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

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Adult Education At College of Education Massey University Palmerston North

Hazel Coromandel-Wander Ngaati Apakura, Ngaati Whanaunga 2013
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, hapu, 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 hapu 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.
Acknowledgements

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 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 tino rangatiratanga 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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“An Opening Voice”

Moriiori 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 Papatuuanuku 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 Papatuuanuku (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 Papatuuanuku 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 Papatuuanuku 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 waaheine” (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. 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. 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 Puhiawe 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 *Maori* 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 *Maori* 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 hāra.

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 kaua 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. Kaua 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 koorero 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 Whirī (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 whaanaunau 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 tino 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 (Roberton 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 (Roberton 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 Whakatoohoea 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 Crowns 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).

Puurarakau – storytelling

In traditional stories Puurarakau are:

“...Stories that contain mythological perspectives concerning the nature of reality and the human condition. A puurarakau 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. Puurarakau 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 puurarakau refer to, indeed conjure up, the wairua of illustrious forbears, puurarakau are therefore sacred texts” (Mauriora ki te Ao/Living University Ltd, 2009).

In Tainui puurarakau, 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 toohunga 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 toohunga 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 tauira 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.
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 Maori:

“…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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kaumaatua</th>
<th>variation for those whose heritage or life experiences are from a different tradition.</th>
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Difference and diversity is reflected in the structure of **Maori** society i.e. **hapuu**, and **iwi**. It is a connective theory known as **whakapapa** and **whanaungatanga**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maori</th>
<th>Paakehaa celebrate independent thought. The unique detachment theory is individualised.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Order is maintained in **Maori** society through tribal **tikanga** and protocols. The structure is land based and the equity is in the land and phenomena.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order is maintained in <strong>Maori</strong> society by governmental laws determined by the State in a top down hierarchal order.</th>
<th>Paakehaa society is strongly focused toward power and control over the future – investments and economic development.</th>
</tr>
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The future is viewed as an extension of the present.

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<tr>
<th><strong>Maori</strong> society is based on a shared social, political, cultural and economic power.</th>
<th><strong>Paakehaa</strong> society is based on a top-down power system.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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<tr>
<th><strong>Maori</strong> society is based on emancipation and mobilisation of the whole community.</th>
<th><strong>Paakehaa</strong> society is constructed on neo-colonialism and therefore encourages dependency of <strong>Maori</strong> on the state. (Kai’ai as cited in Higgins 2004:13)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

What I take from this chart is that **Kaupapa Maori** 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 Rangatiratanga 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 guage the amount of loss clamed 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 legimacy 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 unarm. 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 Maori 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’ Maori 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 Maori 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 Maori 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 toohunga. 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 Māori 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 Māori 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 Māori me onaa Tikanga and how to raranga as well as cooking.

Later in years my mother was given Māori versions of scriptures and my father would read them to her. We children did not know how to read in Māori. 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 Māori 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 Maori 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 Tangiwaha 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 though 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 hāra.

Te Māmāe 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 Māmāe 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 whaanaau 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 abhorent 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 a lot 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 toohunga. 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.”

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“...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 *kōrero 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 Māori* 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 ‘māmā’.

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

Iwi specific frameworks embedded in *Kaupapa Māori* 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 Māmā** is central in the discourse, in order to construct and maintain learners and carriers of the intergenerational literacies.

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

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

Te Mame’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 Mame. 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 Māori. In these processes silence is not passive but it relates to being active. Silence is a space for reflection on new knowledge, words, sayings; it is power (Browne 2005).

The practice of handing down from *kuia* 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 *kuia* 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 Maori 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.
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 koorero 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 koorero 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 authourised 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 daha.

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).
Waahine 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.
Ka ngapu te whenua, te whenua  The undulating land

Ka haere nga tangata ki whea Where shall man find an abiding place

E ruaimoko! God of the lower depths

Purutia! Hold fast our land!

Tawhia! Bind tightly, Bind!

Kia ita! Be firm, Be firm!

aa-aa ita! Nor from our grasp be torn!

KIA MAU! KIA MAU!

(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 knowledgable people would access the thesis was extremely daunting.

The importance of whare tangata is evidenced by the ‘centrality of the female reproductive functions to Maori 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 Papatuuaanuku to uncover the tools and practices that lead to rangatiratanga.

“Seek out that which is lost for therein lies your pathway – Te Ataairangaikaahu (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

ahō 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

papakainga  family and tribal settlement

Papatuuanuku  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  stomache

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 Māori language Māori

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

toohunga expert teacher dedicated to do certain arts

Tokaanu town south of lake Taupo

Tuumatauenga god or 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
Table of Figures

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Figure 3 karakia pg 95

Private Manuscripts

These manuscripts are unpublished taonga tuku iho that have been handed down into the possession of the author.

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Marama (abt 1912 - 2001) Koorero Tuku Iho. Lifestory of Marama Te Kaa Taratu Coromandel. Mokopuna of Te Mamae Pahi; Ngaati Apakura kaumātua & Traditional Midwife Puketarata


