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***KOORERO TUKU IHO: Waahine Maaori Voices from the Embers
of Rangiaowhia***

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Te Mamae Pahi Whakamau Te Wirihana

(abt 1830 – 1947)



Maringi Whakamau Te Kaa Taratu

(abt 1880 – 1964)



Marama Te Kaa Taratu Coromandel

(abt 1912 – 2001)



E pa to hau

He wini raro

He homai aroha

Ka tangi atu au I konei

He aroha ki te iwi

Ka momotu ki Tawhiti,

Ki Paerau

Ko wai e kite atu

*Kei whea aku hoa I mua
ra*

I te toonuitanga

*Ka haramai tenei ka
tauwehe*

Ka raungai iti au ii!

*Na Rangiamoa
Hinetu*

He maumahara – Dedication

I dedicate this **koorero** to **Te Mamae Pahi** my great grandmother who stands as an example of **korero tuku iho** within the **whaanau, hapuu,** and **iwi** of **Ngati Apakura.** **Because of** her courage and determination to live, her legacy of being fearless in the face of oppression lives on. The handing down of knowledge to the **whaanau,** is a **taonga** for the **hapū** and **iwi.** **Maringi Whakamau,** daughter of **Te Mamae,** was a great leader & stalwart of **te ao Maaori.** **Marama Emma Te Kaa Taratu** Coromandel granddaughter of **Te Mamae,** and my mum, walked the talk and fought for our freedoms, your strength, courage and leadership is an inspirational guiding light to your **whaanau..** All of you are **wahine toa,** you are all the inspiration behind this thesis.

Although I personally did not have the privilege of knowing all of the kuia their wairua was felt through the numerous stories that were retold to me of their lives. The beauty of these women continues to radiate from their photographs that hang from the walls in our **whare tupuna, Whatihua.** *no reira moe mai ra.*

He maumahara kia raatou maa – those brave men, women and babies who died for our freedoms, who gave their ‘life blood’ and never gave up the fight against injustice to ensure we their **mokopuna** had a home to shelter us from the chill of losing every inch of our land. We that remain fight to keep the **mana** of the tribe intact.

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I have been fortunate and blessed to walk this journey with some wonderful people who not only shared my dreams but also ensured that I could make them a reality and for this I would like to thank the following people:

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To my children and their partners, you are a blessing to our **whaanau**, thank you for being there for me, and believing in me; you are my ‘rock’. To my **mokopuna** I hope I have inspired you to aim to reach to your fullest potential and not settle for anything less. I wish to especially acknowledge my late husband Bill Wander he played an important role in my life I have missed you dearly during my journey but I know that you have always been close in my heart. This thesis was built around you all. **He mihi aroha kia koutou.**

Special mention to my sister **Huhana** you are an inspiration to us all. *To my Dad Donald Pene Coromandel who always taught us that if we “choose to bow, bow at the summit” thank you for your vision.* To be able to stand on the time continuum here in the present and knowing that these ancestors from the past are in our future provides me with the strength to overcome obstacles that I encounter.

ABSTRACT

When will the **mokopuna** stop inheriting the **hara** of **Rangiaowhia**? **Koorero tuku iho**, is based on oral traditions praxis of my **kuia** as ‘handed down’ by three generations of her **whaanau**, for her **mokopuna**. Her eyewitness account of the massacre at **Rangiaowhia** February 1864, ‘talks back’ to the oppressive power systems that brand the indigenous as guilty.

“History can frequently dismiss whole groups of people as lost causes, or as irrelevant. Entire sections of society, usually the poor, the minorities, and the politically powerless are thereby obliterated from memory (Binney & Chaplin 1990:3)”.

Ultimately, it is only through re-claiming, re-defining and re-storing of the principle of **tinorangatanga** that the **hara** can be lifted from **Ngaati Apakura mokopuna**. However, it is through the discursive practice of **koorero tuku iho** by and from **Ngaati Apakura** voices that the burden and prejudice can be brought out of obscurity into open dialogue with the Crown.

This study is an indigenous history lesson on core **taonga tuku iho** praxis as handed down from grandmother to **mokopuna** in daily actions that seek to restore the balance. This is the legacy of the **waahine Maaori** intergenerational indigenous literacy’s that seek for indigenous justice and freedom from oppression. .

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He Karanga

“An Opening Voice”

Mori **koorero** **tuku** **iho** determines that **Patupaiarehe** were the only other beings that lived in **Aotearoa** when they arrived and settled in the country. **Apakura** being of **Patupaiarehe** and **Tainui** ancestry is the eponymous ancestor of the **Ngaati Apakura** tribe (Kelly 1949). After moving inland from **Aotea** harbour, they settled and lived in the central **Waipaa** and **Waikato** district from the 14th century. Known in history as a people who had the gifts of gardening and food gathering **Ngaati Apakura** had responded well to contact with **Paakehaa** and Western technological society.

Described as a land of milk and honey in the early 1800's, **Rangiaowhia** was a **whenua** abundant with **kai**. **Ngaati Apakura** never wanted for food with the huge vegetable gardens and acres of orchards with fruit trees of every kind. Dr Ferdinand Hochstetter during 1858 wrote:

“...for miles we saw one great Wheatfield...and all along the way, on either side, were wild peach-trees in full blossom. Carts were driven (sic) to and from the mills by their native (sic) owners, the women sat under the trees sewing flour bags, fat, healthy children and babies swarmed around...(Barber 1948:27)”

Ngaati Apakura was able to provide enough food for the tribe and to export supplies to the markets in Auckland, Australia and California.

Koorero **tuku** **iho** “They had a huge oven where they could cook 400 loaves of bread at a time” (**Tawhiri** 1970)

The abundant living was made possible by collaborative efforts of **Ngaati Apakura** women and men working together with the missionaries. Their efforts benefitted the **whaanau**, **hapuu** and **iwi** and provided food for the increasing numbers of **manuwhiri**.

Wikitoria

In the early 1800's, a **Ngaati Apakura peepi** was born into **Te Ao Marama**, a life that had already been predestined to health, wealth, abundance, a **rangatira** who will birth the future **uri o Ngaati Apakura** (Marama 1960). Her **whenua** - placenta buried into **Papatuanuku** in a grove of peach trees at **Rangiaowhia**, was a cultural norm for the wellbeing of all **Apakura mokopuna** from birth and until death (Marama 1973). Her **pito**, the source of life, sustenance, nurturing, replenishing, connecting to the realm of our **tuupuna** in the womb, then born into **Te Ao Marama** had completed its life cycle once returned to **Papatuanuku** (Marama 2000).

Wikitoria's birth was a celebration of new life gifted from **Io** descending to earth in a sacred **whakapapa** strand (Jones 2010) that connected her to **Ranginui** and **Papatuanuku** and on down to **tuupuna** from the **waka Tainui**. Her connectedness from **Io** to her **whaanau**, (Marsden 1975) the land, and cosmology had all the cultural blueprints for success (Ramsden 1994). Born of noble heritage under traditional lore **Wikitoria** is blessed with **karakia** by **kaumaatua** and **kuia** with her chosen name. In this worldview **karakia** and the choosing of the name **Wikitoria**, was important for her wellbeing and role as a **puhi** and birthing attendant for the **whaanau** and **hapuu**.

As a young girl **Wikitoria** was expected to observe the **hapu** mothers in order to learn how to 'read' the body changes through stages of pregnancy. In fact it was by observing the **hapu** mothers that girls learnt about birthing **tikanga**.

Young girls were also dedicated to **Hine-te-iwaiwa** the goddess of child birthing, weaving and female arts. In this structure stories about **atua waahine Papatuanuku** and **Hine-te-iwaiwa** provided girls with fundamental knowledge about **Te whare taangata** - womb. The passing down of birthing practices and processes were important to ensure continuity and wellbeing of **whakapapa** with **whaanau**, **hapuu** and **iwi**.

Born at a time when tribal philosophies and epistemologies still permeated **Aotearoa**, **Wikitoria** knew her **whakapapa** and relationships from phenomena and humans. She had been taught the esoteric knowledge of the cosmologies and its implementation in daily practice,

*Koorero tuku iho; “...the moon being a significant knowledge to understand its influence over earth’s water the **whenua** including the **whare tangata** birthing waters (Monique 2009).*

Wikitoria was twelve years old when she received her **moko kauae** from the **tohunga**. Her **moko kauae** was representative of the dedication of her life to **Hine-te-iwa-iwa**.

*Koorero tuku iho; “...She was chosen for her role in the **whare pora** – the women’s house of learning. Adolescent girls with **moko kauae** from **Ngaati Apakura** were known as **Puhi waahine**” (Monique 2009).*

Rangiaowhia was an idyllic place for a child to grow up in and **Wikitoria** was raised up amongst her **iwi**, **hapuu** and **whaanau**. Her **kaumaatua** and **pakeke** were her teachers and it was their role to guide nurture and help her grow into a strong young woman skilled in birthing and weaving.

Tragically **Wikitoria** and **Ngaati Apakura**’s promising future was rudely disrupted on Sunday morning 21st February 1864 when the Crown’s Imperial troopers stormed **Rangiaowhia** village and attacked the settlement. The early morning ambush took **Ngaati Apakura** by surprise; many were still in their houses. The soldiers went from house to house hunting for people and some of those that they found were killed [REDACTED]. When the attack on **Rangiaowhia** commenced **Wikitoria** and her cousins were down at the river washing and getting ready for church.

*Koorero tuku iho; “...while the soldiers were attacking the village **Wikitoria** and other teenagers were hidden undercover of the swamp weed” (Marama 1960)*

When the alarm was raised in the village the elderly along with the young mothers and their babies ran into both the **Rangiaowhia** Catholic Church and the Anglican Church for refuge. The Crown’s Troopers set the Catholic Church on fire (Barber 1984) and kept their guns trained on the exits to make sure no one could escape [REDACTED]. All those who sought the safe haven of the **Rangiaowhia** Catholic Church were killed.

Koorero tuku iho; “...Hongihongi was a young boy, he was in the [Anglican Church], he broke a hole in the back of the church so the old people could escape” (Te Otaota 2010).

Throughout the whole tragedy **Wikitoria** and cousins stayed concealed in the swamp; unable to move for fear of being found. From her hiding place **Wikitoria** was unprotected from the ‘whistling’ sound of the gunfire, the crackling sound of the burning wood and the anguished cries of her captive aunties and their babies who were trapped by the military and the fire.

Later that night, under the cover of darkness **Wikitoria** and her friends were able to escape down the waterways to the safety and care of their **whanaunga** that lived in outer regions. In **Wikitoria**’s case she was the only member of her immediate **whaanau** from **Rangiaowhia** who lived to tell her story. Some **whaanau** were not so fortunate, their genealogical lines ceased with the death of the mothers and babies.

When **Wikitoria** arrived at **Puketarata** and told her **kuia** and **kaumaatua** about the massacre, they changed her name to **Te Mamae**, which translates to wounded, sorrow and pain (Williams 1992).

Koorero tuku iho; “...born out of this crime against Wikitoria, her name is changed by kaumaatua and kuia to Te Mamae in memory of her journey and what she had witnessed at Rangiaowhia” (Marama 1960).

The changing of a name is an old tradition in oral societies to indicate that something has been damaged and destroyed in the society. Tradition demanded that the balance be restored through reprisal or retribution for the wrongdoing (**Te Hurunui** 2010). The name change was necessary for **Wikitoria** now that the blood of the babies she had delivered had been ‘spilt’ on the land. The spilling of innocent blood invoked the law of **tapu** because the **mauri** had been destroyed. It is from the silencing of **Wikitoria** and the voice of **Te Mamae** that our **koorero tuku iho** –is handed down for more than 148 years by the women in this study.

Mihi

Introduction

Ki te taha o tooku papa

Ko Moehau ki waho

Ko Te Aroha kei uta

Ko Tikapa te moana

Ko Marutuahu te tangata

Ko Ngaati Whanaunga te iwi

Ko Te Uri o Tu raua ko Puhiaawe ngaa hapuu

Ko Waihihi te papakainga.

Ki te taha o tooku mama

Ko Pirongia raua ko Kakepuku ngaa maunga

Ko Waipaa te awa e rere nei ki waenga ngaa maunga tapu

Ko Whatihua te tuupuna whare

Ko Kahotea te marae

Ko Ngaati Apakura te iwi,

Ko Ngaati Hinetu raua ko Rangimahora ngaa hapuu

Ko Tainui te waka.

Indigenous oral tradition **mihi** links **Maaori** as descendants from **atua**, and the land. The system of introducing oneself by quoting specific **maunga**, **awa** and ancestors in my **mihi** is embedded in oral tradition **Maaori** society. It is therefore appropriate and right that I connect myself to previously established traditions and relationships in a specific “kinship I” located from the past and in the present (Binney 2010:81). It is part of an oral tradition that insists that one must identify oneself to one’s audience by explicitly locating within the study.

My journey in **koorero tuku iho** began in the 1960's when my mother, **Marama** needed a scribe because she wanted to record our **whakapapa** and history. Writing and reading in either **Maaori** or English was an unfamiliar technology to my mother. Her first language was **Maaori** and her indigenous literacies included the oratory skills and abilities to recite **whakapapa**, histories and stories, memorize weaving patterns, weave **whaariki**, make **rongoa**, cook, clean and teach her children and **mokopuna** how to work and **manaaki** people but reading and writing was not one of her interests. We children read and took dictation from our mother. As a child the sound of my mother's voice always meant action, real fast. Text could be ignored, it is just writing on paper, but to ignore my mother's speech was usually unwise as she was inherently powerful.

Now as I reflect back I see that my early introduction to writing **whakapapa** and family histories not only opened my eyes to who we were and the connections to land but it gave me a love and respect for those who had gone on before us, and helped me understand their lives and the legacy they have left for their **mokopuna**. I realise now that **whakapapa** and family history work is not a one-off momentary activity but it is an opening, a journey that would one day bring me to this point of being involved in this academic journey. My involvement in this work is a privilege and a burden.

My motivation to write this study has arisen from the need to bring the **Ngaati Apakura** voice out of obscurity. My research is centered on the **Ngaati Apakura** personal testimony and story told by **Ngaati Apakura** voices (Borell et al, 2012). To date the public only have access to the soldiers view and the Christians view;

“There have been two remembered histories of New Zealand since 1840 that of the colonisers, and that of the colonised. Their visions and goals were often different, creating memories which have been patterned by varying hopes and experiences. The **Maaori** oral histories of these events have been largely suppressed histories, although they live in their own world (Binney 2010:71)”.

Hence my commitment to give an eye witness account as seen and told by **Ngaati Apakura** repositories of knowledge. The determination to involve myself in this **whaanau** research was a pathway prepared for me more than a hundred years ago.

This thesis is fulfilling a dream, which is to work towards completing a Master's Degree in the field of adult education. I am looking for 'meaningful ways to engage in a research that will improve knowledge about the world' of dispossessed people (Turner 2007:1).

“The transmitting of a **Maaori** perception allows the colonisers to see the perspectives of the colonised – a necessary step if the dominant culture is to change its attitudes about its possession of ‘truth’ (Binney 2010:83)”.

Koorero; in this study celebrates the lived experiences and stories of the **waahine**. **Tuku**; refers to the notion of conferring the knowledge and obligations to a new generation either by gifting or through ‘handing over the information’ in practical everyday activities, rituals and traditions. **Iho**; infers that the knowledge has been passed down from earlier generations.

The metaphor of ‘embers’ in the title has cultural and physical significance; 1) the notion of cultural home fires or the embers of **ahi kaa roa**,’ and 2) the warning voice to be alert for possible tragedies. The emphasis on *voice*, in the title relates to the living herstories of the **waahine** who articulate the curriculum of seeking for ways to find justice. Their living stories ‘talk back’ to the Crown and the stigma of being recorded as insurgents.

The key objectives of the study are:

- To examine and understand the impact of the **Rangiaowhia** burning on generations of descendants, past, present and future.
- To centre this examination in **kaupapa Māori** praxis.
- Through **kōrero tuku iho** – oral traditions, give voice to **Ngaati Apakura** women who have been silenced by the **hara**.

As this study develops it will show whether there has been any rebellion or any form of lawlessness and I want to ask “why did the Crown march the Imperial Troopers on **Rangiaowhia** with their big guns?”.

Research Question

This study seeks to answer the question: “when will **Ngaati Apakura mokopuna** stop inheriting the **hara**?” Under Christian law a **hara** is a sin; it is also a transgression (Williams 2004) against the law of God. Under **Maaori** customary law a **hara** signifies the law of **tapu** has been broken, and that the **mauri** that protects the life principle has been damaged. Therefore the balance of the **mauri** and **wairua** needs to be restored (**He Hinatore** 2001).

Centering **Koorero** **tuku iho**

This research is centred on the **koorero** of **Te Mamae** as handed down to her **mokopuna**. “...**kia kua e warewaretia i te mahi kino a te Paakehaa**, Cameron... which in English translates as “**e moko** don’t ever forget the **mahi kino** of the **Paakehaa**, Cameron” at [**Rangiaowhia**] (**Marama** 1960).

I have taken what I believe are three key points of the **koorero** to address the explicit and implied meanings such as;

1. **Kua e wareware** – forget about it/don’t forget about it.
2. **mahi kino** – killing of unarmed elderly, mothers and babies,
3. Cameron – Imperial army, gunboats, Imperialism and the Crown authorised rape of **Maaori** land and their resources.

“Maaori forms of recording history were, and in some regions still are, primarily oral – Oral history is transmitted by narrative, by song, by proverbs and by genealogy. We who write down our histories in books transmit our chosen perceptions to readers rather than listeners, but both forms are structured, interpretative and combative. History is the shaping of our past by those in the present (Binney 2010:71)”.

Thesis Outline

Included in this piece is an outline on how to read the study along with an explanation on the conventions that are required for scholarly writing. It also provides significant background information on the issues that will be addressed in the thesis.

The layout of this thesis is opened with the ‘**whakaahua**’ of the **kuia** as the face page. The famous **Ngaati Apakura waiata tangi E Pa to Hau** (Orbell 2000) is purposefully located on the same page for several reasons; to remember those who lost their lives at **Rangiaowhia**, and to pay tribute to the **kuia** as the face of this research.

Additionally the **waiata tangi** contains handed down oral tradition knowledge that can substantiate **Wikitoria**’s **koorero**. Furthermore, **Rangiamoa** was a contemporary of **Wikitoria** and her telling of the burning and her struggles to live is left behind as her witness to the treachery. It provides the context for the re-telling.

He Karanga

It is appropriate to open the research with a **karanga** to **Wikitoria** and her birth into **Te Ao Marama**. It sets the scene for the study and provides pre-colonial philosophies and key pedagogical aspects that will be discussed in the research.

The **mihi** introduces my positionality in this research. It also explains the topic, the objectives and the main question. Additionally it gives an explanation about the conventions that are considered as appropriate for **koorero tuku iho** research.

Te Kaupapa

Here I review literature to explore the nature and practice of **korero tuku iho** oral transmission praxis. I draw on literature that presents traditional ideas on the diverse roles of **Maaori** women as transmitters of knowledge. In addition I present the research framework, which comprises of **Kaupapa Maaori** and **Mana Waahine** theories, and including the significance of OTS discourse to explore the question of the **hara**.

I draw on Durie’s (1982) **Te Whare Tapa Wha** model because it enables the identification of critical focus areas to inform an analysis for this research. I conclude with a search for a **Te Whare Koorero** framework located at **Rangiaowhia** as a site of resistance.

Insider Status

Because of the nature and design of this research it is important to acknowledge in a direct manner the position I hold within the research. **Pihama** (2001:27) rejects the “common sense notion that academics can, and should, write from a position of objectivity” and advocates that researchers must organise a space to reveal themselves legitimately in their work.

I tell my story to enable the audience to gain a better understanding of the nature of **waahine Maaori** epistememes and to position this piece of research with the growing literature of indigenous researchers who seek for justice and freedom from oppression. I also share my experiences as an insider to explicitly contribute (Turner 2007:5) as living embodied evidence of the voices of the **waahine**.

The nature of engaging in a **whaanau** narrative has not been an easy thesis to research. I acknowledge the absolute subjectivity in researching, writing and analysing the lifestories along with my own life experiences.

Turner (2007:5) dismisses statements that point out ‘insider’ research as a “methodological risks...potential for bias...lack of distance and lack of objectivity”. Turner (2007:5) advocates that such statements reflect a “sense of exclusionary practices used to silence indigenous research” that is rooted in practical collective learning.

“It is only relatively recently that Western-trained historians have come to realise that they have been perpetuating colonialist attitudes in their so-called objective histories. At the same time, these histories have served, to a considerable extent, to erase **Maaori** memories and perceptions (Binney 2010:72)”.

This thesis attempts to meet the criteria set by the academy in achievement of a Masters Degree and I do this by continually seeking feedback and guidance from my supervisors. I am continuously reflexive throughout the research and working consciously to uphold my ethical and professional responsibilities as a researcher. It is

of vital importance that the scholarship that is recorded under my name is respectful of the voices of the **kuia** who are the main source for this research.

I am constantly involved in discussing the research with **whaanau** and **kaumaatua** and including being involved in **Ngaati Apakura** research **hui** with authorised researchers in the present oral traditions inquiry as commissioned for the **Waitangi Tribunal Rohe Potae** Inquiry (**Wai 858**).

Conventions

In keeping with the **wairua** and spirit of the thesis and in respect to oral traditions tikanga I will acknowledge all personal communication with the heading **koorero tuku iho** and then the direct quotes to follow. As **koorero tuku iho** are the prime references for this thesis I will reference all oral participants in alphabetical order in the main reference section.

In her doctoral thesis Leonie **Pihama** (2001:26) highlighted the complex ways in which the **Maaori** use of English could be influenced by our own cultural worldview, in particular personal pronoun voices of the researcher in the terms ‘I’, ‘we’ and ‘me’. ‘I’ in English is clearly individual, in **Maaori** terms “the individual never moves alone, we are always surrounded and guided by generations past”.

Furthermore in **te reo Maaori** there is more than one ‘we’;

“**Taaua** is regarded as a two person inclusive pronoun, it includes the speaker and the person they are speaking to, ... , **maatou** refers to ‘we’ not including the person being spoken to, and **taatou** is “we including all present, physically, spiritually, politically, culturally” (**Pihama** 2001:26).

The essence of these terms in this **whaanau** study is relational; it will sometimes be “**maatou** and other times **taatou** that of course is dependent on the positioning of the reader” (**Pihama** 2001:26).

“Similarly a narrator could distance himself or herself spiritually in relation to their audience. Inherent within cultural narratives is a notion of multiple

positionings not just physically but politically and philosophically and spiritually through oral and written language” (Pihama 2001:26).

Te Reo Maaori

I have chosen to use a glossary at the end of the thesis to provide translation of **te reo Maaori**. Defining **Maaori** terms in English can be a difficult task given the multiple meanings and understandings that each term carries, therefore glossary meanings are relative to the actual context of this research.

In continuing on a discussion of language I accept the position laid down by Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith (1996) in her Doctoral thesis, ‘**Maaori** academics can privilege **Te reo Maaori** by making distinctions within our texts. **Maaori** language cannot just be placed into the English language without some form of appropriation or alienation occurring’. I am choosing to bold all **Maaori** words in this thesis as a process of accentuating the distinctiveness of **Te reo Maaori** and validating the presence and power of our language in a text that is primarily articulated in English. **Te Taura Whiri** (2009) recommended to writers of **Maaori** language texts that a standardised written form be adopted for **Maaori** language learners of today and of the future. According to Jones and Biggs (1995) the use of double vowels in **kupu Maaori** is based on oral tradition rather than written and the use double vowel conventions as opposed to macrons are also a **Tainui** writing protocol. I am choosing to use double vowel conventions to differentiate between long and short vowel words.

Limitations

Although this study is not focused on the inability to write in **Te reo Maaori** it does lament that choices are limited. The decision to undertake this study in English and **Maaori** is from necessity. So too is the decision to commit the **koorero** – oral traditions of the **kuia** to print, the belief is that the time has come for the information to be written. As the study unfolds you will see that **koorero tuku iho** praxis and oral traditions are not the same. **Koorero tuku iho** comes from **whakapapa** and **whaanau** stories, traditions and histories including **tikanga** most of which **has** ancient origins and is still used in today’s society.

Te Riri o Te Paakehaa

The hara

History shows that when the Catholic Church arrived in the **Hokianga** New Zealand area there was jealousy and disagreement between the Catholic and the Anglican Churches. The rivalry arrived on New Zealand shores with the settlers from England and Ireland. In both countries there had been religious wars because of political reasons (Boast & Hill 2009). Irish history indicates that Catholics in Ireland had suffered discrimination at the hands of Anglo-Irish Protestants. Irish Catholics who had immigrated to America also faced religious intolerance from dominant Protestant people. According to Boast and Hill (2009) some Irish Catholic (rebel) women who rebelled against Protestant rule were burnt for rebelling. Anglo-Irish Protestants also feared that the women would breed more rebels. There was also fear about the babies of the insurgents growing up to be 'rebels' and so they too suffered the same fate as their mothers.

Later, when the Catholic Church arrived in the **Waikato**, Morgan the CMS Minister (CMS) began preaching to his flock about the 'evils' of the Catholic Church. The British feared that **Maaori** would invite the French (who were mainly Catholic) to share in the governing of New Zealand. Clearly, Catholics were considered to be from the wrong side of the 'church yard fence'.

In 1840 **Maaori** chiefs and Crown agents signed **Te Tiriti o Waitangi**. Later, Crown agents produced an English version with changes. In the **Maaori** version the understanding was that **Maaori** would retain their **tinu rangatiratanga**. Neither version of the Treaty of **Waitangi** was a translation of the other (Ross as cited in Rumbles 1999). Both versions of the Treaty guaranteed the protection of **Maaori** resource and land rights (Rumbles 1999:2).

Less than 25 years after the signing the New Zealand Settler government had declared the country was under military rule. What right did the Crown have to place the country under military rule? Was it fair and right to engage in the war against **Waikato Maaori** who were engaged in their own **rangatiratanga** under the **kingitanga**?

The law that they used to declare military rule was the Suppression of Rebellions Act 1863 (article 2) and the NZ Settlements Act 1863 (Boast & Hill 2009). The law allowed that Imperial troops had the right to “take prompt and effectual measures for suppressing any group deemed to be in rebellion against Her Majesty and Her Majesty’s loyal subjects”. This thesis asks in what sense is market gardening and fruit growing a rebellious act against the Crown? It asks, what right did the Crown have to say that **Ngaat Apakura** food and produce should be used to fight their war? Furthermore, what right did the Crown have to deny **Maaori** their religious freedom?

The Crown had no right to commit such physical and cultural violence on **Maaori** who were claiming and protecting their **rangatiratanga**. Furthermore, were **Maaori** not Her Majesty’s loyal subjects as recognised under **Te Tiriti o Waitangi**? The acts were in direct contravention of treaty rights, was that unlawful?

The government later used the Suppression of Rebellions Act 1863 and the NZ Settlements Act 1863 to justify the confiscation of 1.2 million acres of prime land which included all of **Ngaati Apakura** lands at **Rangiaowhia** and the surrounding districts.

After news got out about the massacre at **Rangiaowhia**, **Maaori** in the district were very angry and they complained to the CMS minister Reverend Morgan (Robertson 1957). He held an inquiry at the **Te Kopua** mission station with the Forest Rangers and the Troopers to see which side had insulted the other. In the inquiry the soldiers claimed that Cameron himself ordered the burning (Robertson 1957).

The massacre set off a chain of reprisals from **Maaori** warriors who had been at **Paterangi**. A force of warriors blocked the **Rangiaowhia** road at **Hairini** cutting Cameron’s force in two. With the superior arsenal at Cameron’s disposal he was able to drive the warriors into the swamps.

Parents and distant relatives of the dead also retaliated. **Kereopa** a warrior from the **Opotiki** area lost his children in the **Rangiaowhia** burning. He retaliated by killing Volkner a missionary spy who lived at **Opotiki** (**Mokomoko** and Volkner 2012) Sadly **Mokomoko** another **rangatira** who was not involved in the killing was

wrongfully implicated in the killings and sentenced to death along with five other **Maaori**.

“**Mokomoko**’s last words were, ‘**E mate hara kore ana ahau. Teenaa koutou Paakehaa. Hei aha.**’ (I die an innocent man. Farewell **Paakehaa**. So be it.) His song, **Tangohia mai te taura i taaku kakii kia waiata au i taaku waiata**’ (Take the rope from my neck that I may sing my song), became an important expression of **Te Whakatohea**’s anger at what had happened to **Mokomoko** and his co-accused (**Mokomoko** and Volkner 2012).”

The problem was that the government took the word of the **Paakehaa** over a **Maaori** oral witness and so an innocent man suffered punishment for something he did not do. Once again the government machinery for land grabbing, was used and under the Rebellion Act 1863 they justified the confiscation of the whole of the **Whakatohea** region. The confiscation of land had a long-term negative affect on the descendants of **Mokomoko** and they were ostracised by their **hapuu** and **iwi** for so great was the crime of losing their land.

The second **Maaori** king, **Kiingi Tawhiao** and later Princess **Te Puea** all sought redress for the grievances. The government over the years did succumb to pressure and small compensation grants were secured. Many years later in the 1970’s, land occupations and other social justice groups protested that the Treaty of **Waitangi** was not being observed. The government was in breach of the Treaty and the protesters were flouting the unjust law. The government finally setup the **Waitangi** Tribunal under the judiciary system of New Zealand to address the Treaty Breaches.

In the case of the **Waikato** confiscations they sought redress under the respectful leadership of Bob **Mahuta** and others who were involved in dialogue under the guiding principles of **Kiingi Taawhiao**’s **tongi** “**I riro whenua atu, me hoki whenua mai – ko te moni hei utu mo te hara** - as land was taken land should be returned, the money is payment for the transgression” (**WaikatoTainui.com** 2012).

The chief negotiators chose to “bypass the Treaty claims settlement under the direct negotiations system (bypassing the **Waitangi** Tribunal) that the government was offering. In May 1995 the Crown signed a Deed of Settlement with **Waikato-Tainui**

that included cash and land valued at \$170 million. It was an endeavour between the Crown and the claimants to settle the **Waikato** claim and to remove the sense of grievance felt by **Waikato** that went back to the 1860s” (**Waikato Raupatu Settlement 2012**).

The “**Waikato Raupatu Claims Settlement Act 1995** was signed —

- (a) to record the apology given by the Crown to **Waikato** in the deed of settlement signed on 22 May 1995 by both representatives of the Crown and representatives of **Waikato**, being an apology by the Crown for, among other things, sending its forces across the **Mangatawhiri** river in July 1863, unfairly labelling **Waikato** as rebels, and subsequently confiscating their land; and
- (b) to give effect to certain provisions of that deed of settlement, being a deed that settles the **Raupatu** claims” (New Zealand Legislation 2008).

The Settlement clearly states in the apology clause (Waikato 1995 clause 3.6) that the settlements are to “begin the process of healing and enter a new age of co-operation with **Maaori** ” however as Rumbles (1999) points out the “Treaty of **Waitangi** Settlement process are a mask that hide the neo-colonial tactic of denying recognition of **tino rangatiratanga** (indigenous sovereignty guaranteed in the Treaty) in order to protect the construction of a unitary Crown sovereignty, and therefore the hegemonic dominance of **Paakehaa**...this postcolonial discourse in white settler countries embraces diversity without addressing the institutional and constitutional basis of colonial societies (and therefore their legitimacy) reinscribes the colonisation process. This allows the white public to feel a sense of conclusion to **Maaori** historical claims without having to take responsibility for its own racism and ongoing colonial practices.”

In another act of apology the “Justice Minister in 1993, made an official visit to **Opootiki** to apologize to **Te Whakatoheua** and the descendants of **Mokomoko**...a pardon agreement was signed in 2011 by **Maaori** Affairs Minister **Pita** Sharples and **Mokomoko**’s descendants” (**Mokomoko Pardon 2012**) but both Ministers did not go far enough, neither of them exhumed his remains and returned them to his descendants for a respectful burial.

To date almost 150 years since the burning at **Rangiaowhia** and the questions remain unanswered as mentioned earlier, furthermore, the question of the whereabouts of the remains of the **Ngaati Apakura** elderly, the mothers, and babies is unanswered. Their blood cries from the land for justice to be restored. What did the Crown do with our seeds, money and our food? Will the Crown return it to us? The recognition of **tino rangatiratanga**, indigenous sovereignty guaranteed in the Treaty is still hoped for.

Te Kaupapa

Literature review

Here I review literature to explore the nature and practice of **korero tuku iho** oral transmission praxis. My approach to this literature review has been to consider the main ideas and corresponding sub-themes such as; fight for justice, unity of the **whaanau**, commitment to **mokopuna**, awakening critical conscientisation, intergenerational transmission of knowledges, activism, personal and **whaanau** transformation, **Maaori** Rights – **tino rangatiratanga**, **mana waahine**, and many more discourses for justice and life.

As this thesis has a special focus on social justice and land grievances. I will also draw on literature relating to the Crown's way of dealing with these issues. A brief look at the **Ngaati Apakura** experience of being an oral witness in the **Waitangi** Tribunal **Rohe Potae Koorero Tuku Iho** hearings 2010 will contribute to the discussion on **tino rangatiratanga** to address the **hara**.

The theory of **ako** (Pere 1994) will also be discussed as a possible pedagogy for **koorero tuku iho** praxis. I have chosen five **Maaori** media to explore **Maaori** pedagogies in the practice of intergenerational transmission of knowledge such as:

- **Puuraakau**
- **Whakapapa**
- **Oriori**
- **Waiata tangi**
- **Whakatauki**

I have specifically chosen traditional media that contain the metaphors fire, voices of the **kuia**, name changing, and tears to understand the cultural meaning as expressed in the request from **Te Mamae**. They are compelling, dynamic, and potent images in **Maaori** mythology and therefore in **Maaori** traditional society and are still today used in discursive daily practice.

The journey into **koorero tuku iho** praxis is a reflexive process told in **whaanau** lifelong histories and **whakapapa**, originating from ancient and sacred origin of all things both metaphysical and physical in the universe.

Tainui Indigenous discourse of Knowledge

In the **Maaori** creation story, human origin begins from a ‘**kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea**’ (Nepe 1991). The creation of a seed, it’s planting in the fertile womb of **Papatuuanuku** and its subsequent development within **Te Po** is explained in the ancient and sacred wisdom of **Te Ao Rangi**.

In the beginning there was;

Te Kore	The formless void
Te Kore whiwhia	The intangible formless void
Te Kore makiki hi rere	The formless void pierced by a line extending into space
Te Po	The night
Te Po roa	The long night
Kotahi te wananga	The one sacred assembly
Ko Io	The sacred word - waananga”
Ko Rangi raua ko Papa	The sky father and earth mother
Te Ao Marama	The world of human existence

(Marsden as cited in Ka’ai et al 2011:3)

In this sacred **whakapapa** ancient **Maaori** origin begins in the **Io** realm of the cosmologies (Royal, T 2003; **Te Hurunui**, P 2010) and claims that **Maaori** are a physical and cultural offspring from gods.

“The **Ao Rangi** tradition retains systems of historical explanation which stem from a cosmology where the spirits of the dead – the **wairua**, are considered to be the media of communication between God and humans. Each ancestral spiritual layer explains the direct history of the living. The **Ao Rangi** is not a marginalised belief system, in fact it is considered important within the **Kingitanga**, and it forms beliefs whereby **Paakehaa** domination can be kept at bay (Binney 2010:83).

Puuraakau – storytelling

In traditional stories **Puuraakau** are:

“...Stories that contain mythological perspectives concerning the nature of reality and the human condition. A **puuraakau** is a story within which are contained models, perspectives, ideas of consequence to the people who recite them. They contain stories concerning how the world came to be and how we might live within it. **Puuraakau** contain such things as the creation of the world, the creation of the human being, the deeds of the gods, illustrious ancestors and more. Because **puuraakau** refer to, indeed conjure up, the **wairua** of illustrious forbears, **puuraakau** are therefore sacred texts” (Mauriora ki te Ao/Living University Ltd, 2009).

In **Tainui puuraakau**, **Tawhaki** is attributed as the sage or benefactor who retrieved the discourse of Indigenous knowledge in the form of two **koowhatu** – **Hukatai** and **Rehutai** as higher knowledge forms for humankind. When he brought the **koowhatu** to the earth he de-sacralised the knowledge in his crossing of the boundary from the upper celestial knowledge – **kauae runga** to the lower terrestrial knowledge – **kauae raro** so the **koowhatu** could be used in **te Ao Maarama** by his human offspring.

Parson (2000) points out the difficulty in trying to decipher the meaning of metaphors.

“...metaphors are not explaining *what* a phenomena is but it is telling a person *where* the **taonga** can be found (Parson 2000:3) and so in the story of fire it is pointing out that only certain trees are good for burning fires others are hardwood.

The story about **Mahuika**, the fire goddess, and **Maui** her demi-god **mokopuna** is an example of explaining *where* fire is but not necessarily *what* it is. Taking into account that the metaphor has no relevance to fire itself, one must ask what does the metaphor of fire mean.

There are several possible clues such as the **mana** of the **kuia**, or even the notion that fire in the story could be oxygen! In the story the **kuia** dies after putting the fire into the trees. According to Parson (2000:3) “the situation alluded to by a metaphor or a metaphorical story often needs to be *felt* and so *experienced* to be fully understood”.

Literally speaking **Hukatai** represents knowledge. **Rehutai** is symbolic of wisdom. Both **koowhatu** referred to as **mauri** stones, are believed to contain the essential essence of life and energy that animates the physical and inner being’ of people (**Te Hurunui** 2010).

Within these **koowhatu** was held the spiritual essence for ideas and thoughts and the life force from within the celestial realm. According to Moon (2008:92) “[E]verything has a **mauri**...it protects the essence of being...everything that exists has an essence and that essence is its **mauri**, it is a life force, which is a dynamic energy...**mauri** can be damaged through death or transgressions...when the **mauri** is damaged the **wairua** is affected and a person becomes unwell...the **tohunga** is then called upon to initiate **karakia** so the life force is protected and the balance restored.”

Having developed the main philosophy based on the generative power of the seed system to protect the **mauri**, forums such as **waananga** were setup to deliver the knowledge.

According to Marsden (as cited in Royal 1998) male students in formal and traditional **waananga** were initiated into the sacred **wananga** through the placing of the two small **koowhatu** on the tongue of the student to symbolize ‘the ingesting or feeding of the **mauri** of the **koowhatu** within the **hinengaro** (inner being)’ of the student (**Te Hurunui** 2010).

The initiation also symbolised the process of ‘catching’ and later digesting the **mauri** life force in knowledge through the **puku**. The notion of ingesting of knowledge gives

rise to a form of meditation and fasting **noho puku** that occurs once a **kaupapa** has been formalised during the **waananga**.

Through the practise of fasting a student would feast on spiritual knowledge given in **waananga**. The teachings from these **waananga** were facilitated by **tohunga** in formal **waananga**.

Women held their own formal **waananga** in the **whare pora**. In one of their **waananga** the philosophy of the seed was literally embodied learning for the women, through the act of conceiving of the seed in the **whare tangata**. In **te Po** the generative power of the divine seed loaded with potential and energy develops the **koi ora hou** - new life, which while within the womb it possesses its **mauri** - life force, its **whakapapa** genes, its **wairua** spiritual health, its **hau** breath of life and its **puumanawa** - natural talents (Te Hurunui 2010; Royal 2003). In fact childbearing women were protected through the **tapu** that was brought into play in the **whare tangata**. Expectant mothers were not exempt from being taught

“Oral transmission consists of laws or principles that comprise a core, naive theory of the **Maaori** mind typically used in a range of circumstances to educate their off spring in everyday humanistic verbal dialogue and in daily praxis (Hopa 1998:3).

Oriori – pre-natal music and song

The following **Kahungunu oriori** (baby **whakapapa** lullaby) as quoted and interpreted by **Hemara** (2000) is an example of transmitting knowledge of **whakapapa**, in a less formal setting. The following **oriori** is interesting because it is a father to son **oriori**. I have only just learnt that fathers also composed **oriori**.

E tama i kimia, i rapa!

I rapa taua ki roto te Kore te Whiwhia

Ki roto te Kore te rawia,

Pupuru, mau ake ki te kanoi ote uha na

Ko Kura-waka ano Kura-waka,

*ka tohia ki te one,
Ko Tohi-nuku ano, ko Tohi-raangi ano,
Ka kukune, Hawa-iki, e
Ka hua na au ki a koe, e tama,
Kai te whatuteki koe, kai te Whatuterea
Kai te whatutetawhia na.
Kai te tau no koe, e tama
I te tau a to atua, a Kahu-kura
I a Ngarue tiwhana I runga ra,
Kokomo te taurira ki roto*

O son searched for!

We two were sought for in The tangible Void
And with the shapeless Void,
Once held fast, and suspended on a female strand,
The Crimson-bowl, remained a Crimson bowl
until soil sanctified, Earth-sanctified, Heaven-sanctified
As was the conception in Hawai-iki
I cherish thoughts of you, O son
As a rock-like-knowledgable-adept, self-possessed-adept
A full-fledged adept, indeed
You shall recite, O son,
The lay of your god, the splendour-of-the Rainbow
With the spectrum arching high,
Enter as a dedicated pupil (the house of sacred learning)
As a son of the World-of fragrant-breezes.

Opaque obscure thick unclear student

(Hemara 2000; 23)

The above **oriori** is a beautiful composition that expresses the ideal parent child relationship. It pays respects to the parents and the child. It refers to the child as an intelligent being, with high expectations. The gifts and qualities that both parents possess to nurture and care for the child would reassure any child that they were precious.

It highlights the father's role in birthing traditions. The role of fathers is outside of the scope of this study however research needs to be carried out to re-claim and re-store the balance of birthing traditions for both **waahine Maaori** and men.

A short summary of my interpretation of this beautiful **oriori** in the context of transmission of knowledge is as follows;

Te Kore – in the first three lines honours fatherhood and the significance of the seed – *gene*, with its wired in potential as gifted from **Io**.

The fourth to the seventh lines while still in the **Kore** 'refers to the sacred and unique power of the **Kura-waka** – Crimson bowl that is consecrated as **te whare tangata**. (Hemara 2000) and is compared to the spiritual and sacred homeland of **Hawaiki**.

By the eighth line the “child as a learner has the expectations of the culture proclaimed to recite **whakapapa** and **koorero tawhito**” (Hemara 2000:24).

Whakapapa combined in learning strands are cultural concepts that form the basis of **koorero tuku iho** elements. Knowing your **whakapapa** from the whole **Maaori** vision of the universe and ones place within that vision is a crucial component of wellbeing because it imbues the **wairua** and **mauri** with the protective spiritual power and properties (He Hinatore 2001).

In traditional times **whakapapa** like a spiritual origin chain began in the realms with gods and goddesses including connections to phenomena (Best 1898; Marsden 1975; Ngata 1996; Rangihau 1975). The links from gods to humans are inclusive of the list

of ancestors their deeds and the resources they both harnessed, protected and preserved as a legacy to future generations.

Mead (2003:42) explains "...genealogical and spiritual connections are what imbue the **mokopuna** with the potential for life. **Whakapapa** help[s] define a person in time, space and position in a kinship system it gives a person unique rights."

Rote learning and memorisation was an important skill for oral societies, by knowing as much as possible about one's own **whakapapa** one would know the ways in which their **whakapapa** could empower them. A person's wellbeing can be threatened if they are not fully empowered by their **whakapapa** (He Hinatore 2001).

The agenda of an **oriori**, restricts the Child's life by mapping out the obligations that tradition has placed on the child. It has fixed roles assigned by the grandparent to the child with the promise of a legacy of wellbeing for all the **whaanau** and especially the **mokopuna**. It was imperative that children learn their place and purpose in life.

"it is important that children should not have their spirits broken, they were encouraged to assert themselves and the **mana** of the **whaanau**, **hapuu** and **iwi**" (Hemara 2000:13).

Waiata tangi –music and song

Maaori composed many different styles of **waiata** to record culture such as **whakapapa**, life stories, love stories, farewells and even agricultural activities. Some **waiata** were written as socialisation tools to berate and rebuke a person especially when protocols had been broken and relationships had been damaged.

Some agriculture and fishing pursuits and activities were composed into **waiata** and the words and tunes were memorised for actioning in various pursuits. **Maaori** even used instruments like the flute to aide in conception, ease labour during birthing, to promote the growth of plants, and smooth the passage from life to death and passing knowledge down the generations.

"Flutes were dedicated to **atua** and were regarded as voices of the gods. When the missionaries recognised that those instruments were the 'cell phones' to

the divine world, and used for dialling up spiritual aid and were also the vessels of **matakite** – prophecy, the missionaries had the instruments buried or destroyed” (Beatson 2008:8).

Contrary to popular belief instrumental music was not used for sheer entertainment, **mahi ngahau** as it is for **Paakehaa**. For **Paakehaa**, music is a form of consumption, something to while away for leisure. Beatson (2008:10) however points to the functional necessity of musical instruments in **Te Ao Maaori**:

“...to get things done the proper way...instruments were integral elements in all ritual and ceremony”.

Beatson (2008) also points out that some missionaries did not approve of the traditions:

“In order to convert **Maaori** to the bright, shining path of Christianity, the missionaries had to pull the plug on the **Maaori** belief system – a system which was far more profound and coherent than they had anticipated finding amongst barbaric savages. Given the centrality of music to the maintenance of the **Maaori** spiritual world order, it, too, had to be expunged from consciousness. Getting rid of the instruments, went a long way to destroying the rituals of which music was the aesthetic outer shell (Beatson 2008:10)”.

However, traditional media such as **waiata tangi** continued to be composed for recording grievances and mourning, not as a record of loss to whine about but as a record of struggle and resistance to death and dying. They were messages of hope that a future generation would one day be led to act upon the information.

During the invasion of the Imperial troops into the **Waikato** district, laments for **whaanau** and land grievances became the focus of many composers. The following **waiata tangi**, **E Pa to Hau** is recorded on the inside cover page of this thesis beside the **whakaahua** of the **kuia**.

E pa to hau

He wini raro

He homai aroha

Ka tangi atu au I konei

He aroha ki te iwi

Ka momotu ki Tawhiti

Ki Paerau

Ko wai e kite atu

Kei whea aku hoa I mua ra

I te toonui tanga

Ka haramai teenei

Ka tau wehe

Karauna iti aueee!

The Wind blowing softly

The wind blowing softly from the north brings longing,

And I weep. My longing is for my people

*Gone far off to **Paerau**. Who can find them there,*

Where are my friends of those prosperous times?

It has come to this, we are separated and I am desolate.

Na Rangiamoa

Ngaati Apakura, Hinetu.

Composed by **Rangiamoa** (Orbell, M 2000:65) in memory of **Te Wano** and her friends at **Rangiaowhia** the **waiata** was a practical necessity to tell the story of being banished and fleeing under duress. **Rangiamoa** and **Te Wano** and their **whaanau** were able to escape from the Church of England at **Rangiaowhia** because the people were not trapped like their unfortunate Catholic **whaanau**. The Church of England is under the governance of the reigning Monarch of England who is the Supreme Head of the Church. Ironically, during the siege the Church of England was left untouched, while on the other hand the Catholic Church and its **Maaori** congregation were attacked and lost their lives.

This **waiata** is packed full of metaphors and symbolisms that refer to the terror and pain of the burning at **Rangiaowhia**. It speaks of the grief, pain and sadness of losing their **rangatira Te Wano** who had succumbed to a disease when fleeing for safety at

Tookaanu. In the **waiata** she pays respect to her **whaanau** who died at **Rangiaowhia**. Death was all around her!

The metaphors of the **hau, wini, tangi, tawhiti, Paerau** and **toonuitanga** all symbolise a number of cultural meanings that point to this song being a mourning song that invokes emotion, even tears which is the reason it is also referred to as a **waiata tangi**. However, the object of a **waiata tangi** is also to drive home an argument, plead a point, to remind the people of an obligation and to generate action. It is not the same as a lament each note and word is composed to grasp and not giving up. It calls on the wind and powers of the deep to push up and lift the wairua like a volcano.

Ako – intergenerational literacys

Traditional learning according to **Pere** (1994: 54) rested on the principle of **ako**, which is the notion that every person is a learner from the time they are born to the time they die even in old age. “Everyone is in a constant state of learning and therefore teaching.” Metge (as cited in **Hemara** 2000:22) supports this notion and refers to the all-encompassing nature of **Ako** as ‘education through exposure’. **Hemara** (2000) adds another perspective and claims that **ako** is education through exposure and it is a philosophy of preparedness for life. **Nepe** (1991) offers the notion that **Ako** is a traditional **Maaori** educative process and is fundamental to the creation, conceptualisation, transmission and articulation of **Maaori** knowledge.

Smith & Smith (as cited in O’Malley 2008) see that, **Ako** also provides the learner with explanations as to their place in the scheme of things and their positioning in society. Stories of places, events and people of historical significance as well as aspects of tribal lore related to the learner within the **whaanau**. **Ako** therefore maybe expressed within a philosophy that seeks to prepare the learner for all aspects of living and ultimately to take an active, participatory role within **Maaori** society.

In **Pere**’s (1994) model of **Ako** the learner and teaching role is interchangeable. In other words the child teaches how they feel, their sense of things, their ideas and the adult feeds and nurtures the **mokopuna** who in turn mimics and reciprocates their learning. In Aboriginal intergenerational learning (Cordoba 2005) aboriginal peoples

teach responsibilities that teach responsibilities and relationships among family, community and creation” (Cordoba 2005:6).

The concept of indigenous intergenerational transmission of knowledge through embodied learning and ...teaching responsibilities resonates with core **koorero tuku iho** praxis and gives voice to **Maaori** customary practices as valid **Maaori** cultural imperatives such as values, actions, customs and reflections of realities that are intrinsic to **Maaori** worldviews and daily practices (**Mikaere** 1994; **Nepe** 1993; **Ngata & Jones** 2000; **Orbell** 1990; **Pihama** 2001; **Smith** 1991).

Mana Waahine & Kaupapa Maaori theory

The overarching theory for this thesis is based on **kaupapa Maaori** philosophy and principles i.e. local theoretical positioning related to being **Maaori**. Such a position presupposes,

- “the validity and legitimacy of **Maaori** is taken for granted
- the survival and revival of **Maaori** language and culture is imperative
- the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being, and over our own lives is vital to **Maaori** survival. These features speak to **Maaori** aspirations, philosophies, processes and pedagogies, which are consistently, found within successful **Maaori** initiatives” (**Pihama, Smith, Taki, Lee** 2004;11-12).

Kaupapa Maaori epistemology asserts **Maaori** reclamation of their right to be **Maaori** in a **Maaori** worldview. A framework that reinforces the power to define to understand and explain *how we know what we know* is vital in the survival and revival of **Maaori** culture and in this case the culture of transmitting intergenerational literacies as valid knowledge.

Ka'ai (as cited in Higgins 2004) believes that the way in which people view their world is dependent on their own sub-conscious culturally conditioned filters for making sense of the world ...“it is not until we encounter people with a substantially different set of filters that we have to confront the assumptions, predispositions and beliefs that we take for granted and which make us who we are” (Ka'ai as cited in Higgins 2004:14).

“**Tuhoe kaumaatua**, repository of knowledge and scholar, John **Rangihau** provided a model that illustrated the inter-linking concepts between **Maaori** and **Paakehaa** society and demonstrates the layers of relationships, which make up **Maaori** knowledge systems. It shows a strength-based system where **Tuhoetanga (Maaoritanga)** is protected by its own cultural concepts (Higgins, 2004:14)”

The **Rangihau** model includes **Paakehaatanga** in his model to highlight his belief that his **Maaoritanga** is paramount to his perception or his ‘filtering’ of his worldview (Higgins 2004). Higgins (2004) study presented Ka’ai’s table to contrast the important elements that constitute a **Maaori** worldview in relation to a **Paakehaa** one.

Maaori World View	Imperialist World View
The tribal worldview in the eyes of Maaori is understood from oral histories as contained within te reo Maaori .	The Western paradigm of humanistic thought and including literacy in English is a signpost of civilised action.
Values of Maaori society have emanated from a cosmological wairua base.	Values have emanated from a western Christian philosophical and capitalist beginning.
Maaori attitudes to land are based on the view that the land is our tuupuna and people are the tribal spiritual guardians of the land for future generations.	Individual ownership of land is central to Paakehaa attitudes and ownership is based on a surveyed freehold plot
The framework of knowledge is viewed in its entirety.	Knowledge is fragmented into deliberate scientific parameters for capitalistic gain.
Validation and legitimisation of Maaori knowledge systems as tangata whenua is still an ongoing struggle.	Western knowledge is advanced as being superior and Indigenous forms of knowledge are to be silenced.
Learning is shared, lifelong and not age	It is also culture specific with little

specific. Kaumaatua are considered repositories of knowledge, and they are valued and hold an integral role within the society.	variation for those whose heritage or life experiences are from a different tradition.
Difference and diversity is reflected in the structure of Maaori society i.e. hapuu , and iwi . It is a connective theory known as whakapapa and whanaungatanga .	Paakehaa celebrate independent thought. The unique detachment theory is individualised.
Order is maintained in Maaori society through tribal tikanga and protocols. The structure is land based and the equity is in the land and phenomena.	Order is maintained in Paakehaa society by governmental laws determined by the State in a top down hierarchal order.
The future is viewed as an extension of the present.	Paakehaa society is strongly focused toward power and control over the future – investments and economic development.
Maaori society is based on a shared social, political, cultural and economic power.	Paakehaa society is based on a top-down power system.
Maaori society is based on emancipation and mobilisation of the whole community.	Paakehaa society is constructed on neo-colonialism and therefore encourages dependency of Maaori on the state. (Kai'ai as cited in Higgins 2004:13)

Figure 3 Adapted from Kai'ai's table as cited in Higgins 2004

What I take from this chart is that **Kaupapa Maaori** is more than an epistemology or research method. It embraces traditional beliefs and ethics, while incorporating

contemporary resistance strategies that embody the drive for **Tino Rangatiranga for Maaori**” (Turner, 2007:42).

Bishop (as cited in Turner 2008:42) “asserts that **Kaupapa Maaori** epistemology challenges the locus of power in terms of research issues and the dominance of traditional individualistic research...thus there is a need for theoretical positioning that embraces traditional beliefs and ethics”.

I have chosen a **kaupapa Maaori** and **Mana waahine** theory to drive this research because they are both “...indigenous theoretical frameworks that has its origins in ancient knowledge... both theories challenge the oppressive social order within which **Maaori** are currently located and do so from a distinctive **waahine Maaori** cultural base” (**Pihama** 2005:192). In addition to an analysis of power **Mana waahine** theory identified the double oppression that **Maaori** women are faced with; firstly as **Maaori** and secondly as women (**Pihama**, 2001).

“...**Maaori** women voices have been silenced...the silencing of our voices has meant the silencing of our theories and worldviews...it is up to **Maaori** women to take control of spaces where our stories can be told...to determine our own theories...to create relationships and understandings...and effect change” (Turner 2007:43-44).

Thus **Maaori** need to attempt to retrieve space for **Waahine Maaori** voices and perspectives that position their realities (**Pihama** 2001;Smith 1999;Irwin 1990;**Te Awkotuku** 1991).

The positioning of the stories in the research asserts the right of **Ngaati Apakura** voices to rediscover what has been lost or mislaid, spoiled or misinterpreted. This research is an active stance against the oppression of **Maaori** women and children and is an example of a practical intervention.

Waitangi Tribunal Rohe Potae Inquiry (Wai 858)

In 2009 the **Waitangi** tribunal commenced the **Rohe Potae** inquiry (**Wai 858**) into land grievances within a particular land boundary. To assist their process of inquiry

technical research reports were commissioned and have been carried out by professional historians and researchers to fit the legal hearings framework. Oral tradition historical reports are also carried out to get in-depth information on the dealings, understandings and relationships between the Crown and the chiefs in the area to give context to the inquiry and to get a ‘sense’ of the people in the inquiry area.

An integral part of the claims process is to identify our **tuupuna**, and our places of significance and to prove we have the historical and traditional rights to make claim to particular land within the inquiry district area. What this effectively means is that **Maaori** have to prove who they are to those who dispossessed them.

The panel of commissioners clarified that they did not want to hear about recorded information as the researchers were gathering all written information and evidence. I spoke at the first oral tradition **hui** held at **Kotahitanga Marae** (2010) along with two other speakers. We were each given only five minutes to present our evidence. The story as given in the **karanga** section of this thesis was presented on the first day. The emotion of being given the right to speak after more than a hundred years of silencing was overwhelming, so too was the challenge to present our truth, our story in an official hearing. It was well received by the panel and those present, in fact there was hardly a dry eye in the audience. On the second day however we were required to speak on specific themes relating to our evidence.

When our speakers claimed we had suffered genocide at **Rangiaowhia** some people in the **hui** were visibly upset at us for using the word genocide and they actually called us racists. We were asked by the tribunal to talk about the shooting and the guns. Our speakers wanted to speak about our ‘**mamae**’ and suffering that was caused by the Crowns actions but we were ‘hushed and silenced’ by the crowd and even the commissioners were not happy with our references to the massacre as an attempted annihilation of our people and cultures and traditions because of the ensuing diaspora. It became clear to me that the claims process is narrowly focused and excludes victim impact statements, in fact it is not even interested in justice for the people they have abused, raped, murdered and treated cruelly.

For instance in the Crown's attempt to address treaty grievances, New Zealand (land mass) has been cut into a jigsaw that represents land boundaries, rather than people. The people then provide evidence of their land rights and the presiding judge, commissioners and lawyers decide whether your case will be heard and the boundary line amongst other things. **Ngaati Apakura** lands overlap into two claim areas, **Waikato Raupatu** Settlement area and the **Rohe Potae** inquiry area. **Ngaati Apakura** needs to prove whether we are a **hapuu** or an **iwi** and to identify who are our **tuupuna** and **rangatira** to prove if we have treaty rights within the **Waitangi** tribunal **Rohe Potae** Inquiry (**Wai** 858) district. Tracing our identity as explained is problematic and not straightforward after almost 150 years of diaspora. The Crown knows that they have enacted policies that impose a reconstruction of identities through national, regional and local boundary changes. They are also aware that in our case **Ngaati Apakura** was dispossessed and so we had to go somewhere. That area is in the **Rohe Potae** inquiry district.

Rumbles (1999) points out that the Treaty of **Waitangi** Settlement process is flawed and that the claimant community are subjected to having to regurgitate their history and traditions not for justice or recompense for the wrongs committed against the people but so that the OTS can get an overall sense of the types of losses and to find a measurement to gauge the amount of loss claimed for (Rumbles, W 1999). The Crown's commissions that caused the losses are of no consequence to the OTS whose main agenda is not to take responsibility for the wrongs caused by the British Crown but to "construct the settlements as sites of reconciliation to remove colonial guilt. This is achieved by using the apology clause as a device to purge the British Crown of its past! As Rumble (1999:4-5) points out "the construction of history is never an objective exercise...the construction of the past is a way for the state to mediate its relationship with the people, through a process to take its people back to their painful history...that history is constructed in such a way that it does not question the authority of the state...the state renews and establishes its authority as sovereign in the process of creating the identity of those it governs...through this process the state discovers its own legitimacy and is further empowered...to construct the past and therefore is able to control the present' and therefore the future for **mokopuna**.

Tama Iti asserts treaty claims are the only time that the victim [**Maaori**] goes to the thief [Crown] and the thief [Crown] runs the court and tells the victim [**Maaori**] how to conduct their case and worst still the thieves [Crown] tell the victims [**Maaori**] how much they should give for redress, without remorse.

The issue of Treaty settlements for those who live in the borders of two claimant districts and have multiple grievances is not straightforward but it is complex for **Ngaati Apakura** who continues to live as a scattered people in diaspora.

Searching for a framework

Durie (1982) developed **Te Whare Tapa Wha** model as a cultural philosophy toward a holistic health and wellness model. In his theory the four dimensions represent the basic beliefs that underpin **Maaori health**:

1. **te taha hinengaro** (psychological health)
2. **te taha wairua** (spiritual health)
3. **te taha tinana** (physical health)
4. **te taha whaanau** (family health)

Durie's model of **Te Whare Tapa Wha** is modelled on the notion that each wall must be strong and balanced for health to exist for [a person, **whaanau**, **hapu**, **iwi**]. In other words developing self-awareness is key to creating balance and harmony in all aspects of life" (**Te Whare Tapa Wha** 2012). The problem with this model is that it does not address the locus of oppression and therefore the notion of well being is problematic.

According to **Kiingi Taawhiao** (as cited in **Waikato Tainui** 2112) a **whare** needs strengthening in the **poupou**, which are the main upright poles of the **whare**. This is an important distinction as it centralises the locus of power for theoretical positioning within the construction of ancestral speaking poles that embrace traditional ethics and beliefs.

“Maaku anoo tooku nei whare e hanga.

Ko nga poupou o roto he maahoe, he patete,

ko te taahuhu he hiinau.

Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga,

me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki”

"I myself will build my house.

*The inner supports will be of **maahoe** and **patete**,*

*the ridgepole of **hiinau**.*

*Be nourished on the fruit of the **rengarenga**;*

*Be strengthened with the fruit of the **kawariki**"- **Kiingi Tawhiao** 1864*

(Waikato Tainui 2012:170)

Kiingi Taawhiao, second **Maaori** king, composed this **tongi** during one of the gloomiest periods for **Maaori** post the confiscations. The King's people [**Ngaati Apakura** included] were poverty stricken and sick and dying from loss of land, loss of resources and suffering from disease and ill health. It is an inspirational verse that uses the metaphor of a **whare** and refers to the **mana** that resides in the **poupou** to deal with the issues of recovery and survival. It calls for the people to be resilient, spirited, plentiful and hardy like **otaota** (weeds).

“The power to reconstruct oneself through the construction of new metaphors grounded in **whakapapa** signposts is constructivism” (**Hemara** 2000:37).

Durie's model of **Te Whare Tapa Wha** is utilised here with the addition of the **tongi** to explain intrinsically an 'organically designed **Ngaati Apakura** model that positions the repositories of knowledge as **poupou** in the discourse of **Koorero Tuku Iho** praxis. As prime nurturers to their young, **waahine Maaori** hold specific knowledge that focuses on their roles as repositories of knowledge and legitimate transmitters of that knowledge.

“The pivotal place where this is done in **Maaori** society is the **marae** and its meeting house. In the **koorero** spoken on the **marae** and within the walls of the house, history is shaped. There is, then, a continuous dialectic between the past and the present, as the past is reordered and the present reinterpreted. The cycle of traditions about the people, land and events is dynamic, not static. For **Maaori** the past is seen as that which lies before one. It is the wisdom and the experience of the ancestors which they are confronting and seeking to interpret. The words of the ancestors exist still in memory, wrought into oral tradition, and they themselves can be encountered as they appear to the living in **wairua**, also in dreams (Binney 2010:72)”.

A ‘**whare koorero**’ proposes **koorero tuku iho** as an underlying link to the **Maaori** worldview of re-discovery, re-storation and re-claim of **whare taangata** and **whare maatauranga** theories.

“For **Wikitoria** her family history was suppressed ...the overriding interpretation taught in the **Waikato** and indeed in much of **Aotearoa** history was that ‘**Waikato** [**Ngaati Apakura** included] were rebels’. But quite other traditions had survived in the oral narratives and the **waiata** of **Rangiamoa**. They convey quite different perspectives; other ways of seeing. The main conveyers of the knowledge are the descendants or the survivors, who are the followers and supporters of the **Kingitanga**, the main means of conveying their history (Binney 2010:73)”.

The need for **Maaori** to mobilise is as relevant today as it was in the 1880’s. Despite the OTS many **Maaori** today are still struggling below the poverty line, without any ‘trickle down effect’ from settlements. All too few **Maaori** have made it up and over the poverty rung of Maslow’s (Business Balls 2012) hierarchy of needs. Many more do not have housing and still struggle to feed their children. The promised **Tino Rangatiratanga** as agreed upon in **Te Tiriti o Waitangi** 1840 still needs to be honoured with indigenous sovereignty as opposed to a unitary sovereign Crown (Rumbles 1999).

Waahine Maaori

Voices from the Embers

This section presents the research framework for this thesis. Similar to **Mana Waahine** research “this research seeks **Tino Rangatiratanga** for **Maaori** women and change to colonial ideologies which are discourses of dominance and oppression” (Turner 2007:39).

The aim of this thesis is to explore **Waahine Maaori** epistemologies and in particular the role of repositories as discursive praxis. This is being achieved through undertaking a literature review, which explores current thinking in fundamental areas coupled with the research information taken from the life stories of the repositories. Research information has identified specific themes from which conclusions in relation to the research are drawn. In this section I present the life stories of the **kuia**, including myself, as participants as a piece of valid research.

Ethical research of life stories has certain obligations attached such as representing the voices of the **kuia** in a respectful manner, there are **whaanau** remains at **Rangiaowhia** and this research must honour and respect those who have died and are hidden in unmarked graves. Having been entrusted with the **koorero** I need to make sure there is integrity in my work and treatment of the **koorero**. Acting fairly and justly is an obligation given that the question is focussed to getting some resolution to the **hara**.

Te Mamae (abt 1830 –1947)

Wikitoria trekked to **Puketarata** which is a land block just north of **Otorohanga** which is situated in what is now recognised by **Maaori** as **te Rohe Potae**. The name **Te Rohe Potae** was given after **Kingii Tawhiao** put Governor Grey’s hat over the map of New Zealand and claimed all of the land under his hat as land under his **mana**, the **mana** of **te Kiingitanga** (**Potae** means hat. **Rohe** is a district). It was on one of the hills next to an old pa site known as **Totorewa** that **te Mamae** and several other escapees found refuge.

There were a few of them that were orphaned and took up residence in the valley. The valley with two lagoons was a rich resource for **tuna**, **koura**, whitebait and freshwater mussels. On the surface of things it seemed a good life but without the economic prosperity they once had at **Rangiaowhia** it was difficult being an orphan. As a **puhi**, her **kaupapa** was to strengthen the **iwi** ties and to rebirth the **uri** of **Ngaati Apakura**. **Te Mamae** was betrothed to **Whakamau Te Wirihana** and had a family of eleven children.

Te Mamae knew that if the **whaanau** was to 'rise from the embers' then the birthing traditions of **Ngaati Apakura** would be imperative for the re-claiming and re-building of the **iwi**. In true oral tradition style **Te Mamae** not only gave each child a name and narrative based on the tragic events in the 'burning', each name also gave a good description of what she experienced and heard from the swamp at **Rangiaowhia**.

The choosing of her **tamariki** names was crucial to mark in history, the time that her life had changed, how it changed and who was responsible for the changes and to get a sense of the feeling that the experience evoked. In these chosen names were the metaphors and the symbolism used to maintain the collective memory and to generate transformation for the survival and wellbeing of **mokopuna**.

Korero tuku iho

*"Her first born, **Te Wera** was named in memory of the fierce heat felt that day from the burning. **Te Pupuhi** was named in memory of the shrapnel from the bullets whistling all around them knowing her people were unarmed. **Maringi** named for the 'blood spilt' on the land, on that day and **Te Ratapu** named Sunday, the day the **whaanau** were burnt in a **Paakehaa** church" (Marama 1960, 1970, 1990)*

Naming her **tamariki** in this way meant that the price for life and country should not be forgotten but it was also her way of letting her **uri** know of the despicable acts committed by Cameron and his Troopers in the name of the Queen of England.

Despite all the chaos created by greed and terror, **Te Mamae** did not just sit and mourn her life away because of **Te Riri o Te Paakehaa**. The discursive practise of

naming children after events worked well for memorising and reciting **whakapapa** in oral societies. Coupled with genealogical memorisation, and reinforced with **waiata** and narratives the psychological, emotional and cognitive layering formed a powerful combination to bring to remembrance those things we must not erase from our minds. It also supported her **oranga** in having a future to nurture and in turn be nurtured by the seeds from **te whare taangata**.

Mothers or grandmothers compose **oriori** (history songs for babies) that the expectant mother would sing to the **peepi** in the womb. After they are born they continue singing the **oriori** until the child can sing it itself. Composed by **Te Mamae** all of her children were sung their **oriori**, it informed them of their role in the **hapuu**. It comprised of original **koorero** explaining their heritage and the privileges that were her children's birthright. Teaching the children their **whakapapa** was imperative for the surviving remnants of a scattered tribe. Although it provided them a mother's privileges the **oriori** also put restrictions on their movements and activities. The children had been instructed that they were not to marry 'a common person' (**Marama** 1970). Given the crisis situation of the **hapuu** each of the children had their future mapped out to deal with the **whaanau, hapuu** survival.

Maringi (abt 1880 – 1964)

Born at **Taupiri**, she was the fifth child of **Te Mamae** and **Whakamau**. Born and raised in humble circumstances, their home was like most village homes, a **raupo whare** with a roof of **wiwi** grass, without windows and an earth floor. Their dirt floor a naked reminder of their simple lifestyle ties to the **whenua** and the 'disappearance' of the soil as it was stolen from the **Maaori** through **colonial** law that enacted numerous government legislation in the 1860's.

Maringi was the first of many generations born away from **Rangiaowhia**. However they were not the only family in that situation as almost the whole of 'Waikato' **Maaori** had been affected by the war. Many of the families had stories about being banished. **Whaanau** mourning for their children, women mourning the loss of their husbands, and whole families scattered without trace was a regular occurrence. The feeling of disillusionment, hopelessness, and mourning for the loss of children is aptly expressed in one verse of the **waiata tangi Te Ika-here-ngutu**:

Nei Ka Noho, Kapakapa Tuu Ana

Nei ka noho, kapakapa tu ana

te tau o taku matawa ki aku tamariki

Etia nei au, e tama mai.

ko te Aitanga a Tane e tuohu i uta ra -

e piko nei me te mamaku ki aku tamariki,

kei whea ra, e te tamaiti

I karangatia ai, Nau mai, e tama'

Ka riro raaia , i te taiheke nui

I am here with my heart-string

Beating and rising because of my children

Men, I am like the Descendants of **Taane**

Bent over in the interior

I am drooping like the **mamaku** because of my children

Oh where is the child

To whom I called, 'Come here, my son'?

He is borne away on the tide edging far out.... (Orbell, M. 2002:11)

The above quote from this lament describes the stress and trauma that **Maaori whaanau** were dealing with in the aftermath of the colonial wars. The feelings of despair as described in the imagery of the drooping fronds of the tree fern are a vivid metaphor for the grief-stricken parents bent over with anguish at the loss of the children. The ebbing tide is also associated with death and conveys the deep sorrows

of parents who lost their children in colonial land wars. The loss of land was an added burden of grief.

Life was not simple for **Maringi** as one of the first generation born after the land confiscations, neither was anything hidden. **Maringi** was not brought up in ignorance of the huge loss of life and the blood of the **tuupuna** spilt on the land during the New Zealand land wars. How could she, the history was in her name, the evidence was visible in her daily life and the expectations and obligations “to not forget” was before her. Their cry for a justice was a reality for children from that era as parents looked to their children as a hope for justice and seeking reclaim.

At the age of twelve years **Maringi** found herself in a position to declare her cultural heritage in a more conspicuous and permanent way by having a **moko kauae**. The chance arose when a **toohunga** visited the village at **Taupiri** and offered to **taa moko** young girls in the village. Although she was not the **tuakana Maringi** was chosen by **Te Mamae** to receive her **moko kauae** from the **toohunga** in **Waikato**.

Koorero tuku iho

*“Te Mamae had placed restrictions on **Maringi** to prepare her before the **toohunga** began his work” (Marama 1970)*

The **Toohunga** placed further restrictions on her (Marama, 1970) and she was not allowed to look into a mirror until the scabs came away from her chin weeks later. This was a mark of the **tapu** nature of the tattooing process. **Maringi** was told that her **moko kauae** would not appear if she did not do these things.

The markings of her **moko kauae**, are not those of the modern electric chisels, they are those of the deeply etched markings that drew blood at every point, and the fact that she endured the feat without crying was credit to her courage and bravery. The spilling of her blood for the survival of the culture and to reinforce the tradition was symbolic of the commitment thousands of **tuupuna** had made fighting for their homes and land as a legacy for their **mokopuna**.

Her **moko kauae** identical to her mother's is representative of the dedication of life to **Hine-te-iwa-iwa** (Te Mana o te Wahine Maori, 2012) as handed down through the

matriarchal line from **tuupuna** to **mokopuna** and mother to daughter. The lines now chiselled deep into her face are a stark reminder of the need to preserve history, traditions and culture of **Te Ao Maaori** as **Maaori** and a **Maaori** woman. Her face a 'canvas' and a cultural reminder to later generations of the intrusion of colonisation into the loving relationship between mother and daughter and the stripping of **moko kauae** from the faces of **Maaori** women through the body politics of race, sexuality and gender (**Pihama** 2001).

Her story in her **moko kauae** was personal to her and her role as **whare tangata**. **Maringi** was later betrothed to her husband, and with both parties agreeing to their marriage they birthed [fifteen] seeds from **Rangiaatea**.

She was determined in her pursuit for providence and wellbeing for her **whaanau** and her wider community. She was not one to turn her back on those in need and she was proactive in supporting the funding efforts to build **Te Puea Marae**, and to resource **Kahotea Marae** (her home **marae**). **Maringi** was a beautiful **kuia** to her **mokopuna** they admired and respected her as an inspiring leader. She was able to mobilise the **whaanau** in times of need because she was so well known in her community and she had extensive networks.

Sadly, she died suddenly in a tragic bus crash in February 1964. Her death is almost 100 years after **Rangiaowhia** tragedy February 1864 and dates as a poignant reminder of the many social, political and cultural losses, which **Maringi** (*spilling of tears*) was born into. It was ironic that the bus in which she was travelling was returning from **Waitangi** day celebrations (sic). **Maringi**'s life and voice is vital in the linking of the diaspora and the clear progression from **Te riri o Te Paakehaa** and the dark days of the **raupatu** to searching for pathways to 'live'. Her **whaanau** who revered her leadership were devastated at her untimely death.

Maringi was the last woman of her generation in our **whaanau** to receive a **moko kauae** associated with birthing.

Marama (abt 1912 – 2001)

My mother was born on the **Mangaora** land block at **Kawhia** where **Maaori** alone was spoken. When she was born it was her father that delivered her, and her **whenua** was **buried** under the peach tree at **Mangaora** where all of her older sibling's **whenua** (placenta) was buried. She was raised to speak **te reo** and she spoke very good English, but she did not learn how to read English.

Her early years were spent on the farm block at **Kawhia** and at the age of twelve years all of her family moved from **Kawhia** to the **Puketarata** land block in **Otorohanga** where **Te Mamae** lived along with many 'landless' **whaanau**.

In the early 1900's the main mode of travel for **Maaori** was by horse and buggy or you had to walk everywhere. It was a long 55 kilometres walk over many hills and gullies for **Marama**. When they arrived at their destination **Marama** went to live with **Te Mamae** who was eighty plus years old. **Te Mamae** was very pleased to have **Marama** live with her, having her **mokopuna** in her house was like a gift in her old age. **Marama** was at an impressionable age when she lived with **Te Mamae** and she credits **Te Mamae** with teaching her about **te whare tangata** and birthing traditions.

Koorero tuku iho

*"She told me the womb was sacred to our people in the old days, in those days the birthing of babies was under the guidance and care of the **kuia** who were previously known as **tohunga**. That **kuia** said that if I looked after my body, I would have a lot of children and I did. My **kuia** knew what to do if you wanted a boy baby or a girl."*

Marama saw her **tuupuna Te Mamae** observe the law of **tapu** in the home, such as keeping the cooking and preparation of food (which is **noa**) separate from sleeping areas. She kept all food equipment; dishes, tea towels and tablecloths separate from personal belongings such as clothing and bedding.

Koorero tuku iho

*"She was a very **tapu kuia**, she was **tapu** with her food, her cooking. She was very sacred"*

Marama was staying with **Te Mamae** when she was told about the tragic burning at **Rangiaowhia**. **Te Mamae** often mourned her life at **Rangiaowhia** before the fire. **Te Mamae** said some of the girls in the swamp were chased and raped by the soldiers. Fifty years after the burning and two generations later, **Te Mamae** was still very, very angry. After the **Rangiaowhia** burning the **whaanau** had struggled to make a living on the small piece of land at **Puketarata** land block. The land was swampland and although it was useful for birding and fishing, it was also prone to flooding.

Marama worked in the huge vegetable garden with all the **whaanau**. They were not able to harvest and make a living from their vegetables and fruit trees but the produce sustained their personal needs.

Although there were many **kuia** and **koroua** who lived at **Puketarata papakainga** in the 1920's, many of them moved away because the land would flood in the winter and their houses were regularly swept away into the river.

After marrying my father they lived for a few years on the **papakainga** at **Puketarata** white house. Most of my older siblings were born at home with my father, aunty, or **koro** as the 'midwives.' In those days the **whenua** was buried under a fruit tree or a rock on the **papakainga**. **Maaori** women in those days continued traditional birthing practices. It was mostly the husbands or grandfathers in our **whaanau** that assisted in the birthing of our babies. It was also the time when "Maternity Annex was built under the philosophies of Truby King' mainly in response for **Paakehaa** women (**Pihama** 2001:1)." Mothers who birthed their babies in the annex had the **whenua** (placenta) taken from them and burnt.

Later, my parents moved onto a dairy farm on **Whangamata** road, **Waihi**. My mother became President of the **Waihi** branch of the **Maaori** Women Welfare League under the national organisation, which was chaired by **Whina** Cooper, the first elected president. Their branch helped families with health and education for children; they did sewing, knitting and crocheting for skills building. It was the beginning of pan tribalism, supporting **Maaori whaanau**, who had made the rural-urban shift.

In the 1970s **Whina** Cooper (an eighty-year-old matriarch) and her young **moko** walking together on a metal road to Parliament under the slogan "not one more inch

of **Maaori** land to be sold” became the visual statement to mobilise people to fight against injustice. Both my parents were in **Tamaki** when the marchers walked over the harbour bridge with Joe Hawke carrying the **pou**. Both my mother and father went to **Turangawaewae** to meet up with the marchers and then they followed them through the **Rohe Potae** district.

When Joe Hawke and his **whaanau** occupied Bastion Point my parents who were living in **Te Kuiti** quickly joined in support of the cause. They believed wholeheartedly in the cause for justice and on the day of eviction they both stood strong and firm to support Joe and his stand for justice. Joe and his **whaanau** were branded by the government of the day as communists and radicals. When my mother defended herself in court she asked for an interpreter because she could not read English. It would have been a daunting task for her to be questioned in court. The interpreter however had a different dialect, and that caused another communication barrier for her.

When **Iritana Tawhiwhirangi** introduced the vision of **te kohanga reo** in the 1980’s which was to retain **te reo me oona tikanga** by facilitating total immersion units with fluent **Maaori** speakers of **te reo**, my mother offered her services to support the **kaupapa**. At the age of 70 my mother became the **Kaiako** at **Te Kohanga Reo**. She taught the young mothers **te reo Maaori me onaa Tikanga** and how to **raranga** as well as cooking.

Later in years my mother was given **Maaori** versions of scriptures and my father would read them to her. We children did not know how to read in **Maaori**. Much later in life my mother finally could read **te reo** but she never wanted to read english.

My mother taught we children our **whakapapa**; in fact she loved sharing **whakapapa** and family history. Such cultural knowledge is fundamental to self-identity and knowing who you are as a person.

My mother was in her 80’s when she passed away in the year 2001. Right up to her death she was a staunch supporter and advocate of **te reo Maaori me oona tikanga** and oral tradition but she never wanted to learn to read or write in English.

Koorero tuku iho

*“...Nanny (**Marama**) held the power over the **whaanau**, she organised the **whaanau**. Even if they were busy elsewhere they would stop what they were doing and do what she asked them to do. Throughout her life she always had gardens and fruit trees all around her house and on the few occasions when she was hospitalised she mourned the need to be discharged so she could get into her garden. Touching the soil and working in it made her well – to her the garden was her **oranga**, after the hospital regime was over (Monique 2009).” The garden provided the necessary elements for her healing and wellness.*

“Na reira moe mai ra e te whaea, i roto i te ringa kaha o te Atua”

Hazel (1948, 2012)

I was twelve years old when I first heard the shocking and sad story about the **Rangiaowhia** 1864 ‘burning’. My father was dictating the **whakapapa** and my mother would talk about the **whakapapa**. When she relayed the story of **Te Mamae** I was stunned and didn’t know whether to believe it or not.

Born in 1948, I am the 11th of 20 children (7 girls, 13 boys). I was born at the **Otorohanga** Maternity Annex, on the tribal lands of my people, **Ngaati Apakura**.

My memory of living on the **Puketarata** land block is rather sketchy now but the emotions and feelings for the people we lived with, and those who cared for us and worked the land have left their **wairua** footprints on the land and my heart. A feeling of gratitude and respect for their kindness and hospitality has left a warm impression both in my heart and mind.

I started school at **Waihi** East Primary in the **Hauraki** District but a short time later my parents withdrew all of our family from the **Waihi** schools and we were sent to the Native school at **Mataora** Bay. There was a time when a thriving **Maaori** community lived at the Bay but people were poor and isolated from the shops, jobs and doctors and so because of isolation and limited access to resources the community eventually moved off the land and into the cities.

We had to walk or go to school on horseback because there were not any roads for vehicular access. Our school boundaries were the sea on one side, hills on either side of the valley and the farm fence at the roadway.

Native schools had been built under the Native Schools Act 1867 under the education policy ‘No land, No school’ rule forcing **Maaori** to gift land if they wanted a school (Simon 1990). The school was then run under the authority of the education department. I am certain my identity as **Maaori** was firmly established, in the context of our Native school where we ‘fitted’ with our teachers, and excelled in the wonderful one-room open plan school environment with no dividing walls or school gates.

What I know now is that the Native school policies were to assimilate us to become ‘brown **Paakehaa**’ and manual labourers (Simon, 1990). On reflexion our teachers were not supposed to be taking us down to the sea and talking about the **Maaori** history of the area nor were they to teach us about **Tangaroa**. I found out years later that the reason the **Maaori** children were withdrawn from ‘mainstream school’ and sent to the Native school was because the school was under threat of closure, as the government had decided to close all native schools. I believe **Mataora** native school was one of the last ones to close. It was common knowledge that when any government department and especially the education department closed the schools down, the departments on-sold the land to another government department instead of returning it to **Maaori**, its rightful owners.

Although we children were passive in the decision to support **Mataora** School our attendance boosted the school role until the inevitable happened and the school was duly closed. I see now that our parents had involved us in our first protest against the government’s policies. When we moved to a **Paakehaa** School I was confused about why we had to have our hair, teeth and body checked. I remember as part of the delousing we had trimort (a toxic insecticide) put in our hair; it smelt vile and burnt our scalp.

I didn’t really know what a **Paakehaa** was until we were all moved back to mainstream ‘**Paakehaa** School’ and we were told we were **Maaori**. I remember feeling ‘ashamed and uncomfortable’ when the teacher taught us that **Maaori** were

cannibals and that the missionaries saved us from ourselves by civilizing us. When I relayed the story to my parents my mother was furious and the information was negated from her own theories. It was like the teacher didn't know what they were talking about! My mother had strong views against many of the things we were taught at school. She wanted to teach us **te reo Maaori** but my father wanted us to learn English. Such were the assimilationist policies of the era. My mother was very sad about us children not knowing how to speak **te reo Maaori**.

I was in my late thirties when **te kohanga reo** was introduced and I like the **tamariki** could not speak **Maaori**. When I told my mother I was learning **te reo Maaori** she was really upset that we did not know **te reo** and it was only then that she told me she wanted to teach us to speak **te reo**, but it was our Fathers wish for us to learn English so we could get jobs. Both of my parents were pained over our loss of **Te reo Maaori**. It was later when I went to university that I learnt it was the government's agenda that **Maaori** be assimilated as 'one people' under **Paakehaa** culture.

Being the 11th child in a big family means following ten others through the schooling system this can be a daunting experience, particularly as each teacher may have taught more than one or more of my older siblings who all excelled in sports. The teachers had high expectations of me, but I quickly got relegated to a lower sports team once the teachers realised I was different from the rest.

My parents had high expectations for all of their children to 'make it in the world'. I was intent on becoming a teacher or receptionist. On the enrolment form for High School I nominated commerce, typing, shorthand, geography and science as my preferred options. I know now the dominant beliefs about schooling for **Maaori** children at that time were to train us for domestic or manual work.

The reputation of **Maaori** children in the lower streams was that they were 'violent and dumb'. They were usually the bossiest and rowdiest class. Mostly there were **Maaori** boys in those classes and they were forever cleaning up the school grounds or setting sports equipment up but they never seemed to play the sports like cricket and tennis. College classes with higher numbers of **Maaori** students were considered 'violent' and 'frightening' (Pihama 2001) and so **Maaori** who were in higher classes tended not to mix with the lower streamed students. For some reason we as **Maaori**

did not talk to one another about our **whakapapa**. I found out after I had left school that we were all **whaanaunga**. I now realise that despite the **Maaori** culture clubs being held at school we were not meant to position ourselves as **Maaori**.

When I was at High school we moved off the farm because my father was too ill and so I moved to **Paeroa** College. I loved my shorthand teacher at **Paeroa** College. She always encouraged me to do well. My commercial teachers and typing teacher were kind and supportive. Unfortunately my father became ill again and we had to move so my mother could go to work, this began the urban drift to the city.

Later when I went to work I first worked in the market garden and then as domestic staff in the hospital or in factories. Jobs were plentiful in the 70's and you could go from one job to another. I drifted around the various factory jobs. I never liked any of the work and so I did not stay at jobs for any length of time. I realise now that I was meant to be taught for menial work and not office work or blue collar jobs.

I married and had four children and as I reflect back and compare my own birthing experiences as a patient to that of my mother's experiences it only took one generation for us to 'become entrenched into the hospital system that destroyed hundreds and hundreds of generations of birthing traditions (Monique, 2009).

Later as a solo parent I became involved in community development initiatives setup within the **Pukewiwi** – Mt Roskill area under the **Maaori Affairs Kokiri** programmes. **Maaori** parents throughout the **Tamaki** area had been contacted by the **Maaori** Affairs community officers (**Kaihui**, Eddie Mcleod, **Hanna** Jackson, Ruby Grey, June **Mariu** and many others) and a public meeting was organised to discuss schooling needs for the children, community initiatives like home work centres and also **kapa haka** in schools. The **kokiri** centres were the brainchild of the then **Maaori** Affairs secretary **Kara Puketapu** (1977) who believed that parents should work as collectives to support the children to understand their schoolwork and to increase the level of school achievements.

I joined with a group of parents in our community and we discussed formalising our group and so we consulted my mother on a suitable name for the group. My mother wanted to know what the purpose of the group and after relaying our philosophy

beliefs and values to her, my mother suggested we name ourselves **Te Whakapumautanga o Pukewiwi**. The symbol of the **Pu** (seed) was used to symbolise the growth cycle of a developing seed to its fruiting stages and then the seed renews itself as a new seed and the cycle is repeated again. I now know that the symbol of the seed originates in the **Io** mythologies and in the **whakapapa** of the creation of the world. The concept of the seed beginning was appropriate as we were all looking for a **Maaori** worldview.

With the re-claiming of **te reo Maaori** at a grass roots level in suburbia we mobilised ourselves to learn of our own paradigms. We ran our own programs but we were restricted by the controls and criteria for funding and the need to *answer to* the master, dominant, mainstream New Zealand society.

The **whaanau** in the group provided a lot of support for solo mothers who were being stereotyped as failures, losers and bludgers of the State. In our group were parents from the Mt Roskill South areas. It has been a privilege to work alongside inspirational people such as Rodger Smith, Amy and Logan Pickering, Steve and **Tangiwha Kohunui**, Betty **Potatau**, Marge Paul, **Whanga Williams**, **Hanna Haehae** and many, many others). It was also an exciting time to be involved in **taha Maaori** programmes at school, after school homework study groups and **te kohanga reo**. We were conscientised by the protest movements and engaged in notions of **tino rangatiratanga**, to take control of our own destinies. It was a busy time, we had a lot of ideas about being proactive, having our **tamariki** get a good education, and there was a lot of work to do.

My children and **mokopuna** have grown up in and around educational learning centres such as **Te kohanga reo**, and **Kura kaupapa Maaori** and **marae wananga** at Auckland University, and they took it for granted their right to enter tertiary study. Although few **Maaori** children have such a belief, it was a goal that I wanted for myself as a teenager, and my children. Through my involvement in **te kohanga reo** I was fortunate to meet and work alongside inspiring **Maaori** academics like **Tuki Nepe**, and Linda & Graham Smith who influenced many **Maaori** involved in reclaiming **te reo** to follow an education pathway forward. Access to these forums and resources meant changes in my life and through reflection and analysis I was able to re-see my experiences in another way, a **Maaori** way. People have entered into my

life at key times and given me “access to knowledge and ways of thinking that have broadened my worldview” (**Pihama** 2001:15).

I count my **whaanau** in this, my **tuakana Rahera** Hawke and my parents, for joining in the land march, and their courage to make a stand at Bastion Point against the land injustices. They were law-abiding senior citizens and had never had a court conviction in their lifetime but they were convicted and discharged for ‘trespassing on **Maaori** land’. They stood firm and unshakable in their fight for land rights.

In the media they were portrayed as the protesters and lawbreakers. Up until the point when my parents chose to follow their deep convictions to make a stand and fight for freedom from the oppression and injustice I had always thought it was someone else’s fight and not mine. The courage that my parents displayed is an inspiration not only to me but to our **whaanau**. As I reflect back I cannot help but think that for my mother it was her little victory for remembering.

At the court my mother asked the judge for a translator, and like many other **kaumaatua** who were arrested she defended herself in **te reo**. There were some incredibly astute, political **Maaori**, Indigenous and **Paakehaa** radical thinkers, who saw the state ideologies that were hidden below the fabric of society and were unafraid to stand up and speak up for what was right. Their stand helped me to shape my thinking significantly. I am privileged to have listened and learned from them.

My schooling never provided me with any understanding of the history of **Aotearoa** that is something my **whaanau** and especially my mother taught me. I especially remember my Uncle Bob Beazley babysitting us children on the farm at **Waihi**. He was an orator and a storyteller. It was exciting to listen to him. He would set the scene by lighting a little fire in the back yard and all of us children would sit around the small outdoor fire, listening to him telling his ‘fairy tales’. Sitting by the fire, in the warmth of the flames under a starry sky was special. My favourite story was about **Maui** and **Mahuika** who had ‘fire fingers’. In fantasizing about heroes in my childhood I never imagined myself being **Maui** because he had been naughty to his **kuia**. I was not impressed with his behaviour, as it did not fit with the religious teachings I was being raised under. The expectations were that we be ‘well behaved’, good mannered and not cause harm or to treat anybody harshly.

I realise now that nanny **Mahuika** is my **tuupuna**. **Maui** is a courageous **tuupuna** who provided nurture and warmth for his descendants of the future. Both he and nanny **Mahuika** were repositories of knowledge; their stories are cultural blueprints for the handing down of knowledge from **kuia** to **mokopuna**.

With the ‘steady diet’ of mythologies along with scripture stories deep feelings and ideas about pre-earth and the creation period, and **Te Ao Wairua** or life after death were instilled in me. Now that I have studied **te reo Maaori me oona tikanga** I now realise that a religious worldview and a **te ao Maaori** worldview are very different philosophies, epistemes and cultural blueprints. Both are similar in that they claim inherent beginnings from the Gods.

On reflection I realise our teachers were **Maaori** at Native school. Years later I now realise that the world we were to make it in was not a **Maaori** world, it was a **Paakehaa** world. Education policies were designed to deny us access to the fullness of what it meant to be **Maaori** (Pihama 2001:90).

My interest in **whakapapa** has grown over time and so too has my ability to memorise and pronounce **tuupuna** names. As a child I had displayed my ability to listen intently, to memorise the information and to relay the information as spoken.

What is important for me is that I never saw myself as anything other than being **Maaori**. Sadly, the denial of being **Maaori** was not uncommon amongst my peers as I was growing up. It can be viewed within the context of a history of colonial oppression and racial ideologies that have located **Maaori** as inferior. The impact of colonialism, in particular the greed of settler immigrants and the settler government’s denial of the sovereign rights of **Maaori**, has had major implications for **whaanau**, **hapuu** and **iwi**. Wars, disease, lies, theft, rape, imprisonment were all strategies utilised by the settler forces in the suppression of our people. **Ngaati Apakura** has continued to experience the devastating effects of those, and ongoing covert acts of colonial violence.

The deep level of injustice is something I came to myself after my mother told me about **Te Mamae**. Through my own research and active involvement in the land march, land occupations and re-claiming of **Te Reo Maaori me onaa tikanga** I

realised a deep injustice had been done to **Ngaati Apakura**. We were not only robbed of a history but understanding of our place in the world was damaged outside of our immediate **whaanau**.

Fed up with the colonial tales of the landless and rebel myths, another driving force in this study is to generate a **waananga** of ideas from the survivors to construct some answers as to why our mothers and their babies went up in flames, why did the violence on **Maaori** and **Maaori** women continue generation after generation. Why are some **Maaori** now the perpetrators of these insidious crimes against women and babies? One theory is that when you brutalise a people enough, they normalize this behaviour and perpetuate a violent colonial history.

Central to any **whaanau** oral traditions study are the voices of the **kaumaatua** (Pohatu 2003). Oral tradition **kaumaatua** who were “native speakers of **te reo Maaori** intrinsically believed in the power of language” (Nepe 1991). This section presented the lifestories of the **waahine** and in so doing it privileged the **Apakura** herstories as seen through **Apakura** eyes (Borell, Joseph 2012). The stories have **waiata** and **haka** woven in, to provide context and to highlight the concerns that the **kuia** (participants) were dealing with post **Rangiaowhia**. These issues have provided sub themes for critical discussion.

Whare Koorero o Rangiaowhia

Critical Discussion

Here is where I bring together the information gathered from the life stories and the key ideas from the literature review to answer the research objectives;

- To examine and understand the impact of the **Rangiaowhia** burning on generations of descendants, past, present and future.
- To centre this examination in **kaupapa Māori** praxis.
- Through **kōrero tuku iho** – oral traditions, give voice to **Ngaati Apakura** women who have been silenced by the **hara**.

Te Mamae is in the centre of the discussion it is her voice that shapes the analysis. The quintessential structure of a **Whare Koorero o Rangiaowhia** is utilised in this section to layer the data to interpret meaning, make generalisations and extrapolate themes that will be combined to reveal the **koha** that is evident in **Koorero Tuku Iho** praxis.

1. The impact of the **Rangiaowhia** burning on generations of descendants, past, present and future.

Te Mamae shared the vision for her **mokopuna** in her **koorero** “...**kia kaua e wareware i te mahi kino a te Paakehaa**, Cameron”. She was explicit in her personal testimony of the crime scene, and as oral traditions people do, the names of her children contained all of the detailed information that only someone who was actually there could give.

*“Her first born, **Te Wera** was named in memory of the fierce heat felt that day from the burning. **Te Pupuhi** was named in memory of the shrapnel from the bullets whistling all around them knowing her people were unarmed. **Maringi** named for the 'blood spilt' on the land, on that day and **Te Ratapu** named Sunday, the day the **whaanau** were burnt in a **Paakehaa** church”
(*Marama 1960, 1970, 1990*)*

Only a personal witness would have seen and heard and felt the violence and terrors of that day.

*“...while the soldiers were attacking the village **Wikitoria** and other teenagers were hidden undercover of the swamp weed” (Marama 1960)*

*“...**Hongihongi** was a young boy, he was in the [Anglican Church], he broke a hole in the back of the church so the old people could escape” (Te Otaota 2010).*

The metaphors are potent reminders of an abhorrent scene filled with terror and tears. **Te Mamae** had no idea when she woke up that morning that she would not have a home to return to and nor would she even have a bed to sleep in at night. The literature showed that the act was intentional, lawful and awful.

Arundhati Roy described the impact of imagery as follows “...once you see it, you can’t unsee it. And once you’ve seen it, keeping quiet, saying nothing, becomes as political an act as speaking out” (Arundhati Roy as cited in Outlookindia.com n.d).

When a personal witness tells their stories, they leave room for others to come forward to substantiate or challenge the witnesses information. For our **whaanau** the opportunity to have the voice of **Te Mamae** made public was achieved in the **Waitangi** Tribunal inquiry **hui** 2010. The writing of this thesis is also seen as part way to fulfilling the vision of **Te Mamae**.

As the research shows it was the **mauri** of **Wikitoria** that was damaged at **Rangiaowhia**. It was her that was the witness and not **Te Mamae**. **Wikitoria** needed the balance restored. The act of changing a name can be seen as one of the ways that **Maaori** use to ‘transform’ trauma through taking on a new identity.

*“...born out of this crime against **Wikitoria**, her name is changed by **kaumaatua** and **kuia** to **Te Mamae** in memory of her journey and what she had witnessed at **Rangiaowhia**” (Marama 1960).*

However, changing a name can not erase all the hurt and pain. When **Marama** stayed with **Te Mamae** she observed that even at the age of sixty plus years **Te Mamae** still carried alot of the grief and pain.

Te Mamae is central in handing down knowledge and traditions for birthing her future generations. **Marama** attributes her knowledge of birthing traditions to her **kuia**'s teachings. She was taught the importance of caring for **te whare tangata** (her womb) and showed her how to care for her body.

*“She told me the womb was sacred to our people in the old days, in those days the birthing of babies was under the guidance and care of the **kuia** who were previously known as **tohunga**. That **kuia** said that if I looked after my body, I would have a lot of children and I did. My **kuia** knew what to do if you wanted a boy baby or a girl.”*

*“...the moon being a significant knowledge to understand its influence over earth's water the **whenua** including the **whare tangata** birthing waters (Monique 2009).*

Te Mamae was pivotal in ensuring her **whaanau** not only lived but lived to tell the **koorero**. At the time that this thesis goes to print **Marama** has hundreds of **mokopuna** and also great great **mokopuna**, thereby increasing the numbers of **Ngaati Apakura whaanau, hapu** and **iwi**.

The real impact on the future is that presently, there is only **marae** land that is held in perpetuity for the descendants of **Ngaati Apakura**. For many **Ngaati Apakura** descendants our **turangawaewae** since confiscation of **Rangiaowhia** doesn't even give us *toe* space, let alone enough room to stand on.

2.To centre this examination in **kaupapa Māori** praxis.

The principle of sovereignty is a **Kaupapa Maaori** theme and is premised on the belief that **Maaori** values, ways of knowing and understanding the world are validated and legitimised through **Maaori** culture. The research clearly demonstrates that redress at the social, political, educational and economic levels of the tribal agenda is needed to address the **hara**.

As the research demonstrates the concept of **hara** is complex and **koorero tuku iho** praxis provides analysis to appreciate the complexities associated with seeking redress and resolution. Exploring colonised realities transforming power relationships and constructs accords with the principles of **tino rangatiratanga** (Brumbles 1999).

Mana Waahine theory looks at the locus of power to claim a central space for **Waahine Maaori** discourse. The power to centre the framework at the site of struggle opens dialogue with the Crown and the space to question its legitimacy in quashing **Ngaati Apakura** and even the **Kingitanga** in expressing our own sovereignty, our own **rangatiratanga**.

This thesis is based on **Wikitoria**'s knowledge, and her right to speak, which was handed down to her **mokopuna**. Her account conveys an alternative history, the perspectives of the '**mamae**'.

“It opens up other worlds of causation (Binney 2010:74)”.

Iwi specific frameworks embedded in **Kaupapa Maaori** pedagogies links to the discourse of emancipation and the right to recreate the economic base that **Ngaati Apakura** enjoyed pre-February 20th 1864.

3. Through **kōrero tuku iho** – oral traditions, give voice to **Ngaati Apakura** women who have been silenced by the **hara**.

It feels good to know the voices of the **kuia** have been brought out of obscurity. Their voices are extremely valuable contribution to the lives of survivors of genocide. It opens the door to another avenue of validating and analysing our lives and experiences as colonised peoples. It helps to bring understanding (but not acceptance) as to why indigenous people in particular suffer in poverty.

Te Mamae is central in the discourse, in order to construct and maintain learners and carriers of the intergenerational literacies.

*“Te Mamae had placed restrictions on **Maringi** to prepare her before the **tohunga** began his work” (Marama 1970)*

*“She was a very **tapu kuia**, she was **tapu** with her food, her cooking. She was very sacred”*

Te Mamae’s discourse for life continues to influence later generations.

*“...Nanny (**Marama**) held the power over the **whaanau**, she organised the **whaanau**. Even if, they were busy elsewhere they would stop what they were doing and do what she asked them to do. Throughout her life she always had gardens and fruit trees all around her house and on the few occasions when she was hospitalised she mourned the need to be discharged so she could get into her garden. Touching the soil and working in it made her well – to her the garden was her **oranga**, after the hospital regime was over (Monique 2009).”*
The garden provided the necessary elements for her healing and wellness.

Kaua e wareware – forget about it.

The central theme in this thesis is the need to protect and transmit information in culturally effective language that is timeless. A knee jerk reaction might say *forget about **Rangiaowhia***, it’s just too painful to remember.

Nobel Peace Prize winner 1986 Elie Wiesel said “I have tried to keep memory alive, and I have tried to fight those who would forget. Because if we forget, we are guilty, we are accomplices.”

It is true that the pain and emotion is very real and vivid in the life story of **Te Mamae**. It is in her name, and will never be lost from **whakapapa**. It is also true that ceaseless repetition of the idea that the past is irrelevant desensitises people from understanding the influence of the legacy of historical experience and knowledge.
Kaua e wareware – don’t forget about it.

The power of voice as an agency was expressed in many different ways through oral tradition media and were indeed utilised to research and uncover hidden and silenced meanings for re-claiming histories and traditions. Cultural silence principles in **Maaoritanga** can relate to **tapu** – prohibition and sacred or **noho puku** as in fasting or **whakarongo titiro** which is the silent theory of memorising and language learning through the **wairua** (Browne 2005).

In the context of intergenerational transmission of knowledge the process can be seen as *knowing doing* and *being* (O'Malley et al. 2008:2). In other words you listen, and keep repeating until you *know* what to say and then you *do* the activity and speaking and through that process you finally *become* a speaker of **Te reo Maaori**. In these processes silence is not passive but it relates to being active. Silence is a space for reflexion on new knowledge, words, sayings; it is power (Browne 2005).

The practice of handing down from **kuiā** to **mokopuna** or mother to daughter reflects the wellness in **whaanau** relationships and the ability of the **koorero** to be lived, embraced and transformed. The living patterning of cosmology through **whakapapa** as opposed to benign narratives for trauma was the key healing remedy for the women. This reflects the divine role of intergenerational gifting processes through **whare tangata** and **whare maatauranga** that did not cease with colonial oppressed and dominant ideologies. **Korero tuku iho** survived in the privacy of **whaanau** and the lives of the women.

In the case of both **kuiā** obtaining their **moko kauae** as adolescents their stories challenge the myth that only the elderly women received **moko kauae** and that young girls were not chosen as leaders. For **Te Mamae**, her **moko kauae** is symbolic of the **mana** of the people as **tangata whenua** living on their land and working for their **whaanau**. For **Maringi** it was to serve as cultural markers on the leadership role that indeed she took up within her **whaanau** and community. Being chosen by her mother to acquire **moko kauae** is an important process but having the courage and will power to see the decision through to the end is a sign of leadership and **mana**.

Mana of each waahine

The actual processes and experience and reasons for receiving **moko kauae** differed from one another. For **Te Mamae** she received her **moko kauae** on the **papakāinga** where her **hapuu** and **iwi** around her. In contrast, **Maringi** was living in the diaspora of colonial New Zealand and she had her **moko kauae** inscribed at a **marae** in the **Waikato**.

The experience of being tattooed is not a practice for the weak. It showed that at a very young age they were able to endure intense pain. One can only assume that the

deep hypnotic effect of the **karakia** of the **toohunga taa moko** allowed them to drift into an unconscious state as a form of pain relief. In those days ‘faith’ as a generative action of ‘**tapu**’ was a potent anaesthetic used in traditional **Maaori** society (Higgins 2004). Furthermore, **karakia** was an important process to ensure the protection of the **moko kauae** recipient and the **toohunga taa moko**.

These **Ngaati Apakura** women whom we know so little about other than their names and their faces have worn their personal stories on their faces through **moko kauae**. Their stories provided a glimpse into their extreme ability as **whaanau** leaders, weavers, designers, justice seekers, teachers, advisors, gardeners, orchardists, horticulturalist, community leaders, freedom fighters, daughters, mothers, grandmothers, great grandmothers and church leaders. Their faces and indeed their lifeblood acknowledged that; transmitting knowledge is an essential part of their identity as transformational leaders for their **mokopuna**.

Recognition of the unique identity of each **waahine** supports the notion that **moko kauae** are a symbol of women undertaking the traditional role as well as expressing her **mana** in a personal way. While each woman had a unique design, these patterns especially were a statement of their identity and, more importantly, their identity as **waahine** of **Ngaati Apakura**.

Koorero tuku Iho Praxis

Hoki ki to Ukaipo

At the heart of this research lies the story of **Wikitoria**, her transformation and the transformational power of intergenerational transmission of knowledge in daily practice. It was her story that contributed to a macro lens of the wider injustice narrative, as played out in the lives of the repositories of the knowledge. The oral nature of her eyewitness account has restricted her **koorero** to oral tradition structure and layered it in the hearts of her **whakapapa**.

Her **koorero**, as constructed, represents the distinctive way in which the transmitters made sense of their world. Each generation demonstrated that from living their ‘unique core essence of inherent beliefs’ they could ‘take up the roles as given.’ In choosing so they in their own personal pathway constructed footprints in the soil that show us the fluid nature of cultural principles and the transformations in today’s processes are indicative of the changing structures of **Maaori** society, and, especially the value of **whakapapa** as an intergenerational knowing and learning between **kuia** and **mokopuna**.

Following the same principle of claiming space in the wider academy this study seeks to do so at the site of the **hara**, to uncover hidden knowledge not only at the level of revitalisation but at the level of access to bodies of knowledge that remained hidden (Jahnke 2006).

This **whare koorero** was constructed on tribal lands in tribal space to open dialogue for a **Ngaati Apakura** voice. The notion of a conceptual construction on ‘the tribal landscape in spite of prior structure [a **whare karakia**] is a space of cultural encounter where the knowledge of previous speakers (weavers, carvers etc) provide a new perspective’ that privileges a present day **Ngaati Apakura** worldview (Jahnke 2006).

Set out in **whakapapa** framework the **whare koorero** has clearly identified time markers from one generation to the next as a holistic living history book. In re-conceptualising the **whare koorero** old images were formed to maintain **Maaori**

tradition to express and explain contemporary **Ngaati Apakura** lives and issues backward into the future.

The centrality of the role of bearing human life has been systematically devalued by the colonisation of **Maaori** cosmogony and by the redefinition of **Maaori** spiritual beliefs by **Paakehaa** writers, I would add too the power of the written word taking precedence over the oral.

Koorero tuku iho as **puurakau** teaches the **mokopuna** stories of places, events and people of historical significance as well as aspects of tribal lore to re-claim, remember and preserve knowledge of the past as beginning seeds for the future. Weaving the talk and stories of our **kaumaatua** provides clarity that **korero tuku iho** is pedagogy of acquisition, processing and imparting of knowledge that is a philosophy of preparedness for life.

In discussing a way forward from carrying the burden of the **hara** it became clear to me that the survival and the prosperity of the **whaanau** is dependant on the protection, preservation and health of **mokopuna**. The three frameworks –**whare taangata**, **whare matauranga** and **whare koorero**, are useful tools with which to show the impact of **Rangiaowhia** diaspora on **Ngaati Apakura mokopuna**.

“...the process of **korero tuku iho**, concrete application in life is much like a weaver who through practical experience is taught the ancient patterns and in time will stay dedicated to weaving practices, and to the sacred nature of the tradition whether verbal or artistic” (Hopa 1988:4).

The study attempted to show a layered indigenous sacred worldview. It sought to show some core understandings of the way transmitters of oral **koorero** worked to keep their **whaanau** ‘heart centred’ and to highlight the importance of re-instating **tikanga**.

“...there is a tradition among **kaumaatua** that once you have committed information to memory in appropriate and authorised circumstances, then that information, with a life of its own becomes part of you and your life...”(Hopa 1988:4).

Undertaking **moko kauae** dispelled the myth that only the elderly and **kaumaatua** receive **moko kauae**. Yet in saying this, the women were influenced by their roles in the **whaanau** in some way. The processes behind the tattooing of each individual reflected some of the old customary methods that have been discussed earlier. **Karakia** was the essential element in the tattooing stage and in their personal life and choices.

The journeys shared by these women showed many similarities, yet contrasted in many instances to provide a diverse picture of the nature of **koorero tuku iho** in today's society.

The issue is not straightforward but it is complex for **Ngaati Apakura** who has suffered diaspora and continues to live as a scattered people post the burning. For **Ngaati Apakura** who are in the throes of re-claiming, re-building and re-grouping as an **iwi** and **hapuu** the 'burning' continues on in the hearts and minds of the carriers of the **hara**.

Korero tuku iho as **whakapapa** provides the mokopuna with explanations of their place in the scheme of things and their positioning.

The decision making processes these women undertook illustrated the different beliefs the women held. The visionary skills and intrinsic knowledge of **Te Mamae** to take up her role as an agent for change and her role as **whare taangata** was integral in her decision to live. The use of **tikanga** to re-position her identity in the **koorero** of the **tuupuna** enabled her to create a **taonga** for her life and that of her **mokopuna**. It also served as a precaution against the oppressive power of the 'louder' ideologies that she realised were present in her lifetime. The intrinsic nature of the **koorero** helped later generations to recognise and indeed seek out wellness.

We have a responsibility to ensure that 'remembering' is "at the forefront of our "knowing", "doing" and "being" and that the seed planted through our exposure to experiences is the legacy we leave for our **tamariki/mokopuna**" (O'Malley et al, 2008).

Wahine Maaori as transmitters of knowledge is one element of the **Maaori** worldview and implied in its formation are the complementary positions of **taane Maaori**. **Koorero tuku iho** is balancing two parts of our being; it is nurturing the **wairua**, and **mauri** to ensure balance is maintained.

Limitations

Written sources such as manuscripts, **whakapapa** books, **whaanau** reunion books, **marae rautau** books and personal photos that remain in the author's possession have been valuable in this research to validate **Apakura** voices by **Apakura kaumaatua**.

There is a limitation on access and the non-ability to openly access empirical data for written evidential material. Stories explaining the meaning of **taonga** are not always accessible because the written material is made **tapu** and mostly stored in private collections.

<i>Ka ngapu te whenua, te whenua</i>	<i>The undulating land</i>
<i>Ka haere nga tangata ki whea</i>	<i>Where shall man find an abiding place</i>
<i>E ruaimoko!</i>	<i>God of the lower depths</i>
<i>Purutia!</i>	<i>Hold fast our land!</i>
<i>Tawhia!</i>	<i>Bind tightly, Bind!</i>
<i>Kia ita!</i>	<i>Be firm, Be firm!</i>
<i>aa-a ita!</i>	<i>Nor from our grasp be torn!</i>
<i>KIA MAU! KIA MAU!</i>	

(Hoani Papita, Ngaati Apakura)

Te Koha i Puta Mai

The voices from the embers are voices seeking justice and re-claim for **Ngaati Apakura**. **Koorero tuku iho** – oral tradition is a method **Wikitoria** utilised to make sense of her life as constructed by and in ‘confiscated space’. Coupled with that is the desire to ensure the voices and experiences of **Ngaati Apakura** people pre and post the burning were captured to touch the hearts and minds of the reader. It was her method for victory over the pain that was left in her psyche.

The capturing of the voices of the **kuia** was a daunting task. The obligation to ensure the voices and experiences were recorded and presented in a dignified manner was not a task for the weak. As a researcher I am answerable to the academy but as a **whaanau** member I am answerable to the future descendants. It is daunting and humbling to present this piece of research as a beginning story.

This has been a huge challenge to submit writings for a piece of scholarship from lived realities. This engagement was profound for me as the idea of having personal writings published meant being exposed and the idea that very knowledgeable people would access the thesis was extremely daunting.

The importance of **whare tangata** is evidenced by the ‘centrality of the female reproductive functions to **Maaori** cosmogony and the powers attributed to their reproductive abilities in the integral relationship in women, birth and the land. The positioning of women in **whaanau** was upheld by their inherent **tapu** and the role of **whare taangata**. The apparent role that women play in preserving the lines of descent from the **atua** to present and future generations continues to be crucial to **whaanau** re-birth.

From Sunday morning 21st February 1864 the **Whaanau** of **Te Mamae** has been fighting for justice, either passively, or in silence they have held the desire for justice in their actions. **Wikitoria**’s story is only one story from the pool of dispossessed people, there are many, many more to be told.

Te Mamae became the memorial to the protest through her name change. The four generations of women as prime sources in this research have also kept the flame of justice alive and burning. As previously mentioned, in 2010 the author had the opportunity to deliver **Te Mamae**'s eye witness account to the **Waitangi** Tribunal inquiry.

It was clear that **Te Mamae** lived in the hope for justice, in the hope that there would one day be a day of reckoning and she lived in hope that one day in the future *her voice would count*.

The **whakatauki** which surrounds **Kiingi Taawhiao** is concerned with the future **tino rangatiratanga** of his people;

“It gives the system and the resolution (Binney 2010:78)”.

Re-establishing Whaanau traditions.

In 2009 my cousin received her **moko-kauae** I am not sure whether or not it has anything to do with birthing, but never the less the re-claiming of traditions as passed down is very beautiful and inspiring.

My mother gave my daughter Monique all the birthing **koorero** Monique does not have a **moko-kauae** but has all the **taonga** associated with birthing and as a **kaiwhakawhanau a pepi** (midwife) she like her **kuia** before her, has assisted birthing **Apakura whaanau** in particular. It is worth noting that in the medicalised system, medical notes is a requirement over and above oral traditions birthing **tikanga**. More discussion on this topic is needed, however it is outside the scope of this study. This research is an opening voice for oral tradition **koorero**, there are many more stories yet to be researched, heard and recorded.

The handing down of the **koorero** from **Marama** to Monique also shows that the **oranga** that **Wikitoria** hoped for in her **mokopuna** is a legacy that is still being lived for and hoped for, the restoring of the **mauri** and the balance destroyed.

“The **mauri** protects the tribal mountain; it is an hidden narrative of wealth or power to be recovered in days to come. It recreates the quintessential image of a **whare koorero** for the **Maaori** world. **Te Ao Marama**, the world of light

and knowledge, and it specifically asserts that the people's **tino rangatiratanga** will be restored as the 'tide' turns and the past is renewed in the present (Binney 2010:76)".

"Ae nanny, we will never forget Te Mamae o Ngaati Apakura"

Postscript

On the 25th August 2012 researchers **Moepatu** Borrell and Robert Joseph (2012) presented a Historical Report named **Ngaati Apakura Mana Motuhake** Project. It is a draft report commissioned by the Crown forestry Rental Trust to assist **Ngaati Apakura** claimants in their **Waitangi Tribunal Rohe Potae** Hearings (**Wai 858**). The **hui** was held at **Kahotea Marae** inside of our **whare tuupuna Whatihua**, who is the eponymous ancestor of **Ngaati Apakura**. **Kahotea Marae** is situated on the **whenua** where **Te Mamae** sought refuge after her journey for life in the **Waipaa** River.

It was an emotional time as people heard their history told by their own **tuupuna**. Except for the **mokopuna** of **Te Mamae** many other **whaanau** have only just recently become aware of the **Ngaati Apakura** history and traditions. The journey of re-claim has only just begun. This research serves as an opening for many more stories of survival, struggle and a push from within and beneath the core of **Papatuaanuku** to uncover the tools and practices that lead to rangatiratanga.

"Seek out that which is lost for therein lies your pathway – Te Ataairangikaahu (1998)"

The work still goes on for our fight to *never forget* to fight for justice.

Karakia Whakamutunga

Kia tau kia tatou katoa

Te atawhai o to taatou

Ariki a Ihu Karaiti

Me te aroha o te Atua

Ki te whiwhingatahitanga

Ki te wairua tapu

Ake, Ake, Ake, Amene

Glossary

ahi kaa living fires

aho as a rope of connectivity or a line of dreams

Aotearoa.New Zealand

Ariki leader

Atua deity

atua whakapapa deity genealogy

Hapuu sub tribe

Hau Hau a religion

Hineahuone sacred woman formed from the earth

hinengaro thoughts, emotions

Hine-te-iwa-iwa – birthing goddess

Hukatai and **Rehutai** sacred stones

Io elemental deity

ihu matao cold nose

kaiwhakawhanau a pepi (midwife)

kaupapa (issue) has been formalised during

kete kite or basket

kingitanga a monarchy similar to the British.

Kawhia landing place of **Tainui waka**, town on the west coast of North Island

koorero talk, speak

koro elderly male

koroua elderly male

koowhatu stone

korero tawhito early accounts of traditions and practices

Koorero tuku iho oral handing down of knowledge

korowai woven cloak

kuia elderly female

Kupapa government loyalist

Kura Kaupapa Maaori total immersion Primary school

maatou ‘we’ not including the person being spoken to

Maaori indigenous people, people of the land

Mahuika a female deity

Mamae pain. Anguish, hurt, sorrow

Mana power and prestige from the land and people

Mangaora land block at **Kaawhia**

Marama light, moon

Mareikura female guardian deity

Maringi spilt tears

Mataora Bay small privately owned Bay north of **Whangamata**

Mauri is “the essence of being” life force in knowledge

Maui cosmology deity, protagonist

moko kauae chin tattoo skin talk or inscriptions.

mokopuna grand child

Mooteatea songs of **Maaori**

Muri-ranga-whenua a female deity

Oparure Marae marae and village south of **Te Kuiti**

oranga health, wellbeing

oriori lullaby's

Paakehaa early European settlers

pakeke older relatives

paki waitara myths

papakaiinga.family and tribal settlement

Papatuanuku earth mother

Paterangi settlement north of **Pirongia**

Paremata Maaori parliamentary structure of **Kiingitanga**

peepi foetus in the womb

Puketarata land block at **Otorohanga**

Pukewiwi earlier name for Mt Roskill area

puku stomach

Purakau legends

taa moko tattoo

tangata people

Taawhirimaatea deity

Tamariki children of any gender

taane male

Tane male god

Tangaroa.deity

Taupiri Tainui sacred mountain in the **Waikato**

Te Taura whiri national language organisation

tauiwi visitors not of the land

Tainui people from the waka, tribal canoe

taonga gift, artefact, special person

taonga tuku iho cultural blueprints handed down

tapu divine, sacred

Tauira student

Tawhaki brought the gift of knowledge to the earthly realms in two

Titiraupenga sacred mountain in south **Waikato** geographically defined as the centre of **Te Ika a Maui**

Te Awamutu town in central **Waikato**

te ika a Maui north island

Te Ao Marama world of humankind

te ao Rangi sacred origin genealogy and knowledge

te kohanga reo language nest

te Reo Maaori language **Maaori**

Te Whakapumautanga o Pukewiwi a pan tribal group operating in the Mt Roskill, **Onehunga** and Mt Albert area in 1990's

tino rangatiratanga rights guaranteed under **te Tiriti o Waitangi**

tohunga expert teacher dedicated to do certain arts

Tokaanu town south of lake **Taupo**

Tuumatauenga god of war and humankind

Tuupuna ancestor male or female

Turangawaewae footstool place to stand

waahi tapu sacred place

Wahine women singular and plural

whaanau kin, biological or emotionally tied group of people

waiata song

wairua, the spiritual elements are that which are a central feature of **Maaori** cosmogony.

whenua placenta and land

whakapapa genealogy validation of your spiritual origins

whare kohanga birthing place

whare taangata womb as seeding, growing and birthing of **peepi, whenua**

whare maatauranga in this sense it means house of knowledge

whai koorero speech

Whakairo tribal carvings

wiwi grass

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