be called the Wayfarers Rest and often they put up other people there. And you know there was no supermarket to go to. Mary would be up sometimes at midnight baking bread for people. I sometimes thought, 'Gosh, I don't know why I feel tired,' sometimes you know, 'No right, no right to feel tired.' [laughs] And then later on they built 'The House'. And so that's really – Samuel and Mary have been a tremendous influence in my life because that's where I lived my life at 'Te Aute'. Although I never knew either of them, the legacy and the older relations were all around.[62]

As the story progresses Jean constantly moves from the family history to her own life, and often seems conscious of having to live up to her ancestors. She refers to the frugality for which Samuel was renowned.[63] Later in the narrative she tells the story of the missionary box which she has in her keeping, adding:

I think that – yeah he was – he was very frugal, and yet apparently he was a man who could have a – he was a very gentle warm-hearted person underneath. I suppose his upbringing you see, wouldn't have had too much –

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[60] Jean Maclean, 1A 2.1.
[61] Jean Maclean, 1A 5.6, 10.2.
[62] Jean Maclean, 1A 10.2.
[63] Jean Maclean, 1A 15.0.

too much that wasn't – very necessary about it – I mean just think of – they would have been pretty focused.[64]

Frugality or simplicity, she says, is a family trait to this day.[65] When she speaks later of her own search for simplicity, it occurs more often than not within the context of relating to Maori, for instance at a hui at Porourangi marae. Jean recalls the experience of staying in the meeting house:

And Sophie Kaa [was there] who I'd come to know very well [laughing]. And the ablution block didn't have hot water on. There were cold-water showers and basins that you could empty somewhere else. And I found quite a lot of the folks were going down the road to somewhere else to have a hot shower, but Sophie had a cold shower and I thought, 'If it's good enough for her it's good enough for me.' And you know there was something really good about going back to basics. It was – I suppose we've always been fairly – fairly hardy and we've never been cosseted in sort of comforts, and I found it really ... invigorating. I thought there's something good about simple things you know, not all the sophistication. You can have all the home comforts you like and you lose something. And so we've been enormously privileged in that way.[66]

Jean continues the family history, describing the struggle that Samuel and Mary had at Te Aute, the lack of funding which necessitated the closure of the College for 14 years while Samuel developed the farm to support it, the typhoid epidemic in which they nursed the sick 'with no thought of their own lives', the various members of the family that were eventually housed at 'Te Aute', the land problems and the 'three Royal Commissions into Samuel's handling of the Te Aute lands'.[67] The following excerpt is chosen as an example of the sense of immersion in family history and place that is characteristic of Jean's narrative.

Edward was the oldest son of Henry I think, wasn't he, and it was his children that I grew up amongst. Edward himself came down in his old age and Samuel built the house, Roxton, for him to live in .... It's no longer standing, no, but when I was a child it was. And he's buried, he and Jane are buried in the Pukehou cemetery. But when I was a child three of their daughters, unmarried

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[64] Jean Maclean, 3B 29.5.
[65] Peter Sykes holds a similar view on the frugality of the Williamses. Interview with Peter Sykes, 11 February 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 39.9.
[66] Jean Maclean, 2A 7.6.
[67] Jean Maclean, 1A 17.9, 21.3.

daughters, lived there – Aunt Ada, Aunt Ellen, and Aunt Emma .... Uncle Arthur and Aunt Leslie were living just down below us in another house that got burnt down. He was the Missioner for Hawkes Bay and up the East Coast. He was a <u>wonderful</u> man .... If you peeled off half way down the drive and went over the drain there was a little path and a wicket gate, and that's where Uncle Arthur and Aunt Leslie lived .... And we used to go over there often and Uncle Arthur was a very gentle man with <u>wonderful</u> stories of Maori legends and I can't remember them, I just remember magical evenings when he spoke to us and told us these stories. And he baptised me, in the sitting room in our little house, which is a nice thought. And then you see over at the College as a legacy from the time that – that Samuel had been the only one who developed the land there, because nobody else would do it. They threw it in as being something that they couldn't make a go of – but that's all in the Royal Commissions. There were three Royal Commissions into his handling of the land because [sighs] people thought he'd made a good thing out of it for himself. He was exonerated each time but ... they kept coming back to it.[68]

These childhood memories are an interesting contrast with Sarah's in which there is a definite demarcation between the Englishness of home and the native wilderness. In Jean's narrative the presence of Maori is interwoven, it is part of home. Maori legends have become part of the magic of evenings at Uncle Arthur's, the Maori College is nearby, and there is no sense of wilderness beyond. The native has been tamed. There is also a sense of continuity in Jean's narrative that is absent from Sarah's. Growing up among the children of Edward, the eldest son of Henry, she is aware historical family community of which she is part. It is also significant that the three Royal Commissions which she speaks of are mentioned three times in as many minutes, and then again nearer the end of the narrative when Jean most emphatically denies any wrong-doing on Samuel's part. These investigations into Samuel's work still appear to rankle.

Jean then goes on to read from a talk she has given recently, quoting John Thornton, the first headmaster of Te Aute College, and Dr Tutere Wirepa, one of its early pupils, as they highlight Samuel's strong relationship with Maori. What she is anxious to portray here is the myth of Samuel as a 'bicultural man', as Jean expresses it

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[68] Jean Maclean, 1A 21.3.

elsewhere. She reads from her speech, adding comments to me, which are placed in brackets in the following excerpt:

'Thornton writes of Samuel that his knowledge of the Maori language was perfect, his temperament appealed to the Maori nature and fitted him to gain not only their respect but their confidence and affection. He said "To all intents and purposes he was a Maori among the Maori, so completely did he identify himself with their interests. He opened his heart to them and there cherished them till his dying day." Dr Tutu Wirepa, an eminent old boy (and you know when I was working in the College library, goodness me another – a young Tutu Wirepa turns up and I was thrilled to bits) – Dr Tutu Wirepa said "He was the finest ... Maori linguist New Zealand ever knew (It's a big thing to say – might be some other opinions about that.) When preaching to a Maori congregation I've known him not once but many times to provoke laughter, and when the matter of his discourse warranted it he could reduce his listeners to tears." Dr Wirepa tells of being one of the boys here at Te Aute in 1896, who sang at Samuel and Mary's golden wedding. He says, "I believe that saintly couple who lived their married life together for 50 years through all sorts of trials, through dangers unrealised by the present generation, would have preferred those boys above all the other choirs in the world to sing at their golden wedding service. The grandsons of savage ancestors to whom they had dedicated their lives, were singing about them in faultless English with all their hearts, the grand specially-written thanksgiving hymn." ' And the College of course has had a huge influence in my life.[69]

Thus she continues to weave her way between past and present, her own life and those of her ancestors and the wider family.

During one of these forays into her own life she describes a 'watershed' moment, using, like Sarah Williams, the biblical metaphor of her eyes being opened to a new understanding of Maori.

The College was there, it was always there. My eyes weren't opened in those days to the Maori world.

Even though you were sort of surrounded?

No they – not really, not really. When I say to the Maori world, I <u>thought</u> I knew. The house had all sorts of cloaks and things hanging up, and I thought I knew

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[69] Jean Maclean, 1A 25.7.

what it was like to be Maori. And it wasn't until I went and sat in class with the boys, just as myself in the early 70s with John Tamahori as my teacher, that was the biggest thing I learnt ... it was that I didn't know that I didn't know. And I discovered that because through John and Maxine who were such good friends and just simply being in that environment, and talking to John one day after class, and he told me that all sorts of people stayed with him. And I said, 'Heavens John, where did you put them all to sleep?' And he said, 'Oh well, Maxine and I slept on the sitting room floor,' and on he went. And as I walked home across the paddocks I thought, 'When did Jim and I ever move out of our bed – give it to somebody else?' And the answer was never, we never had. And it was just that simple thing, which I know is a commonplace among Maori, but that happened to be the thing that the penny dropped to me that ... that I didn't know. I didn't know how Maori really – didn't really know how they thought and spoke and lived .... And so this was like a penny from heaven, that I suddenly realised that we came from different roots. My root was different from theirs. And that I no longer had to pretend or think that we all came and thought and did everything the same. And then I was free to begin to learn. And that was an absolute watershed for me .... And that was in the early 70s when three of the children were then at boarding school. They were all at school somewhere anyway and I was free and I had a – had a kind of a yen – somehow to be a bridge between our two peoples, but it was quite uncrystallised.[70]

Jean then goes back to complete her own story of school, university and marriage. She notes that she only lived away from 'Te Aute' for about two years, a fact that almost certainly has a considerable bearing on her view of the world.[71] Of her marriage all she says at this stage of her narrative is that she accepted that a woman's place was in the home, and enjoyed being a mother and involved in the community.[72] She then returns to her desire to be a 'bridge' between Maori and Pakeha, saying it was 'genes – something in my bones .... I was drawn to Maori people, little and all as I knew.'[73] She says John and Maxine Tamahori 'had become particular friends' at this time:

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[70] Jean Maclean, 1A 34.5.
[71] Jean Maclean, 1B 3.0.
[72] Jean Maclean, 1B 6.5.
[73] Jean Maclean, 1B 13.0. See also reference to the 'missionary' relationship between Maori and the Williamses, being in the DNA, Sarah Williams, 2A 27.7.

And so when I asked John if I could come and sit in class with him, it didn't occur to me that he mightn't want me. And you know there was a pride there .... You know I thought it was good stuff, me wanting to go and learn Maori. And I've seen that many of we Pakeha, and certainly I've found it for myself, have grown up with an almost inbuilt pride that we know – it's hard to put it – Joan Metge puts it rather well ... that Pakeha tend to think that their way is best, if not the only way.

And so it's a kind of condescension to ask to go to the class.

It's a kind of condescension, that's it, that's it – to be accepted in the class is a condescension ... I thought John would think, 'Jolly good stuff, you know. Here's Jean actually wanting to learn Maori.' But I didn't stop to think that John mightn't want me there, because I thought the same – 'Jolly good stuff, Jean wants to learn Maori' – do you see what I mean?

What was his reaction in fact?

He said, 'I'll think about it.' .... At the end of [the first week in class] I said to John – this is a measure of it – I said to John, 'I think I could manage the fifth form, John.' And he said, 'You'll go where I put you.' And I bless him for it.[74]

Jean frames these experiences in the form of religious conversion. She acknowledges her sinful 'pride', her eyes are opened and she is filled with a desire to serve the cause. It is a process of repentance and awakening with regard to Maori, which is similar to that described by Sarah.[75]

Jean passed School Certificate Maori and the following year was asked to teach the class for a few weeks when there was a gap between teachers. She also began working in the College library. At the time, 1969, the College was in great difficulty with its roll falling precipitously, so Jean, Jim and others launched the Friends of Te Aute to help in rebuilding the College. Jean says, 'I was the one who made meals and cups of tea and lunch and things, but you can be sure I was listening in when I was able', and she spends 25 minutes describing this.[76] They involved the local kaumatua, called on the help of Bishop Manu Bennett, and held an enormous hui at the college, with 'no less than a thousand people' from 'nga hau e wha', to which they invited the

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[74] Jean Maclean, 1B 14.8

[75] The narratives of both Sarah Williams and Jean Maclean are examples of conversion narratives involving a dramatic change of course which brings a sense of redemption, in both these cases linked to family myths. See Zerubavel, pp. 18-20

[76] Jean Maclean, 1B 25.9

Prime Minister, Norman Kirk, and his wife.[77] Jean recalls the hui, in a way that gives her a quite central role:

Jim must have been Chairman of the Trust Board by this time, because I was looking after Ruth Kirk, and as we moved around and I'd introduce her to this one and that one, who, because of my years in the library and in the school I knew – parents and grandparents. And Jim had been on Synod, we'd got to know people through Synod. You know the old people would come down and sit in Synod and I would go and sit with them and talk with them ... and she said, 'How do you know all these people?' And I said, 'Oh they're our friends.' And Norman Kirk ... and whoever he brought with him, had a meeting with the Trust Board and they went away and Jim always used to think that Ruth Kirk may have said to him, 'Norman, you've got to find an answer for that school.'[78]

Although her husband, Jim, was more heavily involved, Jean regards this work as her own, saying: 'We were doing this together really .... We were always supportive of one another even if it was something we were doing separately, but a lot of the time we were walking together.'[79]

[We had] the conviction and the commitment that the College was meant to go on. It's a provincial school on land given by Maori, 80 per cent of the officers in the Maori battalion were Te Aute old boys – we just didn't believe that it was meant to die. We believed that it... was to be a future educational powerhouse really for Maori. And it hasn't – we haven't quite got there, but we're still getting there. It's still very much alive.[80]

Although not always 'party to their conversation', she nevertheless gives a detailed account of the many meetings that occurred, and of the involvement of people like Paul Reeves, Matt Rata, Pat Hohepa, Hugh Kawharu, Mick Brown, Minister of Education Phil Amos and Minister of Maori Affairs Duncan MacIntyre.[81] Her description thus sounds like a 'who's who' of the 1970s, with the leaders of the Maori and Pakeha worlds coming together in the redevelopment of the College. It reflects,

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[77] 'Nga hau e wha' means 'the four winds' or 'from near and far'. Jean's narrative is peppered with these kinds of expressions in Maori.

[78] Jean Maclean, 1B 28.5.

[79] Jean Maclean, 2A 4.7.

[80] Jean Maclean, 1B 34.5.

[81] Paul Reeves, later Sir Paul, a Maori, was Anglican Archbishop of New Zealand, and later Governor-General, Matt Rata was MP for Northern Maori, Mick Brown a Maori lawyer who became a judge, Hugh Kawharu, later Sir Hugh, a Maori academic, and Pat Hohepa, an academic and activist. The two ministers of the Crown, Amos and MacIntyre were Pakeha.

like Sarah's account, a class influence in the Williamses' relationship with Maori. At the College, Jean continued to work in the library, recalling that she knew all the staff, the boys and their families, and what was going on in the school. And here too the class influence is present. John Tamahori is the son of a Ngati Porou clergyman who was Ngata's preferred choice for Maori bishop, a descendant of 'tohunga forbears', steeped in Maori culture and experts in whakapapa.[82]

With Jim's work for the Henry and William Williams Trust, and that Trust's support for the Bishopric of Aotearoa, Jim was appointed to the Pihopitanga O Aotearoa Trust Board. Jean and Jim began to travel to marae around the country for meetings of this board. This too, was an exciting period of her life. For instance, she recalls the thrill of being at Porourangi marae on the East Coast, with people who had worked with Apirana Ngata:

So I was talking about being at Porourangi, Sir Apirana Ngata's marae, wasn't I, with the people of the Bishopric of Aotearoa. And it was with those people, not necessarily there, but in different places .... where I met people like Sir James Henare and Sir Graham Latimer. And you know you would be talking with people who were making things happen in the country, and giving leadership and it was – it was wonderful. Took you right into the Maori thinking in a way – which really was a great privilege to be taken.[83]

Again Jean pictures herself operating in the public sphere, fraternising with the powerful, Maori with titles, those who are 'making things happen'.[84] And like Sarah, she also speaks of finding herself in a world different from the Pakeha one she is used to.

At the 1973 Williams family reunion Jean says some of the family decided to mark the occasion by giving an endowment to support the Bishopric of Aotearoa. This was done through the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust, and when the time came to hand it over, they gathered together about 40 members of the family, some of whom had never been on a marae. Jean notes that Bishop Hui Vercoe asked the

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[82] Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua*, pp. 226-7.
[83] Jean Maclean, 2A 8.3.
[84] This is similar to the oral testimony of women who have fought a government bureaucracy or hospital administration – women who in reality have little power but find them selves dealing with authority or operating in the public sphere. See Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1997) pp. 7-8.

family representatives to go not to a low key meeting in Rotorua, but to Turangawaewae the day before the visit by the Archbishop of Canterbury.[85] This would have given the occasion much greater import, but Jean is anxious to deflect any suggestion that the family might be exulting themselves by attributing the decision to the Maori bishop. At the same time, however, Bishop Vercoe's request inflates Williams mana with Maori. It was a moment of huge significance for Jean personally, but her description is very convoluted as she negotiates her way between different cultural values:

We met outside the gate ... and we were to sing a song together. And so we chose to sing a verse of 'Now thank we all our God', because we thought that was something everybody would know. And I had gone to Canon Wi Huata who was a very old friend here, and asked him if he could give me a song. And what I was thinking of was at the end of a stay on the marae there's always a time when you thank people who've given you all the meals and that sort of thing, and then you sing them something. And I thought, 'What on earth are we going to sing as a family?' And I said, 'Can you give me a song?' And he gave me a song all right. And he said, 'Where are you going to sing this?' and I said, 'Oh in the kitchen I should think, Wi,' ... and he said, 'No. I want you to sing this in front of Mangamaerangi.' And I said, 'But we're already singing a family song.' And he said, 'No, that doesn't matter. This is an extra kinaki – it's an extra – extra icing on the cake so to speak.' I didn't know what the others would feel about this. It's a chant really that he had written for his wife, and I think the thing one needs to know about this is that he had... been a Maori Missioner in the Waikato and had actually been a very significant person there, because after all the ... wars and troubles the Anglican church wasn't – it's links had really ... fallen away. And it was in Wi's time that ... there was a complete breakthrough, and very close relationship established with Dame Te Ata .... So Wi said 'I want you to sing it in front of .... [Mangamaerangi which] is the main meeting house.' And she [Mangamaerangi] was a princess from here, from Kahotea pa just across from Te Aute College ... And Turaungu came down [from the Waikato where] ... his older brother had butted in and taken his lady love from him ... and he ... heard of this princess down here, and came looking for her .... So I didn't know what the others would feel, whether they would feel that I was showing off or something, and I talked to Henry and one or two of the others and... they seemed happy, so ... I sang it and afterwards

[85] Jean Maclean, 2A 10.2.

Ricky Ellison who was chairman of the ... Ngai Tahu Trust Board came to me and said, 'That was beautiful.' And I said, 'Well, it came from ... Canon Wi Huata, and he gave me his blessing,' and Ricky said, 'Ahh! That was it.' You see how beautifully – they – they don't look to give kudos to individuals or – no they don't, they see us as a family, they don't see us as individuals walking alone, and I thought that was – you know it was lovely the way he put it.[86]

There is an interesting contradiction here between the promotion of family and the promotion of self. On the one hand Jean is trying to promote the idea of the family's role in supporting Pihopitanga, while on the other she is clearly pleased to have taken the role she herself did in this event. She is proud to have been entrusted with this special song, which indicates her own special relationship with Maori, but she is also anxious that singing it will be seen by her family as 'showing off'. She gets around the problem by once again deferring to the Maori view of individuals as part of a family.

Jean's narrative then jumps about 10 years to Jim's funeral, again with the purpose of demonstrating the depth of this relationship with Maori. In written family records, as we have seen, the participation of Maori at funerals is treated as being of immense significance. This is also true of some of the oral narratives concerning more recent family funerals. Jean describes her husband's funeral:

We'd had Jim here in the sitting room, and people had come – it was an amazing time really, people had come, Maori and Pakeha, and Maori brought us a large amount of koha in money, and Pakeha people brought food, and we ... hardly produced a thing here in the kitchen. All those years – we did it in our ... own way. And so I just felt I wanted to put Jim's casket down on the floor at the church and... I said to the children, 'I think I'd just like to sit there beside it.' And I wanted to be quite sure I wasn't doing anything which was – I don't know quite what to say – sort of – showing off or something like that. And I thought about it and I thought, 'No, it's just feels very natural.' .... And some of the Te Aute boys were there as a guard of honour and somebody was giving a karanga .... So when I walked after the coffin, the children just simply came in beside me. So in the event all the grandchildren, 14 of them, and I were sitting round the coffin ... it was really lovely .... John Tamahori had come down from Auckland with Ben Te Haara and various ones from here too. And

[86] Jean Maclean, 2A 13.2.

Hui [Vercoe] came over and he said, 'I'm going to talk to the grandchildren.' And he came over and he said, 'Your' – he didn't know quite how to address Jim – and I said 'Grandpa.' He said, 'Your Grandpa was much older than you think. We've known him – much older than you think – we've known him for – we've known him since 1823.' And you see there again that's how they see us, as a family, not just as individuals, as part of a family. Yes – 'Your Grandpa was much older than you think. We've known him since 1823.'[87]

Again Jean's anxiety about 'showing off' appears to be because her wish to have the coffin on the floor of the church and the family sitting around it, is more akin to a Maori tangi than to a Pakeha funeral. All those she names as present are Maori, their presence understood here as testimony to the value of Jim and Jean's work with Maori. She labours over the words of Bishop Hui Vercoe, trying to make sure she gets them right, and then repeating them. This message is doubly significant to Jean because it is addressed to her grandchildren and perpetuates the family story for them. For Jean the importance of these words, which she repeats once more later in the narrative, suggests they have become part of her story-telling to the next generation.

Since Jim's death Jean says she has continued going to the Runanganui of the Bishopric, at the request of Hui Vercoe. She has also become involved with the Maori Focus Unit at Mangaroa Prison near Hastings. She goes to services at Maori churches in order to keep in touch, attends General Synod so she can see how well it works under the three tikanga of the new constitution, and has been asked to join the Maori caucus. Again she interprets this as a way of providing continuity between past and present, and giving this religious significance, saying as she speaks once more of the funeral:

'We've known him since 1823.' It's a very big thing ... it's opportunity and responsibility, but it's more than that, it's honour and privilege I think that we have to – that we have on offer to us. Quite a holy thing, quite a tapu thing to live up to.... I think a lot of the reason for the way I see things ...is simply because of where we lived there – we never lost that contact .... I feel the Treaty's in my bones, in my genes .... That little song you know, E hara, it's not now, the love is not just from now, it's something that has ... come down through the generations, and to experience the love and the tears and the joys

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[87] Jean Maclean, 2A 17.4.

and the sorrows of this walk together ... between our two peoples, is really abundant life I find. It's what life really is.[88]

Her narrative goes back in time to when Jim was alive, and memories of establishing the new constitution of the Anglican Church in New Zealand, with its tripartite arrangement for Pakeha, Maori and Polynesian cultures:

So we've been with these people through these times of agonising on a national level about how we are as partners to the Treaty, and – it's a – it's a big thing and – that's where we got to know Whata Winiata so well. It's over 30 years now that this has been the case ... that we've been involved, and we've known these people, and that the Anglican Constitution has changed, which is a remarkable and a revolutionary thing you know, the present Anglican Constitution. I don't think it's anywhere else in the world that people are sharing the decision making and the – and the resources of money as people, not on numbers – but as Tikanga Pakeha, Tikanga Maori .... [A]nd Jim and I were with the Pihopitanga and we signed for that new constitution as members of the Pihopitanga, and I'm thrilled about that, so our names are there amongst the Maori who signed for that new constitution. And so – you know ... it's a journey that requires a lot of ... loving and a lot of understanding and a lot of effort to walk, to make it – to walk our talk. And that's what I'm still involved in here on a diocesan level here with Murray Mills, Bishop Murray Mills and Judy and a little committee of us who are trying to develop understanding of our Pakeha people with Maori and to actually walk the Treaty ... in our lives, as our churches and as people.[89]

Jean's pleasure here is partly at having family signatures on a document which furthers that sense of partnership originating with the Treaty document signed by Henry, but also that this time the family is among the signatories for Maori. She says she sees this constitution of the Anglican Church as a 'beacon of hope' for indigenous people around the world, struggling to 'have a voice in their own land'.[90] Thus past, present and future are linked in her story.

Jean's narrative generally expresses pride in her ancestors. She tells a story about Canon Arthur Williams, Maori Missioner for Hawkes Bay and the East Coast, who

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[88] Jean Maclean, 2B 11.1, 15.3.
[89] Jean Maclean, 2A 24.2.
[90] Jean Maclean, 2A 40.0.

lived at Te Aute when she was a child. She describes him as a 'man filled with the Holy Spirit', and tells a story of faith healing to show both the nature of the special relationship with family, and the way it passes down from generation to generation.[91] Tawhai and Arahi Tangipo from Te Puia came to the 1973 reunion 'out of love for all that the family had meant up there', so when Jean was next travelling to Te Puia she called to see these two elderly people:

They told me the story of their daughter Nan, who had been lying ill with what proved to be meningitis .... [S]he'd been seen by two doctors and they had said there was no hope for her. And Uncle Arthur had turned up on one of his trips up the coast .... [H]e usually used to stay with old boys [of the College] and Tawhai had been an old boy, so he came in unexpectedly and found this situation. Now he would have had some pretty deep thought and prayer before this, but he laid hands on Nan and she gradually recovered from that time. [And] now I was finding books and things in the [Te Aute College] library for their grandson, Henare, Nan's son. And I knew Nan a little bit. And I came back and I told Brian, I said, 'Did you ever know this?' and he didn't. And I now see a lot of Nan .... So you see, people remember Uncle Arthur with tremendous love, and ... a sense of being at one with them. And so Brian – Uncle Arthur's mantle fell onto Brian you know.[92]

She is proud too, of Henry Williams and his involvement in the Treaty:

I believe that the Treaty is actually a gift that we've got and in the Manukau Report, for instance, they uphold Henry's translation of the Treaty and when I read it myself, tinorangatirotanga – it's a very strong term – and I said to David Williams [lawyer] ... 'I've just been reading the Treaty in both languages, and', I said, 'I don't expect anybody else to think the same way, but to me when I read it in Maori and I think of that tinorangatiratanga it's <u>very</u> strong to me, and I believe that when Henry translated it like that, that was the best he could do.'

He wanted it strong?

Yes. And it was the best he could do to convey the chief's absolute right to their – it's in the second article you know. And it was David who said to me, 'You go and look at page something or other in the Manukau report and you'll find they say exactly the same.[93]

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[91] Jean Maclean, 4A 2.1.
[92] Jean Maclean, 4A 2.1.
[93] Jean Maclean, 2B 7.0.

Jean's narrative expresses optimism and hope for the future. Here she recalls a recent Waitangi Day service:

[Piripi Cherrington] spoke of the Treaty as a covenant like marriage, and he said Christ was there at the signing. And he said, 'I, Maori take thee, Pakeha to have and to hold, for richer for poorer, for better for worse, to love and to cherish. I, Pakeha, take thee, Maori, for richer for poorer, to love and to cherish.' You know that was the way he interpreted the Treaty. And that's my ... hope, that's how I believe it should be. But we're supposed to be caring of everybody, but that's – in this particular way I think we can build an Aotearoa, with the Treaty as a wonderful gift that we've got to build the basis of our nation.[94]

Thus while Jean's narrative dwells on family history more than any other, it is also one of the most forward looking, the most hopeful. She is happy to be involved in the continuation of the work begun by Henry and by Samuel, 'the bicultural man'. Here she expresses to me her belief that even if only one or two of the family continue with the work she is doing, then great things can come of it:

But right down through history and right through the Bible things have often happened with very few people, haven't they. Sometimes Elijah or Elisha – I can't remember which one – thought he was the only one left, and he wasn't. And sometimes it's just a little band of people that are able to – Wesley for instance, the Wesley brothers in Britain at the time of – things were pretty rotten and they were used to bring a pretty big turn around there. So who knows, I don't. But I think ... you can see where I come from really, and I read that bit at Jim's funeral out of chapter 15 is it, St John's Gospel – 'I am the vine, you are the branches,' and he says, 'Without me you can do nothing, but you know, with me all things are possible.[95]

Despite this pride and hope, Jean's narrative does not fully achieve a sense of composure. There is a sense that she treads extremely carefully the path between cultures, anxious not to offend either Maori or Pakeha as she tries to follow in Samuel's footsteps. And as we saw in Chapter Two, she is still deeply affected by the accusations that Samuel had taken advantage of Maori in acquiring large amounts of land. She confesses to having had sleepless nights feeling guilty about the

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[94] Jean Maclean, 2A 4.0.0.
[95] Jean Maclean, 4A 30.8.

Williamses' role in New Zealand history, and says she has asked one or two Maori if they can ever be forgiven for the mistakes they made.[96]

In Sarah Williams's narrative, and more particularly in Jean Maclean's, family myth is the source of inspiration, of motivation in the present, and hope for the future. Both narratives seem to express a teleological view of history, a sense of purposeful design. Participation in this purpose appears to extend the normal reach of a narrative from a life span to encompass not only past generations but the future as well. In Jean's narrative the linkages which she makes between family myths, the Treaty and Christian myths, suggest a simultaneous cyclical view of time.[97]

Anne Seymour

Anne Seymour, like Jean, grew up in the environs of Te Aute, and the missionary tradition guides her narrative also. Her father is her hero, a 'gentle man' whose interest in nature and in Maori have been a potent influence in her life. Unlike Jean she has not become involved in the formal family structures that maintain the work of mission still. Instead she constructs her marriage to a Maori as the culmination of the mission.

The chronology of this narrative is very loose. Once Anne embarks on the question of interaction with Maori, her father's, her own and the family's, her narrative runs ahead, and every now and then she seems to collect herself to bring events in her own personal life up to date. It as though there are two threads which need to be intertwined. Anne begins with romantic memories of growing up on the farm, and long summer holidays at Mangakuri Beach.[98] A common refrain in her narrative is 'oh, it was so free', 'the days were glorious and endless', 'oh, it was magic'. She idolizes her father, and in her memories pictures herself as his companion. So another common refrain is 'Dad told me', 'I went with Dad', or 'Dad taught me'. In later life her father became deeply interested in local Maori history. Anne sees herself as

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[96] Jean Maclean, 2B 0.3, 1.9.

[97] Zerubavel, pp. 14-15, 20-2, 23-5. See also Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time', *History and Theory*, 41 (May 2002), pp. 152, 162.

[98] Mangakuri Beach belonged to the Williams family and had no public road access for many years. There were several cottages, and many of the family spent summer holidays there.

following in his footsteps. He gave her a love for the land, taught her about the creatures of the foreshore and shared with her his interest in Maori history. In this narrative her marriage to Roy, a Williams to Maori, is seen as representing the culmination of the missionary enterprise. Gender conflict is muted, for with marriage as the centrepiece of the narrative it is difficult for Anne to make much of this. She does mention that her desire to become a vet was quashed by her father who believed it was not a job for a girl, but speaks very little of her work.[99]

Anne's narrative begins with childhood memories during the Second World War, memories of shortages and Red Cross parcels, of her mother managing the farm and of her father returning from the war very thin. Although he came back a stranger, she says she slipped back into feeling comfortable with him very quickly. 'He was so gentle, that's what I remember about him, his gentleness.'[100] She recalls tilly lamps, collecting eggs, making butter and watching her father milk the house cow and squirting milk for the cats. At times Anne's narrative seems more focused on her father than herself.

Around Te Aute she recalls the raspberry house of the 'three maiden aunts' who lived at 'Roxton', and tennis parties at 'Penlee' with 'whites' and cucumber sandwiches. They had picnics with cousins at 'Awarua'.

'Awarua' was probably regarded as the home house. That's where Athol and Auntie Meg were. And they had lovely things to delight children, huge stairs and lovely dressing up clothes, fabulous dressing up clothes, a real old spinet that you could play and a real, real rocking horse, the great big kind that sat on the verandah with ... the great big flat rockers with a spring. It was a beautiful old horse, and he was dapple grey with a real mane and tail. And when I was little I had to be helped on.[101]

These memories evoke a sense of security, a time remembered as 'not stifling, but safe'.

Anne recalls spending the whole summer holiday each year at Mangakuri Beach, with other Williams families nearby. The stores would go out in 'great big boxes', and her

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[99] Anne Seymour, 1B 10.1.
[100] Anne Seymour, 1A 5.7.
[101] Anne Seymour, 1A 18.8.

older brother and sister rode out leaving at four o'clock in the morning. They rode ponies on the beach, built forts and played Indians or pirates, and watched older cousins netting flounder and kahawai.[102] She recalls these holidays with nostalgia:

Oh it was so free – they were magic [days], they really were. And I think my greatest joy was that I really learnt so much about the beach and about the foreshore and about rock pools, and never realised how much I did know. [pause] But Dad would just take us out and it was me that went out ... I went out with him everywhere, I went with Dad, following along behind, carrying his bag for his crayfish, because he fished those pools just with a great big old pole and number eight fencing wire as the spear. That's how he caught crayfish, either with his hand or with his spear .... He would cook them in salt water down on the foreshore, beautiful fresh crayfish, and bring it in to friends.[103]

[A]nd years later it's still my favourite place of all ... Mangakuri, and finding all the animals that he taught me about ... the sea life, going through those pools looking for sea horses, finding ... limpets. We did a thing about limpets and he wanted to find all the limpets that were indigenous to the East Coast. And the last of them was a tiny little one that would be only the size of your thumb nail, and it was paper thin and had little concentric rings of brown and green. And we finally found it, you know, we searched high and low and we finally found it. But yeah, I taught – I taught the children ... to love the same things, to respect it, to love it, to never take anything out of it that you didn't want. .... He taught me where things live and he was absolutely fascinating – and I loved it, I really loved it. And he taught us never to be afraid of anything, even – yeah, even octopus ....[104]

In these nostalgic memories she is her father's acolyte. She follows behind, carries his bag and is the one to whom he passes on his knowledge and beliefs, which she in turn passes to the next generation. As we saw in Chapter Two, knowledge of the native fauna may be part of claiming ownership and 'native' status in narrative.

Her father also taught her the history of the Te Aute area, not just of Pakeha but also of the Maori, since he had become intensely interested in this. Here she recalls places that she used to ride over, in a way that is quite different from the memories of other

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[102] Anne Seymour, 1A 12.2.
[103] Anne Seymour, 1A 24.9.
[104] Anne Seymour, 1A 31.5.

members of the Te Aute Williams, since it incorporates knowledge of local Maori history, and to some extent appears to reflect Maori beliefs:

Just north of us was the Warrens and ... it was the bit that Hugh [McBain] came out from England to look after, it was his bit. And he has since called it 'Kahotea Farm', and he's named it after the Maori pa that's just ... sort of north, slightly west of the house. I don't know how to describe it – the hill comes down and there was a little headland part and then there's a little knob and Kahotea's that little knob that sort of out into the swamp. That's actually where the pa is. And it wasn't a very defendable pa, if you can imagine, it wasn't very big. It actually got sacked several times. Dad was very much up with the history of Kahotea, and of course once the Pakehas sort of took over the swamp area and ... leased it, they actually drained the swamp. Archdeacon Sam actually drained that swamp right through to the Tuki Tuk river .... And that of course meant that the swamp itself vanished. I mean it still gets inundated in the wet weather. You can see exactly where the whole lake was. I mean they fought wars across that lake, and in the middle of the little lake – not even in the middle but closer to the hills, the eastern hills - is a grassy area. It was actually called Knight's Island. It's really only a bump in the lake, but there was a causeway between Knight's Island and the area that they would have come down from the pa, fled down from the pa onto the causeway and across on to Knight's Island .... And Dad used to teach us the history of it even then. And there was a great feeling for Knight's Island .... from all of us. We grew up with it. You felt about it when you actually rode on to it with a pony. It was the strangest feeling because there was a great massacre there on Knight's Island, when the marauding tribes actually caught up with them, there was nowhere they could go apart from row across the causeway to Knight's Island and hope it would be OK.[105]

Anne links Knight's Island with superstitions about bad luck:

Thinking of funny things, this feeling about Knight's Island has always been very strong amongst both the Maori and the Williamses in the district. They respect Knight's Island for what it is, and when one of the farmers who actually leased those bottom lands... wanted to [plough it up] .... the local Maori said, 'No don't plough the island up, it's not good.'

As in not a good thing to do?

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[105] Anne Seymour, 1A 40.7.

Not a good thing to do – not – you know you've got to respect Knight's Island for what it is.
But he didn't take notice?
No. He died. He ploughed it up and he ploughed [something] up, and six months later he died.[106]

Anne continues to reflect on 'funny things', including why it is that some of the Williamses in Hawkes Bay and the East Coast 'just seem to have been very, very unlucky'. She seems to be referring to a number of early deaths through unexplained accidents, saying:
[Maori] would say it's an unlucky branch – there must have been something ...I'm not superstitious but there are certain things I wouldn't do.
Like what?
If I found anything – Maori – if I happened on a burial ground, I wouldn't touch it. I'd report it ... rather than picking something up.
But your father made collections didn't he?
He didn't make collections of his own. He accepted bits but he never had them in the house.[107]

Anne's father was apparently given numerous Maori artefacts over the years, but she is anxious to dispel any idea that he might have kept them, saying: 'If he couldn't find out who owned them, they went to the museum.' He also recorded some of the local Maori history which he learned from his 'Maori cobbers', and his notes on whakapapa have gone to the Napier museum too.[108] Anne appears to feel some ownership of this whakapapa work, pointing out that she helped him do the referencing and notation of these records in his final years. Again and again in different ways Anne claims to have privileged knowledge of Maori.

Although her father was not a 'churchman', Anne says he took the family's mission very seriously. He was delighted when his grandson, Peter Sykes, decided to go into the Church. And Anne recalls that at the 1973 reunion she and her father were there primarily 'to give comfort and support to the Maori clergy'. They entertained many

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[106] Anne Seymour, 1B 22.3.
[107] Anne Seymour, 1B 22.3.
[108] Anne Seymour, 1B 22.3.

of the clergy at their motel, serving rewena bread which Anne had prepared before leaving.[109] She says her father felt very strongly about the fact that the Bishop of Aotearoa was only a suffragan bishop, 'just a paper bishop'.[110] He also felt badly about the Williamses 'being more interested in gaining land than in preaching the gospel', and about the fact that the Treaty had not been well translated into Maori, nor honoured as it should.[111] Later in her narrative all of these concerns find an echo in her own life.

Although she does not say so explicitly her marriage to Roy seems to be viewed as a continuation of the work of her father and earlier ancestors with Maori. There is an interesting association of these ideas in the following extract, which also puts her marriage into a biblical context:

I can remember him saying to me when I met Roy, or when I married Roy, that it had to be like Ruth in the Bible, that I must remember that I had married Maori and I must learn everything I could about his culture ... He was also very serious I think too in the role the Williamses actually came out here to play – very serious about it.

How did he see that role?

That we were here as missionaries, we were here to teach, to bring the Church to the Maori. We weren't here to order them around, we were here to teach, and we weren't here – yeah, and our role was still that. And that's why I think he got seriously involved – I mean he wouldn't have thought of himself as a churchman – he wasn't. I mean he wasn't even a really good church-going Anglican – no, no, no – I think mostly it was just the festivals .... But for all that really really fierce.

What do you mean by that word fierce? ...

I suppose that he felt that some of the branches of the family were actually frivolous and they'd forgotten what ... we came out here for – what Sam – I mean what Henry and William came out here for in the first place.[112]

This seems to be the key to Anne's narrative, a view that marriage between Maori and Pakeha is the culmination of the family mission. In fact she may also have seen her

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[109] Anne Seymour, 1B 1.9.
[110] Anne Seymour, 1B 7.0.
[111] Anne Seymour, 1B 5.1.
[112] Anne Seymour, 1B 1.9.

marriage as a form of rebellion. Calling herself a 'drop out' from nursing, she remembers the response when she told the hospital matron of her decision to marry Roy: 'She said, "I believe you're getting engaged?" "Yes" – because you had to go and tell them you were. "Who is this young man?" and I told her, and she said, "Don't you think a one-eyed Maori mechanic is a bit of a marital risk?"'[113]

However, the warmth and depth of the relationship between her husband and her father was important to Anne:

[M]y Roy adored him, really adored him .... And he and Roy would pour over whakapapa. They would – I mean they'd spend – whenever it was raining or anything they'd just – Roy'd vanish over there and they'd go over whakapapa .... In fact one of his most treasured presents to Roy [was] .... just a little paper volume of the account of the battle of Orakau, as told by Hetere Paerata to Mair, Lieutenant Mair ... and Gilbert Mair certainly didn't have the average British army's view about what they were doing about the Maori wars either.

What was his view?

Oh he was much more sympathetic .... He referred to the Maori, and it's come across in this wonderful little account that Hetere told him about the family and about the battle. That's the real battle from the people that were actually on the Maori side.

Right. This is no relation to Roy?

Oh yes. Yes ... Hetere and his brother, Honetere, and his sister, Ahumai, were all there at Orakau, and it was Ahumai who stood up and said – when the British asked them if they would like to move the children and the women out – it was Ahumai that stood on the battlement and said, 'No, we will fight beside our men for ever and ever.' And she was quite – quite a gutsy lady. And it's just fascinating – and Dad found this book for Roy, and Roy was just so overcome.... Ahumai is Roy's great great grandmother, same relationship ... as Henry is to me, so sort of ... co-dwellers in New Zealand.[114]

In telling this story Anne seems intent on giving Roy's family the same mythological status as her own, thus implying a special significance for their marriage.

Towards the end of the interview I was taken to see the study where Anne told me she had some family things. This is a room dedicated to remembering the history of their

[113] Anne Seymour, 2A 8.7.
[114] Anne Seymour, 1B 31.5.

two families, every artefact on display having its story. The artefacts included the stick that her grandfather used when he spoke on marae. She told me: 'He spoke fluent and beautiful idiomatic Maori that – you know, even his cough was Maori.' This stick was given by her father to Roy.[115] The photos include some of Roy's great aunts, and she tells me with satisfaction that they think they have just located a photo of Ahumai.[116]

Anne explores some of the implications of her bicultural marriage. She tells, for instance, of how frightened she was the first time she went to Mokai marae with Roy, and of the views she and Roy share on Treaty claims.[117]

Bastion Point, that was the first time I think Roy realised he was really Maori and felt very strongly that they were going to take Maori land and they were going to turn it into a high class building subdivisions, because after all the Maoris weren't doing anything with it. And that wasn't the point.

Was that a difficult time for you?

No it wasn't. It was a very big issue, and Roy was very angry about it, and he and Dad did a lot of reading about it. Yeah, he was even going to go up and join the land march – yeah, and then he realised no he really owed it to his wife and kids to stay and earn the family bread and butter.[118]

She is proud and pleased that just as she has had to learn some of his ways, so Roy has adopted and insists on using some of the Williams traditions, especially those connected with formal dining.[119]

She is also happy when she recalls her father's funeral because so many Maori were present, seeing this as acknowledging his work and demonstrating their deep regard for him:

And I can remember at Dad's funeral – because when Dad died the local Maoris at Te Aute wanted to do him honour, and he actually lay at Te Aute in state, and it must have been –

At the College?

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[115] Anne Seymour, 2B 27.8.
[116] Anne Seymour, 3B 0.1.
[117] Anne Seymour, 1B 43.6, 2A 0.1.
[118] Anne Seymour, 3A 2.4.
[119] Anne Seymour, 2A 21.3.

At the College, he lay in state at Te Aute College. And it must have been ... about mid-term break ... and of course the College was empty and guests could stay at the College, and the College were just wonderful ....

Did the Maori clergy turn up for that?

Yeah they did. There was a whole great heap of them, including Bishop Manu, who was one of [Dad's[cronies – another one of [Dad's] cronies [laughs]. Yeah it was very wonderful. And then from Te Aute we went to the Pukehou Church, and then from the Pukehou Church he left to go to Hastings to the crematorium, and we came back to ... Te Aute for hake. And it was lovely the way Te Aute –

Were they involved in the service?

Oh yes they all were. Just the staff because of course the boys weren't there, but some of the senior boys had come back to do him honour. Well, the chaplain you see was a great friend, Piripi Cherrington, and Piripi had a major part in the service all the way through. They were really just – they were so supportive. And the local Maori came and took him from the house, because he lay in state at his own home, and they took him from the house to Te Aute. And then his grandsons took him from Te Aute to the Pukehou Church. And I know that there was a whole – both family and Maori, especially East Coast Maori, because it had been that weekend and the weather was disgusting and they were cut off and they couldn't get through, and they were really upset that they ... couldn't get through .... Well there were more Maoris than there were Williamses. I guess among the Williams family he was pretty low key, very low key – yeah, very low key. I guess there's be an awful lot that didn't know of the work that he did do .... I think they were quite stunned at the turn out for the funeral – and that so many of the Maori knew him and wanted to be there.[120]

Anne also appears to feel that many of the family underestimated her father, and this funeral also served the purpose of demonstrating this failure.

Though Anne is proud of the missionary work of the family, despite their mistakes, she says she 'can understand some of the Maori ... hatred of the Williams family, [who they say] are responsible for cheating the Maori'.[121] Here she is referring not only to those who gained a lot of land on the East Coast, but also to members of the family who had liaisons with Maori women whom they either did not marry or whose

[120] Anne Seymour, 3A 7.7.
[121] Anne Seymour, 3A 29.5.

children were not properly acknowledged, a concern which contrasts with her own personal situation. She says she would like to have met some of these relatives, because 'I mean, I know there's that bitterness [among Maori] about ... the issue. Because somebody laughed and pointed out that in actual fact the only incidence of Maori in the family are from the East Coast there, and me.'[122] There is a sense of transgression in Anne's narrative that is double edged. Despite the kindness of Roy's family, it has not always been easy to be a Williams among Maori, or to marry a Maori when you are a Williams.

The oral testimony

Among Pakeha New Zealanders, discourses about Maori reflect a range of understandings and opinions, and the same range may be discovered among members of the Williams family. However, many of those I interviewed speak of Maori in ways intended to convey acceptance of Maori and/or by Maori based on the family history. The narratives of Jean Maclean and Sarah Williams are both examples of how members of the family draw on the myth of the special relationship to 'explain' their work for and among Maori, and give it depth of meaning. They see themselves as part of a continuum, from 1823 to the present and into the future, in which two races are working together to achieve harmony, and the Williams family is still engaged in the project which they began. It is not unusual to hear statements about the relationship with Maori such as 'it's in the DNA' or 'it's in my bones', which suggest a sense of family destiny.[123]

In this section I will draw on the full cohort to examine the ways in which the myth of the Williamses' special relationship with Maori is expressed in their oral testimony. These include firstly the importance of speaking the Maori language, the significance of having a Maori name, friendship with and sympathy for Maori, and funeral stories. I will also look at the narratives of those who work with Maori, both in their everyday occupations and through vehicles such as the Henry and William Williams Memorial

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[122] Anne Seymour, 3A 42.0.
[123] Sarah Williams, 2A 27.7; Jean Maclean 2B 15.3; also interview with Maryrose Wilson, 22 October 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 31.4.

Trust, and examine ways that the Williamses construct Maori. Finally I will examine the narratives of those few members of the family either married to Maori or descended from them, and ways of calling on Maori knowledge to make claims of deep belonging.

The importance of speaking Maori

The narratives of Jean Maclean and Sarah Williams show how highly regarded amongst some of the family is the ability to speak Maori. Jean has struggled with learning the language for more than 30 years and clearly does this for family reasons. She speaks of the 'threads down through the family ... of fluency' in the language and goes on:

Kingi Ihaka threw out a challenge to us years ago at the first family reunion [1973] – 'When are we Williams going to have sufficient family that we don't have to translate?' And Whata said it to Bill the other day, 'How many of your family actually speak – and have really learnt our language?' And so I'm really – I'm really glad to be doing it. And Muru says it's one of their gifts to us – is the language.[124]

Also in her narrative she chooses to use as her own Dr Wirepa's tribute to her great grandfather, Samuel Williams, as 'the finest ... Maori linguist New Zealand ever knew.'[125] She also uses a Maori waiata, and expressions such as 'nga hau e wha' in her narrative.

Sarah of course, makes the ability to speak fluent Maori the centrepiece of her narrative. It has taken 20 years to learn but it gives her entrée to 'the Maori world'. Speaking at the 1998 reunion to encourage others to learn, she claims that learning Maori has made her feel as though she has 'two arms and two legs'.[126] For her it is the 'key to culture'. She speaks in her testimony of how she is 'involved with the Maori world ... involved with the Treaty, involved with the language', and a moment later is explaining the importance of the oral consensus in interpreting the Treaty for Maori: 'In some very important kind of way that oral consensus is really the Treaty, and guess who negotiated that – totally – and no one else – Karuwha – mmm – Henry

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[124] Jean Maclean, 4A 36.0.
[125] Jean Maclean 1A 25.7.
[126] Audio tape of the seminar, Williams Family Reunion, 1998.

– absolutely.'[127] She thus appears to link her own work with that of her ancestor, language as the best way to help Maori. Sarah sees her work as consistent with Article Two of the Treaty in 'supporting tinorangatiratanga of the taonga'.[128] But she says she must still be sensitive in using the language since she recognises the Maori fear that as a Pakeha she is using their most 'intimate taonga'.[129]

Sarah Williams and Jean Maclean are the exceptions in being able to speak Maori. Very few of the family today are able to do this, but a common refrain in many of these narratives is the assertion: 'My father/grandfather spoke (fluent) Maori.' It is one of the main ways of demonstrating acceptance by and understanding of Maori. As we have seen, there are historical precedents within the family for this focus on the language. So it is not surprising that when I asked Sheila Williams about her grandfather, Herbert, the first thing she told me was that he produced 'the bibliography of printed Maori and the dictionary, because Grandfather was a fluent Maori speaker.'[130] She is clearly proud of this, and says she continues to feel the effects in her own life:

But I've always felt a pride of what our immediate family [did] ... and I had an experience of having to conduct an interview for a Maori student for the library course, which happened to be at Hamilton up at Waikato, which made it tricky for us because we weren't on our own ground. And she came with her family who were Maori on both sides, very impressive, the mother and father, and talked . And at the end of the interview I said, 'Well I'd just like to say something about myself.' And so I told them, because the fact that the Williams Maori dictionary – the fact that it was my grandfather and great grandfather and great great grandfather who were working on it, and – because I'm proud of that. And they were impressed. I mean you know they definitely decided that I did know, have some awareness. I also knew some of the Maori librarians who they knew with this one. And I felt I was kind of on equal standing with them. Because I think there's a reason to be proud of that and the things that the family has done.[131]

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[127] Sarah Williams, 2A 15.6.
[128] Sarah Williams, 4A 43.3.
[129] Sarah Williams, 3B 24.9.
[130] Sheila Williams, 1B 13.5.
[131] Sheila Williams, 2A 2.8.

Sheila is still using the story of this historical connection to Maori, to make connections with them in the present.

Others are anxious to point to ancestors who worked as Maori interpreters, but their narrative purposes vary. When Barbara MacMorran says her grandfather, Henry Hadfield, 'was a Maori interpreter in the House ... because he'd grown up learning it in Otaki with Octavius and all the Maoris around them,' she seems to be simply making a claim to deep roots in the country.[132] Rachel Miller says that her grandfather, George Davies, lived at Karori and walked to Makara to take church services because he was 'bilingual', and was a Maori interpreter for land deals. She notes that 'many Maori chiefs used to visit the house and gave cloaks,' thus indicating his position as both a friend and power broker for Maori.[133] Another descendant of Bishop Octavius Hadfield, Jocelyn Raine, became a member of the Waimea County Council in about 1986, and was Deputy Mayor of Nelson when I interviewed her. She spoke of some of the difficult issues she has encountered in politics, saying she feels angry with Maori who keep complaining that they are not consulted, while in fact they are consulted on every resource consent and 'they never answer'.[134] At public meetings she has been accused of being racist, and takes 'violent exception' to this, arguing that her family has done a huge amount over 150 years to help Maori. She concludes:

and all of them ... spoke very good Maori. My grandfather [Henry Hadfield], as I've said, was the translator in the legislative chamber. Bishop Williams spoke some – I don't think he was that fluent, but he spoke some – Hadfield definitely did, Edward spoke Maori – I mean a lot of them did. It's only in this last generation in fact that it's gone. You know I have some resentment at people who don't know anything about me ... making moves like that.[135]

She seems to suggest that the fact that one's ancestors spoke Maori should confer immunity from accusations of racism, that for her too, the special relationship with Maori is 'in her bones'.

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[132] Interview with Barbara MacMorran, 19 May 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 13.6.
[133] Interview with Rachel Miller, 21 October 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 15.0.
[134] Interview with Jocelyn Raine, 11 November 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 35.3.
[135] Jocelyn Raine, 3A 18.5.

A somewhat different approach is taken by Bruce Hutton, a policeman with years of experience in working with Maori, for whom he claims to have respect 'due to [his] upbringing'.[136] Like many of the Huttons, Bruce has grown up knowing little about his family, and has been actively searching for information. He says the Huttons's contact with the Williams family was 'actually zilch', and suspects this was because his grandfather 'got involved in Maoridom'.[137] He likes to refer to his grandfather, George Hutton, simply as 'Hutton' because 'that's what the Maori people called him'. Bruce notes at the start of his narrative that his grandfather was a Maori interpreter, a man who was 'well thought of because ... he was fluent in Maori', and well versed in both ritual and oratory, because of 'being in Maori circles'.[138] Bruce believes his grandfather was well thought of among Maori, rather than Pakeha, saying that while he was given a cloak signifying 'chiefly status' among Maori, the landowning Riddifords believed that Hutton was a man not to be trusted.[139] His grandfather's papers, relating to land transactions in the Wairarapa where he worked as interpreter, have been placed in the Turnbull Library by his descendants.[140] Bruce says his grandfather believed 'these things had to be written down because .... [h]e could see that in the future things were going to change radically, and if you didn't have things written or recorded or clearly understood, some people could be disadvantaged in later times.'[141] Bruce himself holds to the belief that Maori grievances will eventually be worked out, saying his father taught him this and his grandfather taught his father.[142] In Bruce's narrative Hutton's ability to speak the language was not just access to the Maori world, but a possible weapon of subversion against land-hungry Pakeha.

There is another side to this coin, namely Pakeha control of Maori. This can be seen in a story with class and gender overtones, told by John Russell about his great uncle, AB Williams, who lived up the East Coast.

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[136] Interview with Bruce Hutton, 27 November 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 3 side A 9.3.
[137] Bruce Hutton, 1B 34.9.
[138] Bruce Hutton, 1A 1.8, 1B 20.5.
[139] Bruce Hutton, 3B 0.3, 1B 10.6.
[140] This was confirmed in a letter from Tim Lovell-Smith, Manuscripts and Archives Section, Alexander Turnbull Library, to Jane Moodie, 14 August, 2001.
[141] Bruce Hutton, 1B 18.4.
[142] Bruce Hutton, 3A 10.7.

I think the Maoris loved working for him. He was held in tremendously high respect up there. I'm told that ... at shearing time old AB would go down to the woolshed about smoko time, and have a pack of cards in his pocket, and during smoko he would get all the girls together and they'd have a game of cards you know. They used to love it. Completely fluent in Maori – no one dared to speak Maori when he was round....he spoke Maori better than most of the coasters did.[143]

Here John appears to see knowledge of the language as a means to prevent Maori from getting the better of AB, as well as a way of getting on with the Maori women. The idea of controlling Maori through knowledge of their language is also present in Terence Williams's narrative. Terence is a retired farmer now living in Gisborne. He is hugely proud of the Williams Maori dictionary, and has editions from 1871 and 1917. But he says he gets annoyed when the language is used incorrectly, for instance pronouncing 'wh' as though it was an 'f'. He says:

After all, when William came to this country – when Henry came to this country – there was no written language, nothing was written. They, between them, principally William, took the time to ... be able to write the Maori in such a way that ... they could write the dictionary and they could write the gospel .... Maori was not a – was scarcely a word when they came here. It was the Nga Puhi, Ngati Porou ... they were the people. They weren't Maoris.[144]

It is as though the Williamses have constructed Maori as a people by writing down their language, and Terence is challenging anyone's right to change that. There is a similar instance in the narrative of HB Williams.[145]

Valuing the ability to speak Maori can also involve a degree of paternalism, which is suggested in the following excerpt from Gerald Williams's narrative. He recalls his idyllic childhood at Anaura Bay on the East Coast, remembering local Maori who lived at the south end of the bay and taught him how to catch fish in the traditional Maori way. He thinks of old Sam Tikitiki:

He was very old, he was pure Maori, couldn't speak a word of English and his face was all tattooed and he had the most wonderful face – and he used to ...

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[143] Interview with John Russell, 9 June 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side B 23.7.

[144] Interview with Terence Williams, 29 October 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 4 side A 30.0.

[145] Interview with HB Williams, 19 January 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 3 side B 1.6.

come along just to talk to my father because they were real friends, they knew each other so well. And my father could speak Maori fluently – he understood the Maoris and their mentality and how they dealt with their problems and that sort of thing.[146]

Here the ability to speak Maori is the means to understand and be accepted by Maori, and it is also the means to influence them.

Finally for some of the younger generation within the cohort, learning Maori appears to be an attempt to overcome family history. Virginia Williams tells me:

I mean just the mere fact that we've been in the country for so long as a family means that – well the thing I talked about, the whole family mission being a kind of arrogant stance .... [and] part of the colonial invasion ....I mean I don't feel personally responsible, but I do feel as if our forbears were part of that .... I mean they just thought they were best and they were giving something, and I'm sure that's so. I do – you know like there are – I have on about three separate occasions gone to learn Maori, because I've felt that that's – to learn more about the culture ... I've never kept it up, though I have a certain level .... But I do, I've certainly felt the need to try and think more from their perspective.[147]

This tortuous confession suggests that the decision to learn Maori, despite denials to the contrary, appears to arise out of 'colonial guilt' exacerbated by her negative perception of her own family's role in events. In general however speaking Maori is evidence of acceptance by Maori and understanding of them

Having a Maori name

To be named by Maori seems to be regarded by the family as an important indicator of acceptance by Maori. Such names are often noted in the family tree. For instance the entry for Canon Arthur Williams begins 'Arthur Williams (Ata Wiremu) b. at Waimate....'.[148] The name Karuwha, which Maori gave to Henry Williams, is used

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[146] Interview with Gerald Williams, 31 August 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side B 2.0.

[147] Interview with Virginia Williams, 11 August 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 35.4. It should be noted that Virginia is a descendant of JN Williams, responsible for the purchase of much Williams land in Hawkes Bay and the East Coast.

[148] Rex D. Evans (compiler), *Faith and Farming. Te Huarahi ki te Ora. The legacy of Henry Williams and William Williams*, revised edition (Auckland, 1998), p. 157.

preferentially by several of those I interviewed including Rob Reed, Sarah Williams and Elisabeth Ludbrook. Its use in this way seemed to me as the listener to be intended both to reinforce their view of Henry's good relationship with Maori, and to convey in a positive light their own attitude towards Maori, seen as being both knowledgeable and friendly.

Other less prominent members of the family also lay claim to this honour. Keith Williams, living in retirement in Te Puke, says that he is known as Te Wiremu by Maori at the local pub, a name also given to Henry Williams.[149] Gerald Williams, in speaking of his father's relationship with local Maori, concludes: 'He was known up and down that part of the Coast – he had a Maori name which was Waikahua.'[150] Gerald later explains that when his grandmother was pregnant there was speculation among Maori that she would have twins, and one kaumatua is supposed to have told her 'waikahua, waikatohu', meaning 'to be or not to be'. Two boys were born and dubbed by Maori Waikahua and Waikatohu. But one, Waikatohu (not to be), died at four years of age, while Gerald's father, Frank, became known as Waikahua (to be). This story gives prophetic meaning to the naming by Maori. [151]

Sheila Williams tells a similar story in which local Maori name her cousin, born on the day that their grandfather was consecrated as bishop:

[A]s I mentioned to you before, my grandfather was bishop as was his father and grandfather – they were all bishops of Waiapu. And the day that – I'm not sure whether it was the day that he was chosen as bishop or the day that he was consecrated as bishop, one or the other of those two days – one of my cousins was born and the Maoris said this was a sign and therefore the child should be called Eketuranga which means 'raised in the seat of your forefathers', which was her second name. She's Dinah, she's Dinah Eketuranga, and apparently the local Maori visitors used to come around and

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[149] Interview with Keith Williams, 17 September 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, tape 2 side B 1.7.

[150] Gerald Williams, 1B 2.0.

[151] This story differs from that recorded in Evans (1998) p. 477. There it is claimed Maori were speculating on whether the child would be a boy or a girl, or even more than one. The words are said to mean 'Who knows? Who can tell?' The second twin, Sydney, was sent to Edinburgh Medical School where he died aged 24. See Evans (1998), p. 593. Gerald Williams's version of events thus seems to emphasize the prophetic nature of the story.

say, 'How's little Eke today?' And I know as a child she found this a very difficult name to explain to people but now she's very proud of it.[152]

Memories of funerals

The written tradition is continued in the oral narratives of some of their descendants, as was seen in the memory biographies. Jean Maclean recalls the funeral of her husband, Jim, who was also a member of the Williams family. She is enormously proud to have the Te Aute boys as a guard of honour, and many Maori present from all around the country. It is the Maori present whom she names, not the Pakeha. Bishop Hui Vercoe gave the address, and in her narrative she carefully reconstructs his words to the grandchildren, and fondly repeats them: 'Your Grandpa was much older than you think. We've known him since 1823.'[153]

The number of Maori present at the funeral of her father, Brian Williams, also makes Anne Seymour proud. Local Maori took him from his home to 'lie in state' at Te Aute College, before his burial at Pukehou church. Bishop Manu Bennett and Piripi Cherrington took the service. The weather had been very bad and she says many Maori from the East Coast were unable to get to the funeral. Even so there were 'more Maoris there than the Williamses' and Anne thinks the family was 'quite stunned ... that so many Maori knew him and wanted to be there'.[154] Even though the family failed to appreciate her father, the strong presence of Maori both affirms his work and reproaches his relatives.

Bill Ludbrook also tells the story of his father's funeral at Waimate North, at which the presence of Maori is understood as an important tribute. Since he was only six at the time he did not attend, but his mother told him the funeral 'was just something else'. His father used to play rugby and cricket with local Maori and go to the pub with them, and at his funeral they 'just came out of the bushes on their ponies ....Maoris everywhere'.[155] A small boy's memories of his much beloved father are

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[152] Sheila Williams, 1B 14.7.
[153] Jean Maclean, 2A 17.4.
[154] Anne Seymour, 3A 7.7.
[155] Interview with Bill Ludbrook, 21 August 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 28.9.

few and greatly treasured, even secondhand. This is one of only five stories he can tell about his father. In Bill's narrative the loss of his father and the loss of the land are closely linked, and when he made his plea at Oramahui Marae for the return of 'Pouerua', he used this memory of his father's funeral in his speech to emphasize his links with Maori.[156]

Friendship and understanding

Stories of friendship with Maori may involve both the ancestors and the narrators themselves, and this is often seen as passed down, either as a tendency to be sympathetic to Maori, or in the form of actual friendships between succeeding generations of particular Williams and Maori families. Douglas Davies is one who believes it is passed down 'in the genes'. Having spent most of his life in the South Island, he confesses that it was not until the 1973 reunion that he became interested in the family, although he expresses a sort of embryonic sense of the relationship when he tells me near the start of his narrative, that his first employer was Maori, as though there were something particularly appropriate about this arrangement.[157] Later he tells me, anxious not to omit this, that:

There's one thing I wanted to say to you before – did you know my father and his brother spoke fluent Maori?

No.

And again going back to Karitane ... I can remember as a little kid ...my father sitting on the doorstep ... and an old Maori guy beside him and do you know what they were doing? Well they were conversing to each other in Maori and they were eating huhu grubs.

Really?

Yeah. My father as a young man, and Christopher and his brothers, they all grew up in the Bay of Islands .... Well I think that's where I ... I'm tolerant of Maoris, that's what I'm trying to tell you, and I think a lot of it is due to the genes or the family background.[158]

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[156] Bill Ludbrook, 2A 10.5.
[157] Interview with Douglas Davies, 8 October 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 7.9.
[158] Douglas Davies, 3B 18.4.

The Ludbrooks in the north tell stories of their relationship with Maori that often seem more down-to-earth than other branches of the family. Elisabeth Ludbrook says they lived quite isolated lives surrounded by the extended family and by Maori. In their daily dealings with local Maori past connections to the missionary generations would be constantly brought up. 'It was always relating. And so you grow up with it,' she explains.[159] Also her father was always telling stories from the past, including the following one about her great grandparents in which the exotic becomes ordinary:

They built the first house at 'Tupe Tupe', Caroline and Samuel Blomfield Ludbrook. And they're sitting on their porch one day, sipping afternoon tea and a war party run right through the garden ... en route from Ngawha to the Rawhiti – or who knows where they were going, they're en route, and ... because the house is built on the old track, they're actually running right through the garden, waving as they go, but no time to socialise when they're a war party.[160]

Elisabeth also has her own personal stories of growing understanding of Maori in her visits to the Maori soldiers stationed on their farm during the war, and to the local family in their dirt-floored whare.

Elisabeth's cousin, Bill Ludbrook, whose father played rugby with local Maori, also tells of his own earthy relationship with Maori:

When my brother and I when we were very small we played the guitar and until we – well, right up until we were married really. And ... most of all we used to sing in the Ohaeawai pub with our guitars. That was just absolutely awesome. I tell you, the whole bar was full of Maoris and these wonderful voices would sing and harmonizing and .... I mean in the days of the six o'clock swill, of course, you downed the jugs pretty quickly, and quite often we used to end up in a woolshed afterwards, carrying on because six o'clock was a bit early to stop. But even later on, after the rugby games, if we'd had a good victory or something, it was just the traditional thing to bring your guitar, and sing and play you know for all hours ... the Maori team, all of us, but I was the guitarist.[161]

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[159] Interview with Elisabeth Ludbrook, 8 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side B 24.2.
[160] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1B 26.6.
[161] Bill Ludbrook, 3A 21.5.

Within the cohort it is also possible to detect views changing over the generations. One or two of the older family members still speak of Maori almost as though they were part of the native fauna, certainly as people who knew their place. Tom Reed was nearly 90 when I interviewed him in Paihia. He began with reminiscences of his childhood and youth, saying: 'I had my earliest days among the Maori, which I treasure.'[162] They are memories of going fishing with local Maori, attending a 'proper Maori feast' and of working with Maori on farms. These were the days when fish were large and plentiful and when Maori were 'pure bred', fine 'physical specimens' who were hard workers and still used the old traditional ways.[163] Tom's father was instrumental in persuading the Governor-General, Lord Bledisloe, to purchase the Waitangi Estate for the nation. Tom recalls a meeting at Waitangi in the early 1940s when 'the Maoris were all there simply to thank the Governor for his gift.'[164] Such simple gratitude, it is implied, is a far cry from the vociferous Maori protests of Waitangi today.

Many have grown up with a belief in the assimilation of Maori into Pakeha society, which was popular in the middle of the twentieth century. Nicola Bush has lived all her life in the South Island, and though she says they have nothing to do with Maori and they get 'a bit frustrated' with some of the behaviour of Maori MPs, she says she often 'sticks up' for Maori against her children. She paid for her adult children to go to the family reunion in 1998, partly because she wanted them to see how the family in the North Island was involved with Maori, to better understand and value their family tradition. She herself was impressed at the reunion to find that the family: ***are very in tune with the Maori problems and Maori things and I thought, 'My goodness, aren't they lucky that this family's still sticking by them,' was my sort of feeling. Because from down here we're not doing anything with the Maoris really .... [But] I think New Zealand needs to be one country not two, and there don't need to be two sets of rules in New Zealand.***[165]

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[162] Interview with Tom Reed, 9 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 1.9.
[163] Tom Reed, 1A 1.9, 3.5, 5.1, 6.6.
[164] Tom Reed, 1A 9.4.
[165] Interview with Nicola Bush, 23 July 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 17.9, 22.2.

Nicola's interest in Maori seems inspired by her family history, but this is basically an assimilationist view. This is often encapsulated by the statement, 'We are all New Zealanders', which I encountered in several interviews.

Tom Williams expresses a similar view as he speaks of one of his own school friends, and compares this with what he believes would be the situation among children today:
I guess that everybody says 'I've got friends who are Maoris.' That in itself is a pretty dodgy sort of a comment, but in that – yeah, that's the truth, but that seems to be a very convenient way of sort of saying ... 'Well, we're equal.' I mean when I was a kid at school ... Maurice Carroll and I used to get on the same bus, wear the same clothes, have the same values in life, do the same things, play with the same equipment and our outlook was no different. He happened to work on the property and I was the son of the boss, but at the end of the day in our eyes we were absolutely equal. I don't believe that's necessarily a prevalent view in this day and age. There's Maori kids I suspect probably view Pakeha children with a degree of suspicion and vice versa – and that's all to do with actions of adults in a generation or two later on so – it's of considerable concern.[166]
Tom's opening sentences reflect his awareness of current sensitivities that the words 'I've got friends who are Maori' is typically followed by criticism of Maori. He tries to pre-empt the negative reaction he anticipates from me by acknowledging that it is a 'dodgy comment'. However, he then describes a nostalgic childhood situation in which for a time he was able to ignore differences of class and race.

Nicola Grimmond's narrative represents a further development, with no expectation of integration and a greater awareness of partnership. Like Tom Williams, she describes a childhood situation of apparent equality with Maori on the farm, at Mangakuri beach and at Te Aute College, but rather more realistically admits that there was a difference of which she claims to have been aware at the time:
To me that Maori–Pakeha separation was there, but it was also ... not there in the real relationships of the people I knew. The people who I knew who worked on the farm, I would <u>frequently</u> stay with, play with the children, eat meals in their houses, they would do the same you know, coming into my house ... and

[166] Interview with Tom Williams, 15 March 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 36.0.

things like that. Difference was, and I was aware of this, that we had the big house.[167]

I had been told that the family's relationship with Maori was particularly good on the East Coast, so I was surprised when, early in his narrative, HB Williams expressed considerable anger towards Maori. He senses a betrayal of the Williams family by Maori over a number of issues. One is the decision of local Maori to refuse access to nearby Whangara village and thus to the war memorial church where HB's older brother is on the honours list. But the most contentious issue is the Waitangi claim on 'Turihaua' which was addressed in Chapter Two. I therefore asked him directly about the Williams relationship with Maori on the Coast and he immediately responded with the following story, designed to correct my negative impression:

A good example of the family was a few years ago, they had the 125th anniversary of the establishment of the parish or the church at Manatuki. And we went out, lots of the family went out – and after the service, which was very nice – English and Maori – Maori hymns and things – nothing too one-sided about that – we all walked ... couple of hundred of us walked round to the marae which was not far from the church and in the usual way we were going to walk up, be challenged and then sit down. And one of the old chief men – I suppose you would call him a chief called Te Kani, he saw me in the group walking up, and he came over and he said, 'You're not one of them.' He said, 'You're one of us. You come with me. You'll sit with the elders.' So I went with him and sat with the elders while they all made their speeches – because I was a Williams. Well, I suppose it was perhaps because he knew me, but he said, 'You're on the wrong side of the fence, you come with us – you're not one of them,' you know, which was wonderful, really. And I haven't forgotten that because it – it showed an affinity there between family.[168]

In HB's view it is radicals and grandstanders who get heard but he argues that the kind of situation he describes here involving 'the elders' is closer to reality. Te Kani, of whom HB Williams speaks, appears to be one of the leading chiefs of Ngati

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[167] Interview with Nicola Grimmond, 17 August 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side B 9.2.
[168] HB Williams, 2A 22.3.

Porou.[169] This view of Maori falling into two camps, the radical and the traditional, is one that was commonly encountered in the Williams testimonies.

Family views on the Treaty of Waitangi and Treaty settlements

During the interviews the question of the Treaty often arose spontaneously in connection with Henry Williams. When it did not I made a point of asking about it near the end of the interview. In most cases discussion of the Treaty gave rise to politically charged discourses, although some were very reluctant to talk about it at all. Of the many responses I include here only a few, which encompass the range received.

Jean Maclean is one who holds strong views on the need for generous Treaty settlements for Maori. She claims to have modified her views over the years, from the integrationist position she grew up with in the 1940s and 50s to a more liberal view. Today she strongly supports Treaty settlements, arguing that Pakeha New Zealanders should become more informed. She believes that Waitangi Tribunal reports should be compulsory reading for every New Zealander, because 'they are history being retold by Maori in the present day'. She goes on to explain the Muriwhenua report to me as an example, and how Maori rights were trampled on by legislation which was drawn up in ignorance and without regard for the implications in the lives of other and different people.[170] It is not unusual for people to express sympathy for Treaty settlements until they are asked about specific instances. However when I asked Jean what she thought about claims concerning airwaves and trout, since Maori knew nothing of them in 1840, she replied emphatically:

Who says that in the beginning the Crown knew anything about this – at the time the Treaty was signed? Did they know about these frequencies? Who said that when technology and scientific discovery ... progressed and we learnt about these things, who said that the Crown should have the proprietary right to buy and sell, the proprietary right to ownership – sole ownership? If you're thinking of the Treaty as a partnership, who said that Crown could appropriate the rights to buy and sell something which they didn't know

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[169] Walker mentions Heta Te Kani as one of the leading chiefs of Ngati Porou in 1901, presumably an ancestor of the one mentioned by HB Williams. See Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 93.
[170] Jean Maclean, 2B 16.5.

anything about either. And at the time that this very first came up ... there was a very good leader in the *Dominion* ***which I cut out and put somewhere, saying that it's not a far out thing at all, it's not an airy fairy sort of a sudden claim to come from nowhere ... it's absolutely basic.***[171]

She then goes on to point out the injustice of Maori having to spend $70,000 to gain recognition for their language in their own country.[172]

Elisabeth Ludbrook also expresses sympathy for 'a lot of Waitangi Tribunal claims' but not to 'the greed that [sometimes] goes hand in hand'.[173] She becomes very emotional about the injustices of Bastion Point from the 1950s onward:

So they were burning the Maoris' houses at Bastion Point and dumping the Maoris on the street – and it's <u>that</u> simple .... This is your local town council authority and that's what they're doing – they're taking the land .... You know it relates to those stories in the Henry books – they just – they're dreadful – they're dreadful the way they take the land.[174]

Eric Williams, argues that his 'missionary background' still gives him greater 'empathy' for Maori than is the case for most New Zealanders. Like his brother Bill, who believes the wrongs against Maori can never be righted, Eric argues that at least Treaty settlements should be made in a spirit of generosity, rather than grudgingly.[175] The more Eric speaks about this the more agitated he becomes:

I do feel that they had a very bad trot by the Pakehas in the early days of New Zealand, and that we should do something to recognize that, something in a fairly big way. I have no regrets that we are making – the Government is making large restitution efforts for Maori .... It's very difficult to get the general population to accept the fact that the Maoris have been deprived, and really cheated out of much in those early days, and still up to recently .... I mean we only need to think about the Raglan golf course – those sort of things which have continued up until very recent times ... and the attitude of the Pakeha people – 'Well, what have the bloody Maoris done with the golf course? They've let gorse grow on it.' .... If that's what they want to do – we've got

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[171] Jean Maclean, 2B 23.9.
[172] Jean Maclean, 2B 27.1.
[173] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1B 40.4
[174] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1B 40.4
[175] Interview with Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 31.7

Pakehas who are doing the same sort of thing. Why should we be adopting that attitude to Maori when it was their land that we took away from them?[176]

Later in his narrative Eric becomes even more indignant on behalf of Maori and the wrongs they have suffered, at the same time taking on himself the shame of the colonial settler, as he says:

But we did that to the Maori, we took away their land. At one time in the 60s, 1860s, there were more of them literate than there were white people literate – admittedly still a very, very small number. They were supplying a tremendous proportion of the trade, the production, the agricultural production of New Zealand .... but all we did was say, 'Oh we want the land for our settlers coming from the "home country". Bugger you, you're brown.' .... [And] Parihaka, yes, that was peaceful disobedience if you like, and we just made laws to suit ourselves. We did no wrong because the law was there – we obeyed the law, we just sent in the constabulary, shoot the bastards, burn the houses.[177]

The insistent use here of 'we' in relation to the distant past, represents, as Zerubavel has noted, an 'existential fusion of one's personal history with that of the communities to which one belongs', the community in this case being that of the Pakeha New Zealander, not the Williams family alone.[178] It is part of the process of identifying with a collective past.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are a few who express impatience with the process of settlement. Most of these have grown up either in the South Island or overseas. Alastair Deans, a South Islander, says for him the word, iwi, stands for 'I want it'.[179] He feels the Ngai Tahu claim has been settled many times before and will go on 'ad infinitum' with the 'clever ones at the top ... feathering their own nests'.[180] Clare Williams, who spent much of her childhood in the Philippines and Borneo and her adult life in Auckland, is also opposed to the settlement process. For her land was fairly traded, and the advantages the missionaries brought make up for any losses the Maori may have suffered:

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[176] Interview with Eric Williams, 2 June 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 0.2

[177] Eric Williams, 3A 3.0.

[178] Zerubavel, p. 3.

[179] Interview with Alastair Deans, 19 August 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side B 27.7.

[180] Alastair Deans, 2B 31.2.

It's like me saying, 'I bought a house in 1960 and I paid 37 pounds for it and that house is now worth $650,000. I want it back.' That's the way I look at it. Because it was fair trading in those days – muskets and tobacco or what ever it was they paid for land. And sure, the missionaries .... they educated the people, they translated the bible into Maori. They – someone had to start somewhere.[181]

Allen Williams, from Auckland, also gets angry when asked about settlements:

You got to put an end to it. The Waikato people, all of them will be back in ten years time saying, 'Oh, well we didn't get this and we didn't get that.' Why the hell have they got any right to airwaves to the box and radio? You can't kid me that they were even thought of when the Maoris were running it.[182]

These vehement criticisms are, however, the exception in this cohort.

The prominence of Treaty issues and settlements in recent decades affects the narratives of those members of the family who work with Maori in various ways. They often speak of this work in terms of Treaty partnership, but also emphasize the specific family connection through Henry. For some the Christian mission, by means of the Treaty, has transmogrified into a bicultural mission.

Working with Maori

Much of the work members of the family do with Maori is done through organizations like the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust, the Te Aute College Trust Board, and Te Runanga o te Pihopitanga o Aotearoa. Six of those I interviewed are or have been involved in one or more of these organizations. Others work with Maori in the course of their occupations, and some do both.[183] This section examines the narratives of all those who are involved with Maori.

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[181] Clare Williams, 14 October 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 19.6.

[182] Interview with Allen Williams, 12 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 3 side B 6.1.

[183] Of these Bill (W.A.) Williams, Jean Maclean, Hugh McBain, and Martin Warren are all descendants of Archdeacon Samuel and Mary Williams. Peter Sykes and Nicola Grimmond are all descended from Edward Marsh and Jane Williams, and Peter's grandfather, Arthur Williams, was also a Maori Missioner. All but Maryrose Wilson have close connections with Te Aute.

The Henry and Williams Williams Memorial Trust is the inheritor of the Williams mission to the Maori, giving much of its money to Maori education and Te Pihopitanga. The narratives of some of its members demonstrate a range of views regarding the relationship including the historical, religious, idealist and the practical. Bill (W.A.) Williams is the current chairman of the Trust. He is the younger brother of Jean Maclean, and although Jean is not a member of the Trust they work closely together and their views on it are very similar. Bill's ideal is that the Trust be a true partner to Maori, walking alongside, not just an organization that dispenses money. In a speech at a recent Maori Synod he argued that the relationship between Maori and the members of the Trust goes back to 1823 and the relationship first established between their 'old people', that the Treaty and the gospel 'are in [their] bones' and bind them together in a solemn covenant like that of Christian marriage, a bond that has never been broken. He concludes: 'It is a taonga for us both to be held in trust from God, and it relies on our trust in each other for its well-being. We, like you, honour our old people of both tikanga who have walked the journey down through the generations to the present day.'[184]

While Bill believes the family's relationship with older Maori clergy is 'deep and close', he feels the younger ones from both sides need to be 'brought into it again'.[185] For this reason he says he was not happy at the idea of a reunion which was just a big family party:

I felt it was imperative to keep on proclaiming the message of partnership, and that there was an area which the family, if it cared to follow on with what had started in 1823, where they could demonstrate in partnership something that could be an example .... I felt the family was just coming up to have a jolly good party up there. I was very angry that they chose Paihia to do it. If the family wanted to have a party let them go somewhere else but don't do it at Paihia please, because the significance and the history of Paihia is such that you can't have a party there without recognising something of the responsibilities – that go back to the past and the relationship with our partner.[186]

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[184] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2B 11.0.
[185] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2B 11.0.
[186] Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2B 3.6.

And so as the last speaker on the marae at the reunion he made his appeal for the family to be an example in partnership. Bill appears to feel it is his duty to keep both sides, the family and Maori, focused on the relationship between them.

When Hugh McBain arrived from England to take up his farm at Te Aute, the Trust was looking for new and younger members. He was approached and agreed to join in the 1970s, and although he appears to lack Bill's passion, there is no doubt from his narrative that he has learned to value the Trust for its historical and family ties. With his English background Hugh is anxious to stress the connection between Hukarere run by the Williams women in New Zealand, and the girls school run by the Williams women in England.[187] He also recalls that when Archbishop Paul Reeves challenged the Trustees over their exclusively family membership, they decided that this is what makes the Trust unique and prevents it becoming just 'like any other sort of church committee'.[188] The Trust is seen as an important means of maintaining the myth of the family relationship with Maori, a myth which largely gives the Williams family its distinctive identity.

Later in his narrative he puts some of the experiences of the Trust Board in an historical light:

[W]hat was interesting was that the Te Aute Trust Board run Te Aute [College] and Hukarere, and Te Aute's always done rather better than Hukarere .... and so there's been a difficulty with Hukarere and Te Aute, as you know, keeping both going. And it reached the stage in the last year or two where they would hardly talk to each other, the two school groups. And we felt as a Trust that we ought to get them together, which we did. And we felt it was a bit of going back to the early missionaries sort of – [laughs] – being the peacemaker of the tribes as it were.[189]

Hugh refers here to the accolade put on the Maori memorial to Henry – 'A courageous man who made peace in the Maori wars' – and later used as the title for Phyllis Garlick's book, *Peacemaker of the Tribes.* However Hugh is very cautious in

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[187] Interview with Hugh McBain, 12 June 1998, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side B 39.6.
[188] Hugh McBain, 1B 36.5.
[189] Hugh McBain, 2A 0.1.

what he says about the relationship with Maori. He speaks of a 'problem with accountability', saying:

There tend not to be a lot of meetings. There tend not to be a lot of sets of accounts. That's a Pakeha way of approaching things. So we're just at the stage at the moment ... that we think that we sort of backed off now ... let them do it themselves, and that really our time's passed and 'we don't want the Williams family on ...anything to do with trust Boards ... or in the bishopric or anything else'. Maybe that's turning now, and they're talking about partnership more and working together, and being a bit more honest about things in standing [committee][190]

However when I question him further on this he laughs and tells me: 'I won't say any more on that.'[191]

Peter Sykes is also earnest about the historical relationship. He says: 'I've always been quite an advocate for the Williams family to take seriously the partnership they personally and individually have, because Henry Williams's name's on the Treaty ....this is more than a national partnership, it is a personal partnership. .... We can't avoid it.'[192] He sees both his work among Maori and Pacific Island people in Mangere and also his work on the Trust as fulfilment of this partnership. Peter sees the Trust as 'te ahi ka, the holders of the flame' for the Williams family, continuing to sponsor the Maori Church, to 'resource and empower' it without being paternalistic. However he acknowledges that with the huge growth in the number of clergy in the Maori Church in the last 25 years, the story of that partnership 'has got lost' and Maori, too, need to be reminded.[193] He concludes:

See, when Pihopitanga wanted resources they would say, 'Remember - remember your forbears, remember the journey of Henry and Edward and Arthur.' And so [now] we're saying, 'Remember (laughs) – yeah, remember the journey. Remember those that have supported and walked with you, and laughed with you and cried with you. Don't – don't become so arrogant that you think that you're doing it all on your own strength'.[194]

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[190] Hugh McBain, 2A 2.4.
[191] Hugh McBain, 2A 2.4
[192] Peter Sykes, 1A 19.3
[193] Peter Sykes, 1A 31.5, 33.9
[194] Peter Sykes, 1A 33.9

These reciprocal calls to 'remember the journey' suggest the possibility of overlapping mnemonic communities, sharing in common certain memories and myths.

Maryrose Wilson is another a member of the Trust, and in her work among Maori people in the Waiapu diocese and in Auckland argues that she has undergone a process of enculturation. She says she loves the inclusiveness of Maori, and tells stories of drinking at the pub with them or joining them for a smoke at church gatherings:

You feel enfolded by them really, the women. And they were so good to me when I first came .... I knew nobody in Auckland and I used to go to a little group of them in Mangere for bible study for several weeks which was neat. [then suddenly and firmly, without prompting, she adds] I am proud of them – of my missionary ancestors. I'm proud of them because of their courage and their integrity, and their spirituality, their hardship – and the way they related to Maori people.[195]

But she also claims to be realistic about partnership between Maori and Pakeha. She says she joined the hikoi in support of better education and health for Maori, and then felt Whata Winiata sabotaged it with demands for separate parliaments. Maryrose felt it was not the right time to do this, because Pakeha have 'had enough' at present and partnership now should be 'working together ... at something that's important'.[196] Positive discrimination in employment is another area where Maryrose feels there can be too much idealism:

[A]t Friendship House we were wanting a new Maori worker and I, somebody else and two Maori people were on the panel. And we interviewed all the people, and I said to the Maori women, 'Who do you think should get it?' And they said this Pakeha woman – and I agreed with them. And I wouldn't put that forward myself. She was streaks above the others. We went downstairs and told them what we'd decided, they said, 'We can't have that, we've got to have a Maori.' I said, 'What the hell did you get us to interview these people – it's not fair to people to interview people when you've made your mind up that

[195] Maryrose Wilson, 2A 15.5.
[196] Maryrose Wilson, 1B 29.7.

you're not going to have one of them, you're not going to have a Pakeha.' Is it?[197]

She says she is in favour of positive discrimination when two candidates are equal, but if jobs are given to Maori regardless she thinks it is patronising. So with her more pragmatic approach Maryrose sees herself as 'the irritant on the Trust' which she believes is too idealistic and sentimental. She is inclined to downplay the significance of the Trust's contribution to Pihopitanga, and says that at a recent Maori Synod attended by Trust members she says: 'I went and sat with my Maori friends in the end. I'd had enough of it.'[198]

Not all members of the family who work with Maori are connected to the Trust. We have seen Sarah Williams views on the importance of knowing the language, and her work for the Waitangi tribunal. Although less adept in the language, Rob Reed is another with strong views on the relationship. Raised on the East Coast where he says he knew hardly any of the Williams, he worked as a pilot overseas for many years before returning to New Zealand. Now living in Paihia he has immersed himself in Maori culture. He has learned and now teaches Maori carving, taiaha and navigation, and helped in building the waka that sailed to Rarotonga in1992. He is a crew member of the Waitangi waka, Ngatokimatawhaorua, and was a guide at Te Maori exhibition in Auckland in 1987. He has made his own taiaha, developed a haka for the Williams family and has his own tauparapara. In his narrative he describes and explains these things in detail, so demonstrating his familiarity with Maori culture. He speaks of this growing involvement as some form of predestination due to the family influence:

All the time knowing Karuwha's contact and ... things around this district, you're always coming across something that gave you justification for being there. And there was once – it was before we went to Rarotonga actually, we were in the marae ... inland from Taipa where we had a lot of our live-ins, and we all had to do our introductions, and I got up and did my introduction, which runs – 'Brampton te waka, Waitangi te awa, Nga Hikurangi nga maunga', until I got down to 'Ngati te Wiremu Karuwha taku iwi, Te Wiremu Karuwha me James Busby taku tupuna.' And one of the old women said, 'Now I know why you are here – it's your relationship with Karuwha.' And that gave justification for my

[197] Maryrose Wilson, 1B 29.7.
[198] Maryrose Wilson, 1B 15.4.

being there – which was kind of nice .... this was suddenly the realization of why one was kind of acceptable ... [because] you're descended from Karuwha.[199]

In 1983 Rob became a work skills tutor, working with young Maori, but when teacher registration became compulsory he lost the job. However, he tells me, he still has about twenty youths who come after school to do carving. 'In a lot of ways I relate it back to Karuwha because ....it follows on from a lot of the things he did in bicultural sort of [things],' he says.[200] He has taken some of these youths to Mokoia Island, Rotorua, for taiaha and waka training with Mita Mohi.[201]

While Nicola Grimmond distances herself from the family farming tradition at Te Aute, she does see some of her work emanating from the Te Aute ethos. A retired university lecturer, she was for over 20 years on the Otago University Council, where she pushed hard for student services, and also became a liaison person for Maori students and an advocate for a Maori students centre.[202] She explains how she became involved:

I grew up totally aware of Maori values and ways of life because of my comfortable social normal interaction with Maori families around me, and found the lack of Maori connection when I came down here something that was missing from my life .... So that you know, where a Maori student identified themselves ... I found it interesting and easy to talk to them about whatever their needs might be and that – you know, you build up a reputation as being approachable I suppose .... But students would come and say, 'I just want to come and talk to you about this, because you're one of the ones I can talk to', and things like that. And I think that's how it happened - that it grew from one or two people to ... a group of people, to a lobby group to you know.[203]

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[199] Interview with Rob Reed, 11 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 6.6, 7.6.
[200] Rob Reed, 2B 16.6.
[201] Rob Reed, 2B 0.1, 11.5.
[202] Nicola Grimmond, 2A 39.1, 45.2.
[203] Nicola Grimmond, 3A 19.0.

Constructions of Maori within the family myth

As we have seen, in these testimonies there is a tendency for the Williams family today to differentiate between radical and traditional Maori, relating to the latter rather than the former. Influential Maori, professionals and those who have received honours are to the fore in their narratives, and proper titles are often given. Certain Maori families who have usually had a long association with the Williamses are mentioned repeatedly. When the Williamses speak of Maori, they usually refer to this particular elite group, those whom they see as leaders and who, in the past at least, saw the Williamses as 'rangatira Pakeha'.[204] These Maori are variously described in narrative as 'well brought up traditionally', 'loyal to Karuwha', 'the chief' and 'the elders'. A third group of Maori, mentioned in the narratives though seldom named, are those who were employed in the past on Williams farms or in their homes.

Peter Sykes is aware of the radical/traditional distinction, when he speaks of claiming the right to stand on the marae of Nga Puhi and Ngati Porou, through the 'Williams whanau' and their partnership with Maori since the 1820s. He says, 'the kaumatua, not the radicals necessarily, will acknowledge that journey', and that this is 'the power of whakapapa .... that lineage is power.'[205] Peter makes ironic comments and laughs about this, recognizing and perhaps feeling uncomfortable with the class-based origin of these differences. Others seem unaware of, or at least not embarrassed by this.

Jean Maclean's narrative is marked by the constant naming of the influential people with whom she is involved, both Maori and Pakeha, the people who are making things happen. These include, as we have seen, a number of Pakeha Ministers of the Crown, and some well-known Maori clergymen and professional men. Often such people are given their proper titles in her narrative: Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Graham Latimer, Sir James Henare, Sir Paul Reeves, Sir Hugh Kawharu, Dame Te Ata, Canon Wi Huata, and Bishop Hui Vercoe. Jean's contact with Maoridom seems to be through a particular elite who have dealings with and are recognized by a Pakeha elite group, of which some of the Williams family remain members.

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[204] Walker, *He Tipua* p.166. Walker points out however, that Ngata used this acceptance by the Williamses for the betterment of his people. pp. 100-01, 103, 106, 139.
[205] Peter Sykes, 1A 11.2.

On the whole the Waiararapa Williams have little to say about the family's relationship with Maori, although Tom Williams chose Maui Pomare to write the foreword for the family history. When I asked why he had done so he explained that their two families had known one another a long time. Later he told me:

I used to have very ... significant discussions with Maui about [race relations], and Pom's views were that that his family and my family ... had a significant leadership role in trying to wrest this problem from government and get on with the practical solution to it. .... But there does seem to be a ... need for young Maori leaders to exert leadership in a public forum and to be perceived by the public as being ordinary, sensible leaders of their community, rather than what we perceive on television as the sort of radical leaders .... [Maui] was quite an eminent Maori in my view, and his family are, and certainly ... his grandfather. And I know his son very well, and his son has the potential to be exactly that, to fulfil the role of the family. There's his son and my oldest are the same age .... My father and Maui's father were at school together and in the rugby team together, Maui and I were at school together and in the rugby team together, and Guy, my eldest and Ra were at school and in the rugby team together, so the associations gone on for a long time and a valued one at that. Yeah.[206]

Tom sees these two Wairarapa families, Williams and Pomare, as leaders of their respective communities with shared responsibilities towards promoting better relations between Maori and Pakeha. The 'eminent' grandfather to whom Tom refers here was Sir Maui Pomare (Te Ati Awa), who was educated at Te Aute College, trained as a doctor, became in 1901 the first Maori Health Officer, and was an MP from 1912 to 1928 and Minister of Health for three years.[207] As a member of the Young Maori Party he espoused the 'wholesale adoption of Pakeha culture' by Maori, and worked to this end to abolish 'pernicious' Maori customs and encourage Pakeha hygiene measures, education and the Protestant work ethic.[208] The relationship between these two families, Pomare and Williams, has been fostered over the last

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[206] Tom Williams, 2B 43.6.

[207] Graham Butterworth, 'Pomare, Maui' in *The Dictionary of New Zaeland Biography, Vol 3 1901-1920* edited by Claudia Orange (Auckland, 1996), pp. 404-7.

[208] Michael King, 'Between Two Worlds' in Rice (editor), *Oxford History of New Zealand* (1992), pp. 294-5. King quotes Maui Pomare from *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives* 1906, H-31, p. 67, as saying 'There is no alternative but to become a pakeha'. King notes that 'This appealed to liberal Pakeha opinion as it did not present the threatening prospect of having to deal with the Maori as Maori.'

three generations by attending the same private school, Wanganui Collegiate. Familiarity is conveyed by the use of the abbreviated name, Pom, one redolent with irony since the term is usually reserved for recent British migrants.

Sheila Williams also describes the mutual recognition of two elites, the Williamses and the Kaa family of Ngati Porou.

Well, you see again, being a William descendant .... [w]e're centred on Ngati Porou, and the fact that the Ngati Porou people are still very positive about the Williams.

Yeah, well you have that contact and perhaps know about that more than I would

Well I was – now I happen to know Keri Kaa whose family come from up there and who – my father must have known the family. Keri in fact came to my father's funeral and did a karanga at the end of it that just about turned me over. It was ... amazing. I remember meeting her with Father in the airport one time and both of them greeted and hongi'd. You know, she obviously knew him. I met her at the railway station some time when she had a young lad with her and I can speak a little bit of Maori so I said, 'Kia ora.' And she said it back, and she turned to the lad with her and said, 'Mokopuna Wiremu Hapeta.' Which means granddaughter of Herbert Williams. 'Oh, mmm!' he said, 'yes, yes!' And he knew. I mean I could understand what she was saying and it meant something to him and I was impressed. It turned out he was her nephew.[209]

The Kaa family is mentioned by others in the cohort. Often the family and the tribe, Ngati Porou are used almost interchangeably. In my interview with Sarah Williams she says that Keri Kaa supported her in learning Maori, and explains why:

[T]hat relationship formalised because – and here's a thing – their father was of course in the Anglican church ...

Now which one was he?

That was Hone's father ... and there was this feisty family. But Hone's father said to them, 'You must always support the Williamses because the Williamses have always supported us.' And that was of course because we paid in their case for their boarding school fees and everything – I mean the Williams trusts in Gisborne, those trusts paid for the Kaa's education.[210]

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[209] Sheila Williams, 1B 33.8.
[210] Sarah Williams, 3B 14.1.

Shortly afterwards when Sarah says that Ngati Porou 'were my first real ... family who ... formally supported me', it seems she is in fact referring to Keri Kaa and the Kaa family.[211]

In most cases radical Maori are not named or described, but for a few of the family they are seen as those with undesirable Pakeha ancestry. Alastair Deans says that older generations of Maori 'were the most wonderful people', but now 'the worst of the Maoris and the worst of the white people [have] bred together ... [to] get something that's twice as bad.'[212] Similar views are apparent in Elisabeth Ludbrook's narrative. The first interview is devoted to discussion about the removal of the carving of Henry Williams from the Te Ti marae. Spearheading this movement was a man whom she sees as a radical, and opposing him were others whom she describes as 'still loyal to Karuwha'.

You said a few moments ago that you'd asked [the kaumatua] why [this man] was behaving like a Pakeha and not a Maori, so what did you mean by that?

Maoris have a very special way of doing things .... They seem to me to have a dimension in their thinking that we just don't have, and it is a very subtle and it's very clever .... And so when I watch [this man] ... [seeking publicity in this way] it's his Pakeha ancestry speaking, not his Maori ancestry, because most of them are mixed blood .... [T]o me there's so much white blood now in his ancestry, and it's very radical. So many of them are straight off the early Kororareka ships and can be pretty crummy sort of Pakeha background to have ... it's too – mmm – negative smart .... [I]f they want something to <u>really, really</u> happen, they will go about it in a totally different way. They won't go about it the way this guy has gone about it .... When I mentioned it to [the kaumatua] they knew exactly what I was talking about. It's just not got that deep understanding of how to make things work in their favour – it's just not there.[213]

The Maori of whom Elisabeth approves are men in influential positions, some of them ordained Anglican ministers, and no doubt some also part Pakeha. In both these instances the problem with the 'radicals' appears to be not so much the fact of their interbreeding with Pakeha, as it is the degraded nature of those Pakeha. This is

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[211] Sarah Williams, 3B 15.5, 20.9.
[212] Alastair Deans 2B 27.7.
[213] Elisabeth Ludbrook, 1A 18.7.

appears to be a class-based distinction, but also contains elements of beliefs in 'scientific racism', in 'hybrid vigour' and 'hybrid degeneration', shown to be prevalent between the wars.[214]

That the Williamses' construction of a Maori elite is reciprocated is evident in Ranginui Walker's biography of Sir Apirana Ngata. Ngata was one of the early pupils at Te Aute, and one of its most eminent. While not agreeing with the assimilationist views of Samuel Williams, and defining biculturalism as an alternative, he nevertheless regarded the Archdeacon as his mentor.[215] In addition he saw the whole of the Williams family as the 'epitome of English gentry and models of modernity to be emulated in dress, manners, lifestyle and housing by Maori of rangatira status.' He sent young girls from Ngati Porou to work in their homes and learn good housekeeping and etiquette.[216] He looked to the Williams family on the East Coast as models in farming operations, and for practical advice and financial support for his Maori farming initiatives.[217] In 1912 Ngata built a new house, large by Maori standards, and intended to 'match the houses of "rangatira Pakeha" such as the Williams families.' Walker writes: 'It was a symbolic statement that Maori were still rangatira in their own land, notwithstanding their debilitation by European colonisation.'[218] Ngata used political patronage when necessary to 'nullify resistance' to the furthering of Maori interests, citing the names of 'luminaries' including that of Archdeacon Herbert Williams.[219] He thus acquired knowledge from certain members of the Pakeha elite, used it himself and disseminated it for the benefit of Maori.[220] The Williams and Maori elites thus seem to have formed a complementary relationship within which, to some extent, they were able to 'remember the journey' together.

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[214] Toeolesulusulu D. Salesa, 'Half-castes between the Wars: Colonial categories in New Zealand and Samoa', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1 (April 2000), pp. 113-4. See also Kate Riddell, '"Improving" the Maori: Counting the Ideology of Intermarriage', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 34, 1 (April 2000), pp. 80-97.
[215] Walker, *He Tipua*, pp. 111, 115, 223. For the idea of biculturalism see Apirana Ngata, *Nga Moteatea* Part I (Wellington, 1959) p.xxxi.
[216] Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 106. See also Amiria Manutahi Stirling, *Amiria: The Life Story of a Maori Woman* as told to Anne Salmond, (Wellington, 1976), pp. 4-5, 32-8.
[217] Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 100.
[218] Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 166.
[219] Walker, *He Tipua*, p. 223.
[220] Walker, *He Tipua*, pp. 104-5.

The relationship with Maori as a claim to 'deep belonging'

Tom Reed's opening statement links him back to the family mission and to the signing of the Treaty in which his great grandfather, Edward, played a role, as well as Henry:

I think my greatest claim to fame was the fact that when I was about two I suppose ... my mother took me to see Miriam, Miriam Joyce. And she was a pupil at the school here in Paihia run by the two sisters-in-law [Marianne and Jane Williams] .... Well, she sat in a wicker chair at ... a house at the side of the church ... [and] I can remember quite well, she had a rug over her and I think she was a bit over 90 – about my age now – and she insisted on me sitting on her knee. Well she had a moko didn't she, and I remember my mother being rather concerned that I might pick at this, but still I was very happy sitting on her knee – I do remember that, and she was the gentlest of persons, old Miriam, and I reckon she was about 17 years old at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.[221]

Probably such an early memory has been reinforced by family story-telling, indicating the significance of this image in family myth. Also it is not just that Tom makes these connections, but that Maori make them, since he says, 'she insisted on me sitting on her knee'. Nor is this just about a direct link to the Treaty, for there is also a sort of earth-mother image here of an ancient indigenous woman nurturing not just a new generation but a new people. It thus suggests a claim not just to long historical links, but also to deep belonging.

This kind of claim can also be made through land and Maori knowledge associated with particular sites, as was shown in Chapter Two. The speech which Bill Ludbrook made to Nga Puhi in his attempt to regain the family land, 'Pouerua', is a rich example of this kind of pleading. He proclaims himself by birth, by sentiment, by long-standing family association and the fact that their ancestors are buried side by side, by his knowledge of local legend and history to be part of the land and of its tangata whenua, Nga Puhi. 'I am an exile from Nga Puhi,' he declares. Bill's speech, which has been dealt with in his memory biography, is also in part a claim to deep belonging.[222]

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[221] Tom Reed, 1A 0.3.
[222] Bill Ludbrook, 2A 12.2-30.2.

Nowhere is this claim to deep belonging through links to Maori more pronounced and explicit than in the narrative of Rob Reed. One of the matters that Rob is very anxious to talk about is the story of the Williams hei tiki. Rob is upset by the family's disregard for the treasures they have been given.[223] They have sold 'The Retreat' and the land at Pakaraka, a descendant living in England sold a poutokomanawa that had been given to William Williams, and now another descendant in England is trying to organize the removal and sale of the hei tiki that was given to Henry Williams.[224] Rob refers to it by its name, Nga Kahurangi o Nga Rangi Wairua , which he says means 'treasures of the spiritual heavens'.[225] I asked Rob to tell me the history of the hei tiki, expecting to hear how it came to be given to Henry Williams. Instead he began the story much further back:

The story of Nga Kahurangi o Nga Rangi Wairua, the hei tiki: It's made of greenstone, and the origin of greenstone is Puotini, the fish. And the fish ... swam from the centre of the Pacific somewhere because the sandstone lady was going to get at him and rub him. Sandstone was what they used to form and polish greenstone things. And he eventually swam up the Ahurua river in the South Island. And eventually along came a craftsperson and pulled out some greenstone – or pulled out a bit of poutini and here's the greenstone. And he formed this hei tiki. And a hei tiki is – hei is to tie round the neck ... or to wear around the neck. Tiki is the primeval man or a grotesque figure. It's quite often said to be a foetus .... He formed the hei tiki, Nga Kahurangi o Nga Rangi Wairua, and he did it for Piriama, who was a rangatira of Ngai Tahu and of Te Ati Awa that's in the northern part of the South Island. And eventually it went through about eight generations, and it ended up with Nua Huke in Kahungungu ... And it was Nua Huke who actually gave it to Henry, and he gave the gift of the mana associated with the hei tiki to Henry, to give him the right to stand on all the marae of the tribes and speak, and to safe-guard his family. <u>The gift was of the mana</u>. It's not so much – he had to give the object because that is what carried the mana. And that, with the origin of greenstone, and with being given a hei tiki that old – it's something like 250 years old, being held by eight generations of the descendants of Piriama, and it is given to our

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[223] Rob Reed, 1A 16.3, 31.0, 2B 16.6.

[224] The sale of the poutokomanawa is also referred to by Bill (W.A.) Williams, 2B 25.7. He describes how when some of the family in Hawkes Bay discovered what had happened, they met with Hiwi Tomoana, kaumatua of Kahungungu by whom the poutokomanawa was given, to apologize for the family's actions. A hei tiki is defined as a greenstone ornament worn suspended from the neck *Dictionary of Maori Language*, 7th edition, compiled by H.W. Williams (Wellington, 1971).

[225] Rob Reed, 1A 18.9.

ancestor – that ties our family as far as I'm concerned to the very origins of Aotearoa.[226]

He goes on to explain the importance of the manner in which it was given. If the strings are towards the receiver as it is handed over the gift is permanent, if towards the giver the gift is temporary. The family does not know how the hei tiki was given to Henry, although Rob said he was trying to find out from some of Nua Huke's descendants whom he knows in Hawkes Bay. He speaks of the responsibilities of the kaitiaki or guardian of the hei tiki, and of his attempts, with Sarah Williams, to ensure that it remains in New Zealand.[227]

In telling the story of the hei tiki, Rob seems to have two purposes. One is simply to demonstrate his knowledge of Maori taonga and tikanga. The other is the claim of the family to be a part of the early history of Aotearoa-New Zealand. Not only is the family part of pre-Treaty history, ('we were here first,' he says elsewhere) it now becomes part of Maori history by the giving of the hei tiki with its story woven through multiple generations. Furthermore, it links the family to the origins of Aotearoa, through the story of the origin of greenstone with which his story begins and to which it returns in the last sentence. In other words the hei tiki offers the family a claim to deep belonging in this country. They are tangata whenua, perhaps indeed the Ngati Wiremu to which Rob refers in the introduction he uses on the marae.

The narratives of Williamses who are married to or descended from Maori

There are not a lot of Maori relatives known in the Williams family, though no doubt more than are acknowledged. The most widely known among the family are descendants of A.B. Williams from 'Puketiti' on the East Coast, although mystery surrounds their paternity. About 1898 Arthur M. Beale came to Waipiro Bay to keep the Williams station accounts. He married Emma Reremoana Brown, and they had two daughters and three sons, two of whom were killed in World War II. When Beale died Reremoana married A.B. Williams, who then adopted three of her children,

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[226] Rob Reed, 1A 20.0.
[227] Rob Reed, 1A 28.1.

Arnold, Desmond and Margaret, who all took the name of Williams.[228] It is widely acknowledged in the family, however, that several of the Beale children were probably the children of A.B. Williams. Desmond inherited 'Puketiti' from A.B. Williams. Although he never married, he had a relationship with a local woman who was also Maori, and to whom twin daughters were born. Margaret married another member of the Williams family and had several children. I contacted one of these descendants who was reluctant to be interviewed.

I did however interview two members of the family who were married to Maori, Anne Seymour who married Roy Seymour (Tuwharetoa), and Bob Hutton who married Atarua Takiari (Tainui). We have seen how in Anne's narrative her marriage is understood to be a fulfilment or culmination of the family mission to Maori. Bob's narrative is similar although much less explicit, probably because he has had almost no contact with the Williams family. Nevertheless, as he talks about negotiating his way between cultures, aspects of the Williams history emerge in discussion of the importance of language, the Williams dictionary and the signing of the Treaty. I also interviewed two who were descendants of Maori, Alexia Bressolles and Karl Hutton, whose mother, Hiamoe Te Whare (Maniapoto) married Bob's brother, Noel Hutton.

This group is thus heavily weighted towards the Hutton family, all of whom acknowledge that their links with the Williamses have been tenuous. Various reasons are given for this, and probably all have contributed. Noel and Bob's father (Ned 1882-1930) and grandfather (George1854-1937) appear to have fallen out with each other, and when Bob was two their father died. Eight years later his mother moved the family from Pahiatua to Auckland where she began dressmaking to support the family.[229] When Karl and Alexia were aged five and six their parents marriage ended, and the children were in separate foster care for a year or two. Contact with their father was intermittent thereafter. The break with the Williams branch of the family however appears to have even deeper roots historically. As we have seen, Bruce Hutton, believes it was because George Hutton 'got involved in Maoridom'.[230] All of

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[228] A.B. Williams, *Land of the Sunrise* (Gisborne, 1957), p. 47.

[229] Interview with Bob Hutton, 4 April 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 0.3, 1.9.

[230] Bruce Hutton, 1B 34.9. George Hutton's mother, Sarah Williams, died when he was 12 and his father then returned to England. George lived for about eight years at Te Aute before moving to

these disjunctures make the analysis of these narratives from a family perspective more complex.

Bob Hutton has had a varied career. He began by working on farms in the South Island, became a slaughterman, and then a psychiatric nurse at Tokanui Hospital. He and his wife then moved to Taranaki where he worked in the Waitara freezing works and farmed at Uruti and Purangi. When his wife died he moved to a small rural block near Kiokio. Bob's is a story about making your own way in the world. He says: 'I had to do things for myself and my parents died – just me and no room for mistakes.'[231] The key pattern of his narrative however, is a series of stories of cultural adjustment, of a Pakeha living and working in a largely Maori environment.

Near the beginning of his narrative he launched into a 45-minute exposition on the importance of understanding other people's language:

I think language is the most important thing ....If you can't speak their language how you going to do business with them? If you speak their language you can ask them their rules and they can tell you and you won't break the rules, because you ask them what you're allowed to do. If you don't speak their language you can't communicate and you will offend.[232]

He claims to have had this interest in language since he was a child, going on to say:

I got the Williams family books when I was about 10 – in Auckland – had books, my father's books, and I used to look up the words and write them out and say the word and mispronounce it and try – they were older fashioned words you see .... And when I was in school, the teacher .... he learnt some Maori and used to speak Maori to some of the Maori children, but in those days, yes in the 1940s, they didn't seem to like it ... Yeah most of those Maoris didn't seem to want the Pakeha speaking Maori – opposite to what it is now. And later on ... I went and worked for Southdown [freezing works] and then I went and bought books – *Teach Yourself Maori* ***by Patrick Smythe ... and I read that one ... and I got Williams Maori Dictionary and Reeds Maori Dictionary, and I got*** *Te*

Featherstone where he seems to have become a licensed interpreter. This constitutes yet another break with the Williams family although it was not mentioned by any of those I interviewed. See Evans (1998) p. 317, 323.

[231] Bob Hutton, 2B 8.1.

[232] Bob Hutton, 1A 9.1.

Reo Maori ***by Katie Harawira – I think that's the Maori battalion fella isn't it – think so ... And that was different sort of language you see, and the Nga Puhi said – Tim Adam was the Nga Puhi – he was very helpful, teaching me what he could – and I'd say, 'Well it's like this – '... and he'd say 'You read it to me,' and I'd say 'Well you read it,' and he'd say 'I can't read, I can't read,' [laughs] ... so I'd read the word to him and he'd screw up his eyes and strain to listen and say 'Again,' and he'd think and say 'Oh!' and he'd say the word, you see. And my pronunciation was no good you see. So anyway I learnt from Tim, and Tim said ... '[Harawira] that's the right book,' he said, 'Nga Puhi, that's the right one.'***[233]

Bob's interest in language appears to be linked to the early death of his father. His books, including the dictionary, form the boy's links with his father. He can connect with his father by reading and using his father's books. However, Bob says his wife told him her family did not like him speaking Maori because of his Nga Puhi words, 'the enemy language' for Tainui. She told him: 'If you spoke English and used all Nazi terminology they wouldn't like you, eh?'[234] Later he says he learned the Taranaki dialect also, and then explains to me how Maori is constructed, based on the Williams dictionary, adding: 'but some of the modern people ...they don't care, they haven't learnt.'[235] This deference to the Williams dictionary is echoed in the narratives of those who express a sense of 'owning' the language by knowing the correct ways of speaking that many now neglect.

Bob's ability to negotiate his way in the Maori world, both at work and in his marriage, defines his sense of self. In the following excerpt he takes his Maori fiancée to buy an engagement ring and has to deal with the racist (and class) attitudes which he encounters:

So we look at the ring and the bloke got out the tray for the little Pakeha and the Maori girl – she was 19 and I was 23. [Of] course a lot of farm labourers and Maoris don't own anything you see – they were quite racist in those days – so no engagement rings for the ethnics, not usually. So anyway she showed me the ring and he showed me these cheap ones you see, about five pounds and that, the usual. I said, 'Oh no, don't like them,' and I said, 'What about the one in the – .' And the bloke said, 'Oh, but sir, that's 80 pounds!' I said,

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[233] Bob Hutton, 1A 11.1.
[234] Bob Hutton, 1A 14.9.
[235] Bob Hutton, 1A 16.7, 20.8.

'Doesn't matter – show it to her.' It was just what she wanted. So it turned out that was the dearest ring in the shop, it was the dearest ring in Hamilton. But she wanted it so I said 'Yeah.' And he says, 'So how are you going to pay for it?' and I said 'I'll get the money' – it was Postbank in those days you see – I said, 'I'll go and get the money.' And I go up the road – Friday night – draw the money out, pay him, right, way you go, and she had her ring. And the Poms you see, they all said: 'He's mad – you see what he's bought – a ring like that for a Maori sheila.' And they carried on you know.[236]

In the 1950s Bob and Atarua built a house and began to buy carpet and new electrical appliances. In his narrative Bob begins to revel in the reaction this was causing among his work mates as they exclaimed: ' "He bought her a fridge!" …."And they got the drier!" '[237] This animated performance implies not just a past but a present identity which rejoices in defying the norms of behaviour.

In fact in many of Bob's stories of cultural encounter he plays on his ability to shock and outsmart people. He volunteers the following while talking about the Williams dictionary:

I tell them, I say, 'I'm a Henry Williams fella – the Treaty, that's my fault.' And I look at them and by their reaction I can tell about them. If they say, 'Oh Henry Williams, he was good fella ...' I say, 'Oh, you Nga Puhi?' 'Yes' – Bay of Islands ones you see. .... And then – 'Williams, they're all crooks. They come and that old so-and-so made the poor Maoris sign the Treaty and they didn't know what they were signing, stole all the land – come with a gun in one hand, the Bible in the other and killed all the Maoris, stole all the land.' That's what Fred the Ngati Porou said. I said, 'Oh yeah, are you Ngati Porou?' 'How did you know?' I said, 'Just thought you might be.' And then I said, 'You're not Maori.' 'Of course I'm Maori.' I said, 'Well you didn't get killed.' I said, 'You got no land Fred?' 'Of course I've got land,' he said. 'Oh well,' I said, 'they couldn't have stolen all of it.' I said, 'What's your religion, boy?' He said, 'Anglican – Church of England.' I said, 'Well they got you didn't they.' And he swore and he said, 'You're not too bad.' Made a friend.[238]

Bob is constantly negotiating his way through difficult situations, parrying metaphorical blows, turning the tables on his attackers, using attack himself as a form

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[236] Bob Hutton, 2A 17.8.
[237] Bob Hutton, 2B 0.1.
[238] Bob Hutton, 3B 17.3.

of defence. He portrays an image of the nimble-footed trickster. While he speaks mainly about situations in his marriage and his work, it is clear that the Williams myth is woven into the fabric of his narrative.

The narratives of Alexia and Karl are both influenced by the difficult experiences of their early childhood. Alexia married a Vietnamese Frenchman, Michel Bressolles, and they lived in Noumea for ten years before moving to New Zealand, first to a farm at Helensville and then, for the sake of their children's education, to Auckland. Her's is a story about family breakdown in childhood and raising a happy and successful family in adulthood. She sees her father, Noel Hutton, as a lonely man, always regretting his marriage breakdown and seeking company in clubs like the RSA, through pen pals and visiting foreigners, and for a time with the Mormons, many of whom were Maori. Her father was also very 'compassionate towards Maori' and had lots of Maori friends.[239] He was very interested in the Williams family and she says: 'He was very proud of the fact that [Henry] was so revered by the Maoris – because Dad having married a Maori too... and he seemed to like that.'[240] He would read about the Williamses to his children. He also took the children on holidays to visit Williams relatives and family sites and cemeteries.[241] But Alexia says 'it went in one ear and out the other.' If she was interested at all it was more in the fact that her father and brother, like Henry Williams, were both in the navy, and in Marianne who was 'such a placid person' with all her children, helping everyone and 'domesticating the young Maori girls' in the midst of so much hardship.[242] While Karl went with his father to the 1973 family reunion, Alexia was not sufficiently interested to join them.

They also spent holidays with her mother's family in Otorohanga, and though her mother's first language was Maori, she did not teach her children. Alexia does not regret this. She says it would not have been much benefit to her, especially living in Noumea where she was having to cope with French.[243] Speaking French is now a help to her in her new job, the first since she got married. Her own children did a 'little bit of Maori culture at school', and she feels it's 'nice' for them to know their

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[239] Alexia Bressolles, 28 May 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side B 9.9, 28.2, Tape 2 side A 22.9.
[240] Alexia Bressolles, 1B 44.9.
[241] Alexia Bressolles, 1B 12.2, 2A 2.8.
[242] Alexia Bressolles, 2B 0.2, 1B 44.9, 2A 0.3.
[243] Alexia Bressolles, 2A 5.9.

background, but she says: 'I don't know if it's a good idea to get too much into it because it is – you've got to go forward as well I sort of feel.'[244] Perhaps this is the key to Alexia's narrative, to put the past behind you and move on. She avoids controversy, quoting the opinions of others rather than her own and deflecting conversation in safer directions. Alexia works assiduously at creating harmony.

In Karl's narrative too, childhood traumas play a large part, and like Alexia, they give him the determination to do things differently. Karl begins by telling his father's family story as a series of break-ups, which he sees continuing into the present generation with his own fairly recent divorce.[245] He concludes: 'And for me there was this little internal motto that I wasn't going to do to my kids what my parents, although not intentionally, did to me. And I was going to be there while they grew up, and I separated about five years ago.'[246] He hereby announces that his will not be a story of happy families. Speaking next of his mother's side of the family he says despite contact with her family 'there was no value in any kind of association ... with Mum's Maori past and culture.' Thus Karl pictures himself as having lost touch with both sides of his family in childhood. He also harboured a sense of guilt because he came from a 'broken home', which made him try to 'not stand out at school'.[247]

He also sees his parents as lacking in education or ambition, his father a 'tradesman', his mother a 'housewife'. But Karl, encouraged by his future wife, Mary, became an engineering draughtsman. The theme that runs through the story of his career is that of earning the respect of others and of a growing sense of self-worth. He held a number of jobs and tells various stories which show how much he was valued and respected in these positions.[248] He had only recently left his job with the navy, having risen from Works Officer at the Devonport Naval Base to Commander, and is proud to have been the 'highest ranking Maori the Navy's ever had'.[249] Being an 'officer in the military' gave Karl a 'sense of importance'. He enjoyed the expectation that he

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[244] Alexia Bressolles, 2A 7.0.
[245] Interview with Karl Hutton, 2 September 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 0.5 – 4.3.
[246] Karl Hutton, 1A 4.3.
[247] Karl Hutton, 1A 6.5.
[248] Karl Hutton, 1A 40.7, 1B 0.1, 4.2, 17.3, 23.0, 2A 36.4, 2B 3.7.
[249] Karl Hutton, 2A 36.4.

should 'set a certain standard', be professional and ensure discipline among his subordinates by gaining their respect rather than demanding 'blind obedience'.[250]

The navy also provided the means for Karl to discover something of self-worth and identity through family, both sides of his family. In about 1990 consultants were contracted to run bicultural courses at the naval base for interested officers. This was a turning point in Karl's life. He describes the course and what he learned:

[S]ome of the things that I remember about it were – he talked about when the missionaries first came to New Zealand the reason why the Maori people accepted them so readily was because the Christian story of creation so readily matched the Maori version of creation, that the Maori said, 'These fellows must be all right because they know what they're talking about.' .... So this course started from that and it threaded all the way through to a bunch of sort of historical references to injustices of the past and you know – the ones that have been documented so far – Treaty of Waitangi claims. But ultimately it was leading up to saying: 'If you want to consult and engage with Maori in the modern day the best way to do that is to understand Maori protocol, and if you've got a group of Maori people coming to you as a government department to talk to you, to break down that huge big "them and us" barrier, the very best thing you can do is set up your meeting room as though it were a marae. And have like tangata whenua/manuhiri, call them to the room allow them to sit down and have exchanges of greetings and speeches and hongi, and then a cup of tea – then get down to your meeting.' And so we ... really went through all that procedure .... Our objective was to be prepared and he emphasized the importance of the exchange of greetings, the importance of hongi, and the real importance of the food component after hongi – makes everybody together as one – if you break bread together – even those analogies with Christianity seemed like sense to the old Maoris, so that's why they picked up on it so quickly.[251]

Karl describes his feelings at this course in terms similar to a religious conversion or a meeting with one's destiny, feelings of warmth, of familiarity with the new, and of being scared and wanting to run away. They were required to learn a whaikorero which was videoed and analysed. He recalls:

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[250] Karl Hutton, 1B 10.7.
[251] Karl Hutton, 2A 17.3, 21.0.

We watched it through and [the instructor] turned round and looked straight at me and said, 'If you hadn't told me you'd never done that before I'd never have believed you.' And I never had – I'd never stood – prior to that I'd never stood on a marae, I'd never done anything like that before. That was as near the words – Maori language words I'd ever – probably the first time I'd ever attempted to construct a sentence – in my life. And he said .... 'They'll know that you're Tainui by' he said, by the way I was standing and by the way I was reading this stuff off the book. .... Anyway that was even scarier [laughs].[252]

After this course Karl was gradually drawn into greater involvement with Maori at the naval base. As the only officer to show an interest he became inaugural chairman of the Bicultural Working Party. They instituted Maori awareness training for junior officers, and began building a marae on the base.[253]. He says: '[through] that whole exercise I've discovered a lot of my Maori roots as well .... And it feels good.'[254] Since then he has helped organise a Te Whare family reunion in Te Kuiti and become more interested in whakapapa.[255]

In his last three years in the navy, 1995, 1996 and 1997, he was asked to co-ordinate commemorations at Waitangi and, at the request of the Race Relations Conciliator, to develop a bicultural component to the Navy's contribution. He describes in some detail his plan to combine the tradition of troops beating the retreat with the tradition of the returning 'Maori skirmishing party'. Unfortunately, he says, 'that was the year that blimmin' Hone Harawira mobbed the flagpole, and the whole day went really, really smoothly, except for the Navy's bit at the end that didn't happen.' Since the protestors refused to remove their tinorangatiratanga flag and Karl refused to proceed unless under the New Zealand and naval flags, the Navy's part was cancelled. [256] He explained to me that 'the Navy has been commemorating Waitangi up there ... way before it was a national day ... because it was our flagpole, and the Navy was present at the signing of the Treaty – Governor Hobson, was he naval?'[257] But for Karl a large part of his enjoyment in this event was due to his Williams connection:

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[252] Karl Hutton, 2A 21.0.
[253] Karl Hutton, 2A 33.3, 36.4.
[254] Karl Hutton, 2A 41.1.
[255] Karl Hutton, 2B 1.6.
[256] Karl Hutton, 2A 0.2.
[257] Karl Hutton, 2A 7.3.

But what I really enjoyed about doing that, and what I was mostly disappointed about when it didn't happen, was that of course Henry Williams was involved with the Treaty too. And all these years later it felt really neat for me to be part of commemorating what he did all those years before.[258]

While he was engaged in planning these events he had to visit Te Ti Marae at Paihia. He was surprised to find Henry Williams on the centre back pou, and approached one of the marae committee:

And I said to him, 'Why is Henry Williams there?' And he said, 'Why?' So I told him my connection. He said, 'Oh, oh! You'd better come up.' He said, 'I'd better tell you the story then.' So he brought me inside and said that the reason why he was there was because one of Henry Williams's return trips to the UK for additional Church Mission Society funding, while he was away the Governor or whoever it was ... confiscated all that beachfront land from the hapu that were there at the time, which were called Ngati Rahiri. And when Henry Williams came back and found that this land had been confiscated and the hapu made representations to him, he went storming in .... and said, 'This is absolute injustice, you know. You are to give it back.' And they told him to get on his bike, and quite simply said no. So what ... Bill told me was that Henry Williams then used a significant proportion of that CMS money to buy the land back from whoever was squatting or occupying it. He paid them money to get off and then he gave it back to Ngati Rahiri. So Bill said, 'That's why he's the foundation of this marae, because they wouldn't have got it back otherwise'.[259]

Furthermore he was told by Bill Williams, who comes from Kaikohe, that he, Karl, was 'more tangata whenua here than I am, on this marae'. He is amused at this, being aware from his mother of the traditional animosity between Tainui and Nga Puhi.[260]

Also at the time they were establishing the naval marae, they had to decide on the protocol that would be observed. They convened a hui of all the local tribes to decide the matter.

So we convened this hui and then we heard that there was something like 16 kaumatua from Tainui who were going to be up here. The Tainui canoe

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[258] Karl Hutton, 2A 7.3.
[259] Karl Hutton, 2B 27.3.
[260] Karl Hutton, 2B 31.3

actually beached ... just near North Head, and there's a memorial there .... They actually have a stone monument down there that Tainui elders annually make a pilgrimage to and remember the place where the waka landed .... And there was another 14 or so from Nga Puhi that were coming down as well so I thought, 'Blow me! We're right in the middle of this.' ...[A]nd this was getting really scary because I had to chair this hui, and so I said to Mum, 'Give me the words. What do I say?' So she taught me how to say my whakapapa from the Maori side, and I said, 'Wouldn't it be, in this particular instance, wouldn't it be really good ... to put myself, therefore representing the Navy's view on this as being unbiased in terms of whichever way the kawa discussion goes.' Because I didn't want to find us in the middle, and I said because of the Henry Williams thing. So what we decided to that I would do would be to recite my whakapapa in Maori from the Tainui side, then change to English and say, 'On the Pakeha side there's Henry Williams.' Because Henry Williams of course ... was sort of formally adopted almost by Nga Puhi. And Mum said to me, she said, 'So stand there and say, "I stand on two feet, and I have no bias in the kawa for this marae." '..... 'And', she said 'when I talk through the Tainui part,' she said, 'the Tainui will all sit there and they'll all say, "Ah yes, he's one of ours." ' And then I said, 'But I should say this other bit too, because that's part of me as well,' and she said, 'Oh yes. If you say that you know, Nga Puhi's going to say, "He's part of us." ' So I said, 'Is that a bad thing?' And that's exactly what happened you know.[261]

Thus Karl's story appears to be one of a search for identity, which has in the first instance been supplied by his value in the workplace and especially the navy, and secondly by the search for and gradual discovery of his family roots. Karl's journey coincides with, and in fact derives much of its impetus from, the development of the Government's bicultural policies, which he himself has been involved in implementing in the navy. Judging from where the emotional energy appears in his narrative, the most significant discovery has been the claiming of his indigenous, Tainui roots which provide his primary sense of belonging. At the same time he has learned much more about the Williams history, which gives deeper significance both to his naval experience and to his Maori and Pakeha origins. Importantly though, he

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[261] Karl Hutton, 2B 17.4.

also uses his Williams connection to bridge the traditional animosity of Nga Puhi and Tainui.

Karl is no radical. 'In a different language,' he tells me, 'separate development is called apartheid.'[262] He is critical of MP Tariana Turia's recent speech on post-colonial traumatic stress syndrome among Maori. His own view is that urban migration has cut Maori off from their roots, a view which mirrors his personal experience.[263] He argues that colonization has been positive, his experience in the navy showing him that Maori having progressed technologically and economically far beyond other Pacific Islanders.[264] He likes to think of himself as a 'positive bi-product of biculturalism' in which two cultures live side by side, taking the best of both, and gradually merging to enhance both.[265]

It is not easy to draw conclusions from so few cases. However, what seems to be significant is that despite the break with the Williams over three or four generations, the family history still plays its part in these lives and narratives in unexpected ways. George Hutton's apparent sympathy for Maori seems played out in the marriages of his grandsons, and his skill as an interpreter in his descendants' interest in language and people of different nationalities and beliefs. The Williams Maori dictionary, absent or merely iconic in most of the Williams testimony, emerges on active service in Bob Hutton's narrative, and finally the Treaty and events surrounding its commemorations thread their way through the narratives of Bob and Karl. What the Hutton narratives demonstrate is the way in which remnants of family myth cling in memory and may emerge from the interstices of narrative, and the possibility, given favourable circumstances, of a full re-emergence.

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[262] Karl Hutton, 3B 0.1, 3A 16.9.
[263] Karl Hutton, 3A 40.2.
[264] Karl Hutton, 3B 0.1.
[265] Salesa, p. 108. Salesa points out that while Maori leaders like Ngata and Buck emphasized the duality and value of Maori-Pakeha heritage, Pakeha tended to 'fractionalize' it.

Conclusion

Many of the narrators in this cohort appeared to assume that there is, or has been, a special bond between Maori and the Williamses which is based on the missionary past. Although perhaps seen as diminished in the present, this affinity is still understood by many to give them a heightened sense of tolerance and understanding toward Maori. For about half a dozen of the cohort, however, this relationship is seen not only as their family past or as a remnant in the present, but also as their destiny. They invoke genes, bones and DNA in speaking of this special affinity. This is not necessarily a belief that it is literally passed down by genetic inheritance, but, as suggested by such comments as 'I grew up in the shadow of all that', or more negatively, 'I was programmed', it does convey a sense of being fated and inescapable. The sense of destiny however involves more than this, as is evident for instance in the image of the 'mantle' that passes from one generation to the next. It evokes notions of responsibility and intention, calling and divine purpose, all engaging the individual as a member of the family. Hence the destiny is seen as also a collective one. These views suggest this is a powerful and essential element of the mnemonic tradition of the Williams family. It is the only myth which was said to be 'in the DNA', an expression which conveys a sense of the historical depth of family collective memory. It is also the one which gives them their special identity as a family.

We have seen how the ability to speak Maori has been held in high regard in the family, and the myth of the special relationship commonly finds expression in the proud acknowledgement of ancestors who could do so. This ability is interpreted in narrative as having various different values and outcomes. It may be seen simply as evidence of sympathetic understanding, but also as having been a means of influencing or controlling Maori, or even in one instance of subverting Pakeha malfeasance toward Maori. Among the present generation who speak Te Reo it tends to be seen as a Maori taonga gifted to Pakeha. While few of the family today can speak Maori, there are some who have made the effort to learn at least a little of the language. They may be impelled to do so by 'colonial guilt', or because they see this as an appropriate response to current bicultural imperatives which appear to resonate

with family history. Only one, however, is fluent in Te Reo, using her skills to work for the Waitangi Tribunal in the righting of past wrongs, as a bridge between Maori and Pakeha, and as a family representative at official Waitangi commemorations. In all three roles she sees herself as fulfilling an historic family destiny, reconciling Maori and Pakeha.

The memory of acquaintance or friendship with Maori, whether in past or present generations, is another common motif occurring in Williams narratives. In these stories the family often appear to be accepting of 'Maori ways', being willing to eat huhu grubs or human thumbs, or to take cold showers on the marae.[266] Several were stories of personal experience in childhood or youth, such as visiting a local Maori family in a dirt-floored whare, going fishing with Maori, or playing rugby with them. Also important is evidence of acceptance by Maori, for instance their acknowledgement of the relationship by inclusion of Williams family members among the kaumatua, rather than manuhiri, at marae functions. There is pride in names bestowed by Maori, and the use in narrative of Te Wiremu or Karuwha for Henry Williams, particularly seemed to stress this aspect of the relationship. Finally, the presence of Maori at family funerals was ascribed significance, as were the tributes which they paid to the deceased, acknowledging in word and action the value of the past relationship and its continuation in the present.

Sometimes such stories involved contact or friendship over several generations of specific Maori and Williams families. Such relationships seemed to be restricted to Maori who were regarded as 'traditional' and 'well-brought up', while those regarded as 'radical' were seen to accord the family little respect. A similar terminology is explored by Cruikshank who notes that indigenous peoples often became symbols for unfamiliar values, and that 'good Indians' were those who appeared to share some of the values of the newcomers, earning them such 'dubious complements' as ' "an exception to his race" '. Cruikshank notes that these interpretations have less to do with the qualities of the individuals they refer to than with the newcomers' 'desire to

[266] The story of T.C. Williams eating a human thumb when a child in Paihia, was told by Tom Williams, 2A 18.0.

confirm the advantages of a [new] emerging social order'.[267] These stories may therefore reflect the family's view of the emergence and existence of a Maori elite approved by the Williamses, and thus also of class differentiation among Maori paralleling that among Pakeha.

As 'partnership' with Maori through the Treaty and the ideology of biculturalism have assumed greater prominence in public life in recent decades, they also seem to have revitalised the sense of the family relationship with Maori for some. The fact that Henry was one of the signatories to the Treaty makes the partnership a personal one for some, particularly those who have formal or structured contacts with Maori. Those involved with the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust, and thus Te Aute College, Hukarere Maori Girls School and Te Pihopitanga o Aotearoa, envisage this work as a Maori-Williams partnership in the spirit of the Treaty, as well as a continuation of the work of Henry, William and Samuel. Others who have contact with Maori through their work, either in the Church or in secular organizations such as universities or the Waitangi Tribunal, often appear to see this in mutually reinforcing terms of family and Treaty partnership. However, none of these involvements is without conflict and questions about the nature of the relationship.

On the other hand, of course, there are those in the family whose understanding of the myth takes an assimilationist form. They declare that we are 'all New Zealanders', and often find it difficult to accept aspects of the current ideology of biculturalism, the numerous Waitangi settlements, and the constant reference to the Treaty in law, in government and in the administration of public institutions. For them the myth of the Williamses' special relationship with Maori does not sit comfortably with the assertiveness of modern Maori

Sometimes the idea of partnership with Maori is expressed by members of the family in religious terms, which seem to reveal the missionary as well as the Treaty connection. Partnership may be seen either as obedience to the gospel injunction to love one's neighbour, or as a relationship based on reciprocal and irrevocable vows, such as that of Christian marriage. Indeed, one woman understands her marriage to a

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[267] Julie Cruikshank, *The Social Life of Stories: Narrative and Knowledge in the Yukon Territory* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1998), pp. 92-3.

Maori in terms of the culmination of the family relationship. To give this myth religious significance is to make working with and for Maori a calling, to give it greater authority.

Finally there were two or three in the cohort who appeared to use the myth of the family's special relationship with Maori to make a claim to 'deep belonging', reaching back beyond the time of arrival and embracing the history of the tangata whenua, becoming one with the land and all those who have inhabited it in the quest for indigenization. Indeed the occasional use of the term Ngati Wiremu suggests a claim to tangata whenua status for the family. As noted in Chapter Two evidence of knowledge of local Maori mythology associated with the land may also be part of this claim. Above all, for those who believe they know its history and cultural significance, the greenstone hei tiki given to Henry Williams is the most powerful symbol of 'deep belonging'. They describe, with an enthusiasm sometimes bordering on reverence, how it incorporates not only generations of Maori history but also Maori mythology concerning greenstone which links it to the origins of Aotearoa. Having been given to Henry Williams by Maori, it now links the Williams family to Maori and to Aotearoa. Although many of the family barely know of the existence of the hei tiki and only two or three of the cohort fully appreciate its potential significance, for those that do it is an important aspect of their claim to relationship and belonging. As such it is an important indicator of one of the major concerns of the Williams narratives, that of belonging in a post-colonial settler society. However, the search for indigeneity seems to betray an underlying sense of alienation, even in a family that claims a 175 year history in New Zealand.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

This study has identified and explored some of the ramifications of family myths and public ideologies around which the oral life narratives of members of the Williams family are structured. The power of family myth and the importance of the family as a mnemonic community, both identified in earlier studies, have been reaffirmed. The oral testimonies were examined in the light of Alistair Thomson's model of remembering which identifies two separate (but inseparable) processes. In the first, which he calls 'public remembering', individual experience is 'articulated through public forms and metaphors, which shape and bind' our consciousness of the experience. Public remembering is influenced by the social groups in which we live. The second is private or personal remembering and has to do with the inner stories we tell ourselves and with constructing a coherent identity. According to this model we compose our memories so that they fit both the public meanings of our culture and our current identities, thus giving us a sense of composure.[1] In choosing to examine the narratives of an extended family I have asked two questions: how do family memories and myths fit this model; and in what sense are these memories composed?

Family myths arise out of family history as the beliefs that members hold about their family. Just as public legend has been shown to shape the remembering of individual experience, so this study demonstrates that family myths are also vital in shaping the narrative construction of lives of the members of that family.[2] Individuals select, combine and transform their family myths as they attempt to construct their memories and life narratives according to their various experiences and aspirations and their contemporary perceptions of themselves and the society in which they live. It is the first major study of its kind to explore family memory and myth, throwing light on the multitude of ways in which individual members of a family can create a 'usable past' out of their shared history.[3]

The cohort consisted of descendants of a missionary-settler family, the Williamses, whose history in New Zealand goes back six or seven generations to 1823. Their testimonies show that family myths are a crucial element in the construction of life

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[1] Alistair Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne, 1994), pp. 8-10.
[2] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, pp. 8-11.
[3] Ronald J. Grele, 'Listen to their Voices: Two Case Studies in the Interpretation of Oral History Interviews', in *Envelopes of Sound: The Art of Oral History*, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged (New York, 1991), p. 236.

narrative. The myths of the Williamses are those associated with landownership and class arising mainly from the family's settler past, and the myths of religion and the family's special relationship with Maori, arising largely from their missionary past. Based on interviews with 52 members of the family from a wide variety of backgrounds, the study has investigated the narrative interplay of these four aspects of family myth, as well as their interaction with other cultural myths and public ideologies.

Myths associated with the ownership of large landholdings were gendered stories. Men's narratives were characterised by recitals of genealogy and inheritance, by concern with the duty of maintaining the land in family ownership and by notions of the community responsibilities of the larger landowner. Because most women leave the family land, their stories tended to focus nostalgically on childhood years, the security of homestead and the freedom of the outdoors. For both, family land is the symbol of belonging, of being rooted both in time and place. In some instances local indigenous knowledge was enlisted to augment these claims. Emotions evoked in tales of the loss of family land emphasise its significance. However, myths of dubious acquisition of land by some of the Williamses still endure, making some narrators defensive and uneasy.

Closely related to myths of land were those of class. Both included the motifs of genealogy and community responsibility. However, narratives constructed around myths of class also addressed education, social life, servants and status. The last was most often represented by homestead, although in one notable example by cars. Most of the Williamses view their family as having been part of New Zealand's 'upper class', a belief which conflicts with the widespread myth of egalitarianism to which many also subscribe. Several therefore claim to have rejected the gentrified background of the family, while in other narratives the complex interplay of conflicting or changing myths may result in reflections on the meaning of refinement, and in uncertain narrative identities.

Narratives based on myths of religion were complicated both by changing beliefs within society, and by the dual nature of the family's religious background, as bishops of the Church of England and as Dissenters, opposed to hierarchy and empty ritual.

Among the cohort religious belief of almost every shade could be seen as deriving from either conformity or resistance to these ancestral images, evidence of the multiplicity of meanings that may arise from family myths. The sense of following in the ancestral footsteps or putting on the family 'mantle' was strongest in the narratives of those who claimed to have a 'social conscience' or working in some way with Maori. Some of these narrators spoke of their 'missionary zeal'. In addition the myth of the spiritual journey of the Christian threads its way through some narratives, giving meaning to events which appear to parallel not only the life of Christ, but also those of certain ancestors, especially Henry. Such 'reincarnation' produces a sense of the timeless, the eternal, within narratives which in other respects espouse a teleological perspective.

The myth of the special relationship with Maori was shown to have particular resonance in the present, both because of the political emphasis on biculturalism, and as a means of enhancing the Williamses' own 'indigenous' status. Friendship with or understanding of Maori, the ability to speak their language, partnership under the Treaty and even the continuation of the missionary endeavour in modern forms were motifs of these narratives. The mutuality of the relationship was emphasized when claims to sympathize with Maori were complemented by stories of endorsement of the Williams family by 'traditional' and 'well brought up' Maori. As indicated above, all these claims were intensified in some narratives by their association with family myths of religion. The story of the hei tiki given to Henry Williams was a powerful claim to belonging and to indigeneity in one or two narratives.

There is thus a multiplicity of family myths on which members of the Williams family may call in the construction of their narratives, selecting those most appropriate for their purposes. Narrators raised close to the extended family tended to employ family myths more than those raised elsewhere, and a number of circumstances appear to determine which particular family myths are chosen by an individual in the construction of his or her life narrative. For instance, those raised in the orbit of Te Aute appear strongly influenced by the myths of religion and the relationship with Maori in particular, even in cases where they reject some of the values expressed in these myths. On the other hand, for cousins of the 'Te Aute lot' who were raised at Bishop's Court, Christchurch, the myths of religion remain important in shaping

narrative while those of the relationship with Maori are markedly diminished. Furthermore, in the Hutton family, which appears to have lost contact about three generations ago with most of the Williamses, family myths seem to be attenuated to their essence. Not surprisingly they mainly refer to the first missionary generation of the family – Henry Williams as naval officer, his involvement in the Treaty, the Williams Maori dictionary – and appear to include none of the detailed and richly nuanced versions of many other narratives.

There also appear to be regional variations of family myths. Different branches of the Williams family settled and farmed in different parts of the country, and consequently each has a slightly different history. While carrying with them the shared history and mythology of the missionary generation, each grouping has also developed its own regionally specific variants of family myth and history in response to local events and conditions. The themes, however, remain fairly constant. For instance, the vexed question of Williams land acquisition is answered in Northland by the 1840s commission of investigation, on the East Coast by Apirana Ngata's defence of the Williamses in Parliament and at Te Aute by the findings of the several Commissions of Inquiry, while in the Wairarapa it does not appear to be a concern at all. The regional family groupings also developed particular interests, activities and life-styles, which appear to have resulted in subtle differences in values among those brought up in these family 'hatcheries'.[4] Such differences are more a question of emphasis, of degree rather than of kind. In the Wairarapa class, refinement and dynasty seem to be important matters, on the East Coast land development is important and the rugged independence of the pioneer is valued, while those from Te Aute emphasise the work with Maori and the Church, and make a claim to simplicity of life-style. There thus appears to be a positive correlation between the variant of myth used and either the geographic location of the narrator's upbringing, or the specific history of the family branch to which he or she belonged. However, there were also some notable exceptions to this, and these will be addressed shortly.

Personal experience also appears to remain an important determinant in the choice of myths. Generally farmers use landowner myths, society women use the myths of

[4] The expression 'Williams family hatcheries' was used by Peter Sykes, 11 February 2000, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 2 side A 5.8.

class, clergy those of religion. When alternative narrative frameworks take precedence over family myths, they too can be seen to be driven by powerful imperatives of experience. For instance, the childhood experience of family break-up and welfare care is the key to one woman's narrative of happy families, and her identity as devoted wife and mother. Likewise, not the Williams myths but his mother's admonition 'There's no such word as can't', together with the climactic experience of escape from a POW camp, are the imperatives behind an epic narrative of adventuring told by one retired farmer.[5] But there is a reciprocity lying at the centre of this choice. Just as personal experience influences the choice of myth in the construction of narrative, so the myth influences the interpretation of experience and the behaviour. Hence the retired farmer in his first 'run' through his life narrative speaks very little of either his experience as a POW or his years on the land, emphasizing instead the adventure of a backblocks childhood and life in retirement climbing mountains and sailing oceans. Not until this is complete and he returns to tell in considerable detail the story of his escape and eventual recapture, does the imperative of experience behind his narrative become clear. It is this episode in his life which shapes his perceptions of himself in childhood and in retirement, as a man of action and daring refusing simply to accept his fate either as captive of war or of the drudgery of life.

We now return to the exceptions mentioned above, which include Sarah Williams, Rob Reed and Karl Hutton. Sarah is a member of the Wairarapa branch of the family. While her narrative is certainly concerned with class as might be expected, it is mainly constructed around the myth of the relationship with Maori, a choice which appears to arise out of her rich experience of cultural difference, both abroad and in New Zealand, among various religious, class and other social groupings. Similar experiences may have influenced Rob Reed's narrative. Despite having grown up among the East Coast Williamses and gone to boarding school with them, Rob claims to have had almost no contact with or knowledge of the family and its history. As an adult he lived for some years in East Africa and the Pacific. Now living in Paihia, he is a waka tutor, a student of taiaha and a member of the local marae committee. He sees himself being drawn in to the world of Maori and the world of his ancestors in an

[5] See Alessandro Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany, New York, 1990), p. 53.

almost mystical way. However, rather than the family it is Maori who, recognizing his connection to 'Karuwha', affirm him in this process. Karl also grew up having little contact with the Williams family, but through his experience in the navy as a Maori and an officer, responsible for both the bicultural programme at the naval base and for the organization of Waitangi Day commemorations, he now sees himself as truly bicultural and the embodiment of the relationship between Maori and the Williams family. Thus despite their different backgrounds all three narrators return to this core myth of the special relationship between the Williams and Maori, influenced by their personal experiences of cultural difference, and also by a public ideology of biculturalism.

The extensive use of family myths in the construction of life narratives shows the Williams family to be a mnemonic community or communities, similar to those described by Maurice Halbwachs and Eviatar Zerubavel, collectively creating and transmitting their family memories.[6] They have done this in a number of ways, some of which are quite deliberate and organized. For instance, most of the books about members of the family are written, commissioned or contributed to by members of the family. Prior to the commissioning of the first edition of the family genealogy with its extensive notes on the lives of family members, *Faith and Farming* (1992), several of the Williamses had maintained records for a family tree, as is evident from the oral testimony. Also there have been a number of major reunions such as those of 1998 and 1973, called to commemorate and celebrate the family's arrival in New Zealand and the work they have done since. Events at these reunions have included re-enactments of the landing, memorial services, formal and informal discussions on family past and present and visits to family historic sites, while the link to Maori has been embodied in the presence of Maori clergy. Reunions have also been opportunities to inform family members of their history through the sale of books and videos. That these gatherings have had their influence is attested to by Peter Sykes and Anne Seymour among others.

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[6] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, translated from the French by Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter, with an introduction by Mary Douglas (New York and Toronto, 1980), pp. 22-49. First published in French in 1950. Also Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago and London, 2003), p. 4.

Family memories are also created and passed on in the building and maintenance of country churches, sometimes memorializing members of the family, and in the history and traditions of care that surround them. Elisabeth Ludbrook's enthusiasm for a memorial museum at Paihia and the family support she has received for this are evidence of the desire by a number of the family to continue this kind of process. Above all the work of family trusts, especially the Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust, have contributed to this process with regular gatherings of family members who are focused on matters – the Church, education and the well-being of Maori – that have concerned the Williamses at least since their arrival in New Zealand over 175 years ago,.

It is clear from the oral testimony that the family also collectively creates and transmits memories in a number of more informal situations. This occurs for instance during the holiday 'pilgrimages' that some families have made with their children to the historic sites at Paihia, Waimate, Pakaraka and elsewhere. Family stories, traditions and attitudes are also passed on at smaller family gatherings such as baptisms and funerals, during beach or farm holidays, or simply around the family dinner table, fireside or tennis court; they are passed on in the family expectations which parents place upon their children; they are transmitted with the memorabilia and their associated stories which pass from generation to generation, in the form, for instance, of the 'missionary box', old copies of the Williams Maori dictionary or portraits of ancestors and of Tohitapu. They also adhere in epistemologies of homestead and station.

It is not only the content of these collective memories that we learn from the family, but the appropriate 'mental schemata' including myths, which shape the way we remember and narrate the past and influence the way we think and act in the present.[7] Thus we learn not just of the deeds of our ancestors, but we learn to be proud of what they did, to honour them by the way we live our own lives and defend them against criticism; or alternatively, to be embarrassed by or even ashamed of their actions and driven to live them down in some way.

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[7] Zerubavel, pp. 4-5.

This study shows that family myths are fundamental in the construction of memory and life narrative. There exists a continuum of possibilities. At one end, a narrative may carry mere traces of the myths of a particular family, so that without knowing something of that family's history the significance of certain comments and viewpoints may not be fully appreciated by the listener. At the other end of the continuum, family myths may be a powerful means of interpreting life experience and unifying and shaping narrative. The narrative may also be constructed so as to conform to or resist particular family myths.

The Williamses are a relatively privileged family, most of whom have a sense of their family's place in New Zealand history, and may indeed be what Peter Sykes terms a 'grandiose story-telling family'.[8] However, it seems probable that less privileged families also transmit from generation to generation the stories of events and people that make up their history, the myths which shape their memories. To confirm and elaborate these findings will require further studies involving different kinds of families and specifically taking into account the influence of family myths and their interactions with other more public meanings of culture.

The importance of family myth in the construction of memory has implications for Thomson's theory of remembering. He suggests that narrative is constructed both from both the public meanings of culture and from private, personal beliefs about the past and present.[9] Family myths offer important additional interpretive categories within which individuals are able to locate their own experience. They extend the range of possibilities beyond those of the public arena, and at the same time add extra burdens to the construction of individual narratives. Oral historians need to specifically take into account the influence of the family and its myths as well as the 'public languages and meanings of our culture', and to consider the interactions between them.[10]

Secondly the study raises questions about the concept of composure. Thomson uses the term 'composure' in two senses. The first sense relates to process; we can be said

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[8] Peter Sykes 1A 7.0.
[9] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, pp. 8-10.
[10] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, p. 8.

to compose or construct memories. The second sense relates to product; the memories we construct 'give us a feeling of composure' and help us achieve a coherent identity.[11] He suggests, however, that: 'Our attempts at composure are often not entirely successful and we are left with unresolved tension and fragmented, contradictory identities.'[12] The evidence from the present study confirms this, for while composure in the first sense is certainly part of the process of memory-making, in the second sense, as product, it is never achieved. For instance, some narrators remain anxious and defensive about the means by which the family obtained and retained land, and about the amount they owned; others are conflicted and uncertain about class issues or religious beliefs and what they consider to be the programming or indoctrination they received as children; still others are proud of Henry's role in the Treaty but sometimes critical of the Treaty's influence in modern politics and, indeed, of its impact in their own lives; they may be proud of the family friendship with Maori but upset at the failure of some Maori to recognise or appreciate this relationship; or they may be torn between their loyalty to Maori and their loyalty to the family. The cohort has produced a collection of unsettled narratives, and there appear to be a number of reasons why this is so.

Firstly, most oral narratives are composed around more than one mythical or ideological framework.[13] In this study there is considerable interplay within particular narratives between the different aspects of the Williams family myths of land, class, religion and the relationship with Maori. While one or other of the four may dominate any particular narrative, there is in almost every case some degree of overlap. For instance, myths of land ownership may overlap with those of the relationship with Maori, or those of religion overlap with those of class. At the same time, as already indicated, these myths also interact with others unrelated to the Williams family. Myths of religion, the public ideologies of egalitarianism and biculturalism, and general cultural myths such as those of the rebel woman, the self-made man, or the preacher's kid, are all found in the testimonies of the Williams

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[11] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, p. 8.
[12] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, p. 10.
[13] Marie-Francoise Chanfrault-Duchet, 'Narrative Structure, Social Models and Symbolic Representation in the Life Story', in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* edited by Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York and London, 1991), p. 81-2; also Jane Moodie, 'Pioneers and Helpmates: Composure and gender identity in the oral narratives of men and women in the Waikite Valley' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1998), p. 97.

cohort, intersecting with family myths. Composing a narrative is thus a challenging task, which involves negotiating between the various meanings of family and other cultural myths and ideologies to create a multifaceted narrative identity.

Secondly, myths themselves are slowly shifting sands. As Thomson acknowledges: 'New experiences constantly stretch the old forms and eventually require and generate new public forms of articulation.'[14] Not only do the members of a family have somewhat different understandings from one another based on the histories of the various parts of the family from which they come, but understandings of family history and myths and of changing public ideologies are not fixed over time. For instance the centrality of land in the formation of identity diminishes as the Williamses follow the trend in becoming increasingly urbanized. Even when there is family, land and a homestead with which to maintain contact, subsequent generations of urbanites rapidly lose the vitality of that connection unless they visit often. Similarly, ideas of the responsibilities of landowners are undergoing gradual but radical change. When the country's economic development was paramount and was seen to depend on land development, JN Williams, his sons and others pioneering the land could claim without much fear of contradiction that 'any man who can make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, is a benefactor to mankind'. [15] However in today's increasingly eco-conscious society the draining of wetland, the removal of native forest, the transformation of 'wilderness' into pasture, is no longer seen as an axiomatic good.

Likewise, the Pakeha myth of good race relations was once based unquestioningly on assimilationist ideals concerning Maori, but is now gradually giving way to or contending with a bicultural ideology. In parallel with this the Williamses' long-held assumption that they have been the benefactors of Maori has been challenged in some quarters and is now perceived by some of the family in a somewhat different light. Coming to a full realization that the Williamses were not only participants but some

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[14] Thomson, *Anzac Memories*, p. 9. For articles on the changing nature of myth see Rosalind Thomas, 'Ancient Greek family tradition and democracy: From oral history to myth', pp. 203-215, and Barbara Henkes, 'Changing images of German maids in the inter-war period in the Netherlands: From trusted help to traitor in the nest', pp. 225-38, in *The Myths We Live By* edited by Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London and New York, 1990).

[15] A.B. Williams quotes this aphorism in connection with his father, J.N. Williams, in *Land of the Sunrise* (Gisborne, 1957), p. 8.

of the greatest beneficiaries in the process of colonization, which in many respects disadvantaged Maori, has been a painful transition for some of the family.

Individuals may incorporate these unstable meanings in their narratives. When HB Williams characterizes his enthusiasm for tree-planting as an issue of contention between himself and his pioneering father, it represents not only the story of a son rebelling against an over-bearing father but, simultaneously, a modification of the myth about belonging to the land, a redemptive act and, when native trees are involved, a claim to indigeneity. Today the planting of trees on the farm may be seen as a symbolic reversal of the ideal of 'breaking in' the land. Similarly, Simon Williams's anxiety about class, seen variously as the refinement and position of old landed families like the Williamses, the wealth and ostentation of the 'nouveau rich' or the ability and achievement of a meritocracy, shows how these changing meanings may all be present within one narrative, jostling for position.

In some narratives the changing models of race relations also co-exist, interacting with and modifying the family myths. While elements of the assimilationist model seem to persist in the distinction between traditional and radical Maori and their relationship with the Williams family, biculturalism is embraced in the learning of Te Reo Maori and the support for Waitangi settlements, both of which however, are seen as part of the Williams tradition. Thus the study reveals a dynamic relationship between these shifting characterizations of myths, both national and familial, called upon to construct usable narratives. Collective memory, whether of a public group or a family, can be, as Paula Hamilton points out, 'continually renegotiated across time in accordance with external circumstances and generational shifts.'[16] That is to say that collective memory and myth may gradually come to be articulated in new forms as they accommodate to the changing situations and needs experienced by successive generations. As Alessandro Portelli suggests, not only is the life story itself a 'work in progress', always 'open-ended, provisional, and partial', but the mythic meanings which they incorporate are subject to gradual metamorphosis.[17]

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[16] Paula Hamilton, 'Memory studies and cultural history', in *Cultural History in Australia*, edited by Hsu-Ming Teo and Richrad White (Sydney, 2003), p. 90.
[17] Alessandro Portelli, '"The Time of My Life": Functions of Time in Oral History' in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany, New York, 1990), pp. 60-1.

Thirdly, and complicating matters still further, the meanings of various myths intersecting in any one narrative may sometimes conflict, sometimes coalesce. As Marie-Francoise Chanfrault-Duchet has suggested, different myths operating within the one narrative will often be in tension with one another.[18] This is seen to be so in the Williams narratives. For instance, the myths of land ownership and class around which the narratives of some land-owning Williams are constructed are sometimes in tension with the pervasive New Zealand myth of the egalitarian society. Also several narrators negotiate between the myths of maintaining family tradition, whether on the land, in the Church or with respect to the requirements of class, while also telling stories of resistance to the pressures of family expectations. Narratives incorporating conflicting myths are often characterised by an ironic tone, in which the narrating self becomes distanced from the narrated self. Portelli has similarly noted that when narrators 'objectify the past self as other than the present one', irony becomes the major narrative mode as 'two different ethical (or political or religious) and narrative standards interfere and overlap, and their tension shapes the telling of the story'.[19] Occasionally the tone may even be one of anger. In all these cases there seems to be an impression of being unsettled, and a failure to achieve any sense of composure

There is an alternative *modus operandi* which has already been alluded to. Myths may also complement one another and even operate synergistically. This effect can be seen at work with respect to the myths of the Williamses' special relationship with Maori. This is a powerful myth in some of these narratives, a power which appears to derive from its ability to adapt to developments in recent decades concerning the Treaty, the Waitangi Tribunal and the ideology of biculturalism in New Zealand society.[20] Under these circumstance the myth draws strength from the family belief

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[18] Chanfrault-Duchet, p. 82, 87-9.

[19] Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, p. 53.

[20] For a review of these changes since the 1970s see James Belich, *Paradise Reforged. A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland, 2001), pp. 475-80. For a discussion of changing Pakeha perceptions of Maori see James Belich, 'Myth, Race and Identity in New Zealand', in *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, 1 (April, 1997), pp. 9-22. See also Angela Ballara *Proud to be White? A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand* (Auckland 1986). There is, however, a world of difference between the current bicultural ideology of race relations and the actual historical relationship between the family and Maori, as it is indicated by the typically nineteenth century Eurocentric and paternalistic attitudes recorded in missionary journals. For example see *The Turanga Journals 1840-1850: Letters and Journals of Williams and Jane Williams Missionaries to Poverty Bay*, edited by Frances Porter (Wellington, 1974), pp. 99, 110. Jane Williams refers to her Maori household helpers as

that Henry Williams, as one of the main participants in negotiating the Treaty, did his utmost to ensure the best possible deal for Maori, and from the knowledge that in the decades that followed the Treaty, members of the family sometimes publicly pointed out ways in which government policy transgressed the Treaty or was unjust to Maori.[21] Present members of the family may envision themselves marching to the same drumbeat as their ancestors as they learn Te Reo Maori, and support bicultural initiatives and the settlement of earlier injustices. The effort of the narrator to find the 'connection between biography and history, between individual experience and the transformation of society,' which, as Portelli indicates, is the 'deep thematic focus' lying at the core of oral history, is richly rewarded in this arena.[22]

While there is undoubtedly a strong synergy between these two, the family myth and the public ideology, the search for narrative meaning should not cease at this point. There is yet more at work. In several narratives the beginning of the journey into the Maori world is given religious meaning by the use of images of 'road to Damascus' experiences. These conversion experiences may also involve family concerns. For instance, despite living all her life beside Te Aute College and thinking that she understood Maori, Jean Maclean suddenly became aware, in talking to one of the Maori teachers, that all along she had never really known how Maori actually lived, in what ways their culture might differ from her own. She speaks of her eyes being opened and her mind thus free to learn. In some cases the journey is given authority and its significance continually reaffirmed by further transcendental or spiritual experiences, also involving family and/or their affirmation by Maori. Also, two of the women, Sarah Williams and Jean Maclean, have used their experience in working with Maori and the family myth as launching pads for narratives of independence from the strictures of domesticity, giving the additional edge of gender struggle to their narratives. In this process personal meaning and identity is constructed mainly

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' kuwares', or lazy ones pp. 99, 110. She finds her 'girls provokingly idle', p. 217. She also perceives Maori to be indifferent to and careless of their children, and lacking in compassion for others, pp.116, 217.

[21] See for instance, Thomas Coldham Williams, *The Manawatu Purchase Completed, or, the Treaty of Waitangi Broken* (Wellington, 1867); Octavius Hadfield, *One of England's Little Wars* (London, 1860), and *The Second Year of One of England's Little Wars* (London, 1861), a criticism by Henry Williams's son-in-law of the injustice of the war in Taranaki. Samuel Williams also addressed this question in a letter to the *New Zealand Spectator*, 6 February, 1861, cited in Sybil M. Woods, *Samuel Williams of Te Aute* (Christchurch, 1981), pp. 162, 163.

[22] Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1997) p. 6.

around the family myths, and the political and ideological modes are drawn into the personal mode of narrative.[23]

It is the congruence of all these different myths that allows these particular narrators to construct relatively satisfying narratives and coherent identities. In spite of this, not even they achieve complete composure, due in part to the dynamic and conflicting relationships between these and other myths, and the refusal of experience to sufficiently fit the myths. For instance, both Jean and Sarah, despite their strong advocacy for Maori and commitment to bicultural partnership, are anxious at times that their activities in this regard are not well-accepted by some Maori. Jean also remains conflicted about the family past, about the injustices suffered by her ancestors in defence of Maori, and about injustices suffered by Maori despite, or even because of her ancestors. Despite possible appearances to the contrary, even for these narrators composure is only partial.

The constant failure to reach composure raises questions about the utility of the term for oral historians. While it remains appropriate as a means of describing the processes of constructing memory, its use in describing the narrative product may make us forgetful of the need to continually search, as Thomson did, for the 'awkward' areas of memory and life narrative. These sites where the narrator has difficulty in finding a comfortable fit between individual memory, family myths and public meanings, are the loci where we may discover diverse, changing and conflicting myths and cultural meanings.

One further point about the Williams narratives arises from the observation that the particular narratives of Jean Maclean and Sarah Williams are also characterised by something which seems relatively rare in oral testimony, a sense of purpose and of joy, a strong orientation towards the future. Life narrative is about the past, the present and the future and, as Elizabeth Tonkin correctly emphasizes, even in Western societies it is about more than superficial events, but also addresses more profound

[23] Portelli, ' "The Time of My Life" ' in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, pp.69- 71.

change in the long term, the *longue duree.*[24] It is a search for meaning, and meaning is about belonging and ultimately about questions of immortality. Portelli reminds us that the 'act of remembering is, itself, a historical fact operating in the *longue duree* dimension,' an act which resists the forgetfulness of time and preserves the teller and her deeds from 'oblivion'.[25] Remembering is concerned with the past and the future.

The family myths of the Williams may be particularly useful in this regard, enabling the narrators to easily connect, in the personal mode, the apparently superficial *evenements* of their individual lives to transformations in the *longue duree.* For some of the family the simple knowledge that they are descended from Henry Williams, a key figure in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, whose signature is on the document sometimes referred to as New Zealand's Magna Carta, makes them feel personally part of the foundation of New Zealand as a settler society. Others emphasize that the family has been in New Zealand since before the Treaty, thus apparently set apart from other, newcomer settlers, part of an older order. For others again, the association with a particular piece of land over several generations, the myth of belonging to the land, appears to function in narrative as a way of inserting oneself into the *longue duree.* For instance, the decision to bring a particular horse to the farm results in changes to farming practice, which are seen as part of the ongoing multigenerational process of maintaining the property in family ownership. It is even suggested that the continuity of genealogical succession, the recitations associated with the landowning myth, may be the 'earthly counterpart for theological conceptions of time', part of a divine plan.[26] However, often today Williams descendants on the land sound uncertain and defensive rather than purposeful, as though they are fighting a rearguard action rather than an advance. It is now the turn of those involved in biculturalism to sound the advance.

Above all, it is the myth of the special relationship with Maori which is deployed at present to establish individuals in the *longue duree,* extending their links into the past, but also into the future. Raphael Samuel comments on the post-colonial creation of a 'whole new narrative' for Australians which incorporates a '20,000-year history of

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[24] Elizabeth Tonkin, *Narrating our pasts: The social construction of oral history* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 72-5.
[25] Portelli, ' "The Time of My Life" ', in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli*, pp.59, 73.
[26] Wallace Martin, *Recent Theories of Narrative* (Ithaca and London, 1986), p. 87.

' "dreamways" '.[27] For instance, Peter Read and others have written about belonging to 'deep time', and the attempt to overcome the sense of alienation in white settler societies. In the New Zealand context I have called this 'deep belonging'. We have seen how some of the Williamses have used the knowledge of local indigenous myth together with their special relationship to Maori to further their claims of belonging to the land. Also current ideals of partnership with Maori, the people of the land, are seen nowadays to have a long family history and, importantly, a history to which the tangata whenua themselves occasionally can be shown to testify. They are seen to have done so in the names they have bestowed, the words they have spoken and also in the action of giving to Henry Williams the hei tiki, whose associations with generations of Maori history and with Maori myth concerning the formation of Aotearoa thus become the history and myth of the Williams family. As Rob Reed insists: '[T]hat ties our family as far as I'm concerned to the very origins of Aotearoa.'[28] The attempt to claim legitimacy and to overcome alienation, to belong, is related to time. It may be seen as a particular expression of the more universal desire to embed oneself in the *longue duree* of history.

Importantly, however, these connections are not just of the past, but may involve the future evolution of New Zealand society as well. It is this future and the bicultural relationship to which some of the Williamses, including Jean and Sarah, still bring their missionary zeal. This is the source of that sense of purpose and joy which is evident in these few narratives. As individuals seek to situate themselves within long-term historical processes, they not only look to the past but project the significance of their lives and work into the future as well. To this end some of the myths of the Williamses serve a helpful purpose. Myth may also be destiny.

This study has reaffirmed earlier studies in showing family myths to be fundamental and often very powerful in shaping the way we remember individual experience and hence in the construction of life narrative. They influence not only what we remember but how we remember it, the beliefs we hold about ourselves, our families

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[27] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory. Volume !: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London and New York, 1994), p. 308.
[28] Interview with Rob Reed, 11 November 1999, interviewed by Jane Moodie, University of Waikato, Tape 1 side A 20.0.

and the world in which we live. They provide the mental frameworks with which we interpret and articulate experience. In addition this study has been able to demonstrate the multiplicity of family myths which may be available within the context of any one family, and from which narrators are able to select those myths most suited to their narrative purpose. It has also shown how narrators may combine and reshape both family and public myths, as they try to compose their memories and life narratives according to their individual experience, their perceptions of their current identities and their beliefs about the social groups to which they belong. And finally it has shown how myths may interact in narrative, conflicting or coalescing, and how in response to changing circumstances myths themselves may change over time, demanding constant adjustment in narrative. We cannot afford to ignore family myths as signposts in understanding oral history, and further studies focused on different kinds of family will be needed to confirm and extend these findings.

The centrality of family myth in the construction of memory emphasizes the importance of the family as a crucial mnemonic community through which some of our most enduring memories and beliefs about ourselves are formed. This study has explored some of the ways that collective memory is formed and passed down within the family, but there is opportunity for much more work to be done to clarify this.

The study has also scrutinized the relationship between family myths and the interpretive categories identified in Thomson's model of remembering, namely public meanings and private remembering. Family myths represent an additional interpretive category which is neglected in this model. Without necessarily embracing Halbwachs's opinion that all memory is collective, his view of individual memory as the intersection of a number of collective memories may be helpful in reformulating Thomson's model to specifically include family myth. It seems clear from Thomson's discussion of public remembering that he regards this as collective memory, formed by and in some sense expressing the identity of a particular group. Family myths too are part of a collective memory formed within specific social and cultural contexts. There are therefore a number of different collective memories which intersect and all must be taken into account. Thus, we compose our memories using both family myths and public legends to make sense of and articulate our experience in ways that also affirm our current identities.

Analysis of these testimonies has shown them to be unsettled narratives in which experience may be at variance with myths, family and public, and in which adjustments are constantly made for conflicting and changing myths. This confirms Thomson's view that narrative composure is never achieved, and suggests it may never be achievable: we may try to compose our memories, a process, but we cannot achieve composure, a product. This apparent impossibility suggests that we should reconsider the use of the word, 'composure' with its connotations of stasis, and focus more clearly on the dynamic nature of memory as a work in progress, in which even the myths around which memory is constructed are undergoing metamorphosis.

APPENDIX 1

Glossary of Maori and

New Zealand Terms

Includes lists of private schools, family farms
and trusts mentioned in the text

ahi ka – occupation rights, keeping the 'home fires burning'

Aotearoa – Maori name for New Zealand

awa – river

bad trot – a run of bad luck

backblocks – remote or outlying area

back country – remote part of a farm, or land that is far from the sea or from other means of access

Bastion Point – site of the Orakei marae of Ngati Whatua in Auckland. Became the site of Maori protest in 1977-78 when the government tried to subdivide and sell some of the land

bush sickness – disease of cattle caused by cobalt deficiency in the soil

Dalgety's – Dalgety and Company, stock and station agents

Dame Te Ata – Te Atairangikaahu, the Maori Queen since 1966

Grey, Sir George – Governor of New Zealand in 1845-53, 1861-67, Prime Minister in 1870s

haere – come, go or depart; used in welcome (haere mai), or farewell (haere ra)

haka – dance accompanied by a chant, usually associated with preparing for battle

hakari – a feast

Hau hau – a nineteenth century Maori religious sect

hei tiki – a flat grotesque figure of greenstone worn on a string around the neck

hikoi – 1975 land march from Cape Reinga in the north to Parliament in Wellington, intended as peaceful protest at the loss of Maori land over many years

homestead – house and outbuildings on a farm or property

hui – assembly or meeting

iwi – a people, the wider tribal group

jandals – simple sandals with two straps joined and fitted between two toes

jib at – to show reluctance or unwillingness

Ka kata nga puriri oTaiamai – Maori saying meaning the puriri trees of Taiamai laugh, there is good news in the north

karanga – the call of welcome onto a marae

Karuwha – 'Four eyes', the nickname given to Henry Williams because he wore very strong glasses

kaumatua – an old man or elder

kawa – protocol or ceremony

koaka – coarse mat made of flax leaves

koha – gift, offering

kuia – elderly woman

lambing beat – regular route to oversee ewes at lambing time

living in clover – living in great comfort or luxury

Mihaka, Dun – Maori activist

makutu – bewitched, a spell, an incantation to cause this

mana – authority, prestige, power

mana whenua – prestige associated with land

manuhiri – visitors, guests

marae – enclosed space in front of a meeting house, traditional meeting place

maunga – mountain

mauri – life force of people, lands, forest etc

moko – traditional tattoo on the chin

mokopuna – grandchildren, sometimes abbreviated to moko

Muldoon, Rob – Prime Minister of New Zealand 1975-84.

nga hau e wha – from the four winds, or from all corners of the country , from near and far

Ngata, Sir Apirana – Ngati Porou, 1874-1950. Illustrious Maori leader of twentieth century. First Maori to obtain a university degree, MP 1905 - 1943, Minister of Native Affairs 1928-34, noted for his Maori land-development scheme,and his work for Maori culture and education. Persuaded the Anglican Church to establish a Maori bishopric in1928

Nga Puhi – major tribe in Northland

Ngai Tahu – largest South Island tribe

Ngati Kahungungu – tribe from Wairarapa, Hawkes Bay and Wairoa areas

Ngati Porou – tribe from East Coast

Ngati Rahiri – tribe from near Bay of Islands

Ngati Whatua – tribe from Auckland area

Ngati Wiremu – the wider Williams family, Williams tribe

Orakau – site of the final battle in the Waikato between Maori and the British troops in 1864

pa – a fortified place

Pakeha – a white stranger, a person of predominantly European descent, born in New Zealand

Parihaka – site in Taranaki where non-violent resistance against government efforts to obtain land for settlement was overcome by military force in 1881. Became a focus for Maori identity and autonomy.

pataka – traditional storehouse, usually on poles raised off the ground.

pohutukawa – a mainly coastal native tree with red flowers in summer

poutini – west coast of the South Island, also the star Rigel

pou tokomanawa – the central carved pole in the meeting house

rangatira – chief or noble person

raupo – bulrush

rehab farm – rehab is short for Rehabilitation Department, set up to help servicemen returned from World War II, a rehab farm is one made available to returned serviceman as means of rehabilitation into civilian life.

reo – language or voice; Te Reo – the Maori language

rewena – bread made from potato yeast

roimata – tears

rongopai – good news, the gospel; the coming of Christianity

runanga – council or assembly

Selwyn, Bishop George Augustus – first Anglican bishop in New Zealand, arrived 1842

shepherd – farmhand in charge of mustering and general care of sheep

smoko – a short break from work, especially for morning or afternoon tea

taha Maori – Maori aspects of life

Tainui – tribe based in the Waikato

taiaha – a weapon of hard wood, about 5 feet long, having one end carved in the shape of a tongue with a face on each side and adorned with hair of feathers, the other end being a flat smooth blade about 3 inches wide.

take – [Maori] a reason or concern; topic for discussion

tangata whenua – the people of the land, can be used to include all Maori, or the people of a particular locality, the people of a particular marae

tangi – to cry; to mourn the dead

taniwha – a supernatural being, a monster

taonga – those things of value to a person or people, that have been handed down through the generations

tapu – loosely translated as 'sacred'

tauparapara – a chant to start o a speech, to alert people

te reo – the language, unless other wise specified it is taken to mean Maori language

Te Pihopitanga o Aotearoa – The [Anglican] Maori Bishopric of Aotearoa-New Zealand

Te Runanaga o te Pihopitanga o Aotearoa – Synod of the Maori Anglican Church

Te Tai Tokerau Maori Trust Board – Maori trust board of the northern regions

Te Wiremu – Maori name for Henry Williams.

tikanga – customs or cultural practices, hence tikanga Pakeha and tikanga Maori are the Pakeha and Maori way of doing things

tipuna/tupuna – ancestors

Tohitapu – a priest of Nga Puhi who held a fierce confrontation with Henry Williams

Tohunga – a priest or skilled person

Treaty of Waitangi – treaty between Maori and the British Crown, signed 1840

tucker – informal word for food

turangawaewae – standing place from where one gains the authority to belong

Tuwharetoa – tribe from central North Island

utu – revenge or pay-back, paying the price

wahi tapu – a sacred place

waiata – song; to sing

waiata-a-ringa – action song

wairua – spirit or spirituality

waka – canoe

wananga – knowledge, school

whai korero – to speak, an oration

whakapapa – genealogy; recitation of genealogy

whanau – extended family

whare – a house or building

Williams and Kettle – stock and station agents

Wrightson's – stock and station agents

Private Schools, with location and religious denomination

Boys schools

Christ's College, Christchurch - Anglican

Hereworth Preparatory School, Havelock North

Huntley Preparatory School, Marton

King's College, Auckland, Anglican

Te Aute College, Te Aute, Anglican - for Maori and Pakeha boys, started by Samuel Williams

Waihi Preparatory School, Ashburton, Anglican

Wanganui Collegiate School, Wanganui, Anglican

Girls schools

Craighead School, Timaru, Anglican

Erskine School of the Sacred Heart, Wellington, Roman Catholic

Hukarere School, Napier, Anglican – for Maori girls, started by William and Samuel Williams

Nga Tawa, Marton , Anglican

Iona College, Havelock North, Presbyterian

Queenswood School, Hastings, Rudolph Steiner

Samuel Marsden School, Wellington, Anglican

St Matthews School, Masterton, Anglican

St Mary's School, Stratford, Anglican

Woodford House, Havelock North, non-denominational

Williams family farms

Northland – Ngahaeia, Pakaraka, Pouerua, Taiamai, Tupe Tupe

East Coast – Coventry, Huiarua, Mangataikopua, Matahiia, Mangatawhiti, Puketiti, Ruangarehu, Sherwood, Tangiwai, Tuparoa, Turihaua, Waipiro

Te Aute and Hawkes Bay - Aramutu, Atua, Drumpeel, Edenham, Kahotea, Keruru, Mangakuri, Ngahere, Te Aute, Tuna nui

Wairarapa – Te Parae, Kautatane, Kumukumu, Longridge, Mamaku, Patekawa, Wiremu,

Main Family Trusts and founders

Arnold Williams and Heathcote Beale Memorial Trust (A.B.Williams)

Henry and William Williams Memorial Trust (Samuel Williams)

Williams Commemorative Trust

J. N. Williams Trust (H.B. Williams)

H.B. Williams Educational trust (H.B. Williams)

M.A.Williams Charitable Trust (Molly Williams)

Turanga Trust (H.B.Williams jr).

Turihaua Charitable Trust (H.B.Williams jr).

Eastwoodhill Trust (H.B.Williams jr.)

Frimley Foundation (Jan Williams)

Springhill Charitable Trust (Jan Williams)

Longacre Charitable trust (Jan Williams)

APPENDIX 2

Brief biographical details of

Williams interviewees

The Christian name by which the interviewee is usually known is given.

Full Christian names have been given in parentheses.

For women, maiden names are also given in parentheses.

Descendants of Henry and Marianne Williams

Armistead (Bunny), Bev (Beveley)
Descendant of Thomas Coldham Williams and Anne Beetham
b. 1936, Masterton, raised at Bideford, Wairarapa, living at Woodville
Education – local primary school, St Matthews School, Masterton
Occupation – home help and horse helper, raised children, farmer
Voluntary work – Girl Guides, School Board of Trustees

Bressolles (Hutton), Alexia
Descendant of Sarah Williams and Thomas Hutton
b. 1949, Auckland, raised in Auckland, lived in Noumea, Helensville, and now Auckland
Education – local primary schools, Northcote College
Occupation – office work, raised children, retail work

Bunny, Tom (Thomas)
Descendant of Thomas Coldham Williams and Anne Beetham
b. 1938,Masterton, raised and living at Bideford nr. Masterton
Education – local primary school, Hereworth Prep School, Wanganui Collegiate School
Occupation – farmer
Voluntary work – J.P., Chairman of Trinity Schools Trust Board, Vestryman of Anglican Church

Canning, Davis
Descendant of Marianne Williams and Christopher Davies
b. 1946, Waipawa, raised and living at 'Oakbourne', Porangahau, Hawkes Bay
Education – local primary school, Hereworth Prep School, Wanganui Collegiate School, Massey Agricultural College
Occupation – farmer, businessman
Voluntary work – Vestryman, Iona College Board, Federated Farmers, National Party, North Island Merino Association, National Merino Association, Merino NZ

Davies, Douglas
Descendant of Marianne Williams and Christopher Davies
b. 1926, Napier, raised in Dunedin, now living in Auckland
Education – Maori Hill Primary School, Dunedin, Otago Boys High School, Lincoln College
Occupation – livestock officer Fiji 1947 – 50, Farm Advisory Officer 1951-65, Chief Agronomist Kempthorne - Prosser 1965-72, Scientist DSIR Crops 1972-86, now retired
Voluntary work – Probus, President of Auckland Overlanders Travel, NZIAS

Deans, Alastair
Descendant of Thomas Coldham Williams and Anne Beetham
b. 1934, and raise in Wairarapa, farmed at Waiau, North Canterbury, now living at Amberley
Education- governess, Hereworth Prep School, Christ's College

Occupation – farmer, businessman

Dillon (Williams), Joan
Descendant of Thomas Coldham Williams and Anne Beetham
b. 1913, Masterton, lived at Blenheim, now living in Christchurch.
Education – governess, Chiltern St James, Woodford House.
Occupation – raised children, helped on farm

Falloon (Williams), Wendy
Descendant of John Williams Williams and Sarah Busby
b. 1938 Gisborne, raised nr. Wairoa and Hastings, now living nr Masterton
Education – Kaiti and Puketapu primary schools, Napier Intermediate, Woodford House
Occupation – work for NZ Wool Board doing publicity and promotion, also modelling in 1950s, Secretary for Assistant Manager, Shell, Bangkok, various jobs in London, radio announcer, Napier, raised children, established nanny agency in Wairarapa
Voluntary work – church, established a playcentre, Save the Children, oral history recording

Finlayson (Ludbrook), Patricia
Descendant of Caroline Williams and Samuel Ludbrook
b. 1931, Ohaeawai, raised at Ohaeawai, now living at PioPio, Waikato
Education – governesses, Auckland diocesan School, Whangarei Girls High School
Occupation – childcare, raised children,
Voluntary work – Anglican Church, school, playcentre, Hunt Club

Grimmond (Williams), Nicola
Descendant of Edward Marsh Williams and Jane Davis
b. 1936, Hastings, raised Otane, Hawkes Bay, now living in Dunedin (d. 2003)
Education – Otane Primary School, St Matthews School, Masterton, Auckland and Otago Universities
Occupation – Senior Lecturer in Zoology 1958-97, conflict resolution consultant/mediator 1989-98?, now retired
Voluntary work – Otago University Council and many committees, chair of University College Council, Co-ordinator of Student Services, Anglican Church vestry

Haslett (Ludbrook), Beatrice
Descendant of Caroline Williams and Samuel Ludbrook
b. 1929, Ohaeawai, raised at Ohaeawai, living in Auckland
Education – governess, Ohaeawai primary school, St Mary's, Stratford, Auckland Diocesan School, Whangarei Girls High School, Otago University
Occupation – Dietitian1951-54, GP's wife, and child-rearing
Voluntary work – PTA and school committees in Mangere East 1960s,
Vestry of Selwyn Church, Mangere East 1970s –80s, Citizens Advice Bureau Mangere 1975-85, established Wellsford CAB 1988-89, Home Science Alumni Committee 1970s – 80s, Federation of University Women – Post Grad Committee 1980s, St John's Church, Campbell Bay pastoral care team.

Hutton, Bruce
Descendant of Sarah Williams and Thomas Hutton
b. 1951, raised Martinborough, living in Paremata, Wellington
Education – Local schools
Occupation – policeman (Masterton, Waipukurau, Woodville, Otaki, Porirua), Police forensic photographer
Voluntary work – Rotoract, Masonic Lodge, Search and Rescue, Scouting, International Police Association, NZ Photgraphic Society.

Hutton, Karl
Descendant of Sarah Williams and Thomas Hutton
b. 1905, Auckland, raised and living in Auckland
Education – Otara and Birkenhead Primary Schools, Northcote Intermediate , Northcote College, Auckland Polytechnic
Occupation – engineering draughtsman, Works Officer RNZ Navy, Property Manager for Auckland Region, Ministry of Education.
Voluntary work

Hutton, Bob (Robert)
Descendant of Sarah Williams and Thomas Hutton
b. 1927 Pahiatua, raised in Pahiatua and Auckland, as adult lived in Waikato and Taranaki
Education – Pahiatua primary school and convent, Parnell School
Occupations – farm worker, slaughterman, psychiatric nurse, farmer

Ludbrook, Elisabeth
Descendant of Caroline Williams and Samuel Ludbrook
b. 1936, Ohaeawai, raised at Ohaeawai, lived in Northland, Sydney, Auckland, now living at Paihia
Education – Ohaeawai Primary, Whangarei High School, Northland College
Occupation – Farming with husband, child-rearing, portrait artist
Voluntary work – Chairperson of 1998 Williams Family Reunion Committee, now working on Paihia Museum Project

Ludbrook, Bill (William)
Descendant of Caroline Williams and Samuel Ludbrook
b. 1946, Ohaeawai, raised at Ohaeawai and Cambridge, living in Auckland
Education – primary schools at Ohaeawia and Cambridge, Northland College, Flock House
Occupation – farmer, motelier, property broker
Voluntary work – Rugby coach

Macmorran (Hadfield), Barbara
Descendant of Caroline Williams and Octavius Hadfield
b. 1923, Dannevirke, raised at Paraparaumu, lived in Wellington, now retired to Paraparaumu
Education – governess, St Matthews School, Masterton and Nga Tawa Diocesan School, Marton
Occupation – secretarial work, WAAF, raised children, Braille transcriber, wrote two books *Octavius Hadfield* (1969) and *In View of Kapiti* (1974)

Miller, Rachel
Descendant of Marianne Williams and Christopher Davies
b. 1928, Timaru, living in Auckland (d. ?)
Education – Marsden School, Art school in London
Occupation – teacher, lecturer in fine arts, Elam, artist
Voluntary work – since 1966 in charismatic renewal – vice-president of Auckland Evening Chapter 1989, Women's Aglow Fellowship, Cecilie Graham's healing/outreach team, Auckland diocesan Synod

Myers (Chapman), Judith
Descendant of Edward Marsh Williams and Jane Davis
b. 1945, Dunedin, raised in Timaru, now living in Wellington
Education – Craighead School, Timaru, nursing training at Dunedin Hospital
Occupation – nursing 1960-80
Voluntary work – care of elderly

Raine (Hawkes), Jo (Jocelyn)
Descendant of Caroline Williams and Octavius Hadfield
b. 1934 at Whangarei, d. 2003
Living at Richmond, Nelson
Education – in England during the war, then New Plymouth Girls High School
Occupation – rasing family, farming, 1986 Waimea County Council, 1989 - 2003 Nelson City Council, Deputy Mayor.
Voluntary work – assisting disadvantaged teenagers

Reed, Rob (Robin)
Descendant of Edward Marsh Williams and Jane Davis
b. 1938 Napier, raised nr, Gisborne, lived various places overseas, now living in Paihia
Education – Puketapu primary school, Norwood Prep School, Gisborne, Huntley prep School,Marton, Wanganui Collegiate School
Occupation – airline pilot England, East Africa, Polynesia, air traffic controller. 1974 returned to NZ- builder, garden maintenance, work skills tutor
Voluntary work-Opua Community Council, Queen Elizabeth National Trust, guide for Te Maori exhibition, Te Tai Tokerau Tarai Waka Komiti

Reed, Tom (Thomas)
Descendant of Thomas Coldham Williams and Anne Beetham
b. 1910, Wellington. Raised in Wellington and Kawakawa, Northland. Farmed at Kaitaia, now retired to Paihia
Education – Hereworth Prep School, Wanganui Collegiate School, Cambridge University
Occupation – farmer
Voluntary work – County Council, Mayor of Paihia, Waitangi Trust, Historic Places Trust

Robinson (Williams), Virginia
Descendant of Edward Marsh Williams and Jane Davis

b. 1923 Gisborne, raised at Muriwai, lived at Waipukurau, Hawkes Bay, now living in Keri Keri
Education – governess, Woodford House, Dunedin Physiotherapy School
Occupation- land army, physiotherapist 1948-49, raised children
Voluntary work – Red Cross since 1963, Organist and vestry member St Mary's church, Waipukurau, organist, Waimate North parish, Vestry member.

Seymour (Williams), Anne
Descendant of Edward Marsh Williams and Jane Davis
b. 1938, Waipawa, raised and farmed at Otane, now in Waipawa
Education – Otane Primary School, Iona College, Havelock North, Fine Arts School, Ilam
Occupation – nursing, raised children, farming, teaching

Sykes, Peter
Descendant of Edward Marsh Williams and Jane Davis
b. 1956, and raised nr. Masterton, now living in Mangere East
Education – local primary school, Makora College, Masterton; Auckland University, St John's Theological College
Occupation – teacher, youth worker, deacon of Anglican church since 1968, Co – Vicar of Mangere East, community worker Mangere East
Voluntary work – Anglican General Synod, Project Shelter Ltd chairperson, President of the NZ Association for the Diaconate, Co-convenorof the Auckland Diocesan Bi-cultural Committee, Chaplain and coach of Manger East Rugby League Football Club, H & W Williams Memorial Trust

Williams, Clare
Descendant of Edward Marsh Williams and Jane Davis
b. 1948, Palmerston North, raised in Borneo, Philippines, Rotorua, living in Auckland
Education – American School in Philippines, Rotorua High School
Occupation – lab technician 1967-69, police officer 1969-72, Inflight Service Director Air NZ 1977 – 2000

Williams, Keith
Descendant of Edward Marsh Williams and Jane Davis
b. 1922, Palmerston North, lived in Borneo, Philippines, Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands, now retired to Te Puke
Education – local primary school, Wanganui Collegiate School
Occupation – agricultural contractor, logging contractor, company director

Williams, Sara
Descendant of John Williams Williams and Sarah Busby
b. 1936, Auckland, raised at 'Mangatawhiti', Wairoa, now living at Wairoa
Education – Correspondence School, local primary school, Queenswood School, Hastings, Nga Tawa Diocesan School, Marton
Occupation – farmer ('Pakaraka' farm, Wairoa), breeder of Hanoverian horses
Voluntary work – tutor for Pony Club instructors

Williams, Sarah (Sarah Marianne)
Descendant of Thomas Coldham Williams and Anne Beetham

b. 1939, Wellington, raised Featherstone and Wellington, now living in Wellington
Education – Erskine Convent of the Sacred Heart, Wellington, Roehampton Convent, England, convent in Rome, Victoria University, Wellington Polytechnic
Occupation – Raised children, wife of ambassador to Japan 1971-76, translator and transcriber for Waitangi Tribunal, consultancy work.

Williams Simon
Descendant of Edward Marsh Williams and Jane Davis
b. 1945, Dunedin, raised Dunedin, Hastings, Invercargill, Christchurch, now living in Christchurch
Education – local primary schools, Southland Boys High, Canterbury University
Occupation – journalist, radio and TV journalist, TV producer, and teacher
Voluntary work – church magazine and others

Williams, Terence
Descendant of Edward Marsh Williams and Jane Davis
b. 1916, Gisborne, living in Gisborne
Education – governess, Essex House, Huntley Prep School, Christs College
Occupation – farmer at Muriwai south of Gisborne, now retired
Voluntary work – Cook County councillor 1950 – 1980s, chairman 1970-80, Eastwoodhill Arboretum Trust 1975-86.

Williams, Tom (Thomas Coldham)
Descendant of Thomas Coldham Williams and Anne Beetham
b. 1939, Masterton, raised and now living at 'Te Parae', Masterton
Education – local primary school, Hereworth Prep School, Wanganui Collegiate School
Occupation – farmer, helicopter deer recovery business
Voluntary work – County Councillor1972-84, chairman of County Council 1978-84, helped establish and was chairman of NZ Game Industry Board, chairman of Racing Industry Ministerial Inquiry, chairman of Racing Industry Board, Sport and Vintage Aviation Club, Masterton Theatre Trust

Wilson (Miller), Maryrose
Descendant of Marianne Williams and Christopher Davies
b. 1926, Timaru, raised in Wellington, lived in Wellington, Napier, and now Auckland
Education – Karori primary school, Samuel Marsden School, Canterbury University
Occupation – Actor, raised children, chaplain, social work
Voluntary work – Victoria House Student's Hostel Management Committee 1963-78, Family Life Education, Marriage Guidance, Red Cross Family Support, Wellington Anglican diocesan Commission on Mission 1975-76, Joint Working Committee of the National Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church 1975-78, St John's College Trust Board, H & W Williams Memorial Trust board, Adult Biblical Interdependent Trust Board, Auckland synod rep, counselling and spiritual direction, lay minister.

Descendants of Henry and Marianne Williams and of William and Jane Williams

Bush (Warren), Nicola
Descendant of Samuel and Mary Williams
b. 1937, Christchurch. Raised in Christchurch, now living at Parnassus, North Canterbury
Education – governess, Selwyn House, St Margarets School, Dunedin Physiotherapy School
Occupation – raised children, helped on farm, physiotherapist since1978
Voluntary work – ambulance driver, Cancer Support Group, Cheviot Plunket Society, Cheviot Pony club, Christ College Board of Governors (first woman), Anglican Church

Maclean (Williams), Jean
Descendant of Samuel and Mary Williams
b. 1926, Pukehou, raised and spent adult life at Te Aute, now retired to Havelock North
Education – governess, Woodford House
Occupation – raised children, helped on farm, librarian and teacher at Te Aute College
Voluntary work – Anglican Church, Woodford House Trust Board, Te Runanga o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, prison visiting

McBain, Hugh
Descendant of Samuel and Mary Williams
b. 1945, Newcastle, England, living at Te Aute
Education – Red House School, Wellington College (England), Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst
Occupation – British Army, farmer
Voluntary work – H & W Williams Memorial Trust Board, Waipawa vestry

Warren, Martin
Descendant of Samuel and Mary Williams
b. 1934, and raised in Christchurch, lived in Geraldine, Timaru, Christchurch, now living on Banks Peninsula
Education – Cathedral Grammar School, Waihi Prep School, Christ's College, Canterbury University, Cambridge University
Occupation – Anglican minister from 1958, retired,
Voluntary work – H & W Williams Memorial Trust

Williams, Eric
Descendant of Samuel and Mary Williams
b. 1924, Pukehou, farmed nr. Cambridge, now retired in Pirongia
Education – governess, Hereworth Prep School, Wanganui Collegiate School, Cirencester Agricultural College
Occupation – farmer, timber broker
Voluntary work – Coopworth Sheep Society, Farm Forestry Association, budget counsellor, school board

Williams, Bill (William Athol)
Descendant of Samuel and Mary Williams
b. 1928, Pukehou (Te Aute), farmed at 'Netherton', Hawkes Bay, now living in Havelock North
Education – governess, Hereworth Prep School , Wanganui Collegiate School
Occupation – farmer, ran Farm Information Centre in Hastings, now retired
Voluntary work – church as vestryman and synodsman, H & W Williams Memorial Trust Board chairman, H & W Williams Commemorative Trust

Descendants of William and Jane Williams

Burbury (Williams), Kirsty (Christine)
Descendant of William Leonard Williams and Sarah Wanklyn
b. 1928 Gisborne, raised 'Ruangarehu', Tokomaru Bay, living in Havelock North
Education – governess, Woodford House, Karitane training
Occupation – Karitane nurse, orcharding with husband, child-rearing
Voluntary work – School committees, Anglican church – vestry, Mother's Union, Family Fellowship, Missionary Guild, Waiapu House Committee, Bible in Schools , Age Concern, Association of NZ Embroiderer's Guild, foundation member and president of Hawkes Bay Embroider's Guild, embroidery tutor, secretary of Musica Viva and Community Arts Council

Payton (Williams), Megan
Descendant of William Leonard Williams and Sarah Wanklyn
b. 1944 Waipawa, raised at Omakere nr Waipawa, now living nr Masterton
Education – Omakere primary school, Woodford House, University of Otago
Occupation – dietitian 1965-81, goat farmer 1982-88, teacher 1988-98, raised children
Voluntary work – Parent-Teacher Association, Squash Club, American Field Scholarships, wardrobe for local amateur theatre

Putt (Watson), Jane
Descendant of William Leonard Williams and Sarah Wanklyn
b. 1929 Gisborne, raised nr. Gisborne, moved to Australia and now living Dangar Island, NSW
Education – governess, Woodford House, Canterbury College of University of New Zealand
Occupation – librarian, office work, raised children
Voluntary work – School organizations, SPELD, AFAISIC, National Deaf Children's Assoc (Eng), teaching special religious education since 1998

Russell, John
Descendant of James Nelson Williams and Mary-Margaret Beetham
b. 1938, Hastings. Raised at 'Tuna Nui', Hawkes Bay, and Bulls, now living at 'Tuna nui'
Education – governess, Bulls primary school, Hereworth Prep School, Christs College, Cirencester Agricultural College, England
Occupation – farmer, director of NZ Aerial Mapping, chairman of Mt Vernon Farms, Wanganui 1974-84

Voluntary work – Hereworth School Board 1985-98

Tylee (Nelson), Jane
Descendant of James Nelson Williams and Mary-Margaret Beetham
b. 1936, Hastings, raised and living nr. Hastings
Education – correspondence school, Queenswood School, Woodford House
Occupation – raised children,
Voluntary work – Red Cross, church organist, Budgeting Service

Williams, Allen (Allen Craig)
Descendant of William Leonard Williams and Sarah Wanklyn
b. 1915 Napier, raised in Napier, now living in Auckland
Educated – Huntley Prep school, Hereworth Prep School, Christ's College, College of Aeronautical Engineering , England
Occupation – aircraft engineer, chief engine inspector and chief maintenance engineer for Tasman Empire Airways, later Air NZ, from 1961 businessman. Now retired.
Fellow of the Royal Aeronautical Society

Williams, Gary
Descendant of William Leonard Williams and Sarah Wanklyn
b. 1947, Napier (adopted), raised and living nr Taradale
Education – Tardale primary school, Hereworth Prep School, Wanganui Collegiate School
Occupation – Farmer/forester and company manager
Voluntary work – Farm Forestry Association, Search and Rescue

Williams, Gerald
Descendant of William Leonard Williams and Sarah Wanklyn
b. 1915 Waipare, living in Taupo
Education – Governess, Hereworth?, Christ's College
Occupation –farmer at Takapau after war, retired 1973 to manage national park lodges
Voluntary work- Birthright

Williams, HB (Heathcote Beetham)
Descendant of James Nelson Williams and Mary-Margaret Beetham
b. 1922 Gisborne, raised and living at 'Turihaua', Gisborne. d. 2003
Education – governess, Hereworth Prep School, Christ's College
Occupation – farmer (retired), director of Gisborne Sheepfarmers Mercantile Co Ltd, Gisborne Sheepfarmers Freezing Co Ltd, Crown Consolidated, Dalgety Crown, Wanganui Woollen Mills Ltd, Ormond Motors, Kerridge Corporation.
Voluntary work – Gisborne Harbour Board, Turihaua Charitable Trust, Turanga Charitable Trust, Eastwoodhill Arboretum Trust, H.B. Williams Trust and others

Williams, Sheila
Descendant of William Leonard Williams and Sarah Wanklyn
b. 1939 Wanganui, raised Wanganui, Marton, Wellington, now living in Wellington
Education – St Stephens Primary School, Marton, Nga Tawa School, Victoria University

Occupation – librarian at Alexander Turnbull Library 1961-79, National Library 1979-90, Correspondence School, Victoria University Library; Assistant Editor *NZ National Bibliography,* Fellow of the NZ Library Association 1985
Voluntary work – Secretary of NZ Library Association 1975-82

Williams, Priscilla
Descendant of William Leonard Williams and Sarah Wanklyn
b. 1940 Wanganui, raised in Wanganui, Marton, Wellington, living in Sydney
Education – St Stephens Primary School, Marton, Nga Tawa School, Victoria University
Occupation – Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1961, diplomatic postings include UN, Thailand, India.

Williams, Virginia
Descendant of James Nelson Williams and Mary-Margaret Beetham
b. 1949 Hastings, raised at Elsthorpe, HB, now living in Auckland
Education – Queenswood, Nga Tawa School, Massey University, Victoria University
Occupation – veterinarian, tutor and lecturer, child-rearing
Voluntary work – Auckland University Animal Ethics Committee 1997

Williams, Bill (William Rolleston Standish)
Descendant of William Leonard Williams and Sarah Wanklyn
b. 1947 Hastings, raised at Takapau, Hawkes Bay, now living in Auckland
Education – Takapau Primary School, Hereworth School, Christ's College; Victoria University, Canterbury University
Occupation – law 1969 – 70, journalist 1971 – 76, editor 1976 – 87, Information and Public Affairs Officer, University of Auckland 1987-

APPENDIX 3

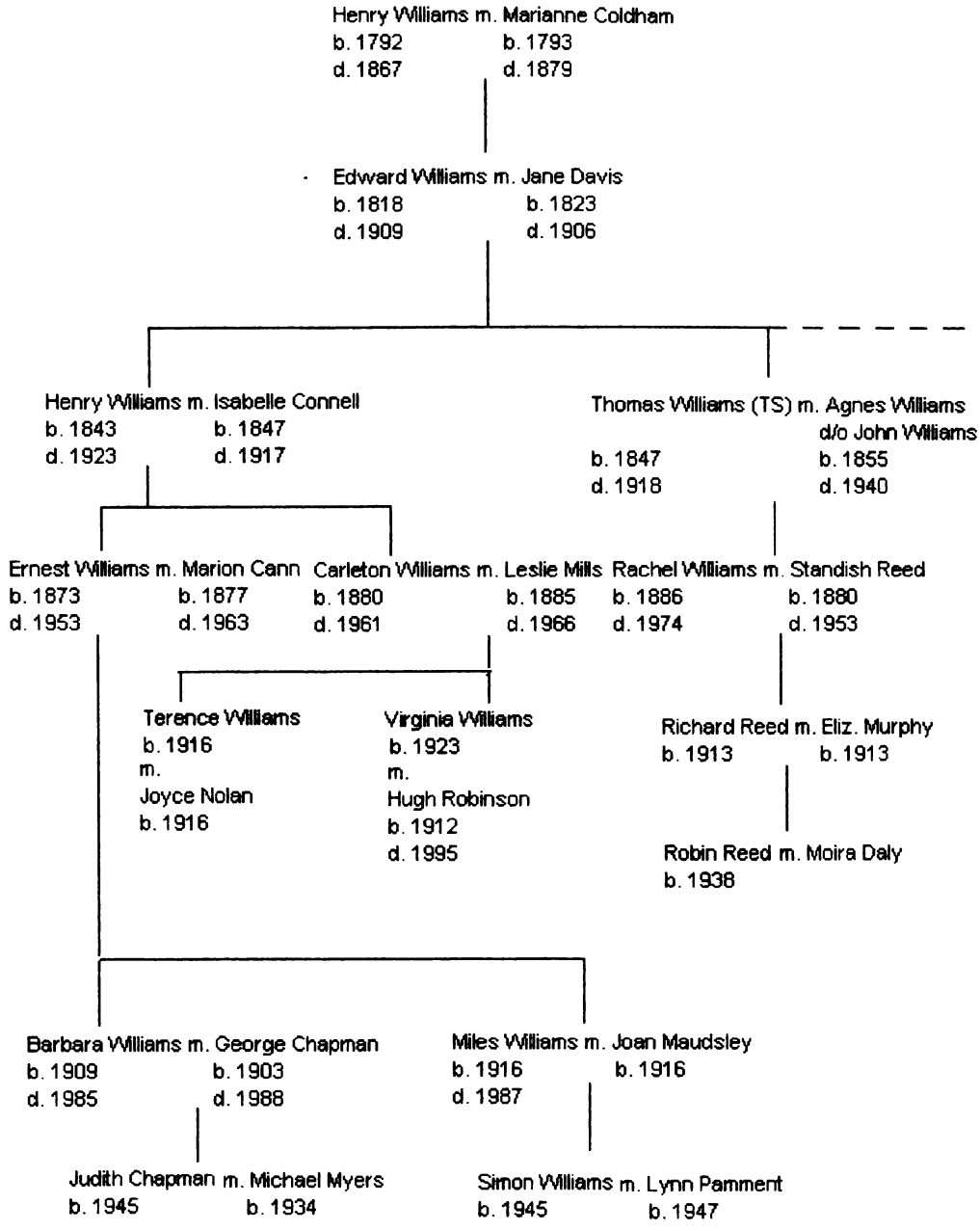
The Williams family tree

Lines of descent of interviewees

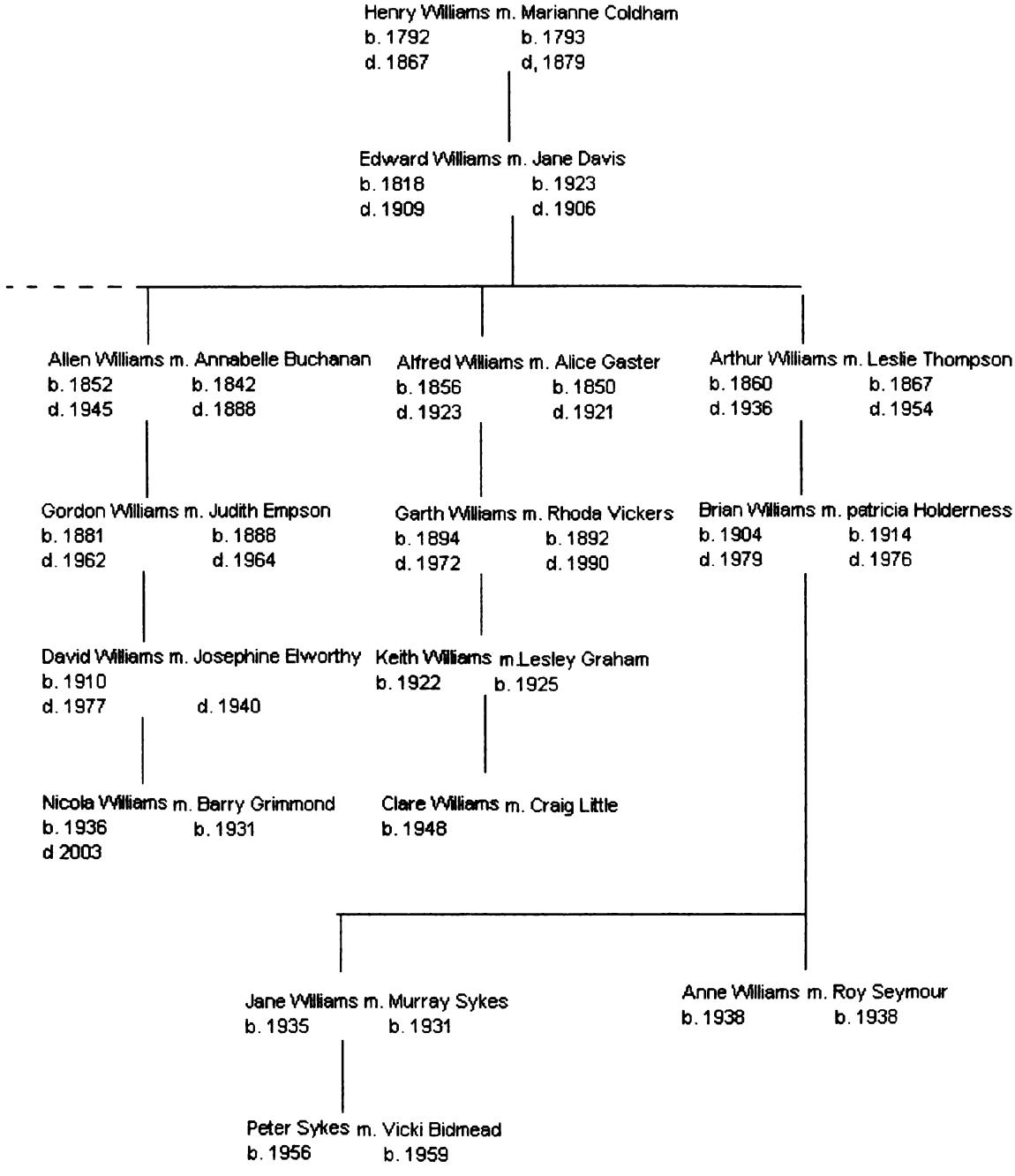
Organised according to family branch,
namely, the descendants of the children of Henry and Marianne Williams
(Edward, Marianne, Samuel, Thomas, John, Sarah, Catherine and Caroline)
and descendants of the children of William and Jane Williams
(Leonard, James and Emma. Mary's descendants are listed under Samuel)

Interviewees (and the interviewer) are indicated in red.
This is not a full Williams family tree.
Lines of descent of the interviewees only are shown.

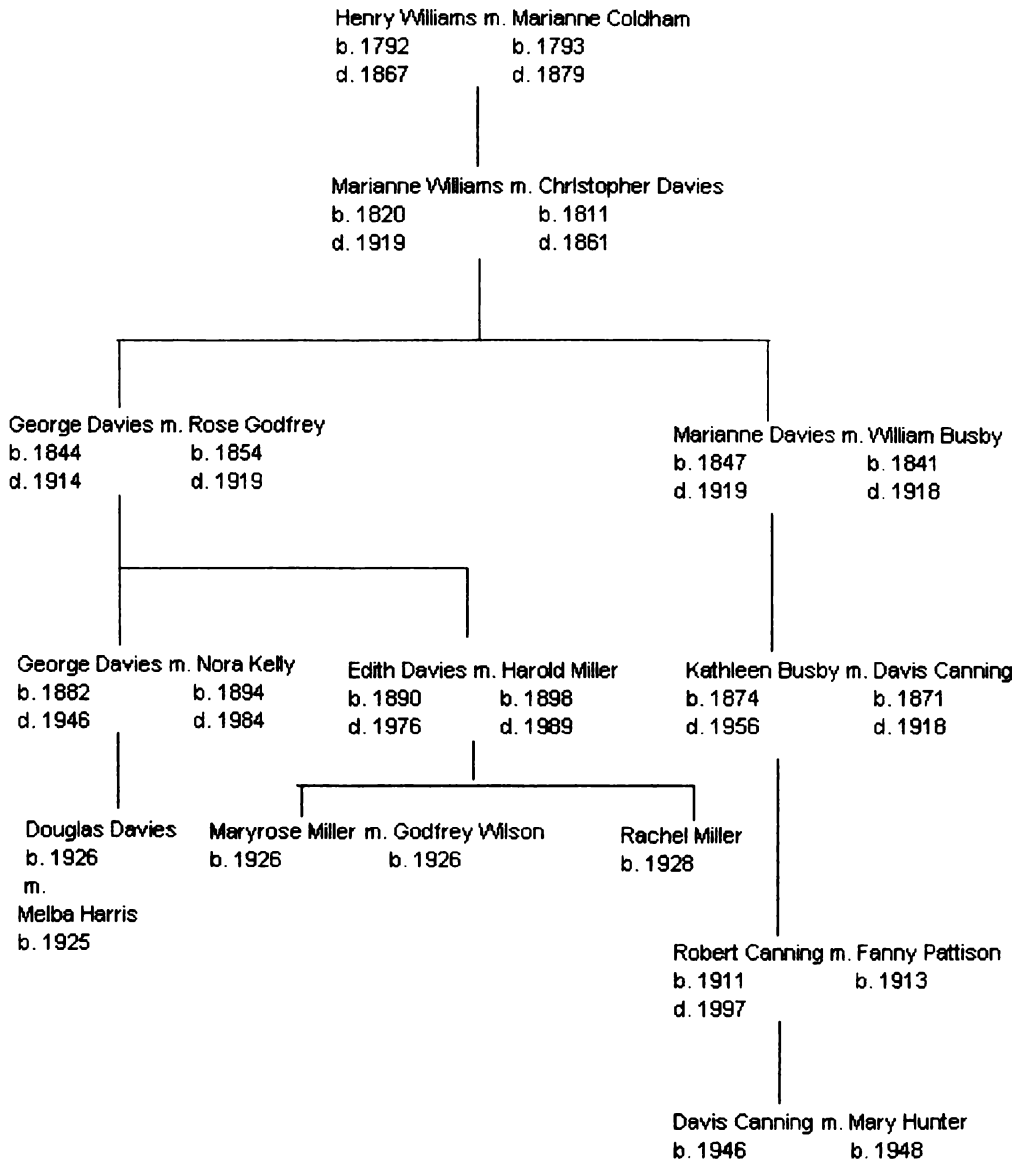
Descendants of Edward Williams 1



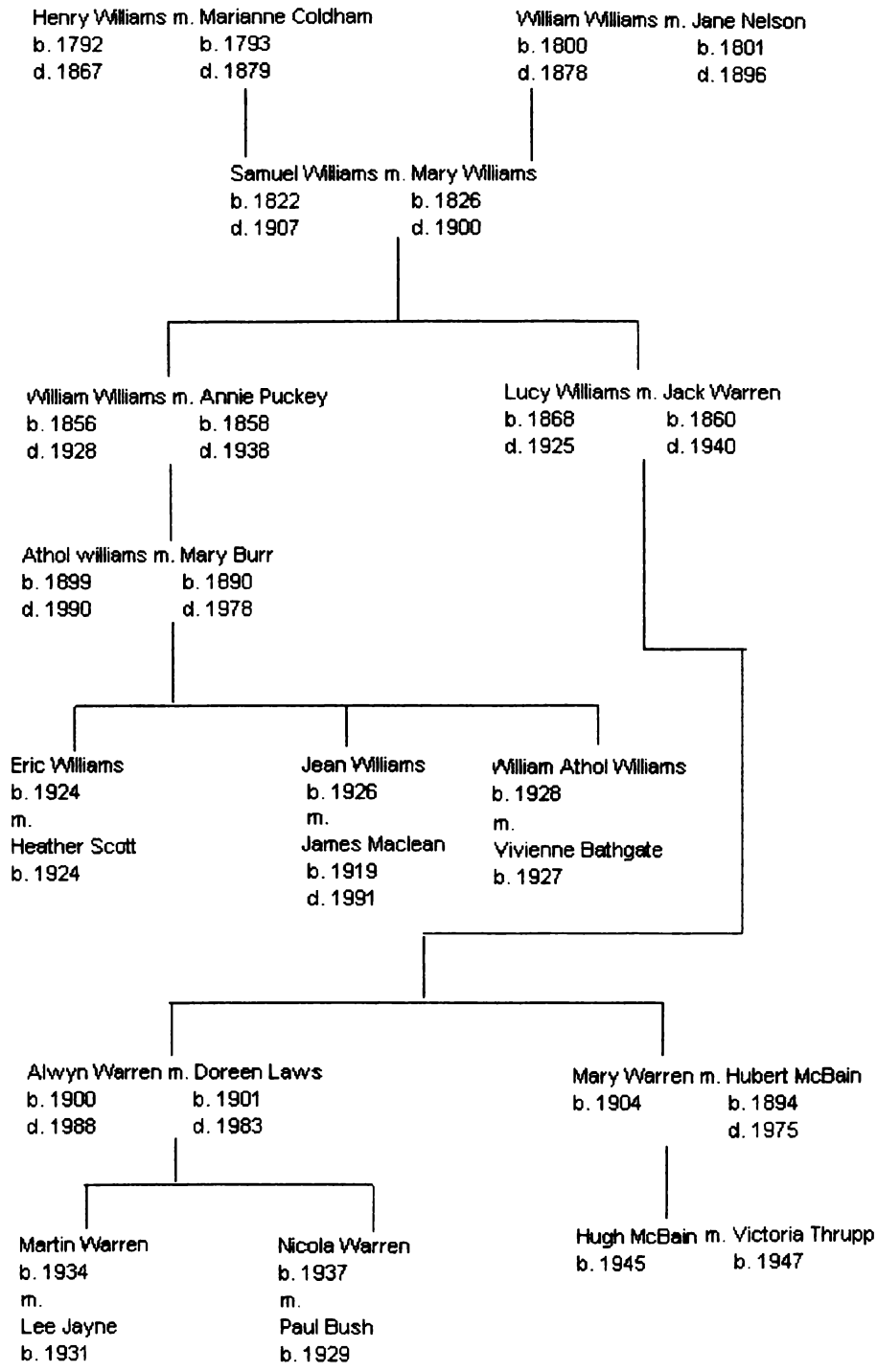
Descendants of Edward Williams 2



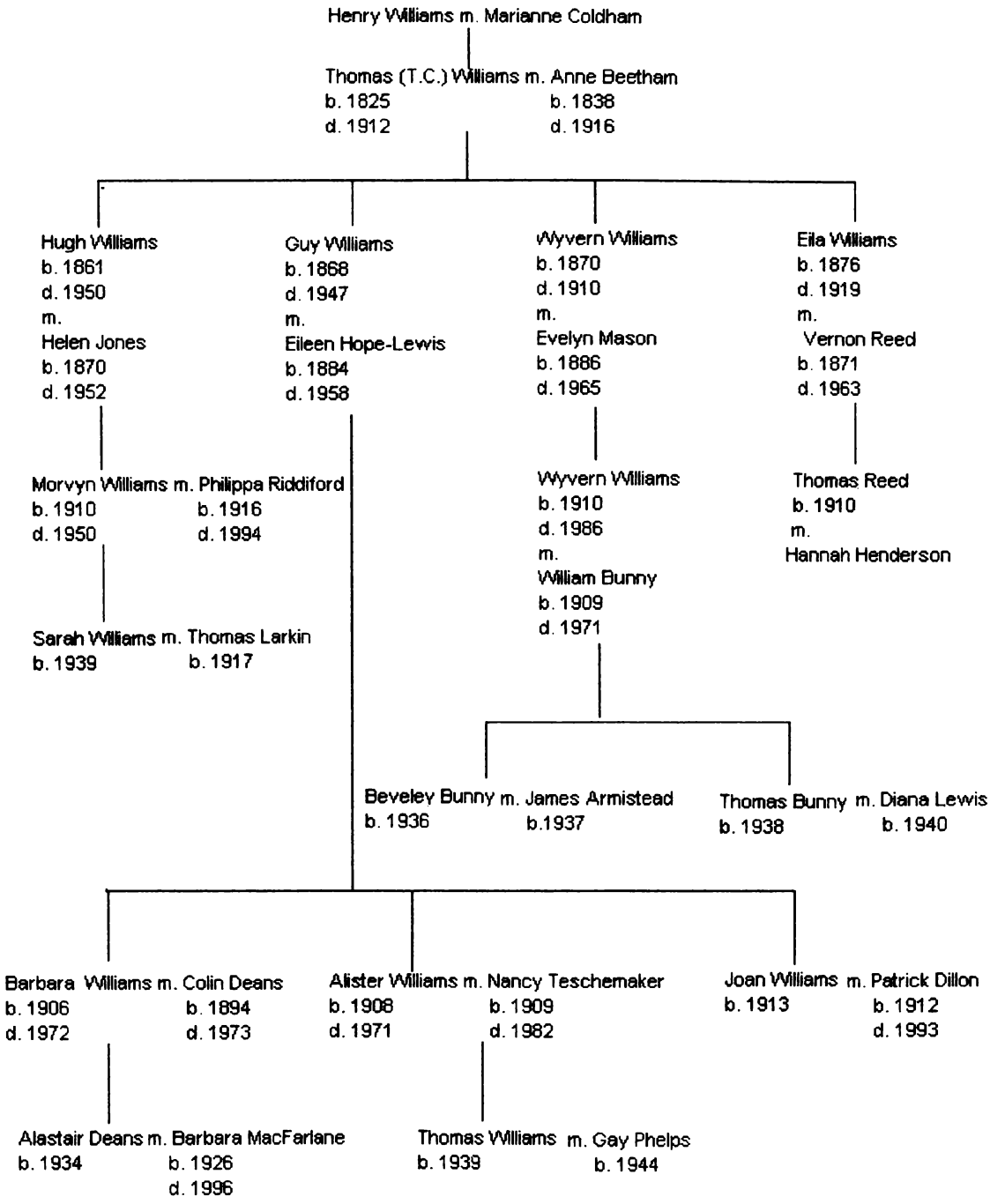
Descendants of Marianne Williams (Davies)



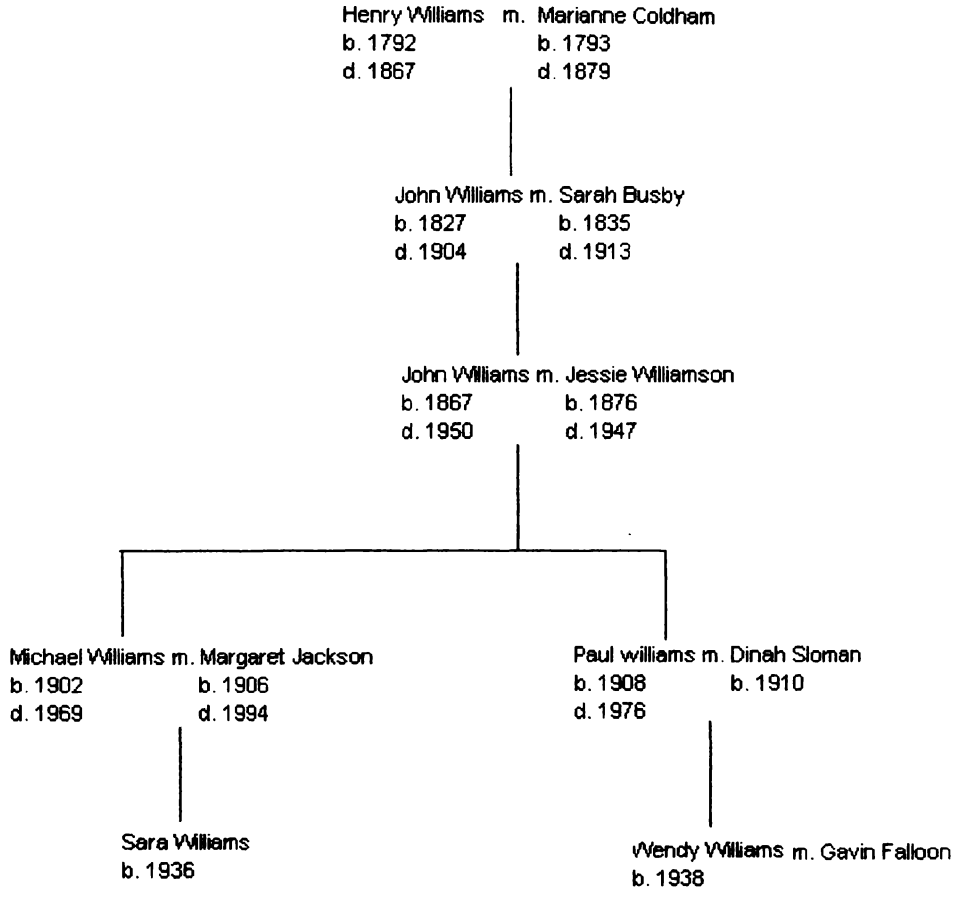
Descendants of Samuel and Mary Williams



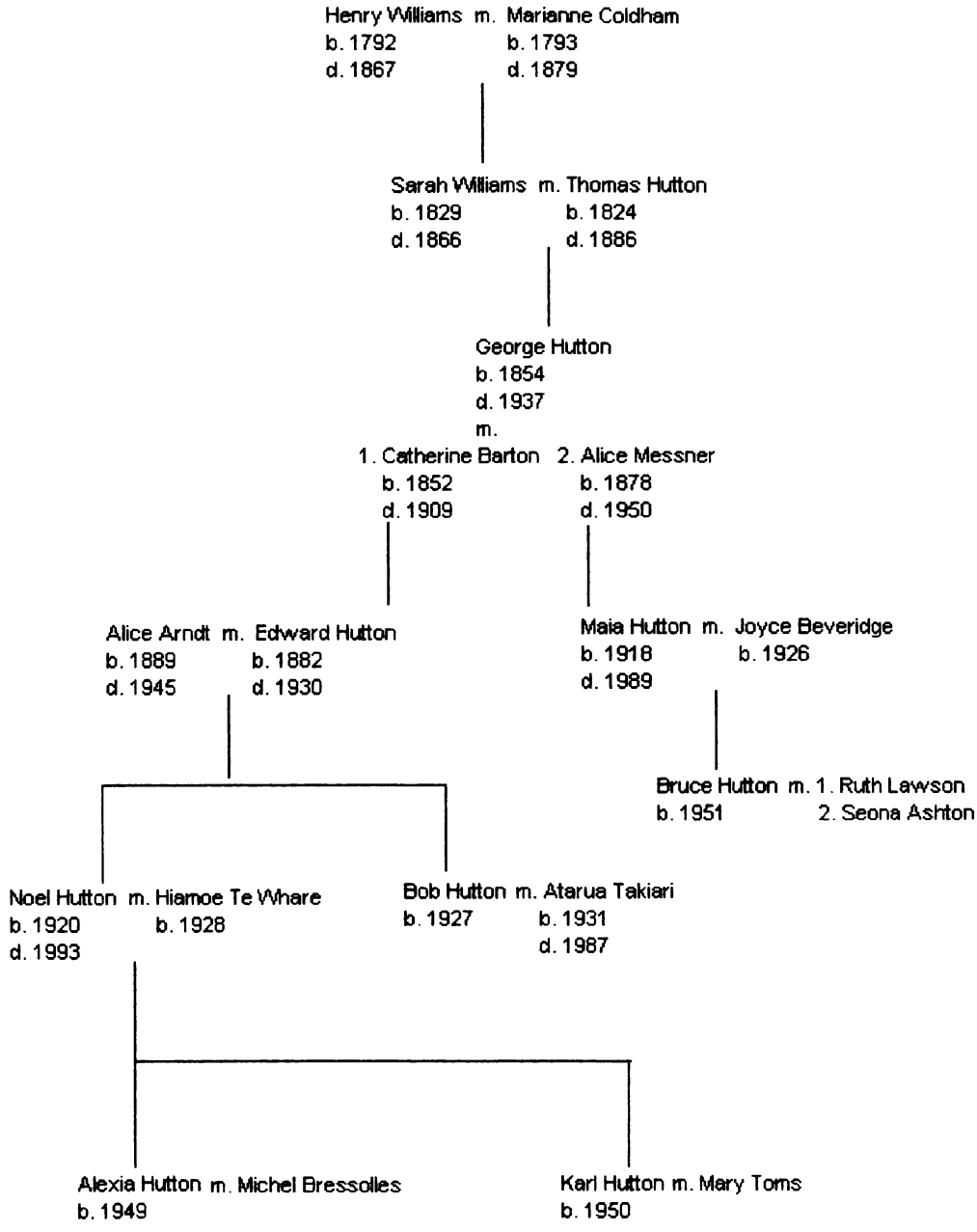
Descendants of Thomas (TC) Williams



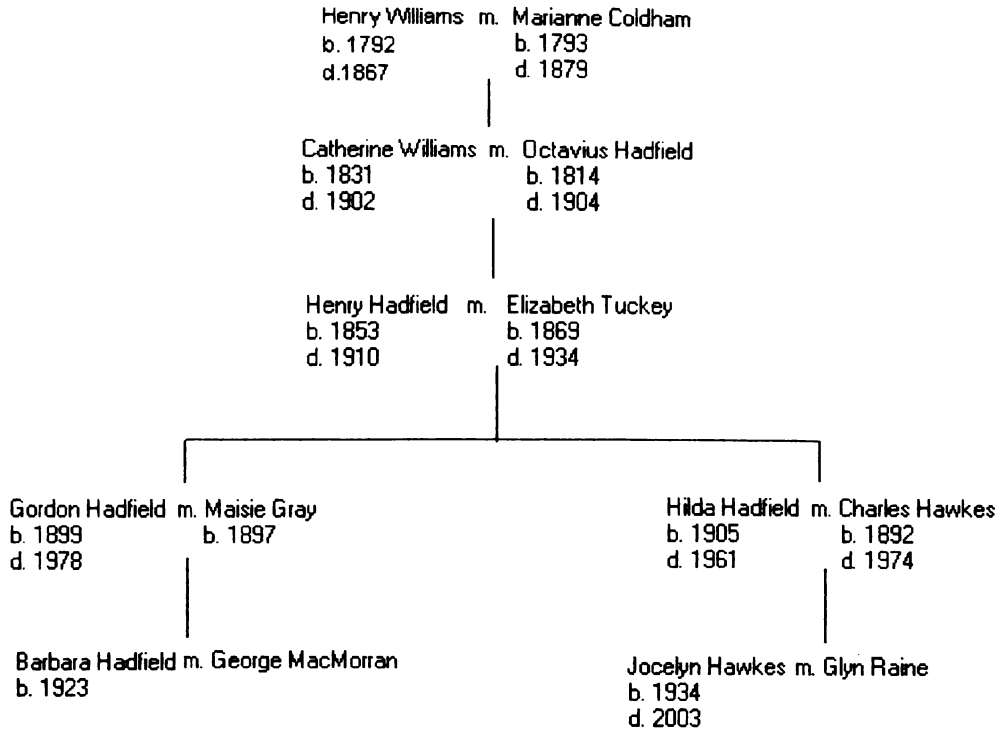
Descendants of John Williams



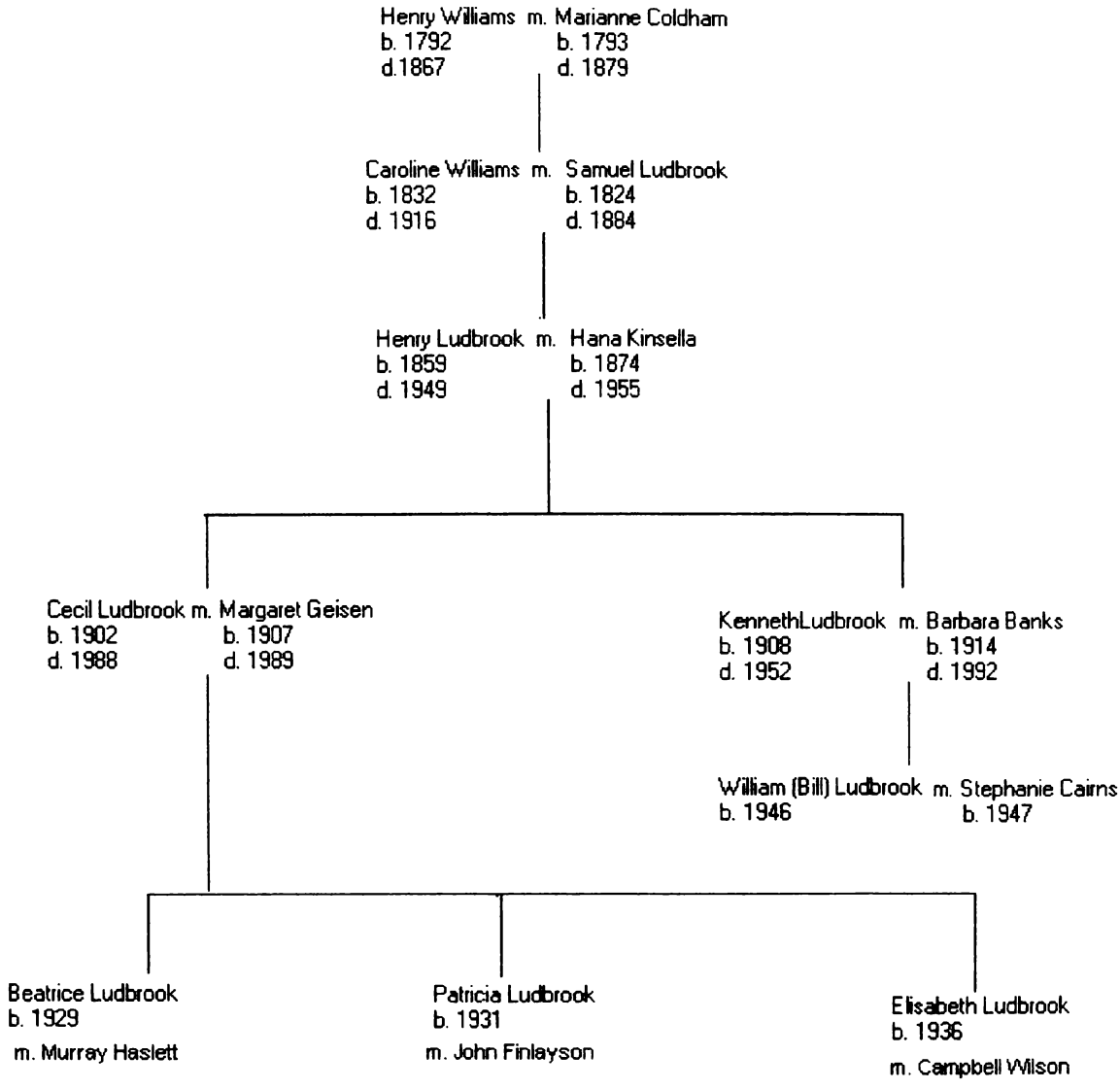
Descendants of Sarah Williams (Hutton)



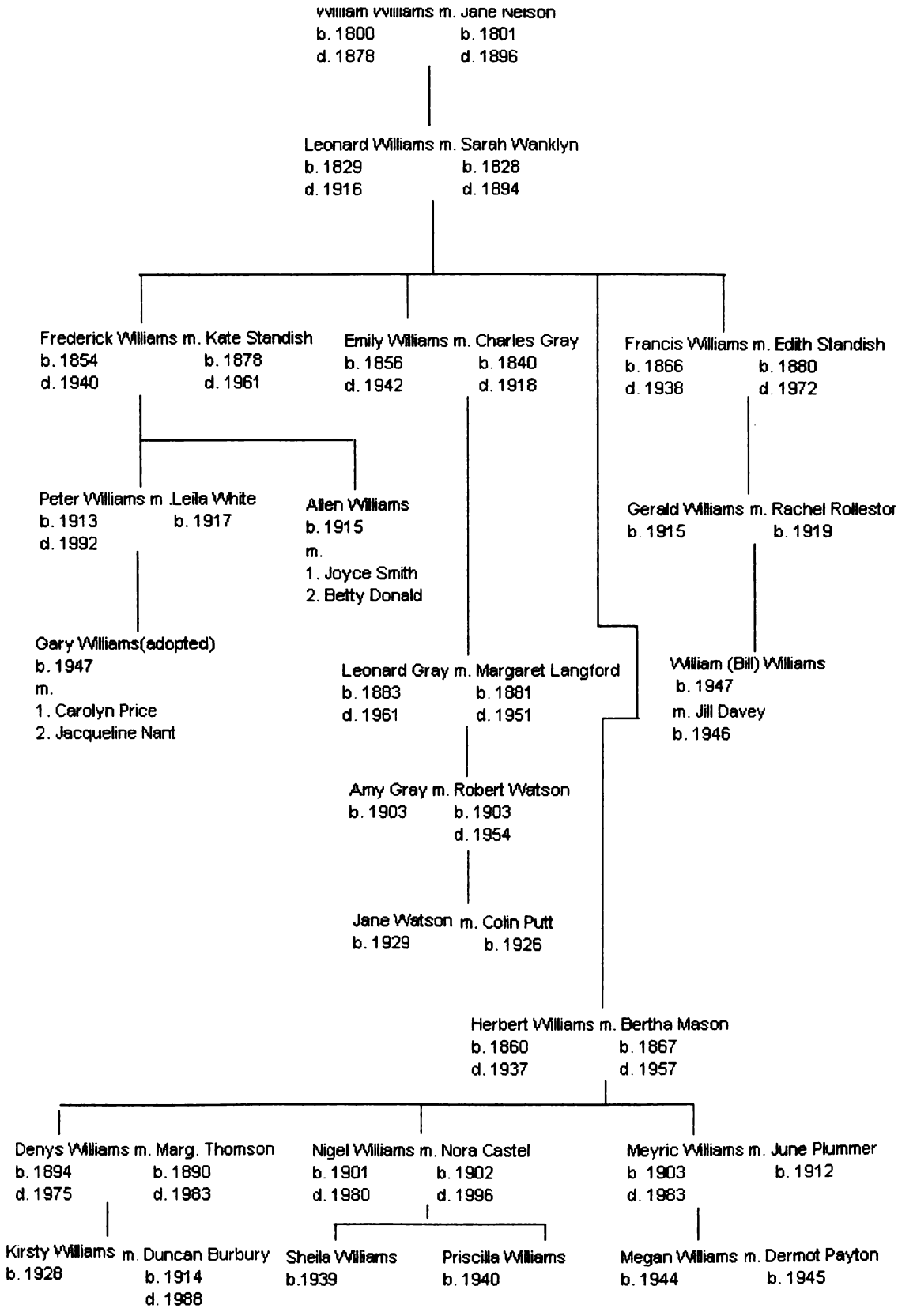
Descendants of Catherine Williams (Hadfield)



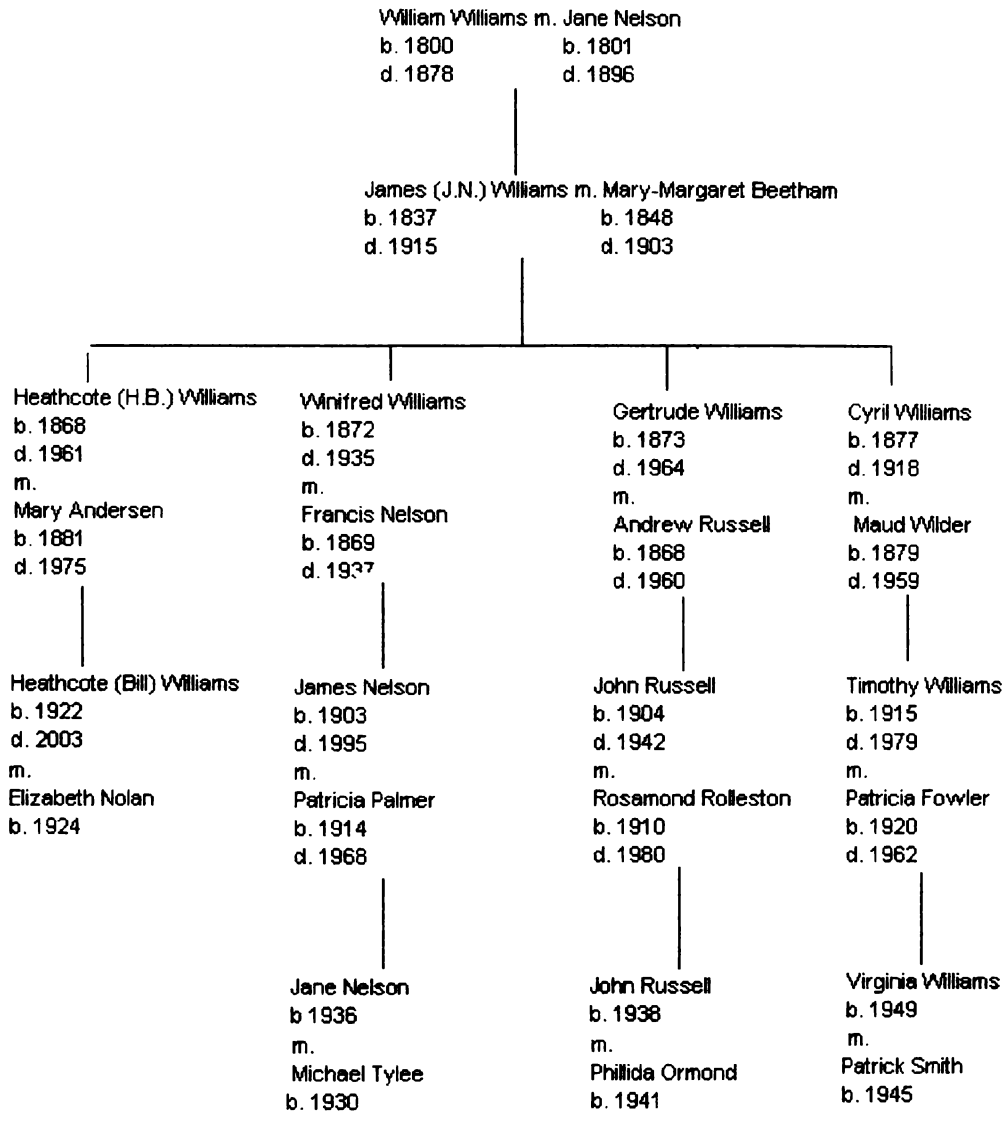
Descendants of Caroline Williams (Ludbrook)



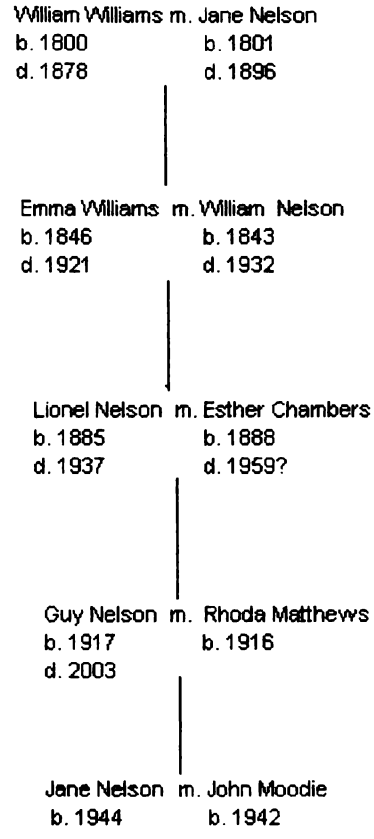
Descendants of Leonard Williams



Descendants of James (JN) Williams



Descendants of Emma Williams (Nelson)

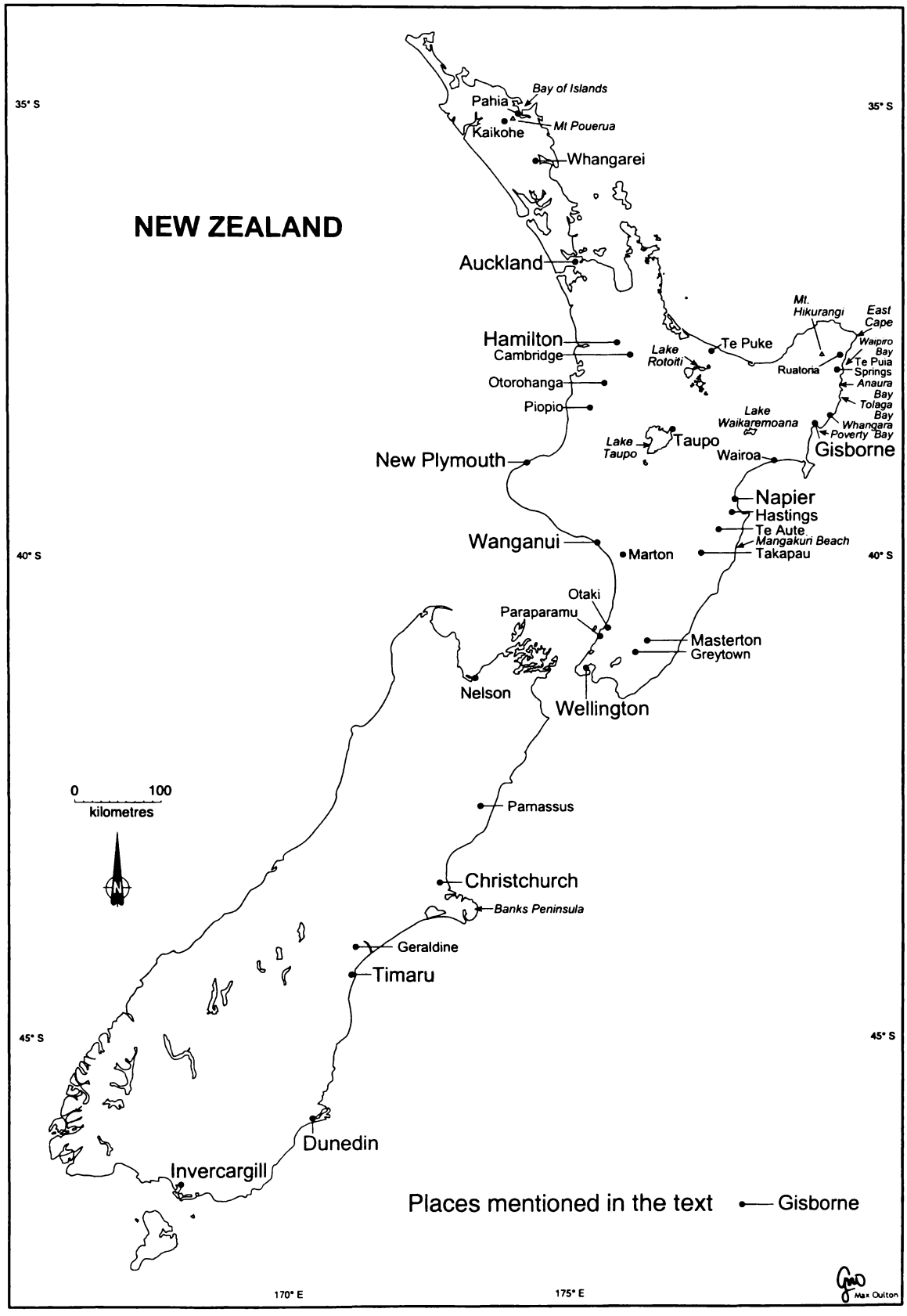


APPENDIX 4

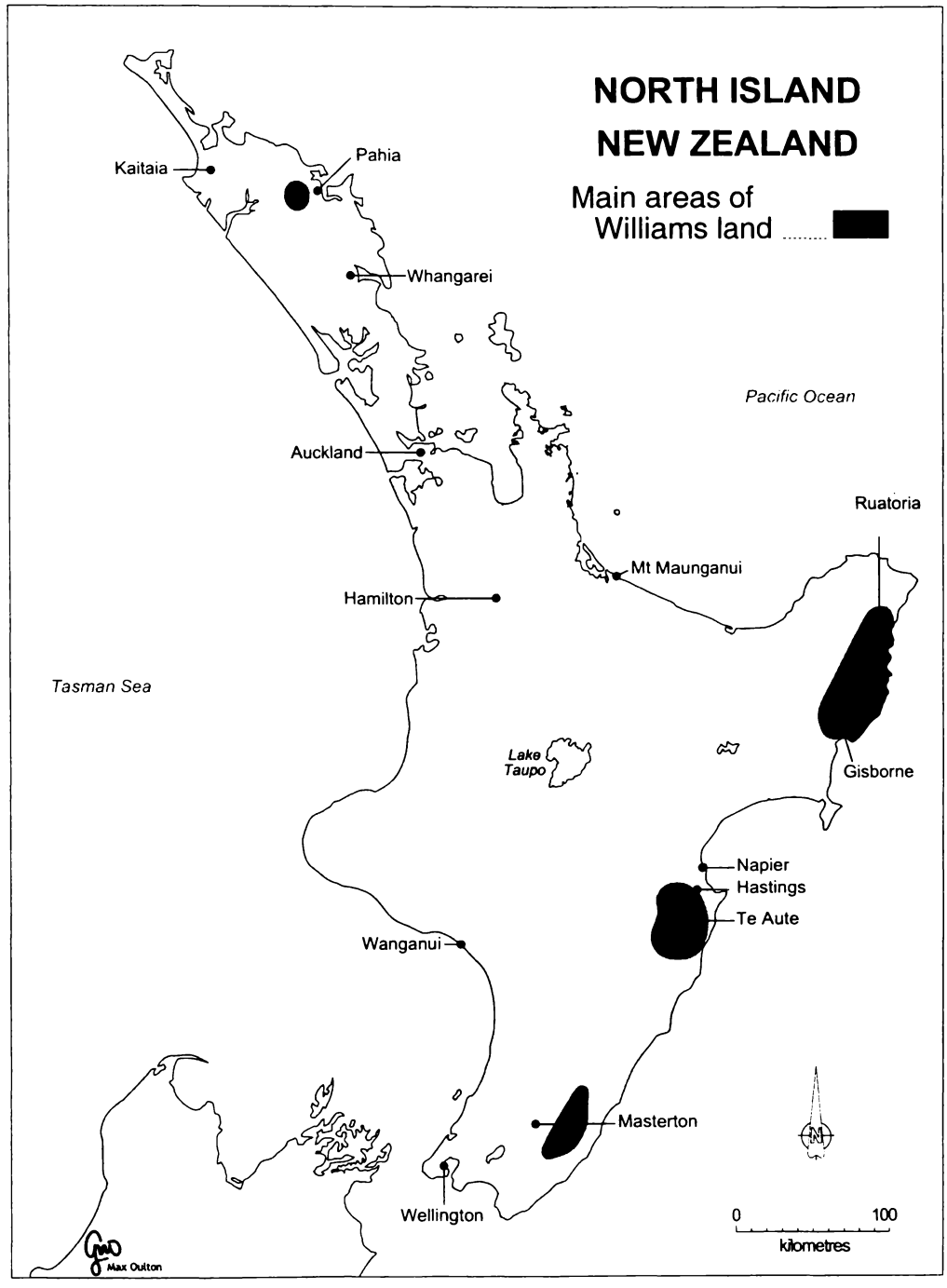
Maps

1. Places mentioned in the text
2. Main areas of Williams land holdings in New Zealand
3. Map of Williams-Beetham landholdings in Wairarapa c. 1900 [from David Yerex, *They Came to Wydrop: The Beetham and Williams Families, Brancepath and Te Parae, Wairarapa 1856-1990* (Wellington, 1991), copied with permission of Tom Williams]
4. 1905 subdivision of 'Brancepath' between members of the Williams and Beetham families [from Yerex, copied with permission of Tom Williams]
5. Williams landholdings of the Waiapu River catchment, East Coast [from Rex D. Evans (compiler), *Faith and Farming: Te Huarahi ki te Ora. The legacy of Henry Williams and William Williams* (Auckland, 1992), copied with permission of Evagean Publishing Ltd]

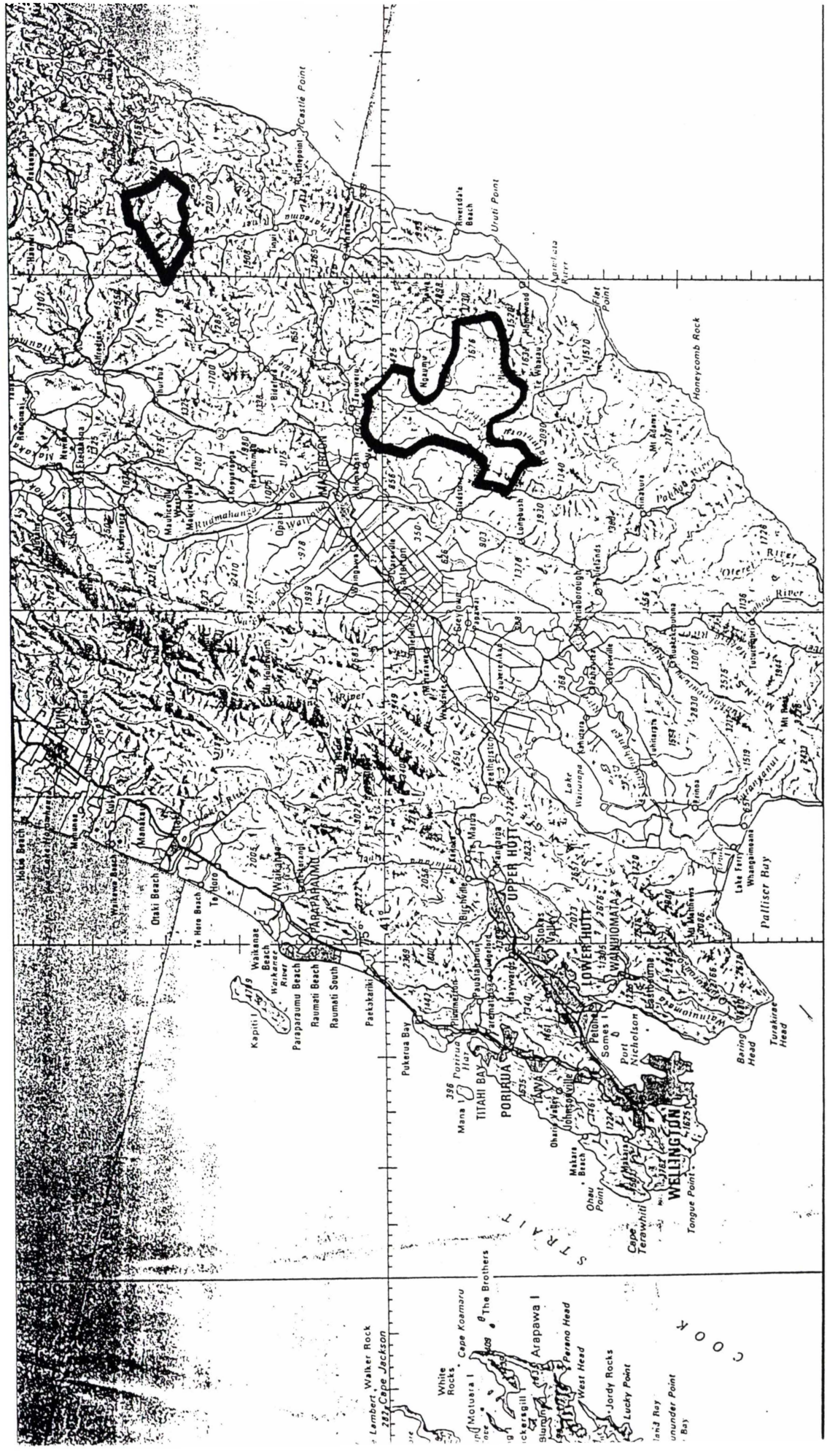
Map 1


NEW ZEALAND
35° S
40° S
45° S
170° E
175° E
Bay of Islands
Pahia
Kaikohe
Mt Pouerua
Whangarei
Auckland
Hamilton
Cambridge
Otorohanga
Piopio
New Plymouth
Wanganui
Marton
Lake Rotoiti
Te Puke
Mt. Hikurangi
East Cape
Waipiro Bay
Te Puia Springs
Ruatoria
Anaura Bay
Tolaga Bay
Whangara
Poverty Bay
Gisborne
Lake Waikaremoana
Lake Taupo
Taupo
Wairoa
Napier
Hastings
Te Aute
Mangakuri Beach
Takapau
Otaki
Paraparamu
Masterton
Greytown
Nelson
Wellington
0 100
kilometres
N
Parnassus
Christchurch
Banks Peninsula
Geraldine
Timaru
Dunedin
Invercargill
Places mentioned in the text — Gisborne
Max Oulton

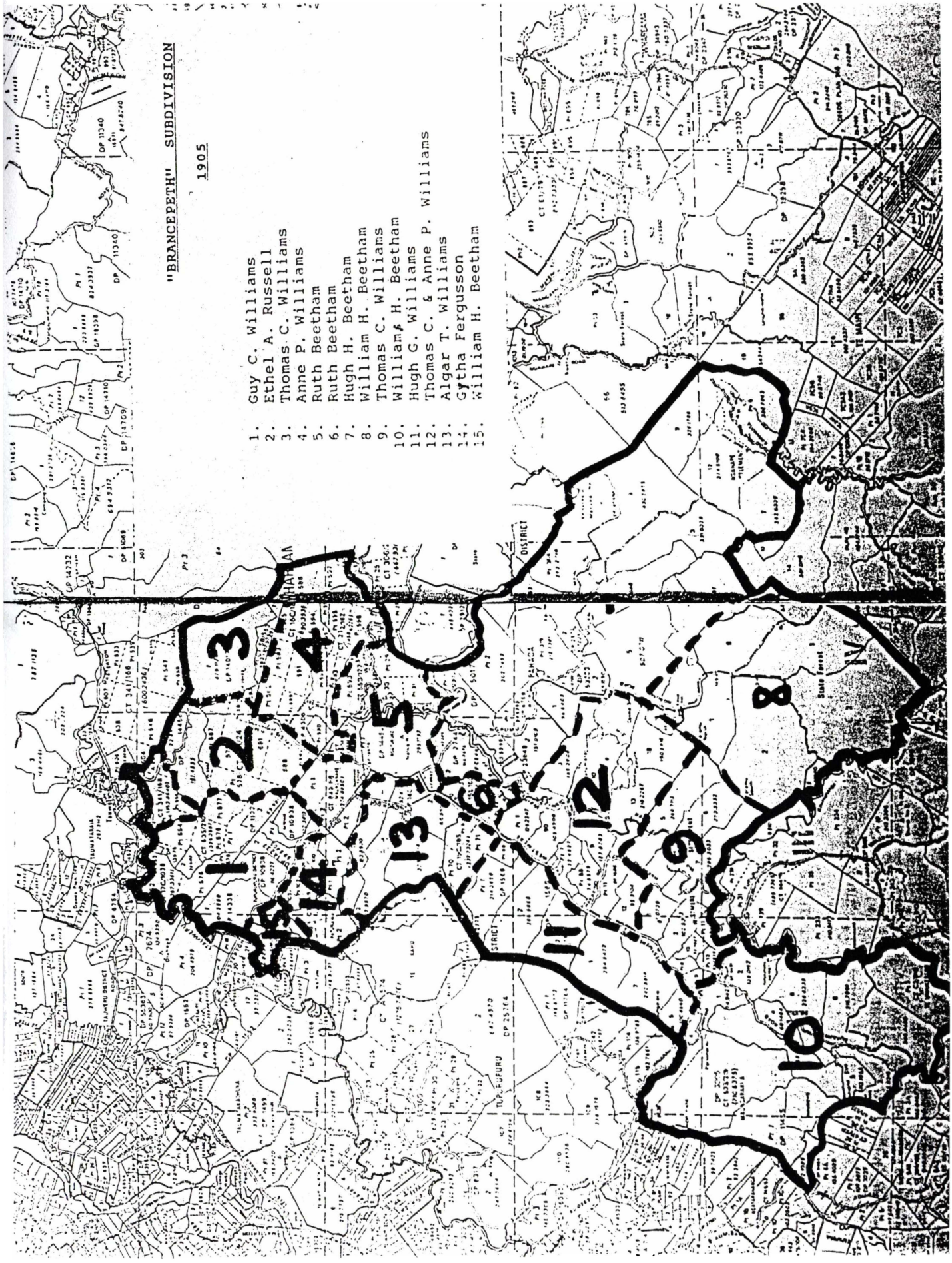
Map 2


NORTH ISLAND
NEW ZEALAND
Main areas of
Williams land
Kaitaia
Pahia
Whangarei
Auckland
Pacific Ocean
Ruatoria
Mt Maunganui
Hamilton
Tasman Sea
Lake
Taupo
Gisborne
Napier
Hastings
Te Aute
Wanganui
Masterton
Wellington
N
0
100
kilometres
Max Oulton

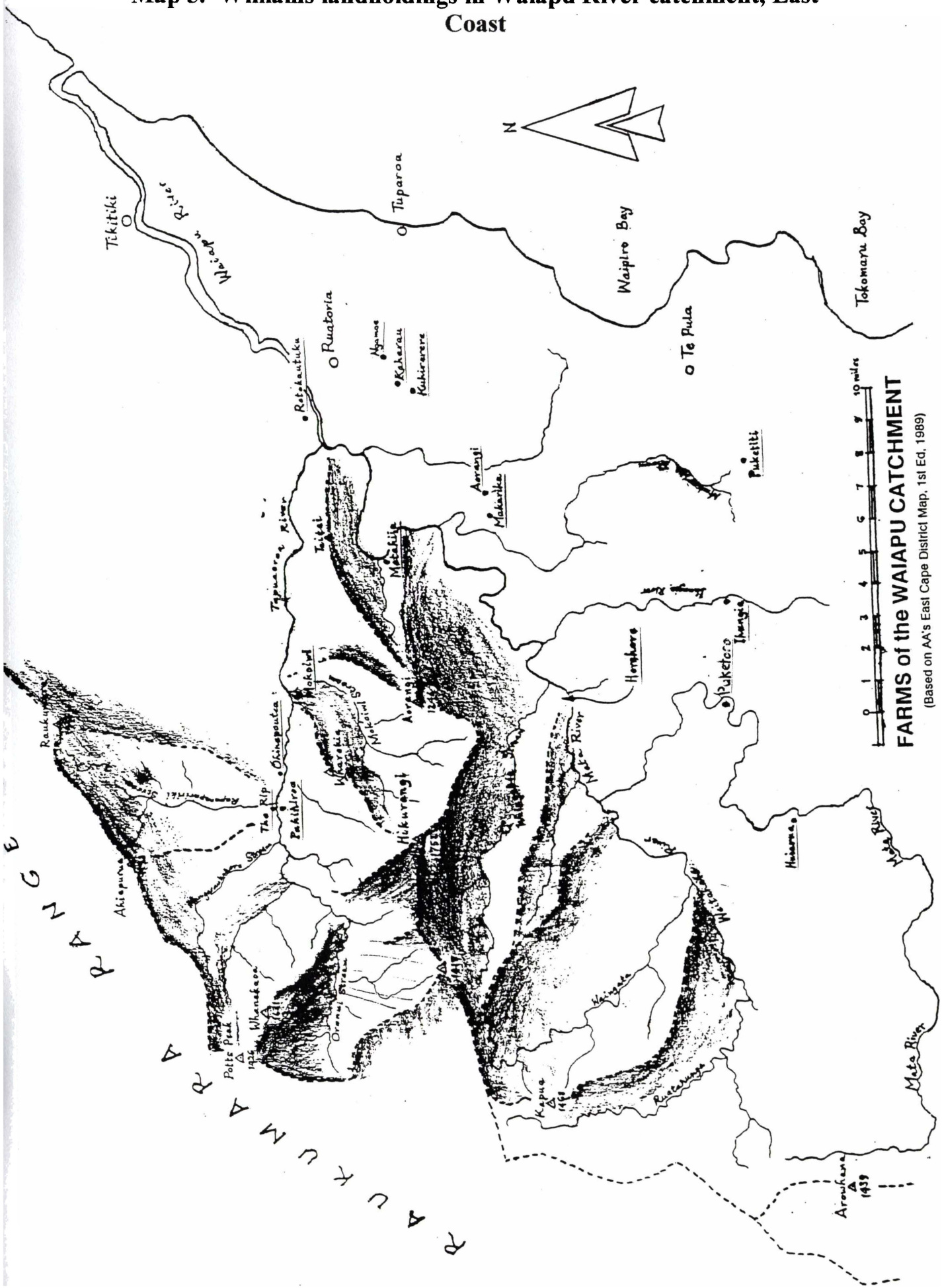
Map 3. Williams – Beetham landholdings in Wairarapa c.1900



Map 4. 1905 subdivision of Williams – Beetham land



Map 5. Williams landholdings in Waiapu River catchment, East Coast



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Bunny, Tom, 13 March 2000

Burbury, Kirsty, 8 June 1998

Bush, Nicola, 23 July 1998

Canning, Davis, 2 November 1999

Davies, Douglas, 8 October 1999

Deans, Alastair, 19 August 1998

Dillon, Joan, 18 August 1998

Falloon, Wendy, 20 March 2000

Finlayson, Patricia, 30 August 1999

Grimmond, Nicola, 17 August 1998

Haslett, Beatrice, 6 August 1998

Hutton, Bob, 4 April 2000

Hutton, Bruce, 27 November 2000

Hutton, Karl, 2 September 2000

Ludbrook, Bill, 21 August 1999

Ludbrook, Elisabeth, 8 November 1999

Maclean, Jean, 8 June 2000

Macmorran, Barbara, 19 May 2000

McBain, Hugh, 12 June 1998

Miller, Rachel, 21 October 1999

Myers, Judith, 14 March 2000

Payton, Megan, 16 March 2000

Putt, Jane, 4 May 1998

Raine, Jocelyn, 11 November 2000

Reed, Robin, 11 November 1999

Reed, Tom, 9 November 1999

Robinson, Virginia, 10 November 1999

Russell, John, 9 June 2000

Seymour, Anne, 6 June 2000

Sykes, Peter, 11 February 2000

Tylee, Jane, 7 June 2000

Warren, Martin, 20 August 1998

Williams, Allen, 12 November 1999

Williams, H.B., 19 January 2000

Williams, Bill (W.A.), 2 November 1999

Williams, Bill (W.R.S.), 9 October 1999

Williams, Clare, 14 October 1999

Williams, Eric, 2 June 2000

Williams, Gary, 20 September 1999

Williams Gerald, 31 August 1999

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Williams Sara, 22 September 1999

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