

*Sir Āpirana Ngata
and Paikea, Ivan L.G. Sutherland*

*The legacy of a 25-year friendship
between the Māori leader and the
Pākehā academic*

Ngata and Ivan were a powerful partnership: Ngata was the outstanding political figure of his time, and inspirational leader. Ivan was the only Pākehā of that time who came close enough to him and had the desire to truly understand his vision.

My father, Ivan Sutherland, died in 1952 when I was aged eight. I grew up aware of his interest in the Māori people, I knew of his long-standing relationship with Sir Āpirana Ngata and Ngāti Porou, and that they had called him 'Paikea'. I had learned first from my mother, and later from his publications, something of his years of visits to Māori districts and of his efforts to gain a greater understanding by Pākehā of the past and present Māori situation and of Māori aspirations. But, it was sketchy information. Twenty or so years ago, after I became aware of the letters between the two men held by the Alexander Turnbull Library, I decided to write his biography. Because Ngata and Ngāti Porou feature as a continuing thread throughout the story, I have always wanted to present it to Ngāti Porou before it is published (planned for 2013)¹, and I am very grateful to have the opportunity to do so today.

First, I would like to pay my respects to the memory of Sir Āpirana Ngata and to the memory of those of his family who remembered Ivan and who assisted and encouraged my project: Mrs Tai Green, Mr Tīpene Ngata, Mrs Pareārau Pouwhare, and particularly Mrs Mate Kaiwai. E nga rangātira, moe mai, moe mai, moe mai.

Then I would like to thank Sir Hēnare Ngata for his early and continuing support of my project. Sir Hēnare was a student living at Weir House, Victoria University College, in the mid-1930s when Ivan was warden of that hostel. Ivan kept a close eye on the young man's progress, reporting from time to time to his father. Years later, in 1991 when I was discussing my project with Sir Hēnare he left the room and returned with this – a copy of *The Price of Citizenship* – and he inscribed it like this: 'Ki a Oliver Sutherland. Tenei te mihi atu ki a koe i runga i nga ahuatanga i waenganui i to matua me toku'.

E te rangatira, Tā Hēnare, tēnā koe mō ō kupu tino mahana ki ahau.

Vapi Kupenga kindly arranged my early meetings with people on the East Coast and Honor Rickard, Erana Akroyd, Hunaara Tangaere and Tauira Takurua all helped with important background information.

I would also like to thank Whai Ngata for his encouragement and for allowing me access to Sir Āpirana Ngata's restricted papers. Finally, Keri Kaa has been extremely supportive, especially when we have been visiting the East Coast, and Rangitukia in particular, to gain a feeling for the places that had become so much a part of Ivan's life.





Ivan Sutherland, 1932, S.P. Andrew, Collection 1/1-018914-F, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Ivan was born in Masterton in 1897, twenty three years after Sir Āpirana Ngata. He was the son of Salvation Army parents who, not long after Ivan arrived, became staunch Methodists, and Ivan himself became a preacher at the age of sixteen while still at Wairarapa College. He went on to university, becoming a top scholar at Victoria University College, where he studied philosophy and psychology under Professor Thomas Hunter. Hunter was a liberal; he was a man

committed to social justice and he encouraged a sense of social responsibility in his students. Ivan then spent two years in Great Britain, completing a PhD at Glasgow and London Universities becoming intrigued by the psychological anthropology of William Rivers. He returned to New Zealand in 1924 to become a lecturer at Victoria under Professor Hunter, a position he held for thirteen years.

Shortly before leaving England for home, Ivan wrote to his father saying that he planned to investigate the customs of the Māori from a psychological viewpoint. Quite what gave him this idea is unclear, although as I have said, he was very interested in the anthropological work of the British psychologist William Rivers who had worked in the Pacific. But he had also heard the ethnologist Elsdon Best speak and read some of his work.

Once he was home, he immediately began reading more of the early ethnologists, including Walter Gudgeon and Stephenson Percy Smith, who were no longer living, and also Edward Tregear and Elsdon Best, both of whom he met when he joined the Polynesian Society in 1925 and who were both still publishing studies of Māori. Besides them, the Polynesian Society brought him into contact with Ngata and with

his long-time secretary and confidante Hēnare Te Rauinoa Huatahi Balneavis, both of whom were on the Council of the Society, to which Ivan was elected in 1931 bringing him into closer regular contact with the two men.

In the early 1920s, when none of the social sciences was taught in the Colleges of the University of New Zealand, Ivan was one of just three academics, all young Pākehā, interested in contemporary Māori life. The other two were both graduates of Auckland University College. One of these was Raymond Firth, who had left Auckland in 1923 for England where he published *The Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*² in 1929 and had an illustrious career as an anthropologist in Great Britain.

Then there was Felix Keesing who in 1925 embarked on a study of contemporary Māori society, published in 1928 as *The Changing Maori*.³ He, too, left to take up a position overseas and did not return. But, while they were still in New Zealand both Firth and Keesing had caught the eye of Ngata – in fact, Ngata had persuaded Keesing to visit the East Coast, which he did briefly, before writing up his thesis. And, in their celebrated correspondence, Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa, Sir Peter Buck discussed and

critically assessed the work of these young Pākehā.⁴ While they had their shortcomings, Ngata and Buck saw them as welcome and rare examples of academics with their hearts in the right direction.

The departure of Firth and Keesing left Ivan as the last of the young men who became known as Ngata protégés. Ivan's first publication appeared in 1927 and was a two-part survey entitled *Maori Culture and Modern Ethnology*.⁵ It was a strictly academic piece, which reviewed the work of the earlier New Zealand and British ethnologists who had the Pacific in their sights and interpreted it from the viewpoint of the 'modern psychology'.

At about the same time Ivan was working on this, he arranged for Ngata to address the Wellington Branch of the Australasian Association for Psychology and Philosophy, of which Ivan was secretary. Ngata delivered what must have felt like a bombshell to the assembled psychologists and a powerful counterpoint to the more gentle writings of the Pākehā ethnologists. It was a blunt, no-holds-barred paper, which analysed the nature, the processes and the impacts of colonisation on Māori and Māori mentality.⁶ By way of example, Ngata turned to the colonisation of the Bay

of Islands in the early 1800s, which he summed up as *'a play of human motives: of the mind of the Māori... of the mind of the Pākehā trader and adventurer... and of the mind of the missionary'*.

These, Ngata said, were coupled with the introduction of what he called *'the most formidable and the most seductively attractive elements of modern civilization, firearms, alcohol and trade'*. All of these had, he argued, played a part in the disintegration of native cultures in Polynesia and elsewhere in the world. And he went on *'From this welter of lust and bloodshed, the Māori people emerged with terrible scars and unbalanced minds...the severest loss [being] that of the old time sanctions which fortified custom and their religious system, which supported the mana and prestige of the chiefs and priests, round which the communal system evolved'*.

By now Ivan was working on his first independent research effort, which was strongly influenced by Ngata's words. This was published in 1929 as *The Study of Maori Mind*,⁷ a paper which much later Professor Keith Sorrenson said was *'probably [Ivan's] most important contribution to the study of the Maori'*.⁸ In the paper Ivan challenged the prevailing thought

amongst past and present Pākehā ethnologists, including Best, that Māori were not capable of abstract thought. Ivan considered this to be a false assumption, and pointed to the esoteric teachings of the whare wānanga as proof. At that time there was much speculation around the world regarding the inferiority and superiority of various races and he went on to confront that issue, concluding that: *'There can be no doubt that we are right in presuming the equality of intelligence as between Maori and European'*.

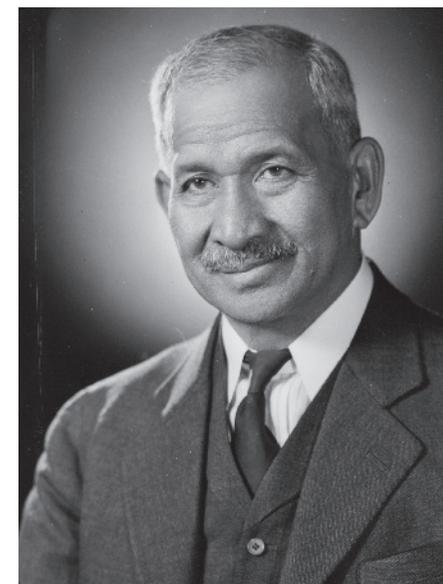
Finally the paper turned to Ngata's despondent analysis of the impacts of colonisation during the 1800s. Like Ngata, Ivan spoke of the disintegration of Māori mind, and wrote *'A mode of human life possessing values of its own was destroyed. Much was lost and lost forever'*.

Ivan presented the paper in 1929 at a New Zealand Science Congress at which Ngata was present, and straight afterwards Ngata wrote him an appreciative letter, the first of what was to be a twenty-year correspondence between the two.⁹ Ngata wrote also to Buck, again praising Ivan's paper as the first attempt by a New Zealand author to argue the case for Māori capability of abstract thought.¹⁰ But, it was Ngata's letter to Ivan, in May 1929, from which

I want to quote more extensively, because it seems to me that it lays out just what Ngata believed that a sympathetic academic like Ivan must do in any study of the contemporary situation:

'Lately I wrote to Dr Buck that the most remarkable thing to be found in Maoridom today is that after a century of the clash of Pakeha and Maori culture, the Maori has got over the wonders of western civilisation and is settling down to a compromise by the adaptation of elements of both. A good essay could be written up on this if one had the time. Much field work would be required. It would have to be written from many angles. (1) That of the highly educated Maori who can follow the course of Maori progress, say, for the last generation; (2) That of the ordinary Maori villager who has watched all manner of innovations during the same period and has been caught up in the stream without bothering much about the why and wherefore. He would represent today the survival of persistent and conservative elements in the Maori culture; [and] (3) That of the sympathetic Pakeha who has watched the changes with Pakeha eyes'.

Such a study had not, Ngata concluded, been done in any part of the world – while Keesing's work covered some



Sir Āpirana Ngata, c. 1940 as included in *The Maori People Today*. Earle Andrew Collection, 1/4-021044-F, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ.

of the ground, he had not done the requisite fieldwork.

Ivan was such a person and Ngata urged him to visit the East Coast and those communities from which he would learn the often harsh day-to-day realities of Māori life. Ivan needed little prompting and from 1930 visited the Coast in his university vacations again and again, attending hui that Ngata suggested, staying with him from time to time at Waiōmatatini and speaking on race relations on marae up and down the coast and with local



Princess Te Puea Hērangi, as included in *The Maori People Today*. Reproduced courtesy of The Office of the Māori King.

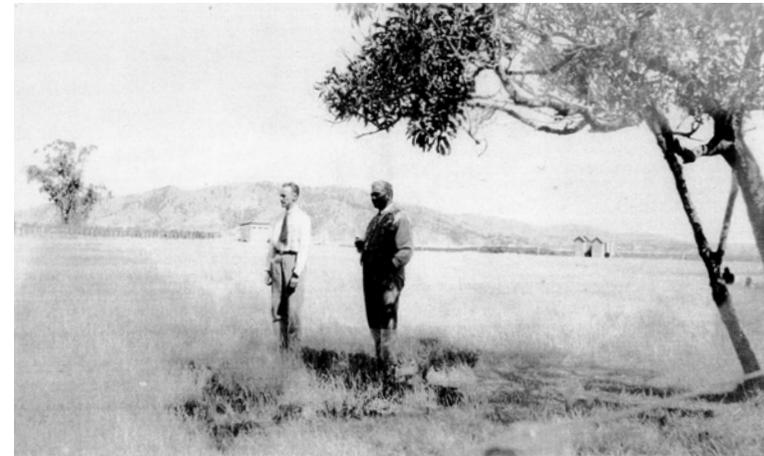
leaders such as Dr Tūtere Wī Repa, Waipaina Te Awarau, and Turi Carroll. And, of course, Captain William Pitt who worked for Ngata's department and who Ngata had arranged to guide Ivan from community to community and interpret for him. During these visits, Ivan learned at first hand about the background to Ngata's land development schemes and their implementation, and the realities of dairy farming on the Coast. And, he saw

the steady realisation of Ngata's vision of cultural renewal.

By 1932 Ivan had gained the trust not only of Ngata but also of those other Ngāti Porou leaders who then, if not before, gave him the name 'Paikea'. It caught on, and when, again at Ngata's urging, Ivan visited Te Puea Hērangi at Onewhero, and Taipōrutu Mitchell in Rotorua and Hoeroa Marumaru on the Whanganui River, learning about the land development schemes in their districts, 'Paikea' was what they all called him.

At the same time as he was gaining his own understanding of the land development schemes and the Māori renaissance, Ivan was determined to tackle the widespread ignorance among Pākehā, and he spoke and lectured to business groups, to clubs and to learned societies on what was going on in the Māori world, and what initiatives Ngata and other Māori leaders were implementing to lift the social and economic circumstances of their people.

Having a respected, articulate and independent Pākehā academic like Ivan discussing and promoting these matters publicly certainly suited Ngata. Ivan's advocacy would assist the acceptance of Ngata's vision for Māori, and would



'Speaking to the Maoris at Rangitukia'. Ivan being welcomed at Hinepare marae, Rangitukia; Captain William Pitt interpreting, c. 1931. Reverend Poihipi Kōhere standing, left, lower image. PAColl-10801-05, -06, -07, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ.



assist Ngata politically. Ngata's situation as Minister had become increasingly difficult as the Depression deepened; the public and the political mood was marked by increasing criticism of the administration of the land development schemes of which by 1932, about sixty were underway throughout the country. As Ngata wrote to Ivan in 1933, when the wolves were gathering and ready to attack him and his department: *'I do not think that there are many who would understand the situation as you see it'*.¹¹

Finally, at the end of 1933, the Government in which Ngata was Minister of Native Affairs, decided that a Royal Commission should investigate the charges of mal-administration in Ngata's department and, indeed, his own conduct and impartiality. The Native Affairs Commission, as it was known, began its hearings in April 1934, and ran for about six months.

But, in late January 1934, before the Commission got under way, Ivan and Ngata relaxed at the celebratory opening of a new, fully carved, meeting house at Pākīrīkiri Marae, Tokomaru Bay, which a visiting contingent from the Cook Islands named Te Hono ki Rarotonga. The event was the latest of Ngata's drive for the cultural revival of Māori. The two men then

travelled north to Waitangi for the first observance of Waitangi Day, an occasion at which the Governor-General, Lord Bledisloe and his wife gifted to the nation James Busby's house and 400 hectares of grounds where the Treaty of Waitangi had been signed in 1840. As Ngata later wrote to Buck, the celebrations, attended by 6000 Māori, including 1300 performers, were a fine 'demonstration of the renaissance in song, haka of all kinds and peruperu'.¹²

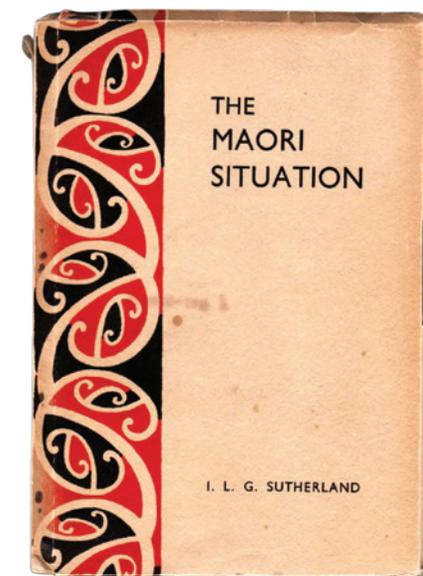
Once the Native Affairs Commission started sitting, over 140 witnesses gave evidence, including Ivan. He was the only independent Pākehā to do so and he was resolute in his defence of Ngata and the land development schemes.¹³ And, he was equally resolute when facing intense cross-examination by the Commissioners, especially the Chairman, Supreme Court Judge David Smith with whom he ended up debating Māori self determination.¹⁴ It was as though Ivan had broken ranks with the educated Pākehā elite by throwing his weight behind Ngata.

Newspaper reports of Ivan's evidence reached Tūtere Wī Repa at Hicks Bay who wrote *'My Dear Paikea, You will be surprised to get this note from me, but after reading the newspaper account of your statement to the*

Royal Commission I felt I must write to congratulate you on it. It was good of you to make it. The Chief is getting a bad time from some quarters'.¹⁵

Certainly Ngata was under pressure, and in October 1934 the Native Affairs Commission brought down a highly critical report which led to Ngata's resignation from Cabinet. Ivan was outraged and immediately wrote sympathetically to Ngata: *'I am not thinking of what the relinquishment of your post may mean for the Maori people now and in the future, serious and important as that is, [rather] I cannot at the moment but think of you and your third of a century of single-handed work for your people'*. Ivan was, he wrote, *'staggered when I think that these many years of hard work can be so judged'*.¹⁶ In an immediate reply marked 'Private' Ngata agreed with Ivan that the Commission had been biased against him and had not given a balanced review, saying that *'The data on which its strictures are based are not correct in all essentials and where facts are recited they are so arranged to raise none but sinister suggestions'*.¹⁷

Ngata's resignation in the face of continued attacks on his integrity led Ivan to write and in 1935 to publish a 123-page booklet *The Maori Situation*.¹⁸ Its aim was two-fold: firstly, Ivan



Cover of *The Maori Situation*, Harry H. Tombs Ltd., Wellington, 1935

wanted to educate Pākehā regarding the impacts of colonisation on Māori, on the efforts and success of the Young Māori Party to improve Māori living conditions, and he wanted to educate Pākehā on the harsh reality of contemporary Māori life. He struck out for intellectual honesty, saying *'Our history is currently told much too exclusively in terms of one race only, in our own terms. Perhaps a Maori historian will one day appear who will do justice to his people and tell the full truth...and express the bitterness that has subsequently been theirs'*.

Secondly, Ivan aimed to challenge the report and the recommendations of the Native Affairs Commission which, he thought, had made Māori feel that they and their leader were on trial. He would present a defence of Ngata and the land development schemes, which he had initiated.

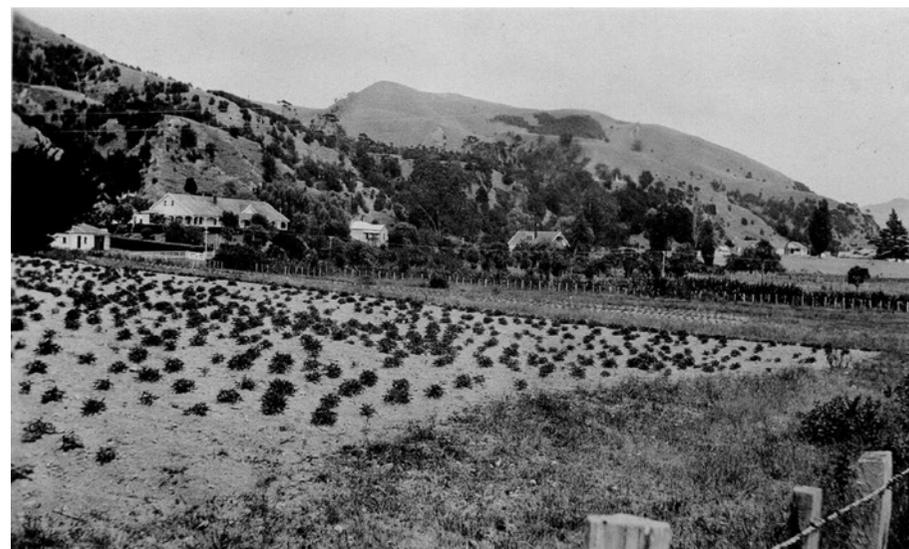
The first draft of the booklet, which Ivan sent to Ngata to look at, included a direct call for Ngata's re-instatement as Minister and a blunt declaration that no Pākehā could do the job as Minister of Native Affairs. But Ngata asked him to remove these comments because, he said to Buck, and with an election looming, 'the time did not appear to me to be opportune for pressing any such view'.¹⁹

Once *The Maori Situation* was published, Ivan sent a copy to every politician and key public figure in the country. It had an immediate impact. Never before had a sympathetic account of the Māori situation and of three decades of Ngata's leadership, vision and achievements been published. Ivan received dozens of appreciative letters and numerous positive reviews. But, not everyone was pleased. Rēweti Kōhere, an old-boy of Te Aute College like Ngata, and earlier one of his supporters though now a political opponent, thought that *The*

Maori Situation was what he called 'a straight out effort to whitewash Sir Apirana Ngata and to criticise the Royal Commission which found against him'.²⁰ Kōhere thought that Ivan's booklet contained 'unadulterated adulation' of Ngata which he thought resulted from Ivan being 'on the most intimate terms with Sir Apirana Ngata'. But, Kōhere's was a lone voice.

By now, Ivan had absorbed the key features of Ngata's vision for the future for Māori. They must grasp what the Pākehā world offered, but must retain all the important elements of their culture, both the social institutions such as hui and tangi as well as the marae and meeting houses which sustained them. In fact, Māori must be bicultural. This included retaining their language. And, while Ngata and Ivan at first believed that usage at home would keep the language secure so that the emphasis at school should be on English, they increasingly changed their view toward Māori being taught in schools and right through to the universities.

At the same time, both men believed at this time that the future for Māori was on the land and their education should fit them for a life of farming. The unstoppable move to the cities had not as yet begun.



The Bungalow': the Ngata homestead at Waiōmatatini, early 1930s. PAColl-10801-33, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ.

While the impacts of Ivan's publication *The Maori Situation* were still being felt, Ngata and Ivan spent a fortnight on the road together in early 1936, presenting lectures at a series of refresher courses for teachers at Native Schools, held at Kaikohe, Rotorua and Tikitiki. Others in the party included Tūtere Wī Repa and the carver Pine Taiapa. The trip gave Ivan an opportunity to begin a discussion with Ngata over adult education for Māori. Ngata was certainly interested, but wary. He explained firstly that not all districts would be suited to adult education and secondly that the courses should

be focused on topics relevant to the lives of the people, such as housing, sanitation and tuberculosis, and to their culture and values such as language and tribal history.²¹ But, at the time Ivan's idea came to nothing.

At the beginning of 1937, Ivan left Wellington to take up the position of Professor of Philosophy at Canterbury University College, getting married to Nancy Webber at French Pass along the way. In Christchurch he felt cut off from Māori affairs and from Ngata. So, to keep him abreast of the pace of activity on the coast, Ngata wrote further lengthy letters in 1938

describing progress on new meeting houses and renovations to others, up and down the Coast.

At Waiōmatatini, Porourangi and the renovated dining hall were completed; at Te Araroa, Hinerupe meeting house and Rongomaitāpui dining hall were complete; and at Mangahānea the new hall was ready for opening. Meanwhile, in Wairoa the new meeting house had already been opened by the Ringatū adherents, whose commitment to their kawa Ngata appreciated. They had, he wrote *'maintained in their ritual, in the intoning and general attitude towards the observances of their cult, more of the genius of the Polynesian than any other adaptation of the religion of the Pakeha'*.

Te Puea and Pei Te Hurunui Jones had told Ngata that Koroki – who, Ngata wrote, *'was tragically called a King'* – Koroki would be attending the openings at Waiōmatatini and Wairoa accompanied by a large Waikato contingent. Ngata urged Ivan to attend the openings and celebrations if he could, pointing out that his Te Araroa, Waiōmatatini and Wairoa friends would all be glad to see him.²² Three months later, Ngata wrote again reflecting on the series of hui. It had been a strenuous programme, he said, not made easier by the weather, and he

explained that the flood damage on the eve of Anzac Day, which had levelled the dining hall at Waiōmatatini to the ground and destroyed nearly one half of its materials, had also destroyed the cookhouse, meat store, and other amenities of the marae. We were forced, he wrote, *'to fill up a new site, to restore the minimum necessary for the marae services, in order that the Porourangi ceremony might take place a little ahead of the Wairoa celebrations to suit the convenience of our...visitors. So far as I was concerned, there was no let up'*.²³

Ngata's letter again referred to Koroki's visit and to the Kingitanga. As Ngata often did, he took the opportunity to educate Ivan on the Ngāti Porou view of matters: They had no particular regard for an institution such as the Kingship, which was not a Maori idea, but respected *'the undoubted high rank of the visitor, derived from his ancestry, not the least of which was of East Coast origin'*. This was, Ngata wrote *'a restatement of the position taken up by the great chief Te Kania Takirau, when he was approached with the offer of the Kingship: "I am a king in my own right from my ancestors. The mountain Hikurangi is not one of the 'travelling' mountains"*.

Ivan had not been able to get north for the celebrations. By this time he was very preoccupied leading a national organisation assisting the immigration of European Jews to New Zealand. Besides this, Ivan had agreed to lead a major publishing project, one which he would undertake together with Ngata. The aim was to produce a comprehensive survey of the current state of the Māori people. The project was Ngata's idea, and as far as he was concerned, Ivan was the only person capable of pulling it together. It would be a multi-authored volume to be entitled *The Maori People Today*. While Ivan would write introductory and concluding chapters, and Sir Peter Buck would write a Foreword, Ngata would write four chapters; on Maori Land Settlement, on Tribal Organisation, on Maori Arts and Crafts and on Religious Influences. Other chapters would include historical pieces by Ernest Beaglehole and Harold Miller, while Horace Belshaw would write on Economic Circumstances. Harold Turbott, who had spent years on the Coast as Medical Officer of Health, would write on Health and Social Welfare, Douglas Ball, an Inspector of Native Schools would cover Māori Education and Roger Duff would write a chapter on the South Island Māori.

Ngata was one of the authors who was unable to get their manuscripts to Ivan by the mid-1938 deadline. Besides his preoccupation with the building and renovating activities on the East Coast marae that year, he was soon involved in the organisation of the first Young Māori Leaders' Conference held in May 1939. At the same time Ngata was up to his ears in preparations for the 1940 Centennial Exhibition and the design and construction of the Māori Court and Centennial Meeting House in Wellington. And, then there was the Treaty Memorial House at Waitangi to be readied for the centenary celebration.

Ngata was now aged 65 and the pressure of these commitments sapped his energy. At the same time, the death of a number of close friends coupled with years on the opposition benches since Labour won the 1935 election, led to feelings of deep gloom. It was not a time when he could concentrate on the major writing job that his chapters for Ivan's volume required. To complicate matters, at the end of 1939 war broke out and Ngata became further preoccupied, this time with the war effort, at first pressing the government of Michael Savage to form a Māori Battalion, and then throwing himself into a campaign to encourage Māori



Main Street, Ruatōria, East Coast near Waiōmatatini and Rangitukia, early 1930s. Tairāwhiti Museum Photographic Collection, Gisborne. NZ.

to enlist, including his two sons Wiremu and Hēnare.

Aware of all this, Ivan was nevertheless determined to have Ngata's four planned contributions to *The Maori People Today* included, because without his involvement and the mana he would bring to it, the project would collapse. So, there was nothing for it but for Ivan to write Ngata's chapters for him, which he did. He explained the situation in a letter to Gilbert Archey, Director of the Auckland Museum in mid-1940, writing 'Sir Apirana caused extraordinary delay...and I finally realised that the only thing to do was

to insist on taking him down from dictation',²⁴ which Ivan did during hours of Ngata's precious time snatched as he worked on the Centennial Exhibition and for the Māori Battalion. Although by now Ivan was very familiar with Ngata's tribal and political activities, and his views on Māori social, cultural and economic advancement, there was a risk in drafting the other man's chapters – Ivan's writing might not look like that of Ngata's. As he wrote to Harold Turbott: 'There are sentences in the...sections I worked up that read too much like me and will have to come out'.²⁵

Still, one by one he drafted Ngata's chapters, and one by one Ngata signed them off, insisting that Ivan appear as co-author of one of them, and the volume finally appeared to critical acclaim just a little late in mid-1940.²⁶ *The Maori People Today* stands now as it did then as a testament to the trusting relationship between the two men. At the time, Ngata's chapters were seen by various reviewers as contributions that only he could have written; they were seen as fine pieces of writing which overshadowed all other chapters in the survey. Since then, the chapters have been described as being some of Ngata's finest writing.

The volume sold out quickly. Despite Ivan's best efforts, it was not reprinted with, as he had hoped, an additional chapter by Ngata on the Māori at War. Ngata eventually wrote most of the chapter, but it is uncertain whether Ivan ever saw it. The unfinished draft remained amongst his papers until Monty Soutar found it and published it as an appendix to his magnificent volume *Nga Tamatoa – The Price of Citizenship*.

The war was intensely personal for Ngata, with Wiremu badly wounded on Crete and Hēnare taken prisoner. Ngata was not only proud of his own boys but also of the wider Māori effort.

As he wrote to Ivan in 1941: 'It was a relief to learn from so many sources that the Maori of today was able to 'take it' as well as the pick of the Empire. I was apprehensive about his reaction to the terrible weapons of the Nazi, and he has come through without flinching. The inspiration of the war-dance of his forefather behind the bayonet of the Pakeha! Yes – there is mourning in many a village, anxiety in all, but a quiet determination to reinforce the Maori unit to the end'.²⁷

Not surprisingly, Ngata asked Ivan to attend the Ngarimu Hui in 1943 and to write the commemorative booklet, which he did, this time under his own name.²⁸ Also under his own name, but with strong input from Ngata, which included nine pages of hand-written notes sent to Ivan as guidance, was a two-part bulletin entitled *The Maori People* written for distribution to the thousands of New Zealand troops serving overseas and at home as a basis for discussion groups.²⁹ As was the case when he wrote about the Native Affairs Commission in 1934, Ivan was able in these war-time bulletins to write what Ngata as a politician, indeed one on the Opposition Benches, could not. That in many ways was the nature of their relationship. Certainly more than any other Pākehā at the time, and

maybe more than any other person except for Buck, Balneavis and Ngata's closest colleagues, Ivan knew Ngata's mind, understood his vision, and in these bulletins he was able to articulate this for a mostly Pākehā readership, urging, as he always did, mutual understanding and tolerance between the races.

As his own contribution to the war effort, Ivan was commissioned as Honorary Major and visited Japan for two months in early 1947 to present talks on race relations to New Zealand troops, including the Māori troops under Major Serancke and Captain Poananga at Hikari, and also to other units of the British Commonwealth Occupying Forces. While in Japan, he took the opportunity to travel to the island of Hokkaido in the north and to visit communities of the Ainu, Japan's indigenous minority. Once he had returned home, Ivan wrote to Ngata explaining that he had been immediately struck by the parallels of the situation of the Ainu and Māori. In 1947 they were, he thought, in as subjugated a position as Māori had been at the turn of the century, and the recently formed Hokkaido Ainu Association, whose leaders he met, had the look and feel of Ngata's own Young Māori Party.

Ivan never gave up hope that the 1940 volume *The Maori People Today* might be updated and reprinted, and by 1950, ten years later, decided that he must take on the task single-handedly. Even if Ngata, who was now aged seventy six, had wanted to, he was unable to assist, and indeed in July of that year, he died. Ivan, himself now aged fifty three, wrote a heartfelt tribute for inclusion in the Polynesian Society's Memorial publication, and this time every word of it was his own as he extolled what he described as Ngata's leadership of genius. Ivan put it this way: *'As my knowledge of the man and his work increased my conviction of his greatness grew. Sir Apirana Ngata was, in my opinion, one of the few really great men that this country has produced. He had an extraordinarily able mind – when with him one was always aware of his sheer intellectual power – and he had a forceful and tireless personality devoted for more than half a century to one dominant purpose, namely, the saving and regenerating of the people to whom he belonged.'*

And, Ivan concluded, *'...no feature of the situation was overlooked – economic, educational or cultural. No means was neglected: Ngata never missed a move that would further*

the main purpose. And, the main purpose had been achieved before he died and Maori affairs now pass into another phase in which new and different problems of adjustment must be worked out, as Ngata himself was realising towards the end of his life. But at the most critical stage in recent Maori life, Ngata gave his people leadership of genius'.³⁰

Ngata's death strengthened Ivan's resolve to research and write a major new volume on the contemporary Māori situation. He gained the funding and a year's refresher leave from Canterbury College in 1951 to complete the project, which others would later describe as his magnum opus – his life's work. He spent the first half of the year travelling in the upper North Island from coast to coast, visiting villages, schools, community groups and marae, compiling field data to go with the material he was receiving from departmental officials. Tipi Rōpiha, the recently appointed first Māori head of the Department of Māori Affairs, was especially supportive and Ivan accompanied him and the new Minister, Hon. Ernest Corbett, on Ministerial visits to both the West and East Coasts.

By May, 1951, he was far enough advanced to present a paper on

the work to the New Zealand Science Congress entitled *Maori and European*,³¹ as his planned volume would be called. Then it was back into the field again for further visits, this time to Tūwharetoa territory and across to the Whanganui River which he had first visited with Hoeroa Marumaru twenty years earlier. He returned home in July, exhausted from the travel and he contracted pleurisy. By now, halfway through his refresher year he was getting worried and disheartened about progress on the project. He couldn't shake off the anxiety, which soon worsened to depression. He undertook one more field trip, but by early 1952 it was clear that to complete a manuscript for publication was out of the question. On 21 February 1952, a week before the start of the new university year when he would have to return to his professorial duties, Ivan took his own life.

Soon after, an ope from the East Coast most likely led by Waipaina Te Awarau, travelled to Christchurch to pay their respects, and Hēnare Ngata wrote a letter of condolence. I found Nancy's reply among the Ngata papers and it reads: *'Dear Henare, if I may call you by the name Ivan always used. Thank you for your letter and for yours and the sympathy of the Ngati Porou people.'*

For my husband, as he often said, your father and Sir Thomas Hunter were together his father – the parent and main influence in all his life from student days onward, and toward them he felt the love and loyalty of a true son. I can say in all truth to you that for your people his death is a tragedy, for in every word he wrote and spoke he endeavoured to do justice to and stimulate true understanding and appreciation of the Maori people. For as long as I have known and loved him, their cause was his, and I am heartbroken to realise that the effort to finish the work he loved, before the University session resumed, should have ended in his breakdown and death with the task unfinished after all. Your letter and sympathy comfort me’.

And, as Nancy’s son, I too, sixty years later, want to take this opportunity to thank Sir Hēnare for his own and Ngāti Porou’s words of comfort to my mother.

Ngata and Ivan were a powerful partnership: Ngata was the outstanding political figure of his time, and inspirational leader. Ivan was the only Pākehā of that time who came close enough to him and had the desire to truly understand his vision. And, he was the only Pākehā of that time to present that vision of Māori self-determination to a Pākehā community which was quite out of touch with the realities of the world of contemporary Māori. Ngata’s and Ivan’s joint legacy was to have laid the foundation for the development of a bicultural society.

"As my knowledge of the man and his work increased my conviction of his greatness grew. Sir Apirana Ngata was, in my opinion, one of the few really great men that this country has produced... at the most critical stage in recent Maori life, Ngata gave his people leadership of genius".

I.L.G. Sutherland

1. See Oliver Sutherland, *Paikea: the life of I.L.G. Sutherland*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2013.
2. Raymond Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, George Routledge and Sons, London, 1929.
3. Felix M. Keesing, *The Changing Maori*, The Board of Maori Ethnological Research, Wellington, 1928.
4. M.P.K. Sorrenson, Polynesian Corpuscles and Pacific Anthropology: The Home-made Anthropology of Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 92, pp. 7-27; M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Na To Hoa Aroha*, Auckland University Press, 1986, Vol. 1, pp. 42, 97, 105, 116, 192.
5. I.L.G. Sutherland, Maori Culture and Modern Ethnology: A Preliminary Survey, I, *The Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, Vol. 5, pp. 81-93; I.L.G. Sutherland, Maori Culture and Modern Ethnology: A Preliminary Survey, II, *The Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, Vol. 5, pp. 186-201.
6. The address was published as: The Hon. Sir A.T. Ngata, Anthropology and the Government of Native Races in the Pacific, *The Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, Vol. 6, 1-14.
7. I.L.G. Sutherland, *The Study of Maori Mind*, Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 38, p. 127-147.
8. M.P.K. Sorrenson, Polynesian Corpuscles and Pacific Anthropology: The Home-made Anthropology of Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 92, pp. 14-15.
9. Ngata to ILGS, from the Office of the Native Minister, 22 May 1929, Ngata Papers MS-Papers 123:1, Alexander Turnbull Library.
10. M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Na to hoa aroha*, Auckland University Press, 1986, Vol. 1, pp. 200-201.
11. Ngata to ILGS 13 December 1933, Ngata Papers MS-Papers 123:1, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
12. Ngata to Buck, 17 March 1934, M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Na to hoa aroha*, Auckland University Press, 1988, Vol.3, p. 134.
13. The only existing copy of Ivan's statement to the Native Affairs Commission is a handwritten final draft included amongst his papers (MB 502 Box E2, Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, Christchurch). A lengthy report in *The Dominion* on 28 June 1934 largely confirms its completeness. While the official file of 'Native Affairs Commission Exhibits' (MA W 1369 Box 31 [102], Archives New Zealand, Wellington) lists Ivan's and other statements as being included, they are not.
14. MA 87 Box 2, pp. 1850-1861, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.
15. Dr Tūtere Wī Repa to ILGS 6 July 1934, MB 502, Box E2, Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, Christchurch.
16. ILGS to Ngata 2 November 1934, handwritten draft, MB 502 Box E2, Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury, Christchurch.
17. Ngata to ILGS, on House of Representatives letterhead, 5 November 1934, Ngata Papers MS Papers 123:1, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
18. I.L.G. Sutherland, *The Maori Situation*, Harry H. Tombs, 1935.
19. Ngata to Buck 17 August 1935, M.P.K. Sorrenson, *Na to hoa aroha*, Auckland University Press 1988, Vol. 3, p. 196.
20. *The Standard* (formerly *The New Zealand Worker*) 6 March 1941.
21. Ngata to ILGS 14 September 1936, Ngata Papers MS-Papers-123:1, Alexander Turnbull Library.
22. Ngata to ILGS 18 April 1938, Ngata Papers MS-Papers-123:1, Alexander Turnbull Library.
23. Ngata to ILGS 5 July 1938, Ngata Papers MS-Papers-123:1, Alexander Turnbull Library.
24. ILGS to Gilbert Archey, 26 May 1940, MA 95/43/19 Archey Papers, Correspondence S, T, Auckland Museum Archives.
25. ILGS to H.B. Turbott 17 February 1940, Turbott Papers 88-059-02, Alexander Turnbull Library,
26. I.L.G. Sutherland (ed.), *The Maori People Today*, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1940.
27. Ngata to ILGS 21 July 1941, Ngata Papers, MS-Papers 123:1, Alexander Turnbull Library.
28. I.L.G. Sutherland, *The Ngarimu Hui*, Polynesian Society, Wellington, 1949.
29. I.L.G. Sutherland, The Maori People, *N.Z. Armed Services Current Affairs Bulletin*, vol. 3, no.s 7 (Part I) and 8 (Part II), 1945, WAI W2934 Box I Alt. no. 96, Archives New Zealand.
30. I.L.G. Sutherland, *Leader of genius*, in *Sir Apirana Ngata Memorial Tribute*, The Polynesian Society, Wellington, New Zealand, 1951, pp. 17-18)
31. I.L.G. Sutherland, Maori and European, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 61, 1952, pp.130-49

Inside front cover: The kōwhaiwhai pattern (included on the cover of Ivan's booklet *The Ngarimu Hui*) is found in Porourangi, the Ngāti Porou meeting house at Sir Āpirana Ngata's home – and resting place – of Waiōmatatini.

Back cover: Oliver Sutherland at Rangitukia standing in the same spot as Ivan in 1931. Taken by Ulla Sköld 2007. The kōhuhu is sourced from the title page of Ivan's major work *The Maori People Today*;

