

The Papakura Sentinel



Number 53

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Editorial

Welcome back for more. We think winter has arrived, our year’s programme is in full swing with little disruption, but we’re not tempting faith, and some of us have had our Covid jabs, or at least the first one. If you still haven’t been contacted ring 0800 282 926.

The Museum is in good heart. We have had many visitors to the Warbirds exhibition and some of us have visited the Warbirds Museum too, a very enjoyable last trip before—or was it to welcome?—winter. The new Aotearoa NZ History curriculum has helped focus the attention of schools on what our Museum offers for local history—because at a basic level, history is about individuals and groups and the places they live in. History means more to us learned from the ground up; when we’re grounded in our communities we sense we belong, and we make more sense of what is happening around us. Maori *pepeha* are recitals of the mountain, river and ancestral figures that define our community. So we will see a lot more school pupils in the Museum.

We are also becoming aware of the rapid rate of change. I am encouraging people to record on their cameras the built-and-planted-heritage that is being lost at an alarming rate, and share it with the PDHS email (see bottom of page 15)—include date and address. We hear that the Pukekohe community have lost their old railway station building. It will be preserved but will end up at Matangi outside Hamilton. And we are being reminded about the rapid rate of loss of the limited treasure, or *taonga*, which is our first and second class agricultural land in the fertile Franklin area.

Wendy is preparing for the 60 year celebration of the PHDS. We have decided to have separate festivities next year, the Society’s 60 years in March and the Museum’s 50 years later in the year.

**PAPAKURA & DISTRICT
 HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

Monthly Luncheon Meetings: 4th Thurs, 1pm – 3pm
 Regular Saturday Bus Trips to places of interest

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 Wed open till 6 pm, Sat 10 am—3 pm**

Accent Point Building, 209 Great South Road
 Ph.: (09) 298 2003 www.papakuramuseum.org.nz

This issue begins another series. It is the fascinating story of the Kirikiri valley, and of the communities that have called it home over the last half-millennium and more. I could describe it by modifying a *pepeha* as follows: *Ko Pukekiwiriki te maunga/* Pukekiwiriki is the mountain; *Ko Otuwairoa te awa/* Otuwairoa is the stream; *Ko Te Akitai te iwi/* Te Akitai is the people; *Ko Viola raua ko Resolute nga waka/* *Viola* and *Resolute* were the ships. It's an almost forgotten story of a small valley, now just part of Papakura, the setting for the joys of domesticity, the wrenching tragedies of conflict and loss, efforts to create a secure living, and the remorseless pace of change. And its history continues today, if developers, fierce toxic fires and Auckland Transport have their say. This issue includes an introduction and two articles, one on those wrenched from the land in 1864, the other on those dropped unprepared into it in the following year—two tales of distress. Read them as three essays.

This issue was lovingly prepared for you by the Editor and authors. Stay warm and safe

Rob

MUSEUM MUSINGS

The Museum is in good heart. A lot is happening, and we appreciate strong local support. The Warbirds exhibition is drawing a lot of interest, and will be on display for the next month.

On Saturday 5 June, the Museum team hosted the Papakura Local Board, RSA and other locals to remember the centennial of the Monument to World War 1 that stands at the intersection of Opaheke Road and the Great South Road. The Museum team all worked on the display which will remain in and outside the Museum for the next month: photos of 33 young Papakura and Karaka men who lost their lives, or photos of their graves, stand in solemn tribute inside the Museum.

We have received funding for the next exhibition, called Faka-Tokelau, about the three atolls which are the northernmost part of the New Zealand realm. Two photographers, separated by 36 years, recorded life as they saw it on these small islands. Faka-Tokelau will be on display from August.

Another project which has received funding is a walking map round old Papakura which is being prepared for printing. The map, illustrated with photos and commentary, will guide walkers in an anti-clockwise direction round the bounds of the original village starting from the Museum and going north to the Presbyterian church, down Coles Crescent, round the inlet to Ray Small Park, then along South Road back to Great South Road. It will also include Kirk's Bush, Central Park and the Railway Reserve, and end at the Museum. It will also be available for people who wish to drive to those locations. Guided walks based on this map will be advertised in the Auckland Heritage Festival in October.

With all the interest from school groups, arising from the new commitment to teach New Zealand history in years 1-10, we are applying for funding for an Education officer. At the moment schools are liaising with Rosie, our Receptionist and Media staff member, and the teaching is being done by volunteers. In recent weeks we have had the whole of Papakura Intermediate through, and other schools are preparing for visits. The ESOL group of adults that meets on Fridays is enjoying their visits.

The artefacts excavated by archaeologists at the Ring's Redoubt on the hills by Clevedon Road are beginning to arrive, and we are preparing to put some on display. Most of that material dates from 1863 to 1865.

Museum Musings is brought to you regularly by members of the Museum or editorial staff.

Artefact de jour

for this issue is contributed by Wendy Deeming

Parton to Winser Apprentice Indenture document dated 24 October 1810.

THIS Indenture witnesseth, that Henry Parton aged fourteen years or thereabouts, (by and with his advice and consent of his father Peter Parton of Tenterden in the County of Kent, Miller, testified by his executing of these presents) doth put himself Apprentice to Edward Winser the younger of Tenterden aforesaid Grocer and Linen Draper to learn his Arts and with him (after the Manner of an Apprentice) to serve from the twenty second day of March now last past until the End and Term of seven years, from thence next following to be fully compleat and ended. Secrets keep, his lawful Commands every where gladly do; he shall do no damage to his said Master, nor fee to be done of others; but to his Power shall let or forthwith give Warning to his said Master of the same; he shall not waste the Goods of his said Master, nor lend them unlawfully to any; he shall not commit Fornication, nor contract Matrimony within the said Term; he shall not play at Cards, Dice, Tables, nor any other unlawful Games, whereby his said Master may have any Loss with his own Goods or others, during the said Term, without Licence of his said Master he shall neither buy nor sell; he shall not haunt Taverns or Playhouses; nor absent himself from his said Master's service Day or Night unlawfully: but in all Things, as a faithful Apprentice, he shall behave himself towards his said Master and all his Family during the said Term. AND the said Edward Winser in consideration of the sum of one hundred and five pounds to him in hand paid by the said Peter Parton at or before the execution hereof the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged doth hereby for himself his heirs Executors and Administrators covenant promise and agree to and with the said Peter Parton his Executors and Administrators that he the said Edward Winser his Executors or Administrators the said Apprentice in the Arts of a Grocer and Linen Draper useth, by the best Means that he can shall teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed, finding unto the said Apprentice good and sufficient Meat, Drink and Lodging during the said Term And the said Peter Parton for himself his Heirs Executors and Administrators doth hereby covenant promise and agree to and with the said Edward Winser his Executors and Administrators that he the said Peter Parton his Executors and Administrators shall and will at all times during the said Term find and provide for the said Apprentice apparel of all sorts both Linen and Woollen and washing and (??) the same Physic (??) and Nursing in case of sickness and all other Necessaries (except Meat Drink and Lodgings).

And for the true Performance of all and every the said Covenants and Agreements, either of the said Parties bindeth himself unto the other by these Present, IN WITNESS whereof the Parties abovenamed, to these Indentures have put their Hands and Seals, the twenty fourth Day of October in the fiftieth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God, of the united Kingdom of Great Britain, and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith, and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ten.

Sealed and delivered (being first duly stamped) in the Presence of
Chas King

The document was left to the Museum by former member Joan Parton, who came to Papakura in 1952 as a Plunket Nurse and died in 2006 at Selwyn Oaks. She was born in Napier in 1917 to Florence and Arthur Parton. There is no evidence that Henry Parton lived in New Zealand, but descendants did.



LOCAL

KIRIKIRI

The story of two communities in one valley

Rob Finlay

Imagine a time and place – not too far removed from today's Papakura:

When kiwi and ruru (morepork) calls populated the night, and kaka swooped and screeched during the day,

When fruit trees, cultivations and fern among forest and productive swamp signalled a community, a hapu, with its own defensive pa set on a steep hilltop,

When foot tracks, a harbour, creeks and portage were the main transport links,

When a new landowner got lost in thick bush locating the land he had bought, cattle with cowbells roamed, and new settler villages clung to water's edge,

When the Great South Road meant deep rutted mud and forded creeks; and before gangs of sweating and cursing navvies and horses levelled a single line of railway tracks on split puriri sleepers.

Before a network of chipseal, stop-start behemoths and SUVs belching carbon monoxide, daily parade between concrete, steel, brick, timber, glass, houses and factories, mown berms and sportsfields, crane farms and fires at car parts yards, with small remnants of bush...

At such a time, te Kawana Kerei in Akarana told the iwi to either desert their Tainui - Waikato relations or else leave their land,

And soldiers sent by Governor Grey appeared with guns and arrested the people and their elderly rangatira, who died in custody,

So that those who were left went into the bush and the hills, and the spirit of war raged across the land, And death spasmodically visited settlers in their clearings and tangata whenua alike...

And two ships sailed from a foreign port, bringing hopeful settlers looking for a new home.

That was the 1860s in the area we call Papakura.

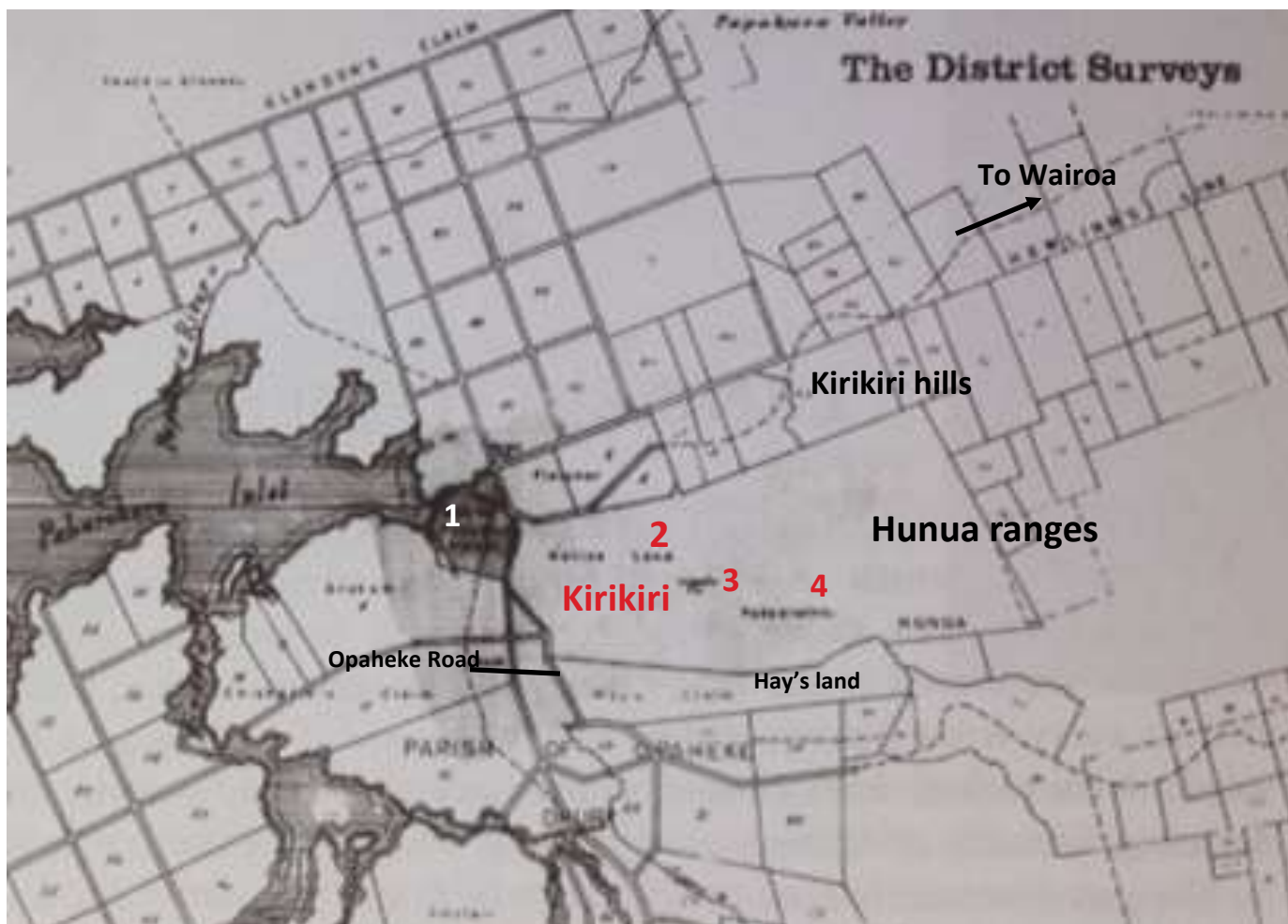
Setting and Change:

Years later, speaking about the Papakura he remembered when he was a boy in **1900, John Wright listed 'three types of people** in Papakura': the Village people, the Settlement people, and the Farming people. Notably missing in this narrative were local Maori. Their ancestors disappeared from the scene in the 1860s and had been replaced by the new 'Settlement people', who received grants of land in Kirikiri, the former Maori settlement.

A map of Papakura in the period Wright described around 1900 (see sketch map p14) would show the Village located between two arms of the Pahurehure Inlet and the Great South Road; south-east of that (beginning at Broadway) were the Wesleyan and Anglican endowments and Reserves (the cemetery, po-

lice, justice, school, and railway land); and to the east and south again extended 'the Settlement', quarter acre sections closest and then the ten acre lots of Kirikiri extending towards Pukekiwiriki. The Kirikiri or Pukekiwiriki Block was proclaimed in June 1865, by which time the first of these settlers had arrived.

Kirikiri (sometimes Kerikeri, Kiri Kiri or Keri Keri) and the Kirikiri 'Settlement' occupied the shallow valley of the south-flowing Otuwairoa stream between the low ridge along Great South and Opaheke Roads to the west, and the flanks of the Hunuas and the Kirikiri ridge to the east, with the low watershed line of Clevedon (formerly Wairoa) and Old Wairoa roads at its head. The flank is steepest on the east, and along southern parts of the Opaheke ridge. In maps from the 1850s, apart from the head of the valley and Hay's block (the land Hay was once unable to find) at its base, Kirikiri appears as 'Native land'. (See map below)



District surveys completed in 1853, modified from *Breakwater against the tide*, Elsdon Craig, Ray Richards for PDHS, 1982, p 52.

Key: 1= Papakura Village, 2 = 'Native land', 3 = Isaac's pa (Te Aparangi kainga), 4 = Pukekiwiriki pa

Today Papakura High School, Papakura Intermediate School, Red Hill, Edmund Hillary, Kelvin Road and Opaheke Schools, a large area of industrial land fringed by houses, reserves, Papakura marae and churches, occupy the area, which is bisected – sometimes choked - by diesel-smelly, busy Settlement Road. The North Island Main Trunk line cuts north and south through one side of it – the land had been set aside in 1863-4, but the railway tracks did not appear for another 10 years; and the planned Mill Road highway threatens to gouge another canyon through the eastern side.

If you look for it, the valley still reveals evidence of its natural outlines. The stream has been straightened, channelled, culverted and bridged, and the swamp has gone. Evidence for flood protection exists in the earthworks around factories. The willows that used to be blamed for floods have gone. Flooding has been

an ongoing theme during the last hundred years. In the 1920s requests were made to Franklin County to cut willows further downstream which had contributed to flooding. John Wright, who grew up in a farmhouse called The Knoll, (now in Rembrandt Place off Opaheke Road), remembered looking out on ‘an inland sea’ covering much of the valley, and Elaine Croskery reports that the whole of the ground level of the Cadbury’s factory was flooded soon after it was built.



Photo essay. Above left: where Otuwairoa (or Kirikiri) stream, Boundary Road and Railway meet. Above right: Otuwairoa stream at this point, Left: on Croskery Road, and Right: at Keri Park behind corner store.

Below: Keri Park looking to Red Hill



Below: a long view across the valley over the roof tops of the new housing near Rings Redoubt. Looking south with the flanks of the Hunuas on left and Pukekohe Hill in distance.

Photos: Rob Finlay



For about 100 years the **Kirikiri settlement** was a real community on the fringe of Papakura, cut, burned, dug and fenced out of forest and swamp, precarious and desperate at first and then quietly prosperous. It arose from a Government initiative, poorly, even dishonestly implemented, and was peopled mainly by people from Scotland, with some from Northern Ireland and North England, mainly Presbyterian. Although it contributed to and shared in the life of Papakura it felt itself to be distinct. For most of that time the area was divided between the new Papakura Town District (1882) and Borough (1938) and the Manukau (and after 1912) Franklin Counties, which cut across community loyalty, sometimes led to neglect of roads and drainage on boundaries (and complicated my research). Kirikiri settlers were part of the Papakura community even if those beyond Dominion Road were excluded from decision-making in the town.

It is a dramatic story that needs to be told. This series is about the Kirikiri Settlement, following the two or three generations that arrived in the area on the *Viola* and the *Resolute* in 1865. But at the outset it is right to acknowledge those who were removed before the new settlement could be established. Even at the time many Pakeha felt that Government policy had been harsh and unjust, although fevered war sentiment meant others applauded it. The Settlement was set up as part of the deliberate colonisation of confiscated Maori land to settle the South Auckland area with a population of British peoples from the British Isles and South Africa.

To ensure that the original *tangata whenua* are properly acknowledged, the series will conclude with an article on their stories by an iwi historian, but first a brief background.

Te Akitai

Te Akitai Waiohua, affiliated to Ngati Tamaoho, lived in different localities around the Manukau. The main settlement in this period was at Pukaki at Mangere, with links to Ihumatao, but locally it had a *kainga* (village) at Te Aparangi on the flanks of the Kirikiri hills, near Keri Downs reserve, on rising ground with the stream nearby. Around it were cultivations, fernland—a sign of previous cultivation, while tall bush and swamp, which were valued for their birds, eels, flax and other resources, occupied the valley floor and hills.



Pukekiwiriki pa, about 1970. Earnest Clark photo, Papakura Museum

Pukekiwiriki (or Pukekoiwiriki, Red Hill), was the defensive pa, to which the community could retire for security if danger threatened. Their ancestors had been in the area for several hundred years, connected with other iwi with whom they intermarried, hosted or visited. Access was mainly by *waka*, with landings on the Pahurehure, one of the larger inlets of the Manukau, linking them with kindred iwi at Mangere, Waiuku and the Waikato. From the landing at Chalky Point near Waipapa (Coles Crescent) *waka* could be paddled then hauled over a portage to the Wairoa river system flowing past Clevedon into the Hauraki. There was also access through Otuwairoa stream down ‘Slippery Creek’ to the Hingaia at Tau-

ranga (Drury). Walking tracks supplemented use of *waka*. Neighbouring hapu lived in Papakura Valley (Takanini, Alfriston and Ardmore), Maketu (Ramarama), Karaka and the Wairoa valley.

A new century and a new era brought changes. With the arrival of Pakeha in New Zealand came new ideas, commodities and diseases, first to the Bay of Islands, whence the impact quickly spread. The cultivations came to include new crops, 'English' potatoes, wheat, maize, peaches and figs – the local fruit being highly regarded. Other new commodities like steel goods including guns, led to rivalry among iwi and anxiety about security, especially after Northern iwi armed themselves aggressively. In 1820, it is believed, Pukekiwiriki survived a bloody siege, which gave 'Red Hill' a sombre meaning. For a few years in the 1820s, local iwi retreated to the greater security of the Waikato, but under the leadership of Pepene Te Tihi returned to Pukaki, Kirikiri and other localities in the early 1830s.

Missionaries came to the Manukau and there were conversions. Te Tihi took on the baptismal name of Pepene, and his son Takaanini Te Tihi became Isaac – Ihaka.

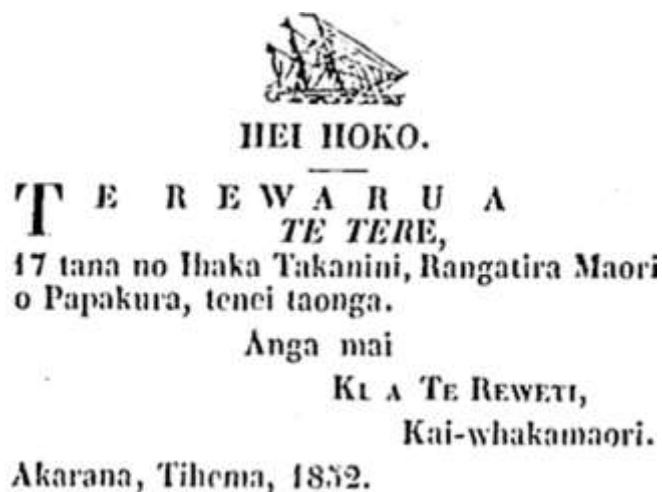
Anxiety about security also heightened the desire to trade, and links with those Pakeha who visited or passed through their lands were valued.

A Treaty was signed with representatives of the British Queen in 1840. The original signing was at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands, and the parchment document was also taken elsewhere: at Karaka Bay in the Tamaki Estuary near Glendowie, a Te Akitai chief, Mohi, was one of the signatories, along with Ngati Paoa (Hauraki) chiefs. He was probably Mohi Te Ahi a Te Ngu, based at Pukaki. Other copies were signed at the Manukau, Kawhia and Waikato Heads, and involved Waikato, Waiohua and Ngati Whatua chiefs. With the Tiriti came a Kawana (Governor) and many more Pakeha.

Pakeha always seemed interested in land, and the Governor coordinated land acquisition; there was no objection to trading the use of land not immediately in use in exchange for those coveted *taonga*. In 1842 the Crown purchased the Papakura block for £400 and six horses. Pepene and Ihaka Takaanini were among the six signatories. A reserve at Waimihia (Conifer Grove) was to be retained. Additionally in 1843 more land in the area was sold directly to settlers (under Governor Fitzroy's waiver of Crown pre-emption), alienating 5,500 acres, in the hope of attracting resident settlers. Te Akitai was serious about trade and commerce. Takaanini bought and in 1852 sold a 17 ton boat. With Maori chiefs elsewhere, by the late 1850s, he shared reservations that land loss had been greater than agreed on, that reserves had not been excluded.

Settlers arrived in the area from the late 1840s. A little community grew up around the track on the rising land at the Waipapa landing; Coles, Willises – the wives were the Menary sisters, McLennans, then Walters and others. They were English, Welsh, Scots and Irish, and they built bush huts, a hotel, a store, the Coles' wheat mill down at the landing. They bought land but their cattle roamed free, a potential source of conflict since Maori cultivations were unfenced, but there is no word of that locally. In fact relations were positive. Coles' mill ground the grain of Maori as well as of settlers round the Manukau, the store sold and bought from Maori, the wives provided nursing care at time, and friendships were established.

But the potential for discord was present. Although Te Akitai held on to land in Kirikiri (see map above), much of the rest of the land was sold - to the west (where the Village of Papakura, between the Pahurehure inlet, Great South Road and South Road, was designated and divided into town lots in 1853); north along the line of the



Advertisement from *The Maori Messenger: Te Karere Maori*, 27 January 1853, p 1. From Papers Past, National Library of New Zealand.

Wairoa roads; south (in the areas we call Opaheke and Drury); and east in the Wairoa valley and Ardmore. Some settlers set out to farm; for others it was mainly an investment, land banking for the future. William Hay bought a large strip of land immediately south of the Kirikiri 'Native land', Nicholas Gibbons, the Clows and others farmed to the north, Benjamin Smith and others just to the east.

Meanwhile the Kingitanga – King Movement, its heart in the Waikato, drew Tainui-affiliated tribes such as Te Akitai and Ngati Tamaoho. Conceived as a body that could peacefully unite iwi and coordinate the protection of Maori land holding, but sympathetic to embattled Taranaki iwi grappling with the same issues, it was seen by Governor Grey as a rebellious organisation. In the atmosphere of rising distrust, Te Akitai 'maintained good relations with Pakeha and the Crown. Ihaka was known to the settlers as "old Isaac" and was considered a great friend of the Pakeha. In 1856, Ihaka was described in the press as "attached to the Europeans". In 1858 he was appointed as an Assessor, a role in which he worked with a Pakeha resident Magistrate in the administration of law within the Auckland district. Ihaka's intervention helped keep the peace on more than one occasion, including once at Patumahoe in 1860 where he prevented a potentially fatal assault on Donald McLean.' (Deed of Settlement / 2) But by 1860 he shared the general disenchantment with the Crown that was expressed by pro-Government chiefs at the Kohimarama Conference called by Grey as an antidote to the Kingitanga.

Events elsewhere, particularly in Taranaki, moved fast, and by 1863, Governor Grey had war on his mind, employing troops to drive the Great South Road towards the Mangatawhiri border, later sending units to set up redoubts. The Kingitanga prepared to defend their lands. It was a particularly difficult time for iwi, hapu and individual settlers in localities where good relations had prevailed. As war came closer and the camps armed, Governor Grey prepared to invade the Waikato. First he needed to protect the base, so he presented Manukau iwi with an ultimatum delivered between 9 and 11 July. Hand in any guns and ally with the Government against their Kingitanga kinsfolk, or leave. Two days later Grey's forces crossed the Mangatawhiri border, and the Waikato War had begun.

This situation caused grief and uncertainty. Over a hundred Te Akitai people from Pukaki village at Mangere, with their chief Mohi, the Treaty signatory, 15 or 16 drays and driving a herd of horses, paused at Kirikiri village with local relatives. Other local iwi arrived. Settler opinions were divided, some imagined the worst. There were reports of guns, of movements among Kirikiri Maori, of armed bands in the Hunuas and Wairoa valley. Ihaka Takaanini Te Tihi was very ill, and it appears that it had been agreed that he would sign the oath of allegiance and remain in Manukau while Mohi would go south with the warriors. In a case of overkill, 460 troops descended on Te Aparangi and arrested Ihaka, his father, and the approximately 20 men, women and children who had remained behind, perhaps because travelling would be difficult for the elderly and infirm, or because he was hoping to be a peacemaker, as he had in the past. Takaanini, his father Pepene and two of his children, would die in captivity. In 1864 a report to Parliament was critical of their treatment and its legality. His widow was compensated later with a small block at Mangere.

Once the invasion began, there were raids on isolated settlers, launched from the Hunua hills. Some took place in the south of Kirikiri on the land of William Hay, where Hunt died. Others took place on the road towards Wairoa. The attack on the Calverts on 24 July 1863, in which the son was killed, showed that Maori had been watching the settlements. Col. Calvert had taken two horses, and his son had looted Te Aparangi kainga with a dray and threatened its only inhabitant, an old lady, to the disgust of other settlers.

The 'mound' where the Wesleyan church stood just outside Kirikiri in the Papakura village (on Broadway) was stockaded, and Ring's Redoubt overlooking Kirikiri, Papakura Valley (Takaanini) and Pahurehure between them was set up. The Traveller's Rest stood on the Kirikiri hills, just beyond the valley. It too was stockaded

and it was here that the Forest Rangers were established by William Jackson, and where von Tempsky frequently met him. The army patrolled the roads and volunteers pursued Maori *toa* into the hills.

The final blow for Te Akitai was the Confiscation (or *Raupatu*) of the 'Native land' as part of a wide-ranging Government move in December 1864. Te Akitai had been removed from the land, first by threat, then by armed force, and finally by confiscation, between 1863 and 1864. Even so, some newspapers complained that a few Maori remained in the area, and in fact when the new settlers arrived in 1865, there were local Maori, who may have been Te Akitai, who helped them settle in. For those who remained it was a very different—and difficult—world.

And so Te Akitai's enjoyment of Kirikiri over hundreds of years came to an end, and the central Government and Auckland Provincial Government made plans to replace them with new British settlers. If the powers-that-be had brought grief to *tangata whenua*, the first years for those they put on the land in their stead were also miserable, a struggle for survival, with many wanting to leave but feeling trapped by the one dubious asset that would reward their tenacity—the grant of 10 acres of land after three years occupation. That most made good on their new start in the long run owed little to the settlement scheme.

The Kirikiri Settlement - *Viola* and *Resolute*

(**Note:** in reference to individual immigrants or families below, 'V' indicates they came out on the *Viola*, and 'R' indicates *Resolute*.)

Plans for the settlements were drawn up, recruitment drives in the British Isles and Cape Colony took place, and ships were chartered by the New Zealand government. Thirteen ships brought settlers, mainly to Franklin, as part of the Waikato Immigration Scheme. Three of those ships sailed from Glasgow, where the government agent Mr Archibald Clark had interviewed all emigrants, requiring from each a certificate of health and of good character. The first to sail, the *Helenslee*, delivered its passengers for the Pokeno settlement; *Viola* followed with immigrants bound for Wairoa (Clevedon), Otau, Kirikiri, with some going to Maketu (Ramarama) and Ararimu, and *Resolute* passengers went to Kirikiri or Maketu, Tuakau, Mahurangi and Auckland.

The *Viola* left Glasgow on 8 December 1863 with 340 Government immigrants, and was followed by the *Resolute* in March 1864, the two ships arriving in Auckland in April and June 1865. The passengers were mainly Lowland and Highland Scots, from as far as Argyle and Inverness, several families from Ulster (McKinstry, McMurrays, Clark Smiths, Nealies, (all V), Croskerys (R) among them) and a few from north England (including Bulls from Yorkshire and Arnolds from Lancashire on the *Resolute*). The dominance of Scots and their northern Irish kinsfolk (who might have described themselves as Scots Irish) with English non-conformists gave the settlements a distinctly Scottish and Presbyterian character. Locally they would find influential fellow Scots such as Duncan McLennan of Fernaig, William Hay of Woodstock, the McNicols of Wairoa and the energetic Rev Thomas Norrie, who were already established. Of all the British colonies of settlement, New Zealand was most influenced by Scots.

Among the emigrants some identified as Highlanders and were Gaelic speakers. Elizabeth Watson who came out as part of the McDonald family from Argyleshire (V), reverted to the Gaelic and refused to speak English when she was dying. 'The McDonald family during their life in New Zealand used Gaelic in their conversation with each other around their house – particularly when no outsiders were present.' (McDonald MS, Museum)

By the time the two shiploads of migrants had crossed two oceans, communities were already melding, maybe forming irritations as well as abiding friendships. However their common origins and shared experience in four months on the confined limits of the ships, as well as the difficulties they all experienced, created a sense of community which would, years later, be recounted at reunions. Not all of those who received land in these settlements were *Viola* and *Resolute* settlers. Some came on others of the Thirteen Ships. Isaac, Anne and

Sarah Grundy arrived in Auckland in early January 1865 on the *Matoaka*, which had sailed from London. Mary and Catherine Deveny were on the *Reiherstieg* from the Cape (though there is no record of the arrival of Mary's husband William). Others may already have been in New Zealand.

Those who travelled on the *Viola* became the core group, because most of them were granted land in neighbouring settlements and retained those links whereas *Resolute* settlers were more widely dispersed: only 83 families came to Kirikiri. It was the *Viola* settlers and their descendants for instance, who began the annual reunions in the 1890s (to which *Resolute* and *Helenslee* people were invited) and who came together in 1965 for the centennial celebration in Clevedon and Papakura. Not that the two ships represented distinct groups. There were connections between the emigrants in Scotland before emigration, and some came with kin. In the case of the Clarkson families, two brothers with their families came out on the *Viola* and one on the *Resolute*, and in any case shared experience, friendships, neighbouring grants and marriages quickly established ties between the two groups.

Most were working men with their families. Of those who were allocated land at Kirikiri, 32 identified themselves simply as 'labourers'; 22 were associated with agriculture (farm labourers, 'farm servants', gardeners, ploughmen); 43 with a wide range of trades (including 7 smiths, 6 joiners, 11 masons, 4 in the iron industry); 12 were miners; and 8 of the single women identified as domestic servants. The Bull family (*R*) from Yorkshire included two coachmakers and a harness maker and Eliza was a coach lining maker.

None owned to working in textiles at a time when the Clyde was full of textile mills, although the Ulsterman Clark Smith (*V*) was a weaver with a background in linen and Robert Stewart (*R*) was a cotton spinner. However, the 1860s had been disastrous for the cotton mills in Scotland: the American Civil War had cut off the supply of cotton, and the Scottish cotton factories were suddenly idle. Smith described himself as an agricultural labourer, and Stewart as a labourer. It made sense to advertise a skill they imagined would ease their acceptance for the scheme. While offering themselves as labourers or tradesmen, it is clear that several had more than one string to their bow, and in any case, educational standards in Scotland were relatively high. Thomas Campbell (*V*, 41) had been a policeman in Scotland, though he described himself as a mason. In New Zealand he was policeman, briefly a farmer, teacher, miner and lay preacher, perhaps a baker, and has also been described as a bookseller. He and Daniel Brisbane (*R*, 27) quickly showed their competence in handling public business in the new settlement, and others wrote letters to the newspapers or spoke at meetings.

Several men had served as soldiers, though none were described as such: William Fulton (*V*), 25 in 1865, had been a teenage soldier in the Crimean War, James Walker (*V*, aged 28), James Rhind (*V*, a bugler for the 76th Inverness Militia, aged 34) and Hugh McLeod (*V*, 43) had served in the Imperial Army, and some were able to make use of their experience here. They were among those who had travelled prior to leaving for New Zealand. Migration to the Glasgow area was a feature for quite a few families in the years before 1864.

We can only speculate on why they left their homes. Scotland was one of the countries of Europe that most bled its population during the nineteenth century, and the economic downturn in the sixties was a factor, but generally most left for a better life, encouraged by (sometimes overly) fulsome descriptions of the scheme by agents for the Government. The predominance of young couples or of middle aged families with young adult children, suggests people starting out in life and hoping for better opportunities in a new land.

Most – around 130 – adults were in their 20s, 40 in their 30s, 18 in their 40s – some with older children, and there were only two men in their 50s: David McClymont, aged 56 and Alexander Brown 52, both with younger wives, came out on the *Resolute*. 38 were aged between 12 and 19 (including one of the wives. So the settlers were very young, with the energy and (often) impetuosity of youth. Another 102 were under 12 in age, and this number increased rapidly in the next few years, as the young couples expanded or began their families. Of the Kirikiri settlers, there were 20 newly married young couples in their early twenties with no

children starting out. (Of the 340 passengers on the *Viola*, 93 had been children, and 33 under 3 in age; these infants were at greatest risk on the voyage - about one third died on the voyage, and only one adult. Both the William and John Clarksons had lost a child.) There were 30 single men and a few single women listed, especially on the *Resolute*; some of them were the older children or relatives of families and most of the others stayed in Auckland. There were several extended or multi-generational families – McDonalds (V), Clarksons, McKenzies (V), McCraes (V) and Nealies (V) among them, where fathers and sons or brothers qualified for grants. Middle names sometimes suggest distaff connections, eg the oldest son of Richard and Elizabeth Watson (V) had the middle name of Couper. Perhaps the widowed James Couper (V, 43), a Wairoa settler, came with relatives. Some in their late teens and early twenties who came with parents and siblings qualified for grants, or married a grantee.

They brought with them all the characteristics and contradictions of their culture and time. We will discover both staunch temperance advocates and heavy drinkers.

Some prepared for their adventure by investing in items of trade. John and Janet McGregor (R) bought a box of shoes which they sold in Auckland.

What did they expect? That the Government would pay their cost out (apart from a small down payment for bedding on the ship), provide them with land and a town section, with support to get established, and there was an assurance that there was work for them. There was also the expectation that if they were able to repay, within 3 years, one half of the passage (reckoned at £16), there would be an additional 5 acres for each child above 12 years of age.

But if we ask the broader question: 'what were their general expectations of this new antipodean home?', answers might have included the possibility of conflict with Maori (fighting would continue for some years, mainly in the centre of the North Island, associated with Titokowaru on the West Coast and Te Kooti in the East and King Country), land for the taking, and gold. Following California and Victoria, Tuapeka gold had unleashed a gold rush in 1861, and the Otago gold fields were news around the world. So, even before they faced the harsh realities on arrival, gold was probably seen as a fall-back or a potential bonanza.

On 4 April 1865 the *Viola*, which had sailed from Glasgow the previous December, arrived in Auckland. Passengers were briefly housed in Auckland, then 340 men women and children embarked in cutters, and were transported down the Hauraki past forested headlands, small beaches and islands to the Wairoa River, and were rowed upstream to Wairoa South, now Clevedon. Here they were given accommodation in tents at the McNicol stockade for a while. Some 40 family groups were allocated 10 acre grants at Otau and became part of the Wairoa community.

Others walked behind or rode a convoy of waggons along the dirt and mud road west to Papakura. There were clearings in the 'fearsome bush' where new farms were being established, and beginning to recover from neglect and the depredations of Maori and soldiers during the recent war. On the Kirikiri ridge they passed the Smiths' Traveller's Rest hotel and stopped at Ring's Redoubt built about 20 months previously, backed by bush and with a view all the way down the narrow (Old) Wairoa track towards the small village of Papakura, with the waters of the Pahurehure inlet and Manukau harbour out to the Heads behind it. Here they found the soldiers had set up tents for them as temporary homes while raupo huts were built for them on their sections. Some Maori were still in the area and friendly relations were established with an exchange of lore and skills. In the following months the men were employed on road works along the Great South Road extending north and south through the village or supporting quarry works. Near to the Redoubt, to the south, was the remains of a 'native' village with what was left of cultivations, including ripe figs and the last peaches from orchards planted by those Maori. The Hunua hills and the valley draining

south from their tent village was mainly in tall bush with pockets of fern and swamp and a stream called Otuwairoa or Kirikiri flowed south. This was where their homes and land would be once the Kirikiri block was established and surveyed. Some were set to clearing bush on this land.

There was still a Maori population in the area. The *Daily Southern Cross* (19/2/66) was fretting about a large number of Maori, 'most in a village called Kerikeri' capable of bearing arms and never reconciled to the Government. The Kirikiri settlers did not appear to have found these 'unreconciled' neighbours threatening

The Kirikiri or Pukekiwiriki Settlement

As their grants were allocated, they, and the later *Resolute* settlers, were able to move onto their land. We can imagine cut clearings among tall trees, with the raupo hut, maybe a covered cooking shelter with a fire and trunks and firewood under tarpaulins. (Cowan also describes the hordes of mosquitoes, requiring netting and fires of dried cowdung indoors at night, not the healthiest environment.)

They were provided with quarter acre town sections to the southeast of the Papakura Village (although title to these came through very slowly, often after families had given up on the village), and 10 acres in the Kirikiri valley and the slopes on either side, broadly between the railway or Opaheke road, Boundary Road, Willis road and up round today's Pukekiwiriki Red Hill loop. To the north and east were larger blocks and to the south the large holding of William Hay stretched down to the site of the Hunua/ Opaheke station.

The *Viola* settlers had the advantage of autumn weather to get a little established. *Resolute* arrived in Auckland amidst wintery storms on 21 June 1865. Among the 354 immigrants were relatives of *Viola* settlers. George and Jane Clarkson had delayed their voyage for the birth of their second child (the first had died in Scotland of measles), and were looking forward to catching up with his brothers and their families. The Clarksons would play a significant part in determining the outcome for the settlers; and in time their father, David snr, the oldest brother, James (with his family) and the youngest, David, would follow them independently.

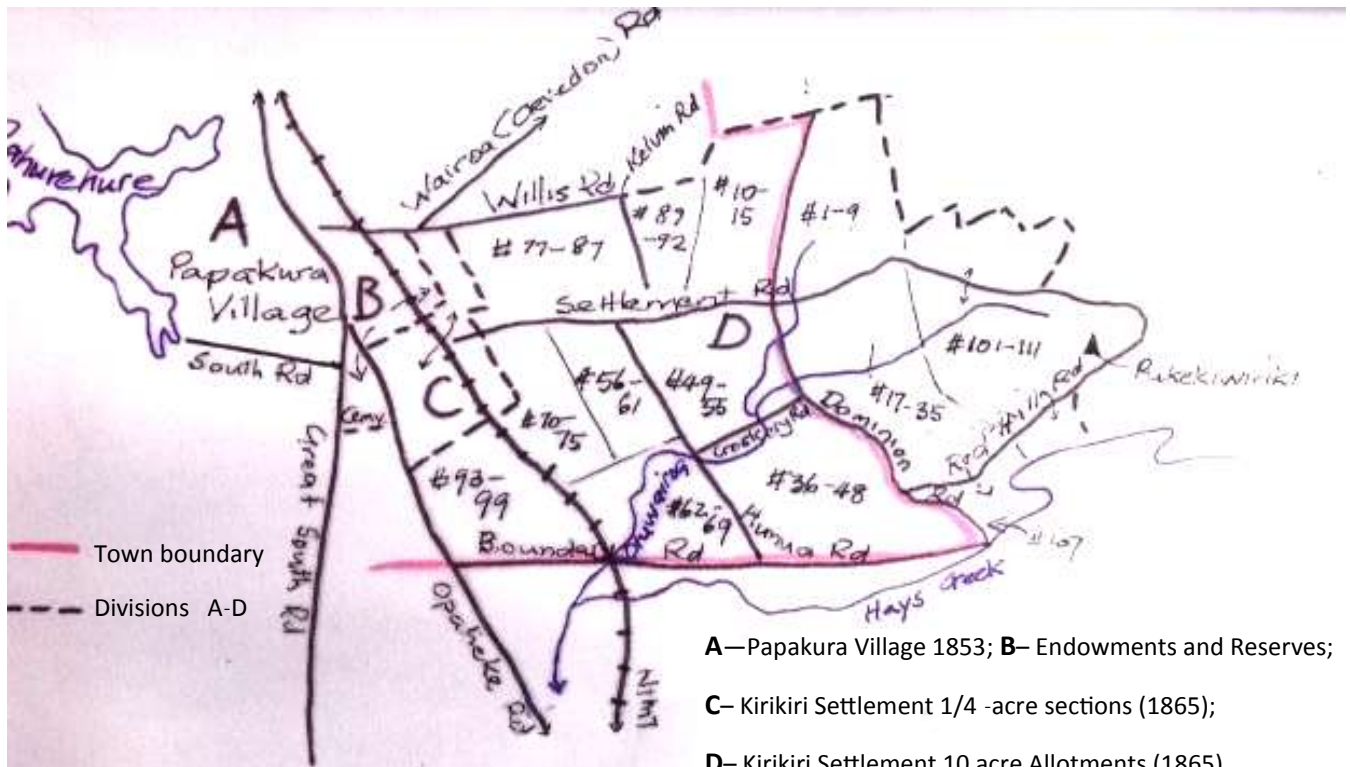
Resolute settlers were taken in bullock carts to Onehunga, then the majority, 83 families, were shipped overnight on 29 June in driving rain in open cutters to Drury, and then walked to Papakura. They arrived amid winter gales, soaked and cold, and this weather persisted after they reached the tents prepared for them on their allocated lots. A descendant of one of the families appropriated a description of such a night as those *Resolute* settlers encountered on their first night. It may not be accurate but seems appropriate:

'The first night was one not to be soon forgotten. The heavy rain and rattling hail, which increasingly poured down, the vivid lightning and hollow sounding thunder resounding in never ending echoes, the angry winds which furiously rushed in fitful roaring blasts through the ancient forests, rocking and crashing and lashing the monarchs of trees as so many saplings of a year, stripping and cracking off their branches. The hooting of owls and the shrieking of parrots which flew affrightedly about seeking shelter all united to declare the great commotion nature was undergoing.'

(Quoted from: *London Journal of the Botany*, Vol III, 1844 by Sir W J Hooker.)

An uncanny arrival for the Scots, and the presage of habitat destruction that would follow. Kaka and kakariki have disappeared from the area along with kiwi and weka, although the voice of ruru/ morepork is still heard sometimes at night. Remnant flocks of pukeko survive, vulnerable on the roads.

This is a fitting place to end the sad story of the transition. Bleak beginnings for the new settlers echoed the tragic removal of those who had lived in Kirikiri for hundreds of years, and the swollen river, thrashing great trees and alarmed forest birds spoke of grief and environmental destruction, a constant theme in colonisation. Nothing would be the same, and the next few years would be harsh and painful for all concerned.



Sketch map to illustrate the layout of Papakura in its early history. To the original village, A, was added the various reserves and lands allocated to the Kirikiri Settlement ('Native land' in the map page 5). Otuwairoa Stream is often called Kirikiri Stream (or named after the farms it flows through)

Coming up

In the next article, we will follow the settlers' experiences in the first three years when pending land grants tied the families to Kirikiri while the energetic community struggled to survive, hope finally coming from one of their own. We then follow the Thames diaspora, and others who left for Auckland and elsewhere, before returning to stories of those who remained to live out their lives in Kirikiri and Papakura, or settled elsewhere in Franklin. Finally we will explore their heritage in the years since, and how descendants of those settlers, some of whom are still among us, have contributed to the life of Papakura. The Kirikiri settlement survived into the 1960s as a distinct community.

Part of the story has already been told, the part that focusses on a farm, initially owned by a successful *Resolute* immigrant, which he named Kuranui but which became better known as Everslie. (I'm still hoping that photographs of Everslie farm and the house will emerge! In fact any photos of the Kirikiri area are very welcome, as they will help bring alive the stories of this community.) The inspiration of this whole project came when Bridget Bayly mentioned the Everslie Golf Course in an article on the Manukau Golf Course, and I had to trace the origins of the name. It also helps that the boundary of Kirikiri settlement begins just over the road from my house with views of the valley between Opaheke Road and the Hunua flanks, and that market forces are so determined to destroy any semblance of a more-than-once living community, which needs to be restored to memory.

I am always hoping to hear from descendants of more of the families. I am grateful to Elaine Croskery for information she shared and for the diary of her ancestor, Douglas Brown Stewart, and to other descendants I meet from time to time. Descendants of some families have recorded anything from a few typescript pages to printed books about the lives of their ancestors, and I have also read the shipboard diary of James Arnold. Local histories from a surprising range of areas—those people got about!—have provided valuable information: Dr Michelle Anne Smith has written about several of these families that remained in her cemetery walks booklets (*Thirteen Ships* and *Digging up the Past*) and in 'Open all hours', and there is useful information in *Break-*

water against the tide (Elsdon Craig). Local history records from Papakura and the Drury Riding of Franklin County - rates books, valuation rolls, Papakura Town Board minute books, church (usually Presbyterian) baptisms, marriages and deaths, and cemetery records provide valuable detail, supplemented by Wisnes Directories and Electoral Rolls. Wonderful and tantalising snippets of stories have been recorded in the newspapers of the day, which are searchable through *Papers Past*, newspapers digitised and indexed by the National Library of New Zealand. And just to prove that I don't spend all my time sitting at a desk I have walked the bounds, looking for traces of the valley that was—first, a natural landscape with the light touch of Maori occupancy, then a farming landscape at different stages of clearing and domestication, and now of the 'too much with us' heavy-handed reality of today.

I welcome additional information or comments. Rob

Sources:

Specific references are available on request. However the following are some general sources for the subjects covered in this issue:

Te Akitai Waiohua and Te Akitai Waiohua Settlement Trust and the Crown: deed of settlement of historical claims, www.govt.nz

Archaeopedia, <http://archaeopedia.com/wiki/index.php?title=Papakura>

Mrs Annie Campbell—update

In the previous *Sentinel*, I ended the article on Mrs Campbell by speculating whether it could have been she who had taken another photo of the *Weka* with the *Rimu* at Paratutai wharf. When I checked with Keith Giles, Principal Photographs Librarian at Auckland Libraries, he suggested, on the basis of handwriting, that this photo was more likely the work of someone else, F C Winzenberg. I think he's right: it looks more like a man's hand than a woman's. Keith's suggestions are much appreciated.

I have also had the pleasure of meeting Warwick Graham, a descendant who still lives in Papakura and is a founder member of PDHS, and the story continues to unfold. He tells me that the Campbells (with *Viola* connections) and Moodys (daughter Mary and son-in-law) lived as neighbours on Clevedon Road just out of town before Keeney Court. Some of her descendants maintained the interest in photography. He also affirmed that the Campbells used to stable horses for country people who came into Papakura to catch the train into town. See also railway update below.

Railwaymen –update

In the article on railwaymen, I referred to A J Moody as a guard (on the basis of one record) who became a driver by 1930. Warwick Graham, Moody descendant who has researched his story, tells me that he was an engine driver as early as 1913, in Te Aroha and Auckland before he came to Papakura, and continued in that role. In addition, research for the Papakura-Karaka War Memorial centennial found further railwaymen. Moody's brother-in-law Thomas Campbell who died in October 1918, had been a platelayer, and Augustine (Gus) Bond, who was a railway clerk at Papakura when he enrolled, was killed in action at Gallipoli.

No Maoris allowed: review

With other Society members I attended the talk entitled 'Breaking the taboo: the forbidden history of racial segregation in New Zealand', given by Dr Robert Bartholomew at the Papakura Library on 2 June 2021; others were at the follow-up talk at the Pukekohe Library the next day. Bartholomew, a medical sociologist, is the author of *No Maori allowed*, subtitled '*how a generation of Māori children perished in the fields of Pukekohe*' (which is available through Auckland Libraries). An American by birth but a Kiwi by choice, he was aware he might be judged for exposing things that have been quietly hidden or forgotten. But the story told was painfully true, as attested in documents and in the memories of many in the audience, both Maori and Pakeha, who had lived in both towns between the 1920s and 1960s.

Most of the examples came from Pukekohe, but he reported on one Papakura case from the 1950s that made it to the papers. In 1959 Dr Henry Bennett was refused access to the Papakura Hotel. His European wife was told that 'we don't serve Maori here'. This was not an isolated case.

Assumptions made about Maori were behind a lot of the issues. Change began to come in the 1950s once Prime Minister Walter Nash had declared that all New Zealanders were equal under the law.

Inevitably, there was some reference to the new Aotearoa NZ History Curriculum, and, as the historian Paul Moon has said, we need to face up to the hard facts, 'warts and all'. In fact no real progress towards a healthy sense of national identity can be made without facing up to the difficult bits, those we'd rather forget, or that others have forgotten (or failed to notice) on our behalf. Not that the whole emphasis should be on finding the scabs, but we need to know the truth of what has happened in our past. Events in the USA at the moment highlight the danger of manufacturing a proud identity as the land of freedom by sweeping slavery, the Tulsa massacre of 100 years ago, countless lynchings, black church burnings and Jim Crow laws under the carpet. The consequence is that many US states and one major party seem determined to repeat the errors and injustices of the past.

Part of the Papakura-Karaka War Memorial Centennial Display in the Papakura Museum



Photo Kara Oosterman

NOTICES

June Monthly Meeting - 24 June at 1 pm: Murray Parker, on Go South young man. He won a 2-month trip to Antarctica as a young man and will tell us of the Dry Valleys, penguins, Scott & Shackleton.

July Monthly Meeting—22 July at 1 pm Lost Boys: Writer **Brian Hannam** & another actor will read excerpts from Brian`s play LOST BOYS, based on the story of one of the 128 `Parkhurst Boys` sent to Auckland in 1852 from prison in England. Sending convicts to Auckland was unpopular & the boys had a hostile reception. Drama & humour.

August Monthly Meeting— 26 August at 1 pm: AGM plus Thrilling History Quiz from Uncle Phil

Trips will resume after the winter recess in September.

MUSEUM EXHIBITIONS:

Warbirds, and the 100 year Papakura Monument,

Faka-Tokelau in August.

Meetings are held on the fourth Thursday of each month at the Library Meeting Rooms opposite the Museum, starting with the talk at 1 pm, continuing with business and afternoon tea (for a **\$2 gold coin** minimum). All are welcome. Phil Sai-Louie arranges our interesting speakers.

Events are advertised here, on the screen in the Museum window and on our blog and Facebook pages. Please check for updates and Museum news.

Trips are usually held on the fourth Saturday of each month two days after the meetings. The bus leaves from East Street behind the Access Point building at 10 am, unless otherwise stated. Cost is \$5 more for non-members, but anyone is welcome on a first come first aboard basis. Please register early and advise if unable to attend as numbers are limited.

To register for trips, please ring Dave at (09) 2984507

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Our blog: <https://papakuramuseumblog.wordpress.com>

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The Papakura Sentinel is a bimonthly magazine of the Papakura & Districts Historical Society. Your contributions are welcomed. Please send directly to Terry or Rob by email: pdhs@papakuramuseum.org.nz



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