HEKE MAI KI AHAU NEI E!

ROKA PAORA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO TUKUNGA IHO A TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI AND TE REO O TE WHĀNAU-A-APANUI

BY

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Abstract

Throughout the twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars continued to assert distinctive features of Te Whānau-a-Apanui identity through both literary and non-literary texts. Roka Pahewa Paora contributed to this important work by producing Māori texts for Māori language students and the community. Those texts became well-known in the field of Māori education for asserting distinctive features of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. This thesis explores a selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, kōrero tuku iho and taonga tuku iho, to illustrate how Roka and other Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars before and after her have embraced and passed down tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui by renewing or extending core elements, otherwise referred to in this thesis as the iho, of earlier tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Specifically, this thesis examines Roka's published writings 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā Ki te Hī Moki' (Paora, 1971) and 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' (Paora in Moorfield, 1992) as extensions of earlier tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki and whales. My analysis focuses on how Roka applied the knowledge, language and history of earlier tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to her writings to assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Therefore, this thesis uses a tukunga iho framework to illustrate familial and intellectual connections between and across a selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and the tribal scholars that produced them. Roka's writings and archive are repositories of important tukunga iho and provide connections to tribal, Māori and non-Māori scholars who offer insights and interpretations of mātauranga Māori that have been applied to Māori studies paradigms and kaupapa Māori. This wider range of knowledge, language and historical sources also help me to show how tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui contain important insights into the social, cultural and economic contexts in which my ancestors embraced, extended and passed down tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Overall, this thesis offers twenty-first century interpretations of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and how they assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Preface

Many of the texts that I analyse in this thesis are written in the Māori language. However, I decided to write this thesis in English to ensure access to a wider audience of whānau, hapū, iwi and tauiwi who do not speak Māori but have an interest in my topic.

The Māori language is an official language of New Zealand. Writing conventions state that only foreign languages should be italicised. Therefore, the written Māori language used in this thesis is not italicised or changed in any way. The Māori words and phrases in the main body of the text appear with macrons to indicate long vowels as recommended by Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori in their guidelines for Māori language orthography (Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, 2012).

Direct quotations from Māori language sources follow the orthographic conventions of their writers. The early manuscripts that I have referred to do not appear with macrons or long vowels therefore I do not add macrons or long vowels. Most of the published writings such as Roka's 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' in *Te Wharekura 18* do appear with macrons therefore I add macrons. Also, direct quotes from manuscripts appear as they do in the original as legibility and sense allows. The running together of two words which are now commonly written as separate words and the use of lower case for names and placenames are retained to give readers a sense of how the original manuscript reads. I do not use [sic] because it interrupts the flow of the writing.

English translations and explanations of Māori words and phrases in the main body of the text are provided by the author unless otherwise explained. I take full responsibility for my translations. English translations of Māori words follow directly and appear in parentheses the first time the Māori word appears. My english translations of direct quotations appear in square brackets following the quote. For some direct quotations from Māori language sources I use Roka's English translations and reference her folder of translation work (RPTMSS, 1984).

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Ka taka, ka taka
Ka taka ngā mōtoi o Apanui
E kapo ki te whetū
E kapo ki te mārama
E kapo ki te ate o ōku raukura ka riro.
Kimihia, rangahaua, kai hea rā
Koutou ka ngaro?
Auā! Auā!
Tērā ka riro kai Paerau
Kai te huinga o te kahurangi
Kua oti atu koutou e hika mā e!
(Paora, 1996:3)

There are many people who have passed on who have influenced the person that I am today and therefore the work that I have completed in this thesis. Roka Pahewa Paora passed away more than five years ago, not long after I enrolled in this thesis. Although I miss Roka dearly, working on this thesis has kept her close as my guide and inspiration. For me, this work memorialises and extends the profound positive influence that Roka had on me. Other very close family members who I must name and I miss dearly include my father, Charles Eden Tumohe Richards, my grandfather Tini Paora, my great-aunts Parehau Paora and Erina Kawha, my Aunty Tahi Nikau and my Uncle Tau Pirini. These people played significant roles in my upbringing and I am forever grateful for their love, care and guidance. They continued the legacies of our ancestors and shaped the person I am today.

There are many others of my extended whānau that I would like to thank because of their direct involvement in this thesis. Two in particular are Aunty Pae Ruha and Uncle Wiremu Tawhai. Their wise words, intellect, guidance and love in the early stages of this study helped me significantly.

A family friend and past colleague whom I interviewed for this study, Matiu Dickson, also passed away recently. I thank him for his kind words about Roka, his wisdom and friendship.

Haere atu koutou, moe mai rā.

Ka huri ināianei ki te hunga ora - I now turn to those of the living who I must thank for their continued love, wisdom and support of me and this research journey.

Thank you very much to my supervisors, Dr. Rawinia Higgins and Dr. Ocean Mercier. I am very grateful for your encouragement of me to pursue my topic, for your expertise and skill in supervision as well as your patience as I carefully navigated my topic and my approach to writing about my nana. One of the reasons why I wanted to complete a PhD thesis was in order to improve my writing. I have appreciated the way in which you have allowed me to find my voice and style. I am also forever grateful for the way in which you have helped me lift my confidence to write down my opinions and interpretations for others to read.

Thank you very much to Rūhīterangi Richards, my mum. She has been a fine role model to me of an educator and scholar. She completed her undergraduate degree when me and my three siblings were teenagers and she was teaching fulltime. She then went on to complete her Masters in Māori Education while she continued to teach fulltime. She has been my sole advisor since Aunty Pae Ruha passed away in late 2011. I have always appreciated her advice and took most of it onboard during this journey. I continue to be amazed at her commitment to education and impressed with her continued involvement in teaching. Rūhīterangi is also a great mum to my sister, Maahia, and our two brothers, Tini and Charlie. We are very lucky that we have your love and support. Your love for your mokopuna, Rongomai, Te Iwiware, Te Ahiwaru, Te Raina, Apanui, Rangitahi, Hakaraia and Katerina is also a wonderful legacy.

Finally, thank you to my partner, Craig, and our two sons, Te Raina Rutene and Hakaraia Pahewa, for supporting me and loving me through this PhD journey. I have really appreciated your patience as I have pursued my passion in whānau, hapū and iwi research. You have also let me be me while I stumbled through balancing my time, energy and love as a partner, mum and student. Ka nui te aroha ki a koutou katoa. This thesis is especially for my sons, nieces, nephews and many whanaunga to embrace and extend. It is a tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and acknowledges the contributions of our ancestor, Roka Pahewa Paora, one of many scholars of our tribe.

Table of Contents

Abstract 3

Preface 4

Acknowledgements 5

Table of Contents 7

Tables 10

Diagrams 10

Photographs 11

PART ONE: He Waka Hourua 13
Introduction 13

Chapter One: Introduction 15
Tukunga Iho and Mātauranga 21
'Tuku' in Tukunga Iho 22
'Iho' in Tukunga Iho 23
'Ēnei' Tukunga Iho a Tātou - Tukunga Iho are Inclusive 24
Ēnei Tukunga Iho '*a Tātou'* - Tukunga Iho are Collective 25
Ēnei Tukunga Iho a Tātou - Tukunga Iho are Innovative 26
Tukunga Iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui 28
Te Reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui 29
Roka's Application of Tukunga Iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui: Context 30
Roka's Writings and Archive 31
Research Questions 32
The Thesis Structure 33

Chapter Two: Tukunga Iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui - Creating a Methodology 41
A Personal Introduction - Locating the Researcher 41
Ngā Aukaha o te Waka Hourua – Research Foundations 44
Māori Studies Paradigm and Mātauranga Māori 48
Ngā Momo Aukaha o Tēnei Waka – Research Approach 52
Te Aukaha Tuatahi - Tōku Reo Ūkaipō: Experiences and Memories 53
Te Aukaha Tuarua - Te Reo o Ngā Kaumātua: The Voices of My Elders 54
Te Aukaha Tuatoru - Te Reo o Te Tari o Roka: Roka's Archive. 58
Te Aukaha Tuawhā - Te Reo o te Iwi Māori: Other Māori Sources 61
Te Aukaha Tuarima - Te Reo Tuhituhi o Tauiwi: Pākehā Written Sources 62
Conclusion 64

Chapter Three: Te Iwi o Te Whānau-a-Apanui 67
Introduction 67
He Pepeha in Māori Peoples of New Zealand: Ngā Iwi o Aotearoa 69
He Mahi Rangahau in Roka's Manuscript Books 72
He Whakapapa Whānau in Roka's Manuscript Books 79
Baptismal Records in Roka's Manuscript Books 82
He Kōrero Tīpuna in Roka's Translations Folder 82
He Reta, He Petihana in A Report To The Waitangi Tribunal 93
He Haka - Puhikura 101
Conclusion 105

PART TWO: He Waka Tētē **107**
Introduction *107*

Chapter Four: Nā Pou i Tono Ki a Rēhua Kia Hōmai te Ika Nei, te Moki **111**
Te Reo Tuhituhi a Roka *112*
Roka's Archive *113*
'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' *116*
From Cosmological Beginnings to Hawaiki 116
Rātā and the Tainui Canoe 117
The Tainui Canoe's Arrival In Aotearoa 119
Hoturoa and his Group Leave Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti 120
Ruamoengārara Returns to Hawaiki 121
Tauira-mai-tawhiti the Canoe 123
Poumātangatanga Visits Rēhua 124
Poumātangatanga Brought Other Important Resources To Aotearoa 127
Mahia Finds The Calabash and the Feathers 128
Poumātangatanga Quarrels Over A Stranded Whale 131
Poumātangatanga goes to the Mōtū River 132
Te Tapu o te Moki – The Sacredness of the Moki *136*
Conclusion *142*

Chapter Five: Ka Pū Te Ruha Ka Hao Te Rangatahi **145**
Manihera Waititi I *148*
Moana Waititi *157*
Mr S. Waititi *161*
Manihera II and Dorothy Waititi *165*
Manihera Waititi II, Clifford Whiting and Paratene Matchitt *170*
Winston Waititi *173*
Discussion *176*
Conclusion *179*

Chapter Six: 'Ka Haere a Hata mā ki te Hī Moki' **183**
Background of Narrative *183*
Asserting Tīpuna *187*
Asserting Landscape and Seascape *190*
Asserting Starscapes and Calendar Dates *196*
Asserting Te Reo Māori *199*
Asserting Aronga, Kaupapa and Tikanga *202*
Conclusion *204*

PART THREE: He Poti Wēra **207**
Introduction *207*

Chapter Seven: He Ika te Tohorā, te Parāoa me te Pakakē. **209**
He Whakapapa *210*
Ko Paikea Taku Tipuna *213*
The Paikea Narrative *216*
Tūkākī *220*
Te Tairuku Pōtaka *223*
The Te Tairuku Pōtaka Maihi *226*
Ngāē and Tutununui *227*
Other Whale Guardians *233*
Conclusion *234*

Chapter Eight: Kau ana Kāwhe - Whales and Whaling in Post-Contact Times........ 237
He Whakapapa – Ngā Roihana......239
Ngā Wēra......246
Pāmu Wēra (or Parāoa) 247
Raiti Wēra (or Tohorā)......247
Hamupēke Wēra (or Paikea)......248
A Pao and a Prayer as insights into the Deep Sea Whaling Era......249
Deep Sea Whaling......251
Kōrero Tahito and Whakapapa as Insights into Early Shore Whaling......255
Early Economic Interactions With Whalers 256
Paraire's Financial Records, 1883 – 1887 as Insights into Community Whaling......263
'Hikihiki Katoa te Puku'......269
Pahewa's Whaling Photos as Insights into Community Whaling......270
A Twentieth Century Community Whaling Station - Waihīrere......273
Conclusion......280

Chapter Nine: Conclusion...... 285

References 293
Primary Texts......293
Compositions......293
Manuscript Books......293
New Zealand Archives and Alexander Turnbull Library......293
Secondary Texts......294
Unpublished Sources......294
Interviews 299
Māori Land Court Cases 299
Published Sources......300
Letters......333
Newspapers......334
Websites......336
Television Programmes 338

Appendix One – A Map of Whangaparāoa 339

Appendix Two – Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki (Paora, 1971)...... 341

Appendix Three – He Kōrero mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui (Paora in Moorfield, 1992)...... 355

Tables

Table 1	Te Whānau-a-Apanui Hapū – Ingoa Kāinga Me Ngā Rohe-a-Hapū	19
Table 2	Te Whānau-a-Apanui Hapū, Wharenui and Wharekai Names	20
Table 3	The Kaupapa and Tikanga of This Thesis	51
Table 4	He Whakapapa mai i a Tamatama-a-rangi I	81
Table 5	He Tauira Hononga Whakapapa o ngā Tīpuna o Te Ngahue-o-te-Rangi	92
Table 6	He Whakapapa o ngā Rangatira o Te Whānau-a-Apanui i Haina i Te Tiriti o Waitangi	95
Table 7	He Whakapapa mai i a Poumātangatanga ki ngā Tīpuna o Te Whānau-a-Apanui	122
Table 8	Thematic Analysis of Tukunga Iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui About the Moki	178
Table 9	Te Whakapapa o Tinirau	211
Table 10	The Tākitimu Version of Tinirau's Whakapapa	212
Table 11	Te Whakapapa o Paikea	214
Table 12	Te Whakapapa o Mākere Te Horowai Heke Iho ki a Roka	241
Table 13	Ētahi o Ngā Tamariki, Mokopuna a Nanny Mereana	243
Table 14	Māori and English Names of Positons on the Whaleboat	275

Diagrams

Diagram 1	He Whakapapa – Ngā Hapū, ngā Wharenui me ngā Wharekai	74
Diagram 2	Te Whakapapa o ngā Hapū me te Iwi o Te Whānau-a-Apanui	75
Diagram 3	Karapīpiti – He Whakapapa	80
Diagram 4	Apanui, his Four Wives and Their Eighteen Children	89

Photographs

Photograph 1	Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau-a-Apanui at the Opening of Tūkākī Carved Meeting House, 1944	104
Photograph 2	Part of the Moki Mural, Te Whatianga Dining Hall, Whangaparāoa Marae	172
Photograph 3	The Moki Mural and Tukutuku Panels, Work In Progress in The Dining Hall, Whangaparāoa Marae	172
Photograph 4	The Maihi and Tekoteko of Tūkākī Carved Meeting House, Te Kaha	220
Photograph 5	The Pahewa Whaling Photo in Moorfield (1992:16)	271
Photograph 6	Waihīrere, Te Kaha – A Wide View	273
Photograph 7	Waihīrere, Te Kaha – A Close Up of Boats and Crews	274
Photograph 8	Waihīrere, Te Kaha – Processing a Whale in the Tidal Zone	276
Photograph 9	Waihīrere, Te Kaha – Shore View of Processing in the Tidal Zone	277
Photograph 10	Waihīrere, Te Kaha – Whale Blubber Ready to be Tried Out	278
Photograph 11	Waihīrere, Te Kaha – Trying Out	279

PART ONE: He Waka Hourua

Introduction

Marumaru

Marumaru ōku tīpuna	*[My ancestors who are sheltered at*
i Whakaruru	*Whakaruru*
Tū mai koutou hei awhi māku,	*Stand there to embrace me*
māku hoki hei awhi e	*And I will also embrace you*
Ko te poupou tuatahi	*The first poupou*
Ko Te Haraawaka me Hikarukutai	*Te Haraawaka and Hikarukutai*
Ko te poupou tuarua	*The second poupou*
Ko Tūtawake, Rongomaihuatahi,	*Tūtawake, Rongomaihuatahi*
Matekitātahi e	*And Matekitātahi*
Ko te poupou tuatoru	*The third poupou*
Ko Hinetekahu, ko Te Ehutū,	*Hinetekahu, Te Ehutū,*
ko Kaiaio me Kahurautao	*Kaiaio and Kahurautao*
Ko te poupou tuawhā	*The fourth poupou*
Ko Maruhaeremuri, ko Pararaki,	*Maruhaeremuri, Pararaki,*
Kauaetangohia, Ngunguruoterangi	*Kauaetangohia, Ngunguruoterangi*
Ko Te Haraawaka noho mai Hāwai	*Te Haraawaka lived at Hāwai*
Ko Hikarukutai noho mai Maraenui	*Hikarukutai lived at Maraenui*
Kei Whitianga a Tūtawake	*At Whitianga is Tūtawake*
Rongomaihuatahi noho mai Omāio	*Rongomaihuatahi lived at Omāio*
Matekitātahi o Ōtūwhare	*Matekitātahi of Ōtūwhare*
Ko Hinetekahu noho mai Waiōrore	*Hinetekahu lived at Waiōrore*
Ko Te Ēhutu kei Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki	*Te Ehutu at Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki*
Ko Kaiaio noho mai Maungaroa	*Kaiaio lived at Maungaroa*
Ko Kahurautao kei Pāhāoa	*Kahurautao at Pāhāoa*
Ko Maruhaeremuri kei Wairūrū	*Maruhaeremuri at Wairūrū*
Ko Pararaki noho mai Raukōkore	*Pararaki lived at Raukōkore*
Kauaetangohia kei Whangaparāoa	*Kauaetangohia at Whangaparāoa*
Ngunguruoterangi kei Pōtaka	*Ngunguruoterangi at Pōtaka*
Heke mai ki ahau nei e!	*Descended down to me!]*

Nā Roka Pahewa Paora (Richards & Paora, 2004:18)

This waiata, *Marumaru,* was composed by Roka Pahewa Paora (Roka) as a teaching tool to assist Te Whānau-a-Apanui Area School students and the community to recall thirteen 'tīpuna hapū' (sub-tribal ancestors) and their 'kāinga hapū' (sub-tribal settlements) represented by thirteen carved poupou (upright figures) that had been

carved during the Whakaruruhau Project.[1] *Marumaru* is an example of Roka's contributions to and passion for the intergenerational transmission of Te Whānau-a-Apanui knowledge, language and history. Using the analogy of a waka hourua, part one of this thesis introduces readers to my topic, my choice of terminology and my methodology. The waka hourua represents the early voyaging vessels that our Hawaiki ancestors used to traverse the vast Pacific ocean. The aukaha (lashings) that bind the two hulls of the waka hourua represent my nana, Roka, and I bound together as she guides and supports me to understand and extend a selection of Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholarship. Part one is divided into three chapters as follows:

Chapter one outlines the key foundations of this thesis, specifically discussing my topic, why I have chosen my topic and how I have structured my thesis to analyse Roka's contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, two terms that will be explained in the course of this chapter.

Chapter two outlines my methodology and the five aukaha methods that reinforce the nana-mokopuna whakapapa and research relationship. The layers of aukaha include my experiences and memories; the voices of my elders; Roka's archive; other Māori scholarship; and scholarship by Pākehā. This aukaha approach ensures that I am bound tightly to Roka, my nana, albeit through her writings and archive, so that I am in a strong position to navigate tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Chapter three explores an extensive and eclectic selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui from Roka's archive that she preserved, revitalised and passed down to her students and community. I also acknowledge the tribal scholars that inspired and supported Roka; some of their contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui; and the values and messages that dominated their expressions and feelings. Significant sites and symbols of Te Whānau-a-Apanui landscape, seascape and the people, will be presented for the purpose of introducing readers to the tribe, Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

[1] The Whakaruruhau Project is Clifford Whiting's name for the Te Whānau-a-Apanui Area School Poupou Project (Christensen, 2013:116) when the poupou mentioned above were carved during the early 1980s and erected at the school in 1985 to commemorate the school's centenary (1875-1975).

Chapter One: Introduction

Marumaru, the waiata on page eleven provides an illustration of the hypothesis of this research that – ***Roka has made important contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that assert distinctive features of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui***. *Marumaru* and the carved poupou are tribal scholarship that assert Te Whānau-a-Apanui whānau, hapū and iwi identities. Together *Marumaru* and the carved poupou, in Hirini Melbourne's (1991:137) terms, have "renewed and extended" Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa (genealogy), waiata (sung poetry), whakairo (carvings), whakataukī (proverbs), pūrākau (legend) and pakiwaitara (story, fiction) by making the whakapapa connections between the students, their ancestors and their landscape more explicit, relevant and vibrant. In line with the way Melbourne (1991) discusses the intergenerational transmission of Māori literary traditions where recent composers have renewed and extended ancient traditions, this thesis also uses 'renewed' and 'extended' to discuss the intergenerational transmission of Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholarship. Renewed is used when referring to tribal scholarship that has been revitalised or reinvigorated. Extended is used when referring to new, innovative tribal scholarship that maintains important connections to and elements of earlier tribal scholarship.

In our shared publication, *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira,* Roka and I (2004) extended *Marumaru* and the carved poupou by using the structure of *Marumaru* as a framework to write and publish a collective memory of the Whakaruruhau Project. The aim was to show our passion to embrace, to extend and to pass down the scholarship of our ancestors in an iwi-centric, kaupapa Apanui way. We concluded the publication by encouraging readers to learn our Te Whānau-a-Apanui knowledge, language and histories in Māori. We said:

> Nō reira kia kaha tātou ki te ako i ngā kōrero a o tātou tīpuna i roto i te reo, kia kore rawa e ngaro. Mā tātou katoa te reo me ōna tikanga e ora ai. Ki te ako tātou i ēnei taonga a o tātou tīpuna ka mōhio tātou ko wai tātou i roto i tēnei ao hurihuri. Nō reira, kia kaha tātou ki te ako i ēnei tukunga iho a tātou! (Richards and Paora, 2004:43)

Here, the carefully selected phrase, ‘ēnei tukunga iho a tātou’, was used in our final sentence to challenge and persuade people to embrace the collective knowledge and histories of Te Whānau-a-Apanui so that we retain our identity in this ever changing world. At the time I did not realise how significant this phrase ‘ēnei tukunga iho a tātou’ would become to my own learning about intergenerational transmission of our tribal knowledge and more specifically to this thesis. This thesis extends our iwi-centric, kaupapa Apanui approach to *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* by using ‘tukunga iho’ as a theoretical framework for analysing Te Whānau-a-Apanui identities portrayed in Roka’s writings and archive. In using this approach, other Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars and their contributions have come to the fore and have given me a broader understanding of the term ‘tukunga iho’.

This study has also made space for me to speak to people about Roka, to read her writings and her archives closely and to listen to Roka on audio and visual recordings as a means to understanding her approach to writing literature. In this process I have realised that the most inspiring thing for me about Roka has been her application of tukunga iho as a methodology. In addition to *Marumaru* she not only turned to Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars and kaumātua to embrace their teachings but also went on to produce a wide range of new Māori language resources for her students and the community that have extended and passed down tribal scholarship.

Working with Roka on *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* (Richards and Paora, 2004) gave me a close, personal insight into how she applied tukunga iho as the basis of this historical account drawing on a number of sources including hapū and iwi whakapapa, whakataukī and kōrero tahito. *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* grew out of a research paper that I completed at the Māori Studies Department at the University of Waikato in 1994. Three important events including, The Whakaruruhau Project (Christensen, 2013:116), the *Whakaruru* documentary (Waka Huia, 1988) and a 1991 Te Reo Me Ōna Tikanga Course (Richards, 1991), inspired me to research, write and publish *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* with Roka. At those events, I had seen Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars, including Roka, take and make opportunities to pass down Te Whānau-a-Apanui knowledge, language and history in both oral and written formats. All three events

illuminated Apanui identities and the importance of intergenerational transmission for the whānau, hapū and iwi of Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

The Whakaruruhau Project presented kaumātua and scholars with the task of deciding which ancestor and which kōrero tahito (oral tradition) should be carved into one section of the log to represent their hapū. Clifford Whiting (Clifford Whiting Interview, 2010) explained how a wide range of people[2] came together to share their knowledge, memories and experiences as well as to carve their ancestral poupou. He described Roka's main role in the project as:

> the one who was there and when the whakapapa started to come out and started to grow … oh so and so comes in over here on this tipuna, and this one and this one and all the families. After a while Roka felt it really wasn't her place to be there as a woman with the whakapapa and the carvings, but the old fullas said, "no, kei te pai, you are the one, you sort it out, we'll tell you the kōrero and you record it". So it all came together in that sort of way. So Roka played a major role in keeping all the korero together and listening to all the stories from everyone who was involved.

The kaumātua support for Roka's role in the Whakaruruhau Project was also shown in the *Whakaruru* (Waka Huia, 1988) documentary where Roka joined kaumātua, Tamehana Wharepapa and Tama Gage to speak about the design, build and meanings of the thirteen poupou. In the documentary they retell and renew kōrero tahito (oral tradition) and whakapapa about the ancestors represented by the thirteen carved poupou and the site on which they stand under a shelter called 'Whakaruru'.[3] The kōrero tahito and whakapapa is also extended by preserving it in a new audio-visual, Māori language format. It continues to be an excellent oral tradition resource for hapū and iwi wānanga as well as research projects.

The third inspirational event was the 1991 Te Reo Me Ona Tikanga course offered by the Auckland Institute of Technology. It was organised by Ruhiterangi Richards, my mum, and tutored by Roka. That course was taught in iwi wānanga style during the summer holidays between January 7 and January 18. A group of approximately forty

[2] Frank Hata, Uncle Swagger, Kōtuku Albert, Takataka Koopu, Arama Koopu, Tamehana Wharepapa, Tama Gage, Nehu Gage, Arapeta Albert, Tini Paora, Reuben Parkinson, Winston Waititi, Waikura Herewini and others.

[3] Whakaruru, the shelter, is named after Whakaruru, the papakāinga, where the school is located above Maraetai Bay.

Te Whānau-a-Apanui adults, with an interest in Te Whānau-a-Apanui knowledge, language and history, committed to a nine-day programme over two weeks where we visited most of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui marae as well as the Te Whānau-a-Apanui Area School to listen to hapū scholars[4] sharing knowledge, language and history. As Royal (1994:14) says, "there is something about hui, people meeting with people and grappling with their own history, that cannot be replicated". I enjoyed this way of learning about my Te Whānau-a-Apanui identity. Roka, as Itinerant Teacher of Māori, with the five principals of the schools in the region had already implemented this wānanga approach into their curriculums. Each school term, all Te Whānau-a-Apanui school children would be welcomed onto a marae, sometimes by their own parents and grandparents, and the day would be structured around the knowledge, language and history of that hapū. Those days were called Kotahitanga Days. Roka was responsible for researching whakapapa, traditions and history to prepare resources for teachers and students.

When writing *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira*, the formats of the 1988 *Whakaruru* documentary, the 1991 Te Reo me Ōna Tikanga course and the Kotahitanga Days informed the structure and the content. *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* brought together some of the key themes presented by kaumātua at each of the events. It was an opportunity for me, with my Nana's support, to not only show my embrace of what had been passed down to my generation but also present tribal knowledge, language and history in a way that I felt was relevant to my generation and future generations. The following two tables are further examples of how the carved poupou, *Marumaru* and *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* can be extended.

[4] Roka presented a significant part of the overarching tribal whakapapa pertaining to Apanui Ringamutu and the history of ancestors who are part of that whakapapa down to Tūkākī and his son Te Ehutū. Haki Savage spoke to us at Waiōrore Marae. Tama Gage was our speaker at Ōtūwhare Marae and Omāio Marae. Peeti and Waikura Delamare, Maka Jones and Emma Rogers shared with us at Whitianga Marae. Ihipa Toopi and Charlie Poihipi spoke to us at Maraenui Marae. Waikura Herewini presented to us at Maungaroa Marae and Pahaoa Marae. Winston Waititi was our speaker at Whangaparāoa Marae. Renata and Kui Te Moana at Maruohinemaka Marae, and Roka spoke at Wairūrū Marae. When we returned to the Area School for the last few days of the course a number of speakers shared their memories of mutton birding, World War Two, dairy farming and other tribal activities.

Table 1: Te Whānau-a-Apanui Hapū – Ingoa Kāinga Me Ngā Rohe-a-Hapū
Source: *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* (Richards and Paora, 2004)

INGOA HAPŪ (Sub-tribe Name)	**INGOA KĀINGA (Settlement names)**	**NGĀ ROHE-A-HAPŪ (Sub-tribal Boundaries)**
Te Whānau-a-Te Haraawaka	Hāwai	Mai i Taumata o Apanui ki Parinui
Te Whānau-a-Hikarukutai (pre 1900 and today) Ngāti Horomoana *	Maraenui	Mai i Parinui ki Mōtū
Te Whānau-a-Tūwāhiawa (pre 1900) Ngāti Paeākau ** Te Whānau-a-Tutawake (today)	Whitianga	Mai i Mōtū ki Puketapu
Te Whānau-a-Nuku (pre 1900 and today) Ngāti Horowai ***	Omāio	Mai i Puketapu ki Te Neinei
Te Whānau-a-Rūtaia	Ōtūwhare	Mai i Te Neinei ki Hāparapara
Te Whānau-a-Hinetekahu	Waiōrore	Mai i Hāparapara ki Waiōrore
Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū	Te Kaha	Mai i Waiōrore ki Kōpiritōtoro
Te Whānau-a-Kaiaio	Maungaroa	Mai i Kōpiritōtoro ki Hauruia
Te Whānau-a-Kahu (or Kahurautao)	Pāhāoa	Mai i Hauruia ki Motukōtare
Te Whānau-a-Maru (or Maruhaeremuri)	Wairūrū	Mai i Ōtiki ki Ngutuone
Te Whānau-a-Pararaki	Raukōkore	Mai i Ngutuone ki Mangatoetoe
Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia	Whangaparāoa	Mai i Mangatoetoe ki Tihirau#
Te Whānau-a-Tapaeururangi	Pōtaka	Mai i Pōtikirua ki Pōtaka

*; **; *** Hapū names that commemorate the 1900 Mōtū River parekura, explained in Chapter 3.

The Pōtikirua boundary, east of Tihirau, continues to be significant to Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia and Te Whānau-a-Apanui today. See Chapter 3 for further background.

Table 2: Te Whānau-a-Apanui Hapū, Wharenui and Wharekai Names
Source: *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* (Richards and Paora, 2004)

INGOA HAPŪ	INGOA KĀINGA	INGOA WHARENUI	INGOA WHAREKAI
Te Whānau-ā-Te Haraawaka	Hāwai	Te Haraawaka	No wharekai in 1974 Tūrīrangi
Te Whānau-a-Hikarukutai Ngāti Horomoana *	Maraenui	Iwarau	Tūmatauenga
Te Whānau-a-Tūwāhiawa (pre 1900) Ngāti Paeākau ** Te Whānau-a-Tutawake	Whitianga	Tutawake	Te Rangitetaetaea
Te Whānau-a-Nuku (pre 1900) Ngāti Horowai ***	Omāio	Rongomaihuatahi	Te Rau Aroha
Te Whānau-a-Rūtaia	Ōtūwhare	Te Poho-o-Rūtaia	Tā Āpirana
Te Whānau-a-Hinetekahu	Waiōrore	Toihau	Hinehaurangi
Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū	Te Kaha	Tūkākī	Te Rangiwhakapunea
Te Whānau-a-Kaiaio	Maungaroa	Kaiaio	Te Īkiwa-o-Rēhua
Te Whānau-a-Kahu (or Kahurautao)	Pāhāoa	Kahurautao	Te Ohaaki
Te Whānau-a-Maru (or Maruhaeremuri)	Wairūrū	Hinemāhuru	Maruhaeremuri
Te Whānau-a-Pararaki	Raukōkore	Pararaki	Hineterā (was Massey)
Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia	Whangaparāoa	Kauaetangohia	Te Whatianga (was Coronation)
Te Whānau-a-Tapaeururangi	Pōtaka	Te Pae o ngā Pakanga (2010) Te Ehutū (1980s – 2005)	Te Ruatārehu

*; **; *** Hapū names that commemorate the 1900 Mōtū River parekura, explained in Chapter 3

Tables 1 and 2 provide a quick reference to important tribal names and signpost important elements of knowledge and history. Scholarship associated with *Marumaru* and the carved poupou are extended by detailing hapū names, hapū kāinga names, hapū boundaries, hapū wharekai names and hapū wharenui names in a simple, tabulated format.

This doctoral thesis contributes to a continued collaboration with Roka, albeit through her work, to show how she and other tribal scholars have extended tribal scholarship by engaging in and applying a process of intergenerational transmission of knowledge in ways that continue to assert a distinctive Te Whānau-a-Apanui voice. Therefore, in this thesis I too retell, renew and extend a selection of 'ēnei tukunga iho a tātou', passing down my analysis and interpretations to whānau, hapū, iwi and others.

The next section will explain my interpretation of 'ēnei tukunga iho a tātou' in the wider context of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and mātauranga-ā-iwi (tribal knowledge) in my journey to researching and writing about Roka as one of many tribal scholars who have made important contributions to tribal scholarship.

Tukunga Iho and Mātauranga

> Concepts of knowledge and knowing found within mātauranga Māori move from the idea of explicit, codified and externalised knowledge to knowledge as an internalised knowing through to the experience whereby there is no such thing as knowledge, only the experience of the world expressing itself in human consciousness (Royal, 2005b:6).

Royal (2005b) says that mātauranga is often used to refer to explicit, codified and externalised "knowledge that is passed, exchanged and transferred between people" whereas mōhiotanga is viewed as "internalised or embodied knowing, one that does not require an exchange (of knowledge) to be present in one's consciousness" (Royal, 2005b:9).

'Tuku' in Tukunga Iho

Transferable knowledge is at the core of this thesis because the word 'tukunga', of the phrase 'ēnei tukunga iho ā tātou', is a noun derived from the root word 'tuku'[5] and refers to those things that are transferred, passed, given or released between people or kin groups. There are many examples in Māori history to show the importance of knowledge and objective symbols to Māori (Royal, 1998:21) in the transfering of knowledge and the process of intergenerational transmission. While there is a significant written tradition of mātauranga Māori today, this study acknowledges that the human interaction to activate 'tuku' or the transfer of knowledge experience continues to be relevant to Māori (Royal, 2005b) through the use of whakapapa and whaikōrero on the marae (Tau, 2012), where the oral experience is a major dimension.

Other indigenous people share similar sentiments to the transfer of knowledge. Kawagley (2006:16) refers to transferable knowledge as knowledge and provides an example of how important the transfer of knowledge such as, "myths, legends and stories", have been to the oral traditions of his Yupiaq people. He says:

> As young children the traditional Yupiaq people were given specially ground lenses through which to view their world. The resulting cultural map was contained in their language, myths, legends and stories, science and technology, and role models from the community. This oral orientation and learning by observation worked to their advantage. Hearing stories being told in the qasegiq (community house) allowed the children and other hearers to savor the words and visualize the events. For the duration of the story, they became a part of the imagery (Kawagley, 2006:16).

Here Kawagley explains how important the Yupiaq peoples' oral experiences have been to preserving the distinctive elements of who they are, their "cultural map", as well as passing down those distinctive elements - the intergenerational transmission of their language, knowledge and identity. This supports Royal's (2005b) explanation of how indigenous knowledge has arisen predominantly in oral cultures and the oral way of experiencing the world.

[5] Tuku means "the release, allowance, use or giving of an item, land, knowledge or rights to another individual or kin group" (Kāwharu, 2014:205).

Māori scholars such as Dewes (1974), Walker (1990; 2004), Malcolm-Buchanan (2008) and Mahuika (2012) have described notions of 'myths, legends and stories' in their work and how they are framed. Despite the politicisation of such terms and whether they are viewed as 'history',[6] for the purposes of this thesis I have chosen not to enter into this debate in order to maintain a focus on the 'tuku', the transferal aspect.

Stevens (2015:64) explains that Royal (2004) complicates the notion of mātauranga Māori as "referring to both knowledge framed by Māori epistemology and knowledge of multiple origins held by Māori people [but] not exclusively Māori in origin". This wider definition is important to this thesis because most of the oral and written legacies that are referred to have been retold, renewed and/or extended in post-contact times and therefore influenced by "knowledge of multiple origins" (Royal in Stevens, 2015).

'Iho' in Tukunga Iho

The addition of the word 'iho' to 'tukunga' is significant because it has a number of relevant meanings to the transfer of language and knowledge that are key to this thesis. Denoting a downward direction, tukunga iho refers to passing down or transferring from one generation to the next. Iho is also the Māori word for the umbilical chord that physically joins an unborn child to the whenua (placenta) of its mother during pregnancy. Through the iho[7] passes the blood and oxygen necessary for the healthy development of the unborn child up until its birth (Wang & Zhao, 2010). Other meanings of iho such as heart, essence or inner core have also been important to me in symbolising the nature of the oral traditions framed by Māori epistemology that continue to be passed down through processes of māramatanga and or wānanga (Royal, 2005b) for the wellbeing of future generations. Therefore, maintaining a lineage of tikanga and mātauranga (Roake, 2014:iii).

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[6] For a more comprehensive discussion about the politicisation of Māori history see Mahuika (2012).

[7] The Iho was compared to the trunk or roots of a tree where the essential strength of the tree is (Goldie and Best, 1904).

'Ēnei' Tukunga Iho a Tātou - Tukunga Iho are Inclusive

'Ēnei' means 'these', a determiner that identifies a definitive set of objects that are near to the speaker. Ēnei in the phrase 'ēnei tukunga iho a tātou' identifies, emphasises and privileges a wide range of tukunga iho that have been passed down from generation to generation including kōrero tuku iho and taonga tuku iho. Kōrero tuku iho include a wide range of intangible (Winiata, 1988), oral and written treasures that articulate, codify and verbalise knowledge that is not only customary or traditional but also post-European (McRae, 1998:2). Examples of kōrero tuku iho or sources of knowledge (O'Regan, 1994) include waiata (sung poetry), whakataukī (proverbs), whakapapa (genealogy), kōrero tahito (oral traditions), pūrākau (narratives), karakia (incantations) and whaikōrero (oratory). Te Kapunga Dewes (1974) explains that kōrero tuku iho are spoken, sung or performed but they may have also been committed to print (Loader, 2013).

Today, although texts and screens are popular repositories to record and store tukunga iho, as a researcher I believe oral experiences continue to be important in the tukunga iho process (Royal, 2005b; McRae, 1998). As McRae says (1998:3), "the oral tradition, therefore, is not simply a precursor to the literature but exists in and alongside it. The Māori literary tradition incorporates the oral and grows beyond it", where scholars are actively involved in renewing and most often extending tukunga iho that have been passed down from generation to generation. Relationships between people across generations and within generations are important too where elders speak, children listen and adults are reminded of who they are (Kawagley, 2006).

Taonga tuku iho include a wide range of tangible treasures that are passed down and often referred to to explain historical traditions including, but not limited to, whakairo (carvings) (Melbourne, 1991; Mead, 1992; Grant & Skinner, 2007; Walker, 2008), tā moko (tattooing) (Higgins, 2004); and woven representations made from fibres (McRae, 1998). These types of taonga tuku iho are described as symbols of culture (Higgins, 2004), identity markers (Walker, 2008), prompts to the oral traditions (McRae, 1998:2) and mnemonic devices (Haami, 2004:16; Walker, 2008).

Contemporary taonga tuku iho also include a wide range of modern art forms such as photographs, modern paintings, prints, murals and audio visual forms demonstrating how Māori people continue to use technologies to reinvigorate and innovate ancestral traditions by making them relevant to their generation and future generations as tribal, or Māori scholarship.

Today the vast range of Māori oral and written literature genres (Williams, 2004; Lee, 2008) are often referred to as taonga. As Paul Tapsell (1998:4) asserts in his thesis:

> According to tradition, taonga can be any item, object or thing which recognisably represents a kin group's whakapapa or genealogical identity, in relation to its estates and tribal resources. Taonga can be tangible, like a cloak, or intangible, like a song.

In a modern context, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti's work with Salmond (2013) refers to images, footage, sound files and documents relating to their whakapapa, karakia, haka and mōteatea as taonga. For them, taonga are treasured possessions that are part of their repository of digital taonga that have:

> Appeared in their accounts as a nexus or knot-like tie encompassing myriad constellations of events, names, relationships and initiatives dedicated to the perpetuation and continuing renewal of Hauititanga – that is, of being Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti (Salmond, 2013:16-17).

Tapsell (2000) and Salmond's (2013) explanations of taonga and taonga tuku iho are directly relevant to the above discussion of tukunga iho because they are both concerned with the identity of people, in particular kin groups or collectives such as whānau, hapū and iwi.

Ēnei Tukunga Iho '*a Tātou*' - Tukunga Iho are Collective

The incorporation of the possessive nouns, 'a tātou' in 'ēnei tukunga iho a tātou' privileges the tukunga iho of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori because 'tātou' is 'us' the collective, rather than the individual or duo where the words 'āku' or 'a tāua' would be used. Therefore, tukunga iho in 'ēnei tukunga iho a tātou' are sources of knowledge that are unique and specific to whānau, hapū and iwi and help to describe the group's

aronga (worldview) and their kaupapa (values and principles) (Royal, 2005a). Roka's phrase was selected in reference to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and it is Te Whānau-a-Apanui values and principles that drive this thesis. Kawagley (2006:7) supports this thinking by saying that songs, myths and legends espouse and promote the values and principles of collectives and their worldview. This thesis looks at the ways in which Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars express kaupapa (values and principles) and tikanga (activities and behaviours) of whānau, hapū and iwi (Royal, 2005a:237). Tukunga iho therefore, provide important understandings to whānau, hapū and iwi about their place in the world, their whakapapa (genealogy) to atua, to all things in the natural world, to each other, to other peoples, to landscapes and seascapes (Walker, 2008; Royal, 2005a; Stevens, 2010; Black, 2014; Doherty, 2014).

Ēnei Tukunga Iho a Tātou - Tukunga Iho are Innovative

According to Mahuika (2012:127), Derek Lardelli:

> Found little difficulty with the fact that our oral traditions had been 'tampered with' or 'played with' across generations. This process, he argued, was normal for a people who are deeply rooted in their own culture … [because] it's been negotiated so that it survives … it will always survive but it will reinvent itself in another form.

Lardelli's thoughts about how oral traditions are negotiated so that they survive help to expand on Melbourne's (1991) choice of words such as "renewed and extended". In *'Cliff Whiting: He Toi Nuku, He Toi Rangi'* (Christensen, 2013) and *'Living By The Moon'* (Tawhai, 2013), Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars and artists, Clifford Whiting and Wiremu Tawhai, reinforce the importance of renewing and extending ancestral teachings by describing their own engagement with passing down ancestral language and knowledge. They use similar phrases to Roka's "tukunga iho", such as, "tuku ihotanga" (Christensen, 2013:27) and "aua mātauranga i tukuna a-waha, ā-ringa mai e rātou" (Tawhai, 2013:xi).

Whiting's and Tawhai's literary and non-literary contributions are internationally renowned and this is important. But it is also the ways in which they have both applied mātauranga Māori, in its widest sense, to their everyday lives that inspires this

thesis. Tawhai has passed down the Te Whānau-a-Apanui maramataka to whānau by applying it to fishing and kūmara growing. His whānau now share the scholarship at hapū wānanga. Whiting continues to pass down whakapapa, kōrero tahito and much more by engaging communities in marae restoration and art works through a collaborative practice. These provide further Te Whānau-a-Apanui examples of the application of tukunga iho that contribute to the continuity of the intellectual traditions of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori (Salmond, 2013; Kawharu, 2014; Doherty, 2014; Black, 2014).

A tukunga iho process allows scholars and expert practitioners of each generation to embrace and engage closely with tukunga iho, analysing and interpreting them, thereby deriving meaning from the tukunga iho and then applying the tukunga iho to their everyday lives. Whiting's series of paintings called *Whakapapa* (Christensen, 2013) and Tawhai's use of the maramataka for kumara growing and fishing are examples of tukunga iho. Often this process of applying tukunga iho to our everyday lives involves innovation and adaptation of tukunga iho to better suit our circumstances and experiences as affected by "multiple origins of knowledge" (Royal, 2004:19-22) including social, environmental, economic, political and or technological change. Roka's writings about moki fishing and whaling, discussed in parts two and three of this thesis, are 1970s examples of innovative writing that record ways in which our Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors adapted to change while continuing to hold on to core elements of ancestral knowledge.

Again, during the twentieth century there has been an increased level of creative and academic work by Māori scholars that have interpreted the relationships between taonga tuku iho, the symbols, the kōrero tuku iho and the reality that they symbolise (Royal, 1998). Many have been creative in the ways in which they have used traditional forms in contemporary settings (Lee, 2009) where "old images were broken down and reformed, new materials replaced the traditional ones and the content looked both backward into the past and forward into the future" (Ford, 1984 as cited in Lee, 2009:3). Te Whānau-a-Apanui artists such as Clifford Whiting and Paratene Matchitt were at the forefront of this important work. Hoani Waititi and Roka also contributed significantly as Māori educators and writers, following on from a long line of whānau,

hapū and iwi scholars. More recently the works of Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars such as Rikirangi Gage and Erueti Korewha ensure that Te Whānau-a-Apanui values and practices are affirmed and expressed through waiata, haka and whaikōrero.

A twenty-first century generation of Māori scholars and educators[8] have continued to be innovative in the ways they apply Māori Studies paradigms and Kaupapa Māori to their research topics, as well as the ways in which they interpret whānau, hapū and iwi tukunga iho. As Malcolm-Buchanan (2008:1) says, "previously censured and rejected indigenous myths have come to be wielded as ideological historical testaments validating tribal claims".

Like generations of Māori scholars before them these twenty-first century Māori scholars continue to grow a corpus of Māori scholarship that is innovative and helps us make sense of our lives and our world. Many of these analyses use whakapapa as a research tool to highlight genealogical, geographical and intellectual connections between people and their environment. These analyses also highlight that historically attitudes towards and experiences of tukunga iho have changed over time depending on social, cultural, economic and political trends. This thesis is interested in how Roka and other tribal scholars asserted te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to reflect societal changes.

Tukunga Iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui

In this thesis, 'ēnei tukunga iho a tātou' has been adapted to 'tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui' because it was important to make clear which collective I am referring to. This thesis is not a research project for the people of Te Whānau-a-Apanui alone. Rather it examines, who we are, to a wider readership. This adapted phrase, tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, is the umbrella term that focuses my analysis on a wide range of Te Whānau-a-Apanui kōrero tuku iho such as literary

[8] Dr. Paul Tapsell (1998); Dr. Rawinia Higgins (2004); Dr. Poia Rewi (2005; 2010); Dr. Charles Royal (1998); Dr. Karen Paringatai (2004); Dr. Jenny Lee (2008); Dr. Nepia Mahuika (2012); Dr. Ārini Loader (2012); Dr. Kirsten Gabel (2013).

texts[9] and Te Whānau-a-Apanui taonga tuku iho such as non-literary texts[10] with a particular interest in Roka's writings and archive. By replacing 'a tātou' with Te Whānau-a-Apanui, the collective that this thesis is focusing on, is made explicit.

The phrase tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui will be used instead of English words such as tribal knowledge, scholarship or scholarly works. This is a way of reclaiming Māori words that are grounded in and represent local, Te Whānau-a-Apanui ways of thinking, practicing and engaging in a decolonisation process (Lee, 2009:2). This thesis will demonstrate how Roka and other Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars have applied the concept of tukunga iho to the collective knowledge and histories of Te Whānau-a-Apanui, with a particular interest in how te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui has been used or asserted as "intellectual platforms" (Black, 2014:25-26).

Te Reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui

Te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui is another umbrella term that will be used in this thesis. It refers to a collective tribal voice that is distinctive to Te Whānau-a-Apanui and that flows from Te Whānau-a-Apanui aronga, mātauranga, tikanga and kawa that make up a distinctive tribal style of expression. Te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui is used and asserted to retell, renew and extend tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui does not refer solely to Te Whānau-a-Apanui's reo Māori (Māori language) and I do not use it in reference to linguistic matters such as dialect. Te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui includes both Māori and English language communications by Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars, kaumātua and other members that have been sourced from but not limited to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. This thesis highlights a Te Whānau-a-Apanui perspective founded on tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that also help to shape the language used by each of the scholars not only as individuals but also as part of the collective Te Whānau-a-Apanui voice.

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[9] Māori written literature such as written narratives, manuscripts and whakapapa books as explained by Koro Dewes (1974).

[10] Non-literary texts include poupou, korowai, whare whakairo, photographs, painted murals.

Roka's Application of Tukunga Iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui: Context

During the 1960s Roka and others of her generation recognised how important tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui were to reversing the decline of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Roka also realised that there was more to teaching the Māori language than just speaking it. She reached out to Te Whānau-a-Apanui kaumātua (elders) and scholars to extend and enhance her learning of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui with particular interests in tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui such as waiata (sung poetry), kōrero tahito (early tribal literature), whakapapa (genealogy) and whakataukī (proverbial sayings), things she herself had not learnt growing up. Therefore during the 1960s and 1970s, Roka spent many hours with kaumātua,[11] whanaunga (relatives)[12] and colleagues who taught and mentored her about tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The process of learning from and sharing with others was ongoing throughout Roka's career in education. To reverse the decline of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Roka focused on developing learning resources that were relevant to the lives of her students. She wrote modern narratives in Māori, researched and adapted Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa, composed waiata, translated early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui recorded in old manuscript books, built up a repository, designed unique Te Whānau-a-Apanui curriculum and implemented unique marae pedagogy.[13] Roka's teaching role at Te Kaha gave her many opportunities to engage in a tukunga iho process where she could embrace, renew and or extend as well as pass down tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to her students and the community.

Roka's contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui provide important twentieth century extensions to some of the core elements, the iho, of Te Whānau-a-Apanui knowledge and history – especially of tīpuna (ancestors), whenua (land),

[11] Eruera Stirling, Tūwāhiawa Toopi, Paora Delamare, Tamehana Wharepapa, Kiritahanga Kahaki and Moana Te Moana are some of the relatives, scholars and kaumātua who mentored Roka. She mentioned these names in the 2007 interview with Rūhīterangi Richards.

[12] Hoani Waititi, Mōnita Delamare, Emma Rogers, Raita Ngamoki and Wiremu Tawhai are some of her relatives, scholars and peers who mentored her. Again, she mentioned these names in the 2007 interview with Rūhīterangi Richards.

[13] Roka designed Te Whānau-a-Apanui curriculum and implemented unique marae pedagogy at Kotahitanga Days where students from the five Te Whānau-a-Apanui schools learnt from and alongside their whānau and hapū. Roka's research notes for these have been preserved in her archive (see Chapter three for further details).

moana (sea) and tikanga (customs). In this thesis I look at the connections between Roka's works, the Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars before her as well as those that have followed her. This thesis is my contribution to extending the iho of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

During Roka's first twenty years of Māori language teaching in the 1960s and 1970s, Roka was propelled to research a wide range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui from within her own community. At that time there was no one book that provided an opus of Te Whānau-a-Apanui history like *Te Arawa* (Stafford, 1967), *Tainui* (Kelly, 1949), *Tuhoe* (Best, 1925) and *Tuwharetoa* (Grace, 1959). The 1980 publication of Eruera Stirling's historical biography as told to Ann Salmond was a significant contribution to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in the public domain in which Eruera shared a wide range of oral traditions that had been passed down to him as well as oral history based on his experiences. For me it provides important examples of how Eruera and his family applied tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to their everyday lives in Raukōkore and Auckland. For this reason I refer to *Eruera: Teachings of a Kaumātua* (Stirling and Salmond, 1980) often in this thesis. I also acknowledge Eruera's support and mentorship of Roka during the 1960s and 1970s. Other than a report about Whakaari (or White Island) that includes some history about Te Whānau-a-Apanui, there have also been very few reports commissioned by organisations like the Waitangi Tribunal. Roka's archive is a repository of the wide range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and tukunga iho a te ao Māori that Roka embraced and drew on to enhance her learning, especially of early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Roka's Writings and Archive

Roka's writings and archive are the primary sources of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that will be explored in this thesis. As a result of reading both the writings and the contents of the archive, I saw the richness and distinctiveness of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui contained within published texts and unpublished texts such as Native Land Court meeting minutes, whānau manuscript books, whakapapa records, whakataukī, waiata, letters, articles in magazines, audio recordings, carvings and photographs. What also became evident was a commitment across the Te Whānau-a-

Apanui scholars to engage in and apply a tukunga iho process that asserted distinctive features of te reo o Te Whānau a Apanui. This thesis will navigate Roka's writings by also navigating a wider selection of Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholarship that Roka preserved and revitalised. This approach will bring the scholars who inspired and passed down their scholarship to Roka, such as Hoani Waititi, Manihera Waititi, Moana Waititi, Eruera Stirling, Tūwāhiawa Toopi, Paora Delamare, Te Tane Tūkākī, Canon Hakaraia Pahewa and Parekura Hei, to the forefront.

Roka's extensive archive preserves copies of her writings in Māori published in Māori language journals and textbooks. Two in particular, 'Ka Haere a Hata mā ki te Hī Moki' (Paora, 1971) and 'He Kōrero mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' (Paora in Moorfield, 1992), stood out for me as narratives that provide some important connections to early as well as more recent tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki and whales. See Appendices 2 and 3 for scanned copies of these two writings. It became apparent in my research that my ancestors have continued to build on tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to show how our whānau, hapū and iwi lives have been sustained physically, economically and spiritually as well as inspired intellectually by moki and whales since the time of our Hawaiki ancestors. My close reading of the range of twentieth and twenty-first century tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui have also provided me with interesting windows of opportunity to explore local history and better understand what Stevens (2015:65) calls a "coexistence of change and continuity in Māori knowledge" especially in relation to moki fishing and whaling in a Te Whānau-a-Apanui context.

Research Questions

It is against this background that this thesis will examine the following:

1. How did Roka assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in her writings about moki and whales to renew and extend on earlier tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui?
2. What are the connections between and across a selected range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki and whales?
3. What can a selected range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki and whales tell us about te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui from pre-contact times to now?

The Thesis Structure

In the early stages of my research I developed a structure for this thesis based on a korowai. But Roka was not a weaver and because I was beginning to focus closely on her writings and archived tukunga iho about moki and whales, whānau recommended I consider another symbol, maybe something related to the moana (ocean). After some time thinking and researching a range of ideas, I was inspired to draw upon the moana as a symbol and metaphor for knowledge and waka moana (ocean vessels) as a means of tuku (transfer) to guide the approach and structure of this thesis.

I drafted up some notes about the moana and waka moana and shared them with my mum and supervisors. Mum agreed that they were a way to not only honour our ancestors as vessels of culture and knowledge but also their creativity, talents, expertise, determination and perseverance as inventors, adventurers and settlers of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region. I did not want to lose sight of these inspirational factors. However, it has not only been inspiration I sought from the waka symbolism but also specificity and relevance to the topics of each part of this thesis. These symbols, are also useful analogies that speak volumes. As our ancestors said, 'he iti te kupu, he nui te whakaaro'.

Roka's writings put the seascapes of Te Whānau-a-Apanui more fully into New Zealand history (Stevens, 2015), literature (Te Punga-Somerville, 2012), mātauranga Māori (Royal, 2005), mātauranga-ā-iwi (Black, 2012; Doherty, 2012) and Māori education. A focus on the moana and its vastness acknowledges important connections between now and our past – not only to Hawaiki ancestors (Battista, 2004) but also our Pacific and international origins (Salesa, 2012; Finney, 2006) as well as ancestors from further afield during post-European times. The moana is therefore both reality and symbolism that connects Māori to the big wide world. As Stevens (2015:71) asserts, "a focus on ports, therefore, gives us a way of doing Māori history from a world history perspective".

Also, although Stevens (2015) says that Māori land issues dominate Māori history and that marine spaces are largely overlooked, Te Whānau-a-Apanui continues to participate in contemporary issues and events such as fisheries post-settlements,

foreshore and seabed debates and legislation, as well as deep-sea oil drilling protests. The moana is also real and important to livelihoods by being a significant source of physical, spiritual and intellectual sustenance and inspiration to Te Whānau-a-Apanui people. We continue to fish and dive for seafood. The moana is our kāpata kai. We continue to be respectful of its power and we continue to sing and to talk about it.

As Paratene Matchitt (Ngā Puna Waihanga, 1993:18) stated in his welcome to the 20th Ngā Puna Waihanga Annual Hui at Te Kaha:

> The sea is dominant. Its many moods reflect the seasonal patterns, and weather changes are a constant influence on coastal life: at the right times it offers up the perfect larder of kai moana; it provides driftwood for the hangi fires and for ornamentation; it has grand views out to Whakaari; on calm sunny days the sparkle and different hues on its surface is inspirational; its thunderous performance in a storm is a stirring sight and reminds everyone who's the boss; some of its beaches provide perfect camping grounds and a couple of others are good for short course horse races.

The waka moana is a great metaphor for a journey but it is also a useful symbol of a vessel that carries culture (Salesa, 2012). They are also fine and relevant examples of technology that has been adapted and handed down over many successive generations of seafarers (Finney, 2006). They are connections to the atua, Tāne, and "the restless human search for knowledge" (Walker, 2008); they are important symbols of mana and tribal identity (Walker, 2008); and they are symbols of exploration and discovery as well as cultural resurgence and pride. All of these aspects of waka moana were important to Roka's work as a means of carrying culture, innovation, connections, mana, identity, exploration, discovery, cultural resurgence and cultural pride. For me, Roka has been a vessel of culture and has personified waka in the world of learning and education. More importantly she encouraged others to be vessels of culture (Salesa, 2012), to be symbols of identity (Walker, 2008), and to be symbols of innovativeness (Finney, 2006). These provide analogies to frame the overall thesis structure.

The waka analogies that have been selected for this thesis are the:

- waka hourua (double hull canoe);
- waka tētē (small fishing canoe);

- poti wēra (whaling boat); and
- waka tangata (cultural repository).

These particular waka represent the four key parts of this thesis that analyse Roka's contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The waka hourua represents the long, early voyaging vessels used to traverse the vast oceans but also, in this thesis, provides an analogy of the double hull that is our nana-mokopuna whakapapa and research relationship. Roka and I are lashed together as I, we, navigate tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The methodology of this study frames Roka's tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and mine equally where they are intertwined like aukaha so that the connections, both familial and scholarly, are difficult to separate.

The waka tētē are smaller fishing boats used for closer, local expeditions. This waka was purposely selected as an analogy for Part two of this thesis where Roka helps me to navigate her writing, 'Ka Haere a Hata mā ki te Hī Moki' and her archive of other published tribal scholarship that helps me make sense of the moki and its place in the lives of Te Whānau-a-Apanui people. The iho uncovered in my research on this narrative related to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in a pre-European contact period, including the migration of Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors from Hawaiki and their settlement in Aotearoa. In particular my waka tētē journey shows that Roka's writing extends earlier tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki.

The poti wēra was purposely chosen as an analogy for Part three of this thesis where Roka helps me to navigate her article called, 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' and her archive of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales. My research into this work uncovered a number of tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui from the post-European contact period and illustrate how Te Whānau-a-Apanui adapted to a changing environment. Specific reference to the poti wēra is deliberate and represents the extension of tukunga iho about whales in spite of colonisation. Roka is my poti wēra that guides my exploration of a period of significant change for Te Whānau-a-Apanui. In particular my poti wēra journey portrays that since European whalers and traders arrived in Aotearoa our scholars have continued to create literary and non-literary texts that reflect their experiences and

express their thoughts and feelings as active participants in the whaling industry, not passive recipients of the language and ideas of the new whalers.

Finally, the waka tangata is the analogy for Part four of this thesis where Roka helps me to navigate the overarching themes of this thesis that answer my thesis questions and support my hypothesis that Roka has made important contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that assert distinctive features of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Together, these waka moana contribute to the overall thesis in order for it to be a waka in itself, a waka that helps to carry te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui into the future.

The following is an outline of the Chapters of this thesis:

This Chapter presents the inspiration for and the plan for this thesis. Chapter two describes the methodology used, particularly the layers of aukaha that lash our nana-mokopuna whakapapa like a waka hourua to form a strong foundation for this thesis. Chapter three then introduces the reader to the tribe, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, and a range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that were preserved, revitalised and extended by Roka.

Chapter four explores an early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui entitled, 'Ko te Putake Mai o Te Maori', because it is an extensive written text of traditional knowledge about the moki that has been passed down from Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors, preserved by Roka in her archive and extended by Roka (Paora, 1971) in 'Ka Haere a Hata mā ki te Hī Moki'. Analysis focuses on how our ancestors expressed their natural world environments where the Rātā narrative is important, where Rēhua is a key atua and Poumātangatanga is the resourceful ancestor. My interpretations of these core elements of knowledge, the iho, foregrounds a discussion in Chapters five and six about how Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars have extended ' Ko te Putake mai o te Maori'.

Chapter five explores a selection of twentieth century tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki with a focus on the way they assert and pass down distinctive features of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. In particular, this chapter considers the

published tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui of four generations of the Waititi whānau. In the early 1900s Manihera Waititi I published in Māori newspapers to assert Te Whānau-a-Apanui knowledge and history. Later, his son Moana Waititi wrote in a national Māori magazine to reclaim the traditional name of Tihirau, Whangaparāoa's sacred mountain. Then Manihera Waititi II led a mural project at Whangaparāoa marae to retell and renew the knowledge in modern artistic ways and his son Winston Waititi continues to lead his people to speak out against the threats of trawling and nets.

Chapter six further explores Roka's 'Ka Haere a Hata mā ki te Hī Moki' as tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and how she asserts and extends distinctive features of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. My analysis extends Roka's writing by discussing connections to atua, ancestors, landscapes, seascapes, starscapes and the language, with particular reference to continuing customary practices such as harvesting mussels, harvesting crabs and moki fishing. Important connections to J.R. Waititi's contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui are also a significant part of this chapter because the genealogical and intellectual connections between him and Roka are examples of the tukunga iho process. Both Roka and J.R. Waititi's contributions to Māori language revitalisation are celebrated.

Chapter seven examines a selection of twentieth century tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales to explain my interpretation of the intention and meaning of Roka's statement in 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' (Paora in Moorfield, 1992), "he ika ki a mātou", that whales are fish. The whakapapa of whales begins the chapter. That whakapapa is then extended to Paikea, a famous ancestor of Te Whānau-a-Apanui, an important connection to and association with whales. A tribal version of the Paikea narrative follows to complement the whakapapa. The carvings of the Tūkākī whare whakairo (carved house) and the Te Tairuku Pōtaka are examined to further explore the significance of whales in pre-contact times. Versions of the Ngāē and Tutununui narrative are also studied to complement the meaning inherent in the carvings. Other whale guardians are also acknowledged in narratives about Poumātangatanga and Mahia, Ruāwharo and Te Tahi o te Rangi.

Chapter eight examines a selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales and whaling to explain my interpretation of Roka use and presentation of whaling loanwords in 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-ā-Apanui' (Paora in Moorfield, 1992). Roka's whakapapa from Mākere Te Horowai extends on the Paikea and Apanui whakapapa in the previous chapter and places Roka, and me, at the centre of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in this chapter. I explore the way in which whaling loanwords represent the adaptability of our ancestors to the new technology and culture of deepsea whaling and shore station whaling. Financial records preserved in whānau manuscript books illustrate some of the social, cultural and economic successes of whānau and hapū in the late 1800s. Canon Hakaraia Pahewa's photographs are used to illuminate the oral history of kaumātua of the 1960s and 1970s who had many memories of the adventures and hard work involved in community whaling in the early 1900s.

Chapter nine summarises the three stages of my waka moana journey that has been guided by Roka, her writings, research and archive. A selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki and whales have been examined to explain how Roka's writings extend earlier tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The key elements of each stage of this thesis journey and the connections between them will be summarised to show how Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars have applied the tukunga iho process. The waka tangata was chosen to steer me through this last part of my thesis because it represents a period of revitalisation in Aotearoa. Waka tangata have been, as Roake (2014:4) says, "ideal enablers of cultural revival" and therefore the final chapter makes concluding comments about how Roka and other Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars have been enablers of cultural revival and how tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui have enabled the revitalisation of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui and asserted tribal identity during the twentieth century. This chapter concludes with a discussion about how this thesis continues Roka's work to renew and extend tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki and whales. The overall aim of this thesis is for it to be a tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that is passed down and embraced by descendants who are passionate about continuing the intellectual traditions of Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

This Chapter has presented the key foundations of this thesis, specifically discussing my topic, why I have chosen my topic and how I have structured my thesis to analyse Roka's contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The next Chapter will explain the methods I have used to research my topic and answer my research questions.

Chapter Two: Tukunga Iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui - Creating a Methodology

A Personal Introduction - Locating the Researcher

Roka Paora, teacher, researcher, writer and Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholar is my nana. My siblings and I always called her nana. She always called us her mokopuna. She died nearly six years ago in 2011 so we had the privilege of having nana love and discipline us well into our adult years. We also saw her as a wife, a mum, an aunty, a cousin, a sister, a pakeke and a kaumātua of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. This nana-mokopuna whakapapa is the foundation of this thesis.

One question I had to ask myself was how do I refer to my Nana? At the outset I referred to her as Nana when writing personal memories and Paora when referring to her writings and archive. This was confusing so I began to use Paora all of the time because that is how academics refer to authors, by their surname. Even though I was not totally comfortable about privileging this academic convention, I stuck with it for some time until I received frank feedback from my mum. She recommended I use Roka to refer to Nana because everyone knew her as Roka. She said something like, “Paora is your papa’s surname and this thesis is not about promoting him and his whakapapa”. This advice resonated with me immediately. I made changes promptly.

The nana-mokopuna whakapapa I speak of is part of a long line of Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa that connects us to atua, ancestors, landscape, seascape and a long history of intellect and innovation. Being of this whakapapa as well as studying this whakapapa locates me, with Roka, at the very centre of this thesis and research journey where I not only navigate Roka but also myself. There have been many considerations to make because as Roka did, I take seriously my obligations to do right by my whānau, hapū and iwi. What do I share about my nana, my whānau, my hapū, my iwi and myself? and what do I keep close? How much whānau, hapū and iwi whakapapa do I include? Do I print photos of unnamed tīpuna? Which tukunga iho a Te Whānau-

a-Apanui do I select? This reflective practice and reflexive thinking has resulted in our nana-mokopuna relationship becoming more tightly interwoven and indistinguishable.

An iwi-centric, kaupapa Apanui methodology drives my research to be reflective and rigorous (Stevens, 2015:57) and in line with a humanities approach ensures that I make space to understand the meaning and purpose of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui so that I can make sense of not only my life but the lives of my ancestors. My research methods ensure that I am bound tightly to my nana, albeit through her writings and archive, so that ancestral teachings support me to navigate Roka and myself in reflective and reflexive ways (Ryan, 2007). Added to this, the voices of my whānau, my elders and other scholars, Māori and Pākehā, have been important filters that have led me to be more aware of how I navigate Roka and myself that are useful and beneficial to whānau, hapū and iwi. At times, Roka's voice is at the forefront especially when I am describing her writings and archive or sharing her memories. At other times, as Roka's mokopuna, I make decisions to promote my own voice or the voices of other ancestors as I explore the meaning and purpose of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. This is how Roka wrote. At many times in her writings, research and teachings she was a conduit for the voices of others. This is how she navigated herself and her ancestors.

In the early stages of this thesis journey I planned to carry out a qualitative research approach to writing an historical biography about Roka Paora by interviewing her colleagues and students, reviewing her work and writing up my memories. I hoped that Roka's biography would be similar to Tania Ka'ai's (2008), *Ngoingoi Pewhairangi: A Remarkable Life*, and Ranginui Walker's (2008), *Tohunga Whakairo: Paki Harrison. The Story of a Master Carver*. An initial literature review about Māori language revitalisation and a process of close reading Roka's writings and archive moved me to see Roka's contributions as part of a long line of scholarship and scholars. This was important to me. In 2013 when I read Christensen's (2013), *Cliff Whiting: He Toi Nuku, He Toi Rangi*, and Tawhai's (2013), *Living By The Moon: Te Maramataka a Te Whānau-a-Apanui,* I had a sudden realisation of the significance of Roka's words, 'ēnei tukunga iho a tātou'. All three Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars had very similar explanations of tuku and applied a tukunga iho process in their work where they had

embraced ancestral teachings, extended them and passed them down – all passionate about intergenerational transmission of tribal language, knowledge and history.

My close reading of Roka's archive uncovered publications about moki and whales by a number of Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars. My enthusiasm to better understand the genealogical and intellectual connections between and across this range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, especially connections between the scholars and their scholarship, made me reflect and realise that I wanted to carry on Roka's legacies as she had researched, taught and wrote – from the centre with her ancestors, kaumātua, pākeke and students by her side – as a Te Whānau-a-Apanui descendant who is passionate about carrying on our intellectual traditions.

The next part of this Chapter provides further detail about Roka's profound influence on me as a mokopuna and as a researcher and provides a foundation for the way I collaborate with Roka, albeit through her writings, research and archive. I use the symbol of aukaha (the lashing between the two hulls of a waka hourua) for the important relationships between scholars, and more specifically my relationship with Roka. I describe how important the voices and wisdom of my pākeke are to reinforcing the lashings that bind our nana-mokopuna research relationship just like the aukaha of the waka hourua. Cross checking, cross-referencing and reflective practices have been key to the insights I have developed and shared about Roka's contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Ngā Aukaha o te Waka Hourua – Research Foundations

My strong nana-mokopuna connection with Roka began in my early years and culminated in her twilight years when we produced the tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui entitled *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* (Richards and Paora, 2004). As a toddler, the initial aukaha were made when I spent long periods of time at Te Kaha while my parents were establishing themselves in Auckland and growing our family. Three of my four Te Whānau-a-Apanui great-grandparents[14] were still alive during my pre-school years, at the twilight end of very busy and successful farming lives, as well as active hapū and iwi lives. Everything they lived for in their homes, at the marae and in their communities were important - farming, fishing, gardening, land management, school routines, marae responsibilities and hapū affairs kept them very busy. My elders provided me with examples and experiences of all of these things. Growing up, my siblings and I enjoyed spending every school holiday with Roka and Tini where further layers of aukaha were bound to develop a strong foundation for my intellectual relationship with Roka.

Much of my learning at Te Kaha was supervised and guided by Roka who expected me to carry out daily chores, serve visitors at home and at the marae, and help wherever help was needed. As Aunty Pae Ruha told me, "you are lucky that your Nana and Papa had time to love and discipline you" (Pae Ruha Interview, 2010). I continued to enjoy following Roka and my grandaunts, Parehau and Erina, to hui (gatherings) rather than stay home with my siblings and cousins. I would sit close to Roka and my aunts and take in what was happening around me. Roka also expected me to acknowledge and greet all people wherever we were - at the marae, at the river, or at the shop. I also saw the importance of the responsibilities my grandfather took on at Te Kaha Marae, such as checking that all toilets were flushed and tidy, that there were not too many cobwebs, that doors were unlocked, that light bulbs were working, that someone was mowing the grass, that the water was running properly and that there was enough meat and firewood. These observations and experiences made me

[14] William Jeremiah Swinton (1888-1975) of Te Whānau-a-Maruhaeremuri and Te Whānau-a-Kahurautao. Haukino Paora (1889-1971) of Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū, and his wife, Kapuaiterangi Ākuhata-Rēweti (1894 - 1983) of Te Whānau-a-Rūtaia and Te Whānau-a-Hikarukutai. Roka's mother, Rūhīterangi Paora (1898-1936) died at 38 years old from tuberculosis.

sensitive to the expectations of my elders especially in regards to our whānau, hapū and iwi values and practices of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and aroha. Knowing who my relatives were and how to look after visitors were key lessons I learnt from a young age.

As a teenager there are further examples of a strengthening aukaha between Roka and I. I enjoyed sitting in Roka's office to read whakapapa, to look through old photos and to study maps of Te Whānau-a-Apanui land blocks that Roka had pinned to her office walls. Whenever I had questions, Roka would provide me with an answer. When I was thirteen years old, my great-grandmother, Kapua-i-te-rangi, passed away. During her last year she chose to speak only Māori. That had a profound impact on me even though hearing Māori spoken around me was not new. I became determined to learn to speak Māori fluently. Roka and my mum agreed that I could attend Ngā Tapuwae College in Māngere where my Māori language teachers were Kepa and Pani Stirling. My goal to learn how to speak Māori became an important focus of my secondary and tertiary education. Roka supported me on my journey and was always a patient teacher when I sought her assistance. At the University of Waikato, Tīmoti Karetū, Wharehuia Milroy, Hirini Melbourne and John Moorfield, all knew and had worked with Roka at some time. Those connections and their expertise inspired me as a Māori language student.

More recently my close relationship with Roka continued when she came to live with Craig, Te Raina and I in Hamilton during the late 1990s for approximately five years.[15] During that time she continued to contribute to important Māori language and Māori education projects[16] where she modelled a great work ethic and showed her value of learning. Katerina Edmonds[17] remembered Roka as someone who produced a lot of writing compared to others of her rigour, who loved researching, and was "meticulous and tenacious when it came to quality and getting things right" (Katerina Edmonds

[15] From 1999 to 2003 when she was 78 years old. When Roka returned to Te Kaha, she continued to work. She was contracted to translate 18 children's reading books into Māori between late 2003 and 2005.

[16] Roka contributed to Ministry of Education and University of Waikato projects as well as the National Evaluation Monitoring Project at Otago University.

[17] Roka worked on a wide range of contracted projects with Katerina Edmonds. Katerina explained to me how great Roka was at high level mentoring and editing work and also how skilled she was at writing and translation work (Katerina Edmonds Interview, 2011).

Interview, 2011). During this time Roka supported my role as a mother, my passion for learning for life and my passion for embracing tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. When our second son was born in 2002, Craig asked if we could call him Pahewa, in recognition of Roka whose second name was Pahewa. After some discussion we agreed to name him Hakaraia Pahewa after Roka's grandpa who adopted her mother.

In 2009 I asked Roka and my mum for feedback about my thesis idea that I had written up in approximately three hundred words for my supervisor. I called into the Thornton Retirement Home in Ōpōtiki where Roka was being cared for and read aloud my words to Roka in front of my husband and children. When I was approximately three quarters of the way through my words, Roka let out a loud sigh. I stopped reading to see if she was okay. She said, "Are you nearly finished?" I was not overly surprised at her response and told her that I had three more sentences to go and that she should listen right to the end. Although Roka was happy for me to proceed with my studies, she had heard more than enough about herself and the great things that I thought she had achieved. With a cheeky smile she said, "don't forget to tell everyone how you slept with me until you were twenty". My sense at that time was that although she was very proud she was not keen for me to blow her trumpet. Roka's response made me reconsider how to approach writing a thesis in a way that reflected whakaiti (humility). She also inspired me to work hard on improving my writing style so that it would be interesting, clear and concise. Over the following six months as Roka ailed further, I became more motivated to think of ways in which me and my whānau could continue to pass down what Roka passed down to us. How should we embrace her scholarship? How innovative should we be? What should we pass down and how? Roka wrote more than twenty literary texts and this process has taught me that I could not cover them all in this one study. This thesis navigates a slice of a large corpus of scholarship.

When I discussed my topic with my mother she too was supportive. When Roka had moved to Thornton Retirement Village my mother inherited her archive. She supported the idea that my thesis was a way in which we as a whānau could tidy up and share Roka's archive with extended whānau, hapū, iwi, Māori and the nation. Roka's archive and publications were only part of what we had to share. Conversation and debate were always part of our whānau time with Roka and Tini. Looking back,

my mum had always had quite an intellectual relationship with her parents where whānau, hapū and iwi tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui were integral. Therefore, this thesis journey has also allowed me to record my mum's memories of her upbringing especially her observations and experiences of her mum, Roka. In many ways Aunty Pae, my mother and my supervisors made me feel obligated and responsible to write about, share and pass down what Roka had passed down to her students and whānau.

For myself, as a mother, a sister, an aunty and a cousin, I see this thesis process as an opportunity to pass on a whole range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that I have embraced to my siblings, children, nieces and nephews, and many cousins. Overall, because my own experiences as a mokopuna, a daughter, a sister and a mother have been positive, my interpretations of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui are positive and optimistic. I believe that Roka approached her work in this way too.

My choice to carry out this research as part of a University qualification has a number of motivations and challenges. Just like my mother, I was totally encouraged by my parents and grandparents to do well at school and go to University. I completed a Bachelor of Management Studies degree majoring in accounting as well as a Masters in Management Studies at the University of Waikato, while also studying Māori to graduate level. These experiences have made me feel obliged to make good use of my education in order to contribute to whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori development.

Writing about tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in a thesis format has a number of benefits to the project and to me personally. First, I have treated this research journey in a more planned, formal manner under the guidance of Māori supervisors who have offered advice and guidance based on their own experiences, their academic expertise and achievements. A doctoral thesis also allows me to achieve personal goals to improve my writing, to update my reading in Māori Studies and mātauranga Māori research and to carry out close readings of a wide range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in Roka's archive. I am also motivated to continue my collaboration with

Roka albeit through her work and extend our legacy of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to pass down to the tamariki and mokopuna of our whānau, hapū and iwi.

Māori Studies Paradigm and Mātauranga Māori

This is a Māori Studies thesis and therefore I have been inspired by other Māori Studies theses which have grown from and within the Māori Studies paradigm as well as Kaupapa Māori research such as Ka'ai and Higgins (2004), Higgins (2004), Paringatai (2004), Rewi (2005) and Ka'ai-Mahuta (2010 and 2013). Their works incorporate models that extend and adapt Rangihau's model (Ka'ai and Higgins, 2004:16).

Māori Studies draws from mātauranga Māori (Mead, 1997:36). For this thesis, the mātauranga Māori of whānau, hapū and iwi are the foundation where a Te Whānau-a-Apanui worldview drives the kaupapa and tikanga of my research journey. The important factor for me is that Māori Studies normalises and validates mātauranga Māori (Stirling and Salmond, 1980; Mead, 1997; Higgins, 2004) where Māori knowledge systems are empowered "by locating Māori in the centre and Western knowledge to the margin" (Higgins, 2004:8). Therefore I examine tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, with Roka, at the centre and from the centre rather than the periphery.

The key aspect about mātauranga Māori research is its starting point. As Royal (2005:221) says, mātauranga Māori "starts with the premise that a body of knowledge existed in New Zealand prior to the arrival of the European in New Zealand". The words of the phrases 'tukunga iho', 'kōrero tuku iho' and 'taonga tuku iho' are all Māori words with long histories. The moana and waka metaphors and symbolism used in this thesis are ways of connecting this study to our Hawaiki ancestors and our international origins (Salesa, 2012) as well as their abilities to adapt and hand down their knowledge to future generations.

Ka'ai-Mahuta's (2010) Tīenga Model in particular illustrates in diagrammatic form the "holistic nature of a Māori worldview" (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010:20) and how the

significant things of the Māori world, including traditions and concepts are interlinked. For this thesis and the tukunga iho approach, the traditions named by Ka'ai-Mahuta are what I refer to in this thesis as 'tukunga iho' and 'practices'. The 'concepts' she refers to are what I call 'Māori values'. Using my preferred terminology I restate Ka'ai-Mahuta's point that the significant things of the Māori, including tukunga iho, practices and values are interlinked.

Māori Studies models reiterate the need for researchers in the field to understand a Māori worldview or what Royal (2004) calls a Te Aomārama view, because Māori cultural concepts and traditions cannot be fully understood in isolation from each other (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010:22). Therefore it is important for Māori cosmologies and philosophies to be the underlying foundation of this research journey. For the purposes of this thesis, it is recognised that knowledge is framed by Māori and Te Whānau-a-Apanui [18] epistemologies. Many twenty-first century Māori scholars (Kawharu, 2008; Reedy, 1993; Royal, 1994) focus on tribal specific research topics for the reasons outlined by Rangihau (1992) in respect to his Tūhoetanga. As Royal (1994:13-14) points out:

> Readers will see that some of our traditions differ from those of other tribes. Each tribe maintains its own traditions, and it is not our place to question these. *Kāti Au I konei* is an exposition of our traditions.

The Māori Studies paradigm also recognises that Māori lives, careers, experiences, histories and memories of Māori language and literature stretch across disciplinary boundaries (Mead, 1997). From the point of view that Māori Studies has no boundaries (Mead, 1997), this thesis acknowledges that the western knowledge disciplines of history, education, anthropology and literary studies continues to make "very valuable contributions" (Mead, 1997:33) to Te Whānau-a-Apanui too. This is in line with my discussion in Chapter one of Royal's (2004:19-22) view that mātauranga Māori also includes "knowledge of multiple origins held by Māori people, [but] not exclusively Māori in origin". Higgins (2004) and Ka'ai-Mahuta's (2010) discussion of Rangihau's Māoritanga model supports my acknowledgement that Pākehātanga has a place in Māori and iwi scholarship albeit on the periphery. This recognises that as

[18] This flows from Rangihau's writings about being a Tūhoe person rather than a Māori person.

Māori we do not live in isolation from Pākeha and others. Rangihau asserts that Māoritanga is not isolated. More importantly, Rangihau argues that a Māoritanga or Māori worldview lens develops his perception or "his 'filtering' of his worldview" (Higgins, 2004:17) from the centre, not from the periphery or margin where he places Pākehātanga in his model.

Mātauranga Māori also acknowledges the impact of colonisation. Te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui has been impacted by colonisation to the point where many tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui disappeared during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and only elements of a greater knowledge system remain. We are fortunate that some ancestors and ethnographers preserved many of these fragments in writing. Mātauranga Māori research also recognises that when tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui were written down, "Māori society was already in the grips of colonial rule" (Gabel, 2013:21). Takirirangi Smith (2012:4) made the comment that "patriarchal views held by colonial ethnographers, missionary impact and the influence of Christianity had already taken place by the time pre-colonial evidence was being recorded in the literature" (Smith, 2012:4). This thesis supports Smith's claims and continues our whānau, hapū and iwi responses to this colonisation process in order to "help stop the ongoing slide towards ignorance of our own histories and traditions" (Royal, 1994). The inspirational factor for me is that the process of colonisation has not stopped our scholars from applying the fragments of tribal knowledge to new situations or articulating our worldview in ways that assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

For me to contribute to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in a kaupapa Apanui way, from the centre, I had to engage with Roka using reflective practices where I monitored myself, mulled over thoughts, reflected on my actions and judged my choice of words regularly (Ryan, 2007) using my memories of Roka, her works and the relevant work of whānau as well as scholars. This required a Humanities approach to help me make sense of our Te Whānau-a-Apanui world by navigating our stories, our ideas and our words in our tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The Humanities approach also accepts that the subject (me as researcher) and

the object (Roka as my study) of the research tend to become interwoven and indistinguishable (Bentz, 1995), just like our nana-mokopuna whakapapa.

Ka'ai-Mahuta's (2010 and 2013) and Rangihau's (1992) models of Māoritanga and Tūhoetanga also inform the ethics of this thesis. They reflect Roka's Te Whānau-a-Apanui kaupapa (what we value) and tikanga (what we actually do, our behaviours), and therefore mine because I am her mokopuna who has been profoundly influenced by her. Each kaupapa and tikanga are outlined in Table three alongside explanations provided by Whatarangi Winiata (2004), Hudson (2005), Ahuriri-Driscoll (2005) and other Māori researchers:

Table 3: The Kaupapa And Tikanga Of This Thesis

	Kaupapa (what we value)	**Meaning:**	**Tikanga (what we actually do, our behaviours)**
1	Whanaungatanga	The ethic of belonging (Hudson, 2005). Based on whakapapa and kinship of a collective related by bloodlines (ie. whānau, hapū and iwi) or by purpose and circumstance (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2005; Winiata, 2004).	Ensure that I encourage supportive, sustaining relationships and kotahitanga (unity) within whānau, hapū and iwi. As well as encourage reciprocity between whānau, hapū and iwi.
2	Manaakitanga	To enhance another persons wellbeing by showing respect, courteousness, goodwill and thoughtfulness (Winiata, 2004).	Ensure that I am sensitive to peoples' needs by acknowledging people and caring for people.
3	Wairuatanga	The spirituality that connects one with Io, Rangi, Papa and all the atua (Hudson, 2005). Understanding and believing we are intimately connected spiritually to all things animate and inanimate all of which have their own wairua (Winiata, 2004).	Ensure that I engage in karakia and other spiritual expressions as part of these research activities.
4	Kotahitanga	Implies solidarity, recognition of and connection to the tapu and mauri of all things and people (Hudson, 2005). Having a oneness of mind and action, developing a unity of purpose and direction, a commitment to achieve a vision.	Ensure that I am always considerate of the impact of this research on the collective – whānau, hapū and iwi in ways that enhance mana of the people.
5	Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship of creation and all the resources available to humans (Hudson, 2005) A kaitiaki normally protects or cares for people, property and the	Ensure that I am protective and caring of the people, property and environment I come into contact with during this thesis journey.

		environment. Kaitiakitanga is a mechanism that safeguards, preserves and maintains human, natural and material resources.	Ensure that I aim to preserve and maintain mātauranga Māori, kaupapa Māori and kaupapa Apanui.
6	Rangatiratanga	Rangatiratanga attributes include leadership, humility, diplomacy and knowledge that benefits the people – whānau, hapū and iwi (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, nd)	Ensure that I display the attributes of Rangatiratanga to all individuals and groups connected with this research project.

These principles have been key to the way in which I have worked with people involved in my thesis journey including kaumātua, pākeke, supervisors and interviewees. They have also guided my approach to literary analysis where I have, like Roka did, applied tukunga iho by: embracing connections to atua (gods) and tīpuna (ancestors), integrating history and context, and extending ancestral teachings by making them relevant to and vibrant for those who are willing to learn.[19]

Ngā Momo Aukaha o Tēnei Waka – Research Approach

The way in which I write up this section is inspired by Gabel's (2013) thesis because my approach to researching my kaupapa has been an eclectic one involving five main research approaches. Along the same lines as Ngāi Tahu's project 'Mō Tātou' and its kaupapa, "by Ngāi Tahu, for Ngāi Tahu, with Ngāi Tahu" (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2005), the overarching methodology of this thesis is by Te Whānau-a-Apanui, for Te Whānau-a-Apanui, with Te Whānau-a-Apanui. It is iwi-centric. It follows a kaupapa Apanui approach to research, analysis and writing. Such as Ngāi Tahu's rangatiratanga approach to literary analysis this thesis, "reserves the right to be innovative in the application of research methods, blending and utilising both traditional and contemporary whakaaro (thinking) where necessary, to serve the overall purpose of benefitting" the iwi (Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2005:22).

Further use of aukaha symbolism is used in the next section to explain the five research methods I use to reinforce the binding of our waka hourua, where Roka and I are bound tightly together to navigate our whakapapa in a kaupapa Apanui way. My

[19] Humanities interpretive methodologies include literary criticism, phenomenology and in the discipline of ethnography, 'thick description' (ISEM 101 Integrative Seminars; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011).

memories, Roka's voice and the voices of my elders and other scholars, Māori and Pākehā, are important filters that help me to be critical and self-reflexive in my approach.

Te Aukaha Tuatahi - Tōku Reo Ūkaipō: Experiences and Memories

Throughout this thesis I weave my own experiences, memories and knowledges (Gabel, 2013), because I am an example of a mokopuna who has had the privilege of spending a lot of time with my elders. I have been nurtured and guided by them in practical ways and intellectual ways. I have had opportunities to observe and participate in whānau conversations, discussions and debates in relation to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. My motivations for writing this thesis are directly related to my experiences as Roka's mokopuna and my experiences of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

From a young age Roka encouraged my interests in people and whakapapa in practical as well as academic ways. My mother, Rūhīterangi, is an only child and both of her parents, Roka and Tini, come from small immediate families. I often asked how people were related and whether they were first, second, third or fourth cousins to Roka or Tini. I have always been curious about how those relationships have formed the basis of how our whānau, hapū and iwi communities interact with each other, other Māori and non-Māori – how we practice whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, wairuatanga, kotahitanga, kaitiakitanga and other values.

Growing up I would often sit quietly at Roka's desk looking through her whakapapa notes, Māori history books, World War Two books, translations, and a box of Roka's old black and white photographs. I would admire ancestral names, recite lists of names and stare at the beauty of my ancestors. I came to appreciate Roka's archive as a repository, a place that preserved tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. I was always trying to make connections between relatives that I had seen at hui and the whakapapa and photographs stored in Roka's archive. As a teenager and young adult I enjoyed going to wānanga type hui where whakapapa and whenua connections and history

were being recited and discussed.[20] Today, I continue to enjoy the oral nature of wānanga over reading and writing. This personal interest and developing skills of observing, listening and speaking have been important to this thesis.

Te Aukaha Tuarua - Te Reo o Ngā Kaumātua: The Voices of My Elders

Due to Roka's ailing health during 2009 and 2010, with her support and the encouragement of my supervisor, I decided to ask Aunty Pae Ruha (Aunty Pae) and my mother, Ruhiterangi, to be my advisory panel of pākeke and kaumātua during this thesis journey. They accepted and I began to have frequent meetings and catch-ups with Aunty Pae in Wellington where she always showed her excitement and support for my thesis topic. A second cousin to Roka's mother,[21] Aunty Pae had always been close to Roka during their adult years through the profession they shared as teachers. I had grown up knowing that Aunty Pae was one of Roka's greatest supporters and critics, who encouraged and admired Roka for her qualities, skills and tenacity as a teacher as well as her research, writings and compositions. From Aunty Pae's point of view, Roka "had gone 200% to be able to do all that she had achieved throughout her teaching career" (Pae Ruha Interview, July 2010). One of the reasons for Aunty Pae saying this was because Roka's upbringing was based around a busy farming home, church and school life, whereas Aunty Pae had spent more time at the marae and with extended family in Māori speaking environments. Aunty Pae also shared with me that she had high expectations of Roka. She said:

> Early in the piece she and I had debates about what sorts of things she should be passing on. I used to say to her, e Roka, ko koe o tāua kei te kāinga so it's up to you to pass it on. She became an excellent passer on of information so that the kids could pick it up and stay in there. She realised for herself that it was her responsibility (Pae Ruha Interview, July 2010).

Inviting Aunty Pae and my mum, Rūhīterangi, to be my advisory panel was a formal way of actively acknowledging and consulting with pākeke and kaumātua. During

[20] A 1986 Wānanga at Whitianga Marae and the 1991 Te Reo me Ōna Tikanga Course are examples. My notes and memories of these hui were the foundation of my work on *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* and have continued to feed into this thesis journey.

[21] Ngāmane had Purukamu and she had Rūhīterangi I, Roka's mother. Ngāmane's brother Āperahama had Wātene Ruha and he had Aunty Pae. Rūhīterangi I and Aunty Pae were second cousins.

2010, I consulted with Aunty Pae about a number of ideas I had for my topic. She also helped me to align the methodology of this thesis with the research principles outlined above. Aunty Pae also attended my first two supervisory meetings during 2010. On 25 May 2010 we met with one of my supervisors at Te Herenga Waka Marae at Victoria University, where we discussed my ethics application for interviews, my full proposal and my methodological approach. Aunty Pae talked about some of her visits with Roka over the years and admitted that they were like a stimulant for her. We also spent some time developing a list of people I should interview. On 27 July 2010 we looked at how my full proposal was shaping up and reviewed my summary of Aunty Pae's interview from the previous month. Aunty Pae shared more memories that day and emphasised that Roka was successful at whatever she set out to do because she had a positive, work hard attitude.

When I interviewed Clifford Whiting and Wiremu Tawhai, they spoke of some of the results of this positive, work hard attitude that Aunty Pae referred to. Clifford Whiting talked about Roka's love of iwi history and whakapapa as well as her role in the Whakaruruhau Project:

> They relied on your Nanny to keep it all together kia kore ai e ngaro ngā kōrero me ngā whakapapa … she really loved it because here was all this information about all these tīpuna. The thing is that it was authentic stuff. It came from the right people and with the right support for her to do it (Clifford Whiting Interview, 2010:7).

Wiremu Tawhai also spoke of how Roka was not only recognised across her iwi but also outside of her iwi:

> She had achieved a status that made her be recognised by people in her community, in this field of educating the people, the children of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. And then as she moved into the inter-tribal world she took these talents with her, ka mohiotia ia i waho atu o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, he wahine pakari te ngākau, he wahine whakapono ki te whakahoki mai i ngā mātauranga, i ngā taonga o te ao Māori mā te whakatipuranga. He wahine kaore e hoki whakamuri, tāhau e kī na, a determined woman (Wiremu Tawhai Interview, 2010:8).

I always appreciated Aunty Pae's love and guidance and always felt honoured and privileged that I was able to carry on Aunty Pae's close relationship with Roka and my mum. My nana-mokopuna whakapapa definitely helped me to navigate these types of

relationships with my elders. My time with Aunty Pae also made me appreciate the mentoring I had received from Roka. She had taught me how to make time to do things with my kaumātua. While I lived in Wellington I would take Aunty Pae shopping, to have conversations over a meal with her, to listen to what she had to say, to communicate openly with her and to enjoy her company – the principles of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and aroha in practice.

Together Aunty Pae and mum have been my trusted guides and wise people to whom I was able to turn to when I had questions and sought advice about tribal history, customs and language. They were always happy to read drafts of sections and provide feedback. Overall, they both helped to ensure that my approach to this thesis represented Roka well, was beneficial to whānau, hapū and iwi as well as the wider Māori community. Therefore, they have provided me with another layer of binding that strengthens this waka for the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui journey of this thesis.

One request that I clearly remember Aunty Pae making to me was, "make sure there is some humour in your thesis because your Nana appreciated humour" (Personal Conversation, 2010). I have continued to be challenged by this request but am grateful for Aunty Pae's openness with her expectations. During my three years living in Wellington I enjoyed meeting Aunty Pae for a meal or taking her to do her grocery shopping. These were my ways of giving back to her. These were special times together where she demonstrated to me how important humour is when developing relationships and working with people.

The time I have spent with my mum on this thesis has also been very valuable. When we sat down to complete a formal interview for this study we talked for more than two hours. Several months later mum came to Rotorua again and we sat for another two hours. These interviews are tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whānau and hapū events, knowledge and history. I really appreciated mum's willingness to share her vivid and very happy memories of growing up as well as her memories of Roka as a mother, a teacher and a community person. For me my mum has applied what Roka and our elders taught her in many aspects of her life where she is carrying on legacies

and therefore enriching the tukunga iho process outlined in this thesis. Two examples of frank feedback I received from mum about how to refer to Roka and what symbolism to use, helped me to maintain a strong and balanced position while navigating Roka, mum, myself and tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

In the early stages of planning this thesis as an historical biography I decided that this research would be both qualitative and literary. Initially I embarked on a qualitative examination of Roka's contributions to the preservation and revitalisation of reo and mātauranga using interviews to inform my research. Although the contributions of the twelve people I interviewed covered a wide range of memories of Roka's life as a mum, a cousin, a niece, a teacher, a colleague and a peer, most of them had little knowledge of the details of her research, writing, compositions and translations. A parallel close reading of Roka's writings and archive made me realise and appreciate the wealth of published tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki and whales that I could examine and share. Two of Roka's published writings about moki and whales had interesting connections to a range of other literary and non-literary texts. I was very interested in the genealogical and intellectual connections between Roka, other Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars and their published texts.

The memories of those interviewed were not left to the side. They have been especially invaluable in providing examples and context of Roka's life and career. Their memories, alongside mine, help me to bind more firmly the aukaha of each waka moana that Roka represents on this thesis journey across the moana of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

When Aunty Pae and Mum helped me to develop a list of Roka's past colleagues and students to interview, we also developed potential questions in preparation for semi-structured interviews that would focus on the interviewee's memories of Roka and her work. I interviewed Aunty Pae (June, 2010), Uncle Clifford Whiting (June, 2010), my great aunt Hiria Hedley (October 2010), my grand uncle Mac Eruera (October 2010), Aunty Roslyn Mc Roberts (October 2010), Uncle Wiremu Tawhai (October, 2010), Turoa Royal (November, 2010), Cathie Penetito (November, 2010), Llyn Richards

with Judith Richards (2011), Rūhīterangi (2011), Aunty Katerina Edmonds (2011) and Matiu Dickson (2011).

Together the memories of the people I interviewed provided me with a wealth of examples of Roka's busy career as well as the many projects she was involved in locally and nationally between 1961 and 2004. Pae Ruha, Wiremu Tawhai, Clifford Whiting and Roslyn McRoberts remembered Roka not only as a colleague but also a past teacher and relative. Mac Eruera and Hiria Hedley remembered Roka as a young girl – a cousin and a niece. Lynn Richards with his wife Judith lived in Te Kaha during the 1960s while Lynn taught at the Te Kaha District High School. They remember Roka as a colleague and family friend. Cathie Penetito was teaching at Cape Runaway School during the early 1970s when Roka asked her to illustrate the *Learn Māori with Parehau and Sharon* series (Paora, 1971; 1972; 1976). Turoa Royal was a Department of Education Māori Officer in the late 1960s and early 1970s and remembered asking Roka to write *Kia ora* and the *Learn Māori with Parehau and Sharon* series for the Linkage Scheme.[22] Matiu Dixon was an Itinerant Teacher of Māori during the early 1980s and remembers Roka as an Itinerant Teacher of Māori who was a great role model. Katerina Edmonds sought Roka's Māori language and teaching expertise for several Ministry of Education contracts during the late 1990s and early 2000s. In line with Huyssen's (1995) views, these interviews have helped to shape my links to the past and this is important because "we need the past to construct and anchor our identities and to nurture a vision of the future" (Huyssen, 1995:175).

Te Aukaha Tuatoru - Te Reo o Te Tari o Roka: Roka's Archive.

Roka's archive is made up of a range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that she had gathered, researched and created during her teaching career at Te Kaha. They include whakapapa, kōrero tahito, waiata, whakataukī and are preserved in old manuscript books, old exercise books, diaries, papers of typed notes, papers of handwritten notes, tape recordings, photographs and published books. Chapter three examines a selection of literary texts from Roka's archive that are examples of distinctive tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui which not only preserve essential, core

[22] A Māori language programme for intermediate (year 7 and 8) students.

elements of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui handed down over generations (the iho) but also extend early tukunga iho forward into the future in ways that make te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui relevant and applicable.

When delving into Roka's archive to ensure our whānau had a full repertoire of Roka's writings, research, compositions and teachings, I began to track and link aspects of Roka's research journey(s). I decided that a close reading of Roka's archive was important to answering my research questions. I saw that Roka's archive was made up of wonderful tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that deserved further interpretation and examination.

Tidying up and close reading Roka's archive has been a significant part of this thesis. This has involved filing a wide range of whakapapa records written on all sorts of pieces of paper while also studying them alongside whānau whakapapa books; ensuring our whānau have a full record of Roka's published works, oral and written; filing photographs, cassette tapes, videos and compact discs; and photographing whānau manuscript books. Some are clearly referenced to kaumātua such as Eruera Stirling, Tuwāhiawa Toopi and Mōnita Delamare. Other whakapapa is written up by Roka and seem to be the result of her research of whakapapa books. For example, I see lightly penciled dates by Roka in my great-grandfather's whakapapa book that coincide with her years as an Itinerant Teacher of Māori when she must have studied the whakapapa of that book. A wide range of Roka's whakapapa record helps to bind this thesis.

I also made a visit to Learning Media to make copies of all of Roka's contributions to the *Te Wharekura* and *Te Tautoko* journals. Reading these tukunga iho two, three, four or more times have been special experiences. In most instances each of these readings have been at different stages of my study and therefore I have become more confident in my interpretations. As I digested more information each additional reading would present new understandings and connections. The ideas I had about how to whiri (bind) these layers of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to support this thesis began to percolate.

Rather than privileging te reo Māori sources of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui as I had set out to at the beginning of this research journey, I decided to focus on the twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars who wrote in either Māori or English and their scholarship about moki and whales. Ancestral translations and interpretations of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui have provided key information that I thought important to acknowledge. This approach allowed me to explore tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in their widest sense in order to pursue a twenty-first century iwi-centric research process, that continues the work of twentieth century scholars in "reclaiming, reconnecting and recording ways of knowing which were submerged, hidden or driven underground" (Smith, 1999:69). Acknowledging and incorporating English language contributions has also given me a more positive view of the relationships between our Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors and our European ancestors.

In 2013, I read *Cliff Whiting: He Toi Nuku, He Toi Rangi* (Christensen, 2013) and Tawhai's (2013) *Living By The Moon: Te Maramataka a Te Whānau-a-Apanui*. The lives of both of these Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars intersected with Roka's in a number of ways. They were all raised in the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region, they all became trained teachers and all have made important contributions to tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui that assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Both Whiting and Tawhai worked closely with Roka during the Whakaruruhau Project.[23] Their interpretations of and explanations of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui are in line with Roka's. Privileging the works of my elders has been important to me as a researcher and it is their lessons that have inspired me to contribute to a tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui process by completing this thesis.

Inspired by Roka's archive of recorded waiata, old letters and old photographs, this thesis has journeyed to national archives and national databases to find further examples of waiata, letters and photographs taken by and of my ancestors. As Gabel (2013) says:

[23] As described in footnote 2 on page 2 in Chapter one.

> Advances in technology, and in particular the digitisation of historical documents, has ensured that as researchers we now have easier access to historical sources of information

Listening to Kiritahanga Kahaki singing Te Kooti's *'E pā tō reo'* and Hāriata Tūrei singing an early Te Whānau-a-Apanui pao on McLean's (2004:191) compact disk and viewing more than seventy of Canon Hakaraia Pahewa's photographs online, has been empowering and given me the opportunity to bring forth the voices and experiences of my ancestors. Both the pao sung by Tūrei and the photographs taken by Pahewa will be examined in part two of this thesis in relation to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales and whaling.

Te Aukaha Tuawhā - Te Reo o te Iwi Māori: Other Māori Sources

The historical biographies of twentieth century Māori scholars such as Ngoi Pewhairangi (Ka'ai, 2008) and Paki Harrison (Walker, 2008) are rich repositories of Māori knowledge and thinking that have helped build my confidence to present my own interpretations of ancestral legacies. Harrison's (Walker, 2008:164-165) speech in response to his doctoral citation is an example of this. He said:

> Thank you for bestowing this very great honour upon the craft of my people. My mind goes back to the time of those whose intellect and energy created and devised this ancient expression of art and sculpture – whose supreme skill projected it into this century and whose descendants of the contemporary world have continued to maintain its relevance, its vibrance and its standards of artistic excellence.
>
> It would be appropriate at this time to mention also the scribes of the calibre of Te Rangikaheke of Te Arawa, Hamiora Pio of Ngati Awa, Himiona Kamira of Ngapuhi, Mohi Turei of Ngati Porou, Te Matorohanga of Ngati Kahungunu and a whole host of other Maori writers and informants whose written manuscripts have helped to preserve and recover knowledge which is highly valued by the Maori people and generally perceived by many as being lost forever. These custodians of the Wananga (schools of learning) have made the archives a very fruitful source for the true language and art exponent.

Harrison speaks of his doctorate recognising a long line of "intellect and energy" in carving as opposed to his intellect alone. He makes special mention of eighteenth century scholars whose writings helped to preserve and recover knowledge that is

valued by Māori people. Harrison's learning, his work as a Master Carver and his willingness to share have provided me with an important range of interpretations of ancestral and ethnographic works. This thinking resonated with me because of my experiences of Roka.

The nature of Pewhairangi (Ka'ai, 2008) and Harrison's (Walker, 2008) historical biographies and the way they deal with peoples' lives through their learning and contributions inspired me to explore the idea of developing a distinct methodology and method appropriate for the ideas and experiences of my elders. The task of assisting my mum to file the papers and books of Roka's archive at the same time as reading about Pewhairangi and Harrison's lifelong contributions helped me to develop my ideas about Roka as one of many Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars and her contributions as part of a continuity of intellect and energy – ensuring that the iho (the core) of our tribal knowledge, language and identity is passed down through innovative published tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

One important lesson that I have learnt on this journey is that private and public archives are sometimes difficult to understand in isolation (Binney, 2009). Therefore the shared memories of the people I have interviewed (my primary sources), the written words of my ancestors and the common themes of other written material (my secondary sources) often alerted me to seek out further tukunga iho that would fill gaps and enhance my understanding and interpretations of Roka's contributions.

Te Aukaha Tuarima - Te Reo Tuhituhi o Tauiwi: Pākehā Written Sources

Roka's archive also preserves a number of ethnographic works and histories by Pākehā researchers and writers that I have found very useful. Harrison (Walker, 2008:165) acknowledges:

> The undeniable value of the contributions recorded by people such as Percy Smith, John White, the Rev Richard Taylor, Colenso and the tireless Elsdon Best (affectionately known as Te Peehi) and many others whose efforts have helped to maintain the integrity of scholarship and academic credibility.

This positive acknowledgement by Harrison encouraged me to consider the works of Pākehā researchers and Pākehā ancestors when analysing and interpreting tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

National repositories such as the National Library and the National Archives (Te Rua Maharatanga o te Kāwanatanga) have provided me with some very important secondary sources for this project including Native School Records, Department of Education Teacher Records, Māori Affairs Research and Reports (such as the 1952 Te Whānau-a-Apanui Economic Survey), Department of Education Reports and the Advisory Committee on the Teaching of Māori language.[24] These sources have been useful in providing specific details that add to the context of my ancestor's lives from the 1800s through to now and the context in which Roka lived, taught, wrote and composed.

The National Alexander Turnbull Library has also been an invaluable repository of early missionary and ethnographic records especially those of the eastern Bay of Plenty and the East Coast who observed and recorded some of the interactions of my ancestors. The names of ancestors, some of their movements, some important tribal events and dates have assisted my analysis and interpretation of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Material by Pākehā such as Best (1924), Schwimmer (1966), Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) Simon et al (2001) and Barrington (2008) have provided a generic history of Māori education. Few Te Whānau-a-Apanui examples have been used in these publications and therefore it has been important for me to give relevant and suitable local examples to support my thesis arguments. Research by Pākehā such as Richard Benton (1979; 1997) in relation to Māori language and Māori education has also been used to support my interpretations of connections, trends and context. Judith Binney and Gillian Chaplin's (1986) *Ngā Morehu: The Survivors – The Life Histories of Eight Māori Women* details the memories of two close female ancestors, Reremoana Koopu and Maaka Jones. They add to my understanding of the context of Te Whānau-a-Apanui peoples' lives during the twentieth century.

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[24] This Committee was established in 1958.

Recent publications by Pākehā who have written bicultural type histories about the post-European era have interested me because of the ways in which they source and record the recent memories of descendants to write the history of ancestors. A story about the life of Maori and Croats on the gumfields caught my attention because as the author Brozic-Vrbancic (2008:16) acknowledged, "Maori and Croatian memories of this era became part of their descendant's identity". Close readings of these types of publications have lifted my confidence in the wider range and approaches to New Zealand and bicultural historiography that is being recognised in New Zealand today.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have used the analogy of aukaha binding two single hulled canoes to make a waka hourua to explain the multiple layers of nurturing, mentoring and learning that reinforce my nana-mokopuna whakapapa and research relationship with Roka. These layers of aukaha have kept me strong and balanced during this thesis journey where I have collaborated with Roka, albeit through her writings and archive, to engage in tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

I left the final drafting of this methodology chapter until the last of my chapters because of the organic, reflective process that I engaged in. I wrote up copious notes from which to pull together explanations of how many people had prepared, strengthened and guided me on this thesis journey. At times I had to ride many high waves to make decisions about what to include in this thesis and what to say about Roka and other ancestors in a way that was in line with her teachings. In each part of this thesis, Roka as my waka moana, has helped me to navigate distinctive tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that have not only been preserved by her and informed her work but have also been revitalised and extended by her as learning resources for her students and the community. The tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that Roka passed down, connect me and other descendants to the intellectual traditions of our ancestors. They provide us with understanding of the meaning and purpose of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Roka's influence, nurturing, writings, research, compositions and teachings are my primary 'filters' (Gabel, 2013:28-30).

Many of the sources that I have drawn on are published and therefore my access to them and their inclusion in my selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui were quite straightforward. One of my 'high wave' experiences was deciding which Pahewa photographs I should include as well as analyse. Initially although excited and proud of Pahewa's photographic contributions, I was uneasy about my approach. Roka's writing and research helped me to deal with this issue – should I be interpreting tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui such as photographs of unidentified ancestors. I turned to the photo that Roka had already published and saw how much it enhanced my understanding of my ancestor's experiences of whaling. I decided that I should learn more about Roka's Grandpa, Canon Hakaraia Pahewa, and include him in my selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui relevant to whales and whaling in the belief that his images were taken with the support of our ancestors and would help my interpretation of my ancestor's oral histories and narratives. One particular challenge was deciding on appropriate Māori and tribal symbolism to use to organise and structure this thesis. The themes of moki and whales as mokopuna of Tangaroa and creatures of the moana helped me to look to the moana for inspiration. The significance of the moana and waka moana to Te Whānau-a-Apanui knowledge, language and history was also important.

There are some unpublished sources that I have included such as Roka's whakapapa (also my whakapapa). Without the expectation and encouragement of my mum to include these personal details, I probably would not have thought it my place to present whakapapa in such a public manner. It is evident from Roka's writings and teachings that she seldom promoted her own whakapapa and whānau. Rather, she privately recorded in her archive, a range of whakapapa that provide our whānau with genealogical connections to many Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors. I want to share some of these records as examples of how Roka researched her connections to key hapū ancestors. I often heard her telling her students and relatives that it was up to them to research and record their whānau whakapapa down from hapū ancestors. Although Roka seldom promoted her own personal whakapapa, my mum and I believe that weaving Roka's whakapapa into this thesis is an important way of honouring Roka and our nana-mokopuna whakapapa. Studying and retelling Roka's whakapapa has also helped me to understand Aunty Pae Ruha's statement that "Roka was able to

do the things that she did because of who she was and her education" (Pae Ruha interview, 2010). Overall, whakapapa has also helped me to draw familial as well as intellectual connections across a range of tribal scholars and scholarship.

This thesis has been an opportunity for me to pull together a wide range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui from and through Roka's archive (as outlined in this chapter) as the iho (the core) of my own research. This has been one-way of 'filtering' what I think is appropriate for this academic project – my doctoral thesis. The reality is that my primary motivation to complete this thesis is everything outside of the academy – whānau, hapū and iwi. However, I have focused on elements of the academy that I think have benefitted me as a student such as developing research and writing skills, supervision from Māori academics who have similar interests in Māori scholarship, and the deeds of Māori ancestors.

In this chapter I have explained the methods and methodologies of the research process used to complete this thesis. The next chapter looks at specific examples of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that have been retold, renewed or extended by Roka with the intention of not only presenting them as sources of collective language, knowledge and histories – tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui - that have been passed down, but also to show how Roka and other Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars have applied the concept of tukunga iho.

Chapter Three: Te Iwi o Te Whānau-a-Apanui

Introduction

When Roka became the Māori language teacher at the new Te Kaha District High School in 1961 she soon realised that there was more to teaching the language than just speaking it. Although Roka was fluent in the language she had not been raised in the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. She turned to her kaumātua and other Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars to teach and mentor her about tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to ground her teaching in local, collective language, knowledge and history. Using a tukunga iho method, Roka developed an archive of written legacies including her own writings, compositions, translations and research to help inform her teaching. Most of these literary texts were designed and used by Roka as Māori language resources for her school students, whānau, hapū, iwi and the nation. They are examples of Roka's contributions to renewing and extending ancestral tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. This Chapter explores a selected range of these literary texts, to not only provide examples of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui - pepeha, whakataukī, whakapapa, waiata, kōrero tahito, haka, letters and a photograph - as collective tribal scholarship that has been passed down from one generation to the next, but also to show how Roka and other Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars have applied the concept of tukunga iho during the twentieth century.

Furthermore, this Chapter provides an historical overview of the formation of Te Whānau-a-Apanui as a tribal grouping and its early history through to the nineteenth century. Therefore, the significant sites and symbols of Te Whānau-a-Apanui landscape, seascape and the people, are frames of reference, (Mahuika, 2013:31) that are asserted in tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The sub-heading of each section is named after a tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that has been authored by Roka as a way to show a range of written genre that she engaged with. Throughout each section my analysis of the extracts from the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui will draw on associated literary texts contained in Roka's archive as well as public archives

to add my own layer of interpretation to those of Roka and other tribal scholars before and after her. The selected literary texts include a tribal pepeha from the 'Te Whānau-a-Apanui' chapter in *Māori Peoples of New Zealand: Ngā Iwi o Aotearoa* and whakapapa from Roka's green manuscript book that situates her own personal journey of whakapapa and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui at the centre of the tribal whakapapa research that she presented to her students in the classroom. Kōrero tahito pertaining to the establishment of Te Whānau-a-Apanui and the tribe's early history are explored in Roka's translations folder. These exemplify her passion to apply her skills and interest of translating and interpreting texts to create further (English) texts that might bring understanding to her students and her people. Roka's Te Whānau-a-Apanui political literature will also be touched on including nineteenth century correspondence, research into the whakapapa of the tribe's Treaty of Waitangi signatories and the Whakaari Waitangi Tribunal Claim. Finally, the haka called *Puhikura* will be discussed to show how Roka revitalised early waiata and haka at the Te Kaha District High School and Primary School in the 1960s and 1970s.

The frames of reference included in the examples of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in this Chapter include geographical, genealogical and political details that contribute to understanding te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Furthermore, Roka attributes other Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars as sources of her reframing and understanding of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that inform her writings and teachings.

He Pepeha in *Māori Peoples of New Zealand: Ngā Iwi o Aotearoa*

Mai i te Taumata o Apanui ki Pōtaka
Ko Whanokao te maunga
Ko Mōtū te awa
Ko Whakaari te puia
Ko Te Whānau-a-Apanui te iwi
Ko Apanui te tangata
(Paora, 2006:238)

The above Te Whānau-a-Apanui pepeha opens the Chapter that Roka (Paora, 2006:238-241) authored entitled, 'Te Whānau-a-Apanui', in *Māori Peoples of New Zealand: Ngā Iwi o Aotearoa.* 'Te Whānau-a-Apanui' is also published online as part of *Te Ara*, the online encyclopedia of New Zealand (www.teara.govt.nz) produced by the Ministry of Culture and Heritage.

This tribal pepeha is an example of tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui and asserts te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, albeit in a summarised manner by affirming a collective identity (Williams, 2015:16) and in this case defining Te Whānau-a-Apanui. According to Moorfield and Johnston (2004:41), "pepeha regulated the aspects of tribal coherence", and in this instance, Roka's publications of this pepeha set the tone for Te Whānau-a-Apanui collective identity through this pepeha.

The navigation points of this pepeha include the mountain, Whanokao; the river, Mōtū; and the island volcano, Whakaari; the tribal name, Te Whānau-a-Apanui; and the eponymous ancestor, Apanui. The landscape and seascape, *mai i te Taumata o Apanui ki Pōtaka* has been significant to Te Whānau-a-Apanui since the time of Apanui Ringamutu (Apanui).[25]

Te Taumata o Apanui is a coastal headland between Tōrere and Hāwai and is part of the neighbouring, Ngāi Tai's, tribal estate today.[26] Reference to Te Taumata o Apanui traces the establishment of the complex whakapapa connections of Te Whānau-a-Apanui from Toikairākau (Toi), Ngaariki, through to Apanui is centred at

[25] Apanui Ringamutu or Apanui II is the grandson of Apanui Waipapa. For this thesis, Apanui Ringamutu will be referred to as Apanui and Apanui Waipapa will be referred to in full.
[26] Located on the Torere Section 1B Block.

Tunapahore.[27] Since that time the Tunapahore lands were often contested.[28] In 1904 a commission of enquiry split the ownership of the Tunapahore block claimed by both Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāi Tai. The southern part of the Tunapahore Block was granted to Ngāi Tai descendants and the northern part of the block was granted to Te Whānau-a-Haraawaka and Te Whānau-a-Apanui descendants.[29] In 1909, Koopu Erueti and others of Te Whānau-a-Apanui petitioned for a rehearing (Native Affairs Committee, 1910) highlighting how unhappy they were with the earlier Tunapahore Block decisions.

Pōtaka was not always referred to in early tribal pepeha. Pōtaka is a settlement at the eastern end of Te Whānau-a-Apanui region on the Ngāti Porou side of the previous tribal boundary. Although over the centuries the eastern boundary has been contested often[30] it is the boundary line at Pōtikirua, west of Pōtaka, that was part of Te Aotakaia's gift to his nephew Apanui. Therefore, the Te Whānau-a-Apanui tribal pepeha above represents a political history, one of contestations as well as intermarriage and relationships that bind the land, the sea and the people.

The tribal mountain, Whanokao, is located in the Raukūmara Range, and is an important boundary point between Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāti Porou. According to Apirana Ngata (1944:3), Whanokao and other mountain names of the district such as Rangipoua, Tihirau and Patangata are significant landmarks in history that associate Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāti Porou with Ngā Uri o Toi.

The Mōtū River is a major waterway in the eastern Bay of Plenty that begins near the southern side of the Raukūmara Range at Maungahaumi then cuts its way through the remote, rugged range and flows into Te Moana o Toi (the Bay of Plenty) at Maraenui

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[27] One particularly special piece of translation work that Roka completed is part of the 1903 Tunapahore and Kapuarangi Blocks hearings, as recorded by Weihana Delamare. Roka had access to those kōrero tuku iho from Tuwharemoa (Evelyn) Pahewa (nee Delamare), one of Weihana's daughters. The tukunga iho includes whakapapa, waiata, names of mussel rocks; names of 2 caves, 11 cemeteries and some of the ancestors who were buried there; names of canoes and who they belonged to; names of pā and who lived there; and names of cultivations "before Te Wera invaded Te Kaha" (1834-1836). See RPTMSS, nd:no page number – Title: *Tunapahore and Kapuarangi*.

[28] Paora, R. (RTMSS, 1984). *Te Whawhai i Tunapahore – 1856*. There is a note attached to say that this was a text sent by Roka to Miria Simpson at the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

[29] See lists of owner schedules at page 11 of the Report of the Royal Commission, *The Native Land Claims Adjustment and Laws Amendment Act 1901*. See atojs.natlib.govt.nz

[30] Apanui's son Matekitātahi was responsible for marking the tribal boundary at Pōtikirua.

where the river mouth is well known for kahawai fishing. Whakaari or White Island is located about 48 kilometres from the Te Kaha point and continues to be significant to Te Whānau-a-Apanui, symbolic and real. This island volcano was an important beacon on the sea for sea boundaries (Wairua, 1958), it provided shelter and a resting place in times of rough seas and long journeys, as well as resources such as tītī (mutton birds) and sulphur. The political literary examples later in this Chapter indicate the significance of Whakaari to Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Apanui, the eponymous ancestor of Te Whānau-a-Apanui, is also referred to in this pepeha. He was named after his maternal grandfather, Apanui Waipapa. Many genealogical lines of descent converge on him connecting the tribe to a wide range of early ancestors who had established themselves prior to the arrival of Hawaiki canoes at Whangaparāoa, such as Tainui, Te Arawa and Mātaatua. Prior to the establishment of Te Whānau-a-Apanui the Toi-Horouta ancestors (Ngata, 1944) lived along the North Eastern part of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region, from approximately Puketapu to Pōtikirua. Along the South West, from Te Taumata o Apanui to the Mōtū River lived the Toi-Ngaariki ancestors, descendants of the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe. Between Puketapu and the Mōtū River lived other descendants of Toi called Te Whānau-a-Uekauae (*Te Karauria Delamare vs Others – Mangaroa* (1910) 1TeKaha MB 141 (1TKA141)).

This pepeha has been changed and adapted over generations to reflect the dominant thinking and experiences of the time. For example, during Roka's lifetime she would hear some rangatira and kaumātua referring to Rangipoua as the maunga (mountain) and therefore that landscape was dominant for a certain time. During the 1970s and 1980s when *The Whakaruruhau Project* was being completed, kaumātua and representatives of hapū worked together to use what Cliff Whiting described as "tribal wānanga" (Clifford Whiting Interview, 2010) to discuss and confirm the features of this pepeha and produce what van Toorn (2001:2) describes as a "collective autobiography". Through that process of tribal wānanga the kaumātua and hapū representatives revitalised a tribal coherence in respect to mana whenua, mana moana and mana tangata, providing a foundation for the interpretation of Te Whānau-a-Apanui genealogy and geography as well as shared customary practices (Smith, 1999).

This Te Whānau-a-Apanui pepeha used by Roka in *Māori Peoples of New Zealand: Ngā Iwi o Aotearoa* is an example of how Roka embraced ancestral knowledge, worked with others to negotiate it and then took the opportunity to pass it down to her students, whānau, hapū, iwi and the nation by publishing it. This pepeha asserts the mana whenua, mana moana and mana tangata of twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui landscape, seascape and people. In this section I have discussed this pepeha as tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and how Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars considered its relevance during the Whakaruruhau Project. The next section will focus on some of Roka's Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa records that she adapted for teaching resources. These whakapapa records and the associated kōrero tahito collected by Roka extend the tribal pepeha to provide further explanation of the founding ancestor, Apanui.

He Mahi Rangahau in Roka's Manuscript Books

Roka recorded a range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in two old family manuscript books, a Green covered one (RPGMSS, 1970) and a blue ledger book (RPSTeMSS, 1912) that had been used by her father between 1912 and 1915 to record business transactions. Roka's research notes (RPGMSS,1970; RPSMSS, 1912) provide information about who passed down the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to her and sometimes how she then passed it down to others. This section focuses on some interesting examples of how Roka preserved, renewed and extended whakapapa as a basis for her Māori language resources.

The whakapapa chart in Diagram One below presents the ancestral names of the tribe, the sub-tribes, the meeting houses and the dining halls of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region recorded by Roka (RPGMSS, 1970) in the early 1970s. This whakapapa was also published in the *Te Whānau-a-Apanui School Centennial Book 1875-1975* in a similar format, and I am left to ponder whether the centenary of the school was a motivation to research, preserve and revitalise this whakapapa.

At the centre of the whakapapa is the founding ancestor Apanui. The whakapapa shows the connections across six generations of forty-three Te Whānau-a-Apanui

ancestors who descend from Apanui Waipapa and Hinemāhuru, Apanui's Toi-Porourangi grandparents, down to their great-great-great grandson Toihau. Roka presented the whakapapa in the 'tāhū' format[31] that shows Apanui Waipapa and and his wife, Hinemāhuru, as the direct line of ancestry of Apanui through their daughter, Rongomaihuatahi. The tāhū format also presents Apanui Waipapa and Hinemāhuru's eight children as key ancestors of all Te Whānau-a-Apanui hapū. Te Whānau-a-Apanui means 'the family of Apanui' and this whakapapa shows how tribal descendants can trace their whakapapa to these Toi-Porourangi ancestors. The whakapapa also shows Apanui's key ancestors that established his mana to the land between Taumata o Apanui in the west and Pōtikirua in the east. Not all grandchildren and descendants are shown and additional notes at the bottom of the page state that the main purpose of the whakapapa is to show the ancestral names of wharenui (meeting houses), wharekai (dining rooms) and hapū (sub-tribes) of each Te Whānau-a-Apanui marae. Most hapū (sub-tribes) and whare (houses) are named after ancestors as labeled by Roka in Diagram one and summarised in Tables one and two in Chapter one. Others are named in memory of significant events and people. For example, the coronation of King George (Coronation was once the name of the wharekai at Whangaparāoa), a Prime Minister called Massey (was once the name of the wharekai at Maruahinemaka), and the 5 August 1900 Mōtū River parekura,[32] a catastrophic event where sixteen children and two adults drowned when crossing the river. Roka's records show that three hapū changed their names to remember the parekura - Ngāti Horomoana, Ngāti Horowai and Ngāti Paeākau.[33] As Reremoana Koopu said, "the drowning of the children as the worst thing" (Binney & Chaplin, 2011:66). One child's body was found on Whale Island and some were not found at all. A rāhui went on for many months and some people stopped eating fish.

[31] Tāhū (also meaning the ridge pole of a house) sets out the main descent lines of a tribe (Taonui, 2014). The example in Diagram one shows how Apanui, through his mother, Rongomaihuatahi, and her siblings are direct descendants of Apanui Waipapa and Hinemāhuru (bringing together Toi-Porourangi-Mataatua ancestry).

[32] Parekura has been the term used by Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors to describe the drownings that took place in 1900 at the Mōtū River at Maraenui. Parekura is defined in the online Māori dictionary as a battle, slaughter, massacre, calamity and battlefield.

[33] Horomoana and Horowai mean swallowed by the sea. Paeākau means cast along the shore.

Diagram 1: He Whakapapa – Ngā Hapū, ngā Wharenui me ngā Wharekai
Source: Paora in RPMSS, 1970:1.

Diagram 2: Te Whakapapa o ngā Hapū me te Iwi o Te Whānau-a-Apanui
Source: Paora, Roka, 1995. 'Te Kawa o Te Whānau-a-Apanui – Pāeke'. *Te Wharekura 46*. Wellington: School Publications.

Diagram two above presents an adapted whakapapa chart published by Roka in, 'Te Kawa o Te Whānau-a-Apanui – Pāeke' in *Te Wharekura 46* (Paora, 1995:15). It shows hapū ancestors and their relevant hapū settlement names. Two key differences between Diagram two and the whakapapa in Diagram one include the addition of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors, Wāhiawa, Tūwharemoa, Tūwāhiawa, Kauaetangohia, Nuku and Tapaeururangi. The extension of the whakapapa to include Apanui's paternal grandfather, Wāhiawa, his aunty, Tūwharemoa, and his cousin Tūwāhiawa, acknowledges Tūwāhiawa's significance to the people of Whitianga. Te Whānau-a-Tūwāhiawa was the name of the Whitianga hapū up until 1900 when the hapū took the name Ngāti Paeākau in memory of the Mōtū River parekura described earlier. The addition of Nuku to Diagram Two is for the same reason. After the 1900 Mōtū River parekura, the Omāio hapū changed its name from Te Whānau-a-Nuku to Ngāti Horowai. Today, the hapū has reclaimed the name Te Whānau-a-Nuku. Today, I hear the people at Maraenui using both Ngāti Horomoana and the pre-1900 name Te Whānau-a-Hikarukutai.

Many individual and family names were also changed as a result of this parekura. My great-great-great grandmother Raiha Delamare of Whitianga took the name Waimate.[34] Her daughter Kuira became Rangitahi and she married Te Toma Ākuhata,[35] whose family name, Ākuhata,[36] remembers the month of August when Te Toma's sister Hariata was a victim of the Mōtū River parekura. Furthermore, my grandfather, Tini Paora, was raised at Maraenui by his mother's uncle and aunty, Te Hurinui[37] and his wife Whakararo[38], who had lost two children in the parekura, their daughter, Makere, and their son, Wiremu. A baby son, Tini[39] August, was born to Te Hurinui and Whakararo soon after the parekura but died in the Black Flu in 1918.[40] My

[34] Raiha or Elizabeth was Te Kohi Delamare's sister. During the early 1920s Nanny Waimate lived at Whitianga when my namesake Parehau, born in 1916, was a young girl.

[35] Rangitahi and Te Toma Ākuhata had a large family including, Kapuaiterangi, my great-grandmother.

[36] Ākuhata Rēweti was Te Toma Ākuhata's father. Ākuhata Rēweti's wife took the name Irihaere.

[37] Te Hurinui's name was Henare before the parekura. Te Hurinui means "the whole lot of them, all drowned, all turned over … not a survivor" (Binney and Chaplin, 2011:66).

[38] Whakararo's name was Taimana before the parekura. Whakararo, "for the little boy, her baby, Wiremu, who was found on Whale Island. It means drifting, on this side, this coast, drifting downwards" (Binney and Chaplin, 2011:66).

[39] Tini means "many children – 'tini o ngā tamariki'" (Binney and Chaplin, 2011:66).

[40] Binney and Chaplin, 2011:214.

grandfather, Tini Paora, was born in 1920 and became one of Te Hurinui and Whakararo's whāngai.[41]

The wharenui at Maraenui, Te Iwarau (built in 1900), and the words of the waiata tangi, *E Hika Koha Kore,*[42] continue to memorialise the 1900 Mōtū River parekura today. The words of *E Hika Koha Kore* are written on page fourteen of Roka's Green Manuscript book and I remember Roka singing this waiata tangi on the marae with others. Although she does not refer to who gave her the words or who taught her how to sing it, it is highly likely that kaumātua and scholars such as Tamehana Wharepapa, Monita Delamarae, Paora Delamare, Tūwāhiawa Toopi, Kiritahanga Kahaki and others ensured the maintenance of this particular waiata tangi.[43] This tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui continues to be sung today.

The whakapapa preserved and renewed in Diagrams one and two are examples of how Roka applied whakapapa to tangible tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui such as hapū, marae, wharenui and wharekai in ways that illuminated whanaungatanga, hononga and historical events such as the 1900 Mōtū River parekura. Her summarised presentation of the whakapapa as a tāhū chart makes it easier to see the genealogical connections to not only Apanui, but also across key Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors. Diagram Two shows how most of the key ancestors of the hapū to the east of Te Kaha descend primarily from the Toi-Porourangi ancestors and those from Pahaoa back towards the west to Hāwai descend primarily from the Toi-Ngaariki ancestors. Inter-marriage across the whakapapa that binds key Toi-Porourangi ancestors with key Toi-Ngaariki

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[41] My grandfather, Tini Paora, lived at Maraenui until he was about 8 years old when his whāngai Pāpā passed away and he became unwell with jaundice. He went to Te Kaha to live with his parents, Kapua and Haukino Paora. Parehau, his sister, remembers her very sad brother who would often get homesick for his Nanny Whakararo (also known as Nanny Di) at Maraenui. She also remembers taking Tini to Waiōrore by horse to attend a 12th Ringatū Service so that he could spend time with his Nanny Whakararo.

[42] An adaptation of a Ngāi Tukairangi/Ngāi te Rangi mōteatea (Conversations with Matiu Dickson and Kihi Ngātai). Local placenames and landmarks include Omāio, Maraenui, Parinui (headland west of Maraenui settlement) and Tokatā (east of Mōtū River between Maraenui and Whitianga).

[43] Roka references Tamehana Wharepapa as their teacher of *'Kaore te Mokemoke'* at Tā Āpirana, the dining room at Ōtūwhare. She also refers to Ngāmane Tawhai as someone who passed on words of *'Mā wai rā e taurima'*, *'Tērā te marama'* and *'Ngā haere a Teriaki'*. Roka notes on page eight that she recorded Uncle Mōnita singing *'Nga haere a Teriaki'* at a wedding at Omāio in March 1974, and how he told her that Rāpata Kīngi of Te Kaha had taught him to sing it. Roka also transcribed the words of *'He Whakaara Tauparapara Haka'* sung by Rāpata and Tāpara Kīngi, and translated by Hiri Tawhai on page seven.

ancestors across several generations consolidate Te Whānau-a-Apanui's mana in the area. Roka's whakapapa format in Diagram two simplifies a complex whakapapa for the benefit of young students and language learners.

Roka embraced whakapapa and became very good at passing it down to her students and the community. Roka's close relatives and peers expected her to work with the people to ensure that the overarching tribal whakapapa framework was strong and intact. Aunty Pae Ruha for example would challenge Roka "to do it because she was the one that was at home" (Pae Ruha Interview, 2010). Uncle Wiremu Tawhai explains one of Roka's strengths was working with kaumātua and the community. He says:

> Organisation, organisation supreme. She was a superb organiser because she had a mana within the community, in the tribal community that was recognised by everybody. Ki te kōrero a Roka, ka whakarongo te tangata. A lot of wisdom, a lot of force, verging on bullying sometimes.
> … she had achieved a status that made her be recognised by people in her community, in this field of educating the people, the children of Te Whanau-a-Apanui (Wiremu Tawhai Interview, 2010: 8).

Many of Roka's kaumātua passed whakapapa down to her. My mother remembers Roka asking elders about whakapapa at all sorts of hui and in all sorts of places. Many times whakapapa would be discussed and shared at the end of a meal in the wharekai where it would be written down on pieces of newsprint ripped from the table covers. Handwritten records by Tūwāhiawa Toopi that show Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa from Te Arawa ancestors such as Rangitihi and Pikiao, from Mātaatua ancestors such as Toroa and Muriwai, and from Tākitimu ancestors such as Tamatea Arikinui, are examples of whakapapa records in Roka's archive that are written out on pieces of newsprint paper that have been table covers in a marae dining room.

Whakapapa enabled Roka to learn, memorise, recall and transmit a wealth of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. She incorporated the teaching of these skills into her Māori language teaching methods. Roka once explained that she taught pronunciation exercises from 'tararere'[44] charts using whakapapa from Porourangi down to Apanui.

[44] Tararere whakapapa charts trace a single line of descent from an ancestor without showing marriages, so that it is simplified.

She would recite it aloud with her students, "Nā Porourangi ko Hau, nā Hau ko Rākaipō, nā Rākaipō ko Manutangirua, nā Manutangirua ko Hingāngaroa, nā Hingāngaroa ko Tauā, nā Tauā ko Apanui Waipapa, nā Apanui Waipapa ko Rongomaihuatahi, nā Rongomaihuatahi ko Apanui" (Personal communication with Roka, 2006). I also remember Roka encouraging her students to research and record their whānau whakapapa and work back in time to make links to the hapū ancestors and Apanui. She would tell people to begin with their own parents and grandparents, siblings, nieces and nephews. Examples of Roka renewing and extending whakapapa is evident in Roka's archive. The next section outlines an example of Roka's whakapapa notes in relation to a pātere.

He Whakapapa Whānau in Roka's Manuscript Books

Roka's whakapapa research expanded her own understanding of her personal connection to key ancestors and hapū across Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Included in the manuscript (RPGMSS, 1970:14) are commentaries and key information such as birth and death dates and names of siblings. Furthermore, Roka includes the words of the pātere *'Karapīpiti'* and cross references this with the explanations in Ngata & Jones' *Ngā Mōteatea Two* (1961:150-161).

Roka extends Ngata and Jones' descriptions by explaining place names and recording her own whakapapa connections to other Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāti Porou ancestors named in the pātere. Roka went on to teach *'Karapīpiti'* to the Te Kaha District High School students during the 1970s based on her research of the whakapapa contained in this pātere. These notes can be viewed in Diagram Three: Notes Relating To '*Karapīpiti*' (RPGMSS, 1970:5).

Diagram 3: Karapīpiti – He Whakapapa

Source: Paora, RPGMSS, 1970: 5.

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1. Tiheia – elevation at Pukawa, Taupo.
5. Te Heuheu = Te Heuhea Herea
8. Takeke – one of Te Heuheu's warriors
10. Tukino – Te Heuheu
11. Whakaari – White Is.
12. Paepae-aotea – A rocky islet near White Island
13. Whangara – north of Gisborne. Home of Matioro
13. Matioro – Hine matioro – the most famous woman of the East Coast.
16. Tauritoatoa – at Whangaparaoa where people left from to kill albatross.
17. Te Ngahue – belonged to Whanau-a-Te Ruahuia clan + was of Ngatiporou + Whanau-a-Apanui aristocratic families (Te Pirini etc + Paerau Te Kani etc are descendants)
17. Matakaoa – Headland out from Hicks Bay – Also a Matakaoa at Tekaha but this is not the Matakaoa in this chant
17. Te Pori-o-te-rangi belonged to Whanau-a-Rerekohu.
18. Te Wai-a-Pawa – at Matakaoa at Hicks Bay

Te Ngunguru-o-te-rangi (Te Reomakere = Te Putahou)
Hine Matioro = Te Hoatiki (Descendants are Whaaka Parakua + Paerau Te Kani + families)

Tataingoterangi = Hinewe

1st Rangipaia
Pori-o-te-rangi
Whakataha-te-rangi
Houkamau

Tamatama-a-rangi
Te Rangikawanoa = Te Ataarangi
Te Ngahue (Te Ngahue-o-te-rangi)
Te Uaterangi — Te Hinu
Haruru-te-rangi — Matenga
Mereaira — Paora
Te Pirini = Hiria Bristowe — Tiaki = Purukamu
Wetini = Pine Apanui — (1st) Ruhiterangi (1889)
Tautuhiorongo (1947) alias Tau alias Ian Pirini — Roka (1925)
(2nd) Ruhiterangi (1947) alias Boom
Parehau (1969) alias Wally

Tihana-o-rongo = Te Wewehi-o-te-rangi
Te Ao-puru-rangi (signed Treaty June 14 1840) (Descendants are Heremini Te Moana etc.)

24. Tikirau – at Cape Runaway — Te Reomakere = Te Putahou — Te Ataarangi = Te Rangikawanoa — Te Ngahue
24. Te Putahou, – from Te Whanau-a-Te Ruahuia.
26. Whangaparaoa – Cape Runaway
26. Te Wewehi-o-te-rangi married Tihana-o-rongo who was Te Ngahue's younger brother. Te Wewehi-o-te-rangi lived at Whangaparaoa.
28. Tekaha-makau-rau also known as Tekaha-nui-a-Tiki
28. Te Hoatiki married Matioro. They were living at Tekaha at that time and Hinematioro had a kumara plantation at Te Kaha called Te Maara a te Atua. (Near present sub-station 1970's) at Copenhagen Rd.)

Table 4: He Whakapapa Mai i a Tamatama-a-rangi I
Source: RPGMSS, 1970:5

Tamatama-a-rangi I					
|					
Te Rangikawanoa = Te Ataarangi					
|				|	|
TE NGAHUE **(Te Ngahue-o-te-rangi)** = Tikirākau				Tinana-o-rongo = Te Wewehi-o-te-rangi	Wharengaio =Te Pae ki Ōmeka
|	|	|		|	|
Te Uaterangi	**Te Hinu**	**Te Wharau**		Te Aopururangi	Te Ahiwaru
|	|				
Haruru-te-rangi	Matenga				
|	|				
Mereaira	Paora				
|	|				
Te Pirini = Hiria Bristowe	Wiremu Tiaki Paora	==========	Purukamu Roihana		
|		|			
Wētini = Pine Apanui		Rūhīterangi (1889)			
|		|			
Tautuhiorongo (1947)		Roka (1925)			
		|			
		Rūhīterangi (1947)			
		|			
		Parehau (1969)			

This whakapapa is transcribed from Roka’s Green Manuscript Book and shows how Roka, my mum and I are descended from Ngahue-o-te-Rangi, a key ancestor referred to in the waiata, ‘*Karapīpiti’*. This is an example of extending whakapapa.

Roka also recorded *‘He Pitopito Kōrero na Eruera (Dick) Stirling’* in her Green Manuscript Book (RPGMSS, 1970:99-100) that records our whakapapa from key Toi-Porourangi ancestors Maruhaeremuri and Kauaetangohia as well as Te Roroku of Ngāi Tai down to significant Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāti Porou leaders of the nineteenth century such as Te Uaterangi, Te Hata and Maaka Te Ehutu. It is evident that Roka made significant efforts to embrace the whakapapa of her ancestors, especially key leaders who appear often as part of her extensive research into tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Baptismal Records in Roka’s Manuscript Books

Roka’s research into whakapapa was not limited to famous ancestors, leaders and her own personal connections. Roka’s Green Manuscript Book also includes a copy of Canon Hakaraia Pahewa’s baptismal records. The index pages from AB to VW at the front of the manuscript book contain copies of the baptismal register records of the St Paul’s Anglican Church at Te Kaha (1860 to 1937) and the Christ’s Church at Raukōkore (1873 and 1931) (RPGMSS, 1970:AB-VW). From what I can tell, Canon Hakaraia Pahewa had copied the church record into a personal manuscript book where he also recorded narratives in Māori. Roka looked after that black covered manuscript book and it has been a record of birth dates and official names for some of her generation. Many relatives sought verification of their birthdates for the purpose of applying for passports or birth certificates. Roka would provide a letter of verification based on Canon Hakaraia Pahewa’s record.

The earliest birthdate on the Te Kaha register is that of Waikura Tautuhi born on 9 September 1860. The earliest birth date on the Raukokore register is Wiremu Te Whare Waenga, Whangaparāoa, born on February 6th 1873. The last Te Kaha entry is Georgina Utu Tote Konia born on June 3 1930, number 456 on the register. The last Raukōkore entry is Kahukura Amaru Ranapia born on 26 July 1921, daughter of Ranapia and Te Atamira. These records enhanced Roka’s research of whakapapa and identify many familiar names, Māori and English, some World War One names such as Dardannelles and Gallipoli and many namesakes of people from current generations.

He Kōrero Tīpuna in Roka’s Translations Folder

Tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui such as kōrero tahito and whakataukī help people to remember whakapapa as well as key political associations linked to land and mana. As Binney (2008:8) says, “The narrative reminds us that, with the naming of names, histories are sustained in memory”. Roka’s archive contains whakapapa and complementary narratives sourced from whānau manuscript books and local, Māori language copies of Native Land Court minutes or committee meetings. A number of

Native Land Court title investigations[45] are repositories of history that Roka translated during the 1970s and 1980s. Those English translations of kōrero tahito also provide complementary narratives of Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa as well as political associations.

An important narrative that explains Apanui's whakapapa also details the ways in which he acquired lands between Te Taumata o Apanui and Pōtikirua. The first narrative recalls how Rongomaihuatahi and her son Apanui lived at Tunapahore with Tūrīrangi's people. As a young boy, Apanui travelled with his mother to Omāio where he was sent out amongst his close relatives for the first time while Rongomaihuatahi hid nearby. The aim was for Apanui to attract the attention of his mother's people and get a response. When questioned about his identity, Apanui told them his name and who his mother was. According to kaumātua (Waka Huia, 1988):

> Koia rā te hohoutanga, arā, te āhuatanga o te hekenga mai o Rongomaihuatahi. Ka tino koa ōna whanaunga, arā, ngā tungāne o Rongomaihuatahi. Ka timata nga mihi me nga tangi mō Rongomaihuatahi rāua ko tana tama (Richards and Paora, 2004:5).

Roka's interpretation of a similar narrative by Rāpata Roihana states (RPTMSS, 1984:14), "when Ngatiporou heard this they gathered together and wept for joy". Apanui's uncle, Te Aotakaia, was overjoyed and gave him the mana of the land, from Pōtikirua (near Whangaparāoa) to Puketapu (at Whitianga, east of Waihāpokopoko River). When Tūrīrangi heard of this he also gave the mana of the Ngaariki lands from Te Taumata-o-Apanui to the Mōtū River to Apanui. Later, Apanui won the mana of the lands between the Mōtū River and Puketapu by conquest from Te Whānau-a-Uekauae (*Te Karauria Delamare vs Others – Mangaroa (1910)* 1 Te Kaha MB141 (1TKA141)). This tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui links descendants to the ancestors who handed the mana whenua to Apanui.

Te Aotakaia and Rongomaihuatahi's parents, Apanui Waipapa and Hinemāhuru, provide significant links to all East Coast tribes including Ngāti Porou, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata and Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki. Apanui

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[45] Te Kaha Block investigations – evidence by Rāpata Roihana, August 1910 (RPTMSS, 1984:14). Tunapahore and Kapuarangi Blocks investigations – evidence by Hairama Haweti, 14 July 1903 (RPTMSS, 1984:109).

Waipapa's grandmother was Iranui, Kahungunu's sister. Iranui married Hingāngaroa, mokopuna of Porourangi, and they had three sons, Tauā, Mahaki and Hauiti. Tauā had Apanui Waipapa and Hauiti had Kahukuranui. Tensions and jealousies between Tauā and Hauiti were passed on to their sons. When Apanui Waipapa married Hinemāhuru and they had children there was even more reason for Kahukuranui to be jealous of his tuakana. Hinemāhuru had chiefly whakapapa and mana whenua of significant lands. She was a descendant of Porourangi's daughter Rongomaiāniwaniwa as well as Muriwai of the Mataatua canoe. According to Trinick and Park (2013:6) Hinemāhuru "was the lineal heir to Uhengaparāoa who brought to the Porourangi whānau rights to the lands that form the bulk of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region. This territory passed down the female line from Uhengaparāoa to her daughter Rutanga who passed it to her daughter Hinemahuru". Apanui Waipapa and Hinemāhuru's eight children, Te Aopuhara, Te Aongahora (or Te Aotengahora), Te Aotakaia, Taikorekore, Pararaki, Matapiko, Rongomaihuatahi and Mokaitangatakore, gained rights to theses lands through Hinemāhuru.

Apanui Waipapa was murdered by his tāina (younger relatives) near Uawa (Tolaga Bay). This caused a lot of upheaval amongst Apanui Waipapa's children who were forced to migrate north where they found safety with their mother's people at Ōrete, between Whangaparāoa and Raukōkore, in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. A few years later, Apanui Waipapa's children were very happy to hear that Tūrīrangi of Ngaariki had killed Kahukuranui. To acknowledge this feat and probably for wider strategic reasons, Rongomaihuatahi was given in marriage to Tūrīrangi (RPTMSS, 1984:110). Their first-born child was Apanui.

Tūrīrangi, was a descendant of the Toi and Ngaariki[46] ancestors of Tunapahore as well as Tamatekapua of the Te Arawa canoe. Descendants of Toi intermarried with the Ngaariki people who were descendants of Hawaiki ancestors who had travelled to Aotearoa on the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe. On the Te Arawa side, Tamatekapua had Tūhoromatakaka who had Īhenga, who then had Tuariki, Tūrīrangi's grandfather.

[46] According to Hairama Haweti (RPTMSS2, 1984:111) the tribal name Ngaariki originated in Tuariki's time.

Tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui record a kōrero tahito about Tuariki travelling to Tunapahore when Muturangi, chief of Ngaariki, was building a new house. Tuariki had heard that Muturangi wanted to adorn it with the best carvings. According to Hairama Haweti, "Tuariki placed two slabs at his feet and began to shape them. … everyone admired his skill at fashioning timber. Muturangi gave his daughter, Tānepawhera in marriage to Tuariki" (RPTMSS, 1984:111). They married and had Wāhiawa and he had Tūrīrangi, Apanui's father. To summarise this tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about how Apanui gained mana whenua, Tama Gage described Apanui as, "te mōkai[47] a Ngāti Porou rāua ko Te Arawa" (Waka Huia, 1988).

Included in Roka's manuscript are references to whakataukī. Apanui had four wives – Kahukuramihiata,[48] Te Whaaki, Te Kohepare and Kiritapu. Apanui and his first wife Kahukuramihiata had Tūkākī. The whakataukī, 'Tou waewae' and 'Māmā pūpū, māmā kina', remind Te Whānau-a-Apanui that Tūkākī was raised and fed by his Apanui and his people, not Kahukuramihiata who had returned to her people soon after Tūkākī's birth. During her pregnancy with Tūkākī, Kahukuramihiata was instructed by Apanui not to feed herself. Someone else had to feed her, a customary way of showing the mana of the first-born child. One day she became hungry and could not resist feeding herself on the stored food in the hanging baskets nearby. When Apanui found out what his wife had done, he scolded her bitterly. Kahukuramihiata was very upset and embarrassed by her husband's actions. When their son, Tūkākī, was born, Kahukuramihiata left Apanui to live with her Ngāti Kahungunu people near Te Māhia. Apanui pursued his wife to ask her to return. On arrival at Tunapahore he met Te Roroku of Ngāi Tai who confirmed that Kahukuramihiata was too far ahead and could not be caught. At that same time, Te Roroku offered his two sisters, Te Whaaki and Te Kohepare, as wives for Apanui. While Kahukuramihiata was living with her Ngāti Kahungunu people she was admired and pursued by Kuriteko, a great Ngāti Kahungunu warrior. Because she did not accept his advances, Kuriteko raped and killed her while she was harvesting flax.

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[47] Mōkai, as a noun, is defined as "servant, captive, slave, pet" (Māori Dictionary online) and "the youngest in the family" (Williams, 1975:207). These definitions do not reflect the endearing nature of this term used by Tama Gage to refer to our eponymous ancestor as a descendant of Ngāti Porou and Te Arawa.

[48] Kahukuramihiata is a granddaughter of Kawekuratawhiti and Taikorekore (Rongomaihuatahi's brother) (Paora, 1983a:2).

‘Tou Waewae’ is an example of a kanga (abuse) that Tūkākī’s younger siblings said to him when he bullied them. As summarised by Trinick and Park (2013:8):

> Tukaki, the oldest and senior child of Apanui was a bit of a bully to his younger brothers. They complained to their father who told them that the next time he bullied them they were to say to him “Tou waewae”. Sure enough, it happened again and they did what was instructed. Tukaki immediately knew that his taina had been instructed to do this by their father. The significance was that Tukaki was the holder of the mana of the tuakana so the only kanga (abuse) his taina could cast at him was to his feet.

It was around this time that Tūkākī decided that he would leave his father’s people and go to his mother’s people. When he left, Apanui sent a party of people out to bring him home. When they caught up to Tūkākī, their words encouraging him to return home included the whakataukī, “Māmā pūpū, Māmā kina”. The aim was to remind Tūkākī that his father Apanui, and his people had raised him on the local pūpū and kina (sea urchins). These words must have had an impact on Tūkākī because he returned to his father.

Due to the tension between Tūkākī and his younger siblings, Apanui decided to separate them. When dividing his lands amongst his children, Apanui handed the mana of his land at Te Kaha to Tūkākī. According to evidence given by Rapata Roihana at a Native Land Court sitting at Te Kaha in August 1910, and translated by Roka explains that:

> Tukaki lived on the east of the Haparapara River and his younger brothers lived on the west of the Haparapara (Tuku whenua, tuku tangata means dividing land for people). Tukaki’s boundary began at Haparapara, along Waikakariki River to Papatukia River, to Otamakorewarewa, Rangipotae and east to Wairangatira and out to Wharehinu then to Ngati Muriwai’s boundary. Tukaki came and lived at Omokohuruhuru in the hole of a rata. (RPTMSS, 1983:16)

The unique, three-dimensional Te Whānau-a-Apanui carving style and tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui narrative preserve the memory of Apanui becoming Apanui Ringamutu. Apanui visited his tipuna (ancestor) Hingāngaroa asking him for the knowledge of carving. Roka (Paora, 1983a:2) wrote a piece in Māori about this kōrero tahito. She wrote:

> I mua i te whitinga o te ra ka puta mai a Hingangaroa i tona whare ki te karakia, a, ka takoto te ata o Apanui ki runga i te kaumatua
> Ka karanga a Hingangaroa, “E! ko wai koe ka takahi nei i toku tapu?”
> Ka whakautu a Apanui, “E, ko au ra, ko to tama, ko Taua”
> Ka hongi raua ka patai atu te kaumatua ra, “He aha tau?”
> Ka whakamarama a Apanui, “Na te kore whare whakairo kaore oku mana no reira homai te mauri o te whakairo ki a au”.
> Ko Hingāngaroa, “He aha au taonga maku?”
> Ka hoatu e Apanui he korowai, ko Te Ngaio ki Rarotonga te ingoa. Ka whakatakoto i ona ringaringa ki te aroaro o Hingangaroa ka mea atu, “anei ngā ringaringa hei tarai i nga tamariki a Tane kia rite ki oku tipuna. Ma enei ka mana toku whare”.
> Tapahia tonutia atu nga toiti me nga tokonui e Hingangaroa. Ka heke te toto kua ea te taha ki a Tane …
> E ai ki nga korero koianei te tipuna nei i karangatia ai ko Apanui Ringamutu, nō te tapahitanga i ōna toiti me ōna tokonui.

Here, Apanui challenged the mana of his ancestor by standing before him so that his shadow fell across him. Apanui did this to seek his elder’s attention to ask for the ‘mauri’ of carving. When Hingāngaroa asked what Apanui would give him in return, Apanui gave a cloak called Te Ngaiō ki Rarotonga.[49] He also sacrificed his thumbs and his little fingers and adopted the name, Apanui Ringamutu.

Roka also archived Pine Taiapa’s (RPTMSS, 1984:77-78) summary of this kōrero tahito in English as another cross reference to tukunga iho. He wrote:

> Apanui replied, “It is I, your mokopuna, through your son Taua”. After the usual hongi, Hingangaroa asked him, “He aha tau?” conveying “Why have you come – are you in want and what can I do for you?” Apanui proceeded to relate his position in his new country (or district that he had mana over) saying that without a carved meeting house his mana was nothing. He finished, “so I have come to receive the gift of carving”. Hingangaroa asked, thinking of the traditional sacrifice of slaves in return for the gift of carving, “what presents have you to offer me as a sacrifice?” Apanui held forth a cloak called ‘Te Ngaio ki Rarotonga’, and after making the presentation, laid his hands before Hingangaroa, saying, “These are the hands to fashion the children of Tane into the likeness of my ancestors. Therefore to enhance my house I sacrifice these”. Hingangaroa thereupon took his hands and cut off the little fingers thereby appeasing Tane, the Forest god, by the flowing of blood, at the same time saying, “Let this be the sign for the sacrifice which has been made by my mokopuna. Tane is appeased.

[49] This is remembered in verse 6 of Tuterangiwhaitiri’s lament for his son Rangiuia: “Ka riro te whakautu, Te Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga, ka riro te manaia, ka riro te taowaru; Ka taka i raro na, i a Apanui , e … (There came the payment the Ngaio-tu-ki-Rarotonga, And there went in exchange the Manaia and the Taowaru, Passing round thence to the north, Te [to] Apanui)” (Ellis, 2016:23).

Pine Taiapa provides further details to Roka's Māori version adding Hingāngaroa's instructions to his mokopuna after Apanui had sacrificed his fingers:

> Return my mokopuna and when the sun has passed over Tihirau (a hill at Cape Runaway) let Tukaki commence carving at once.
> Apanui did this and on returning called his son Tukaki who at once commenced carving with great skill.

Pine Taiapa's concluding sentences are very close to Roka's Māori version. He writes:

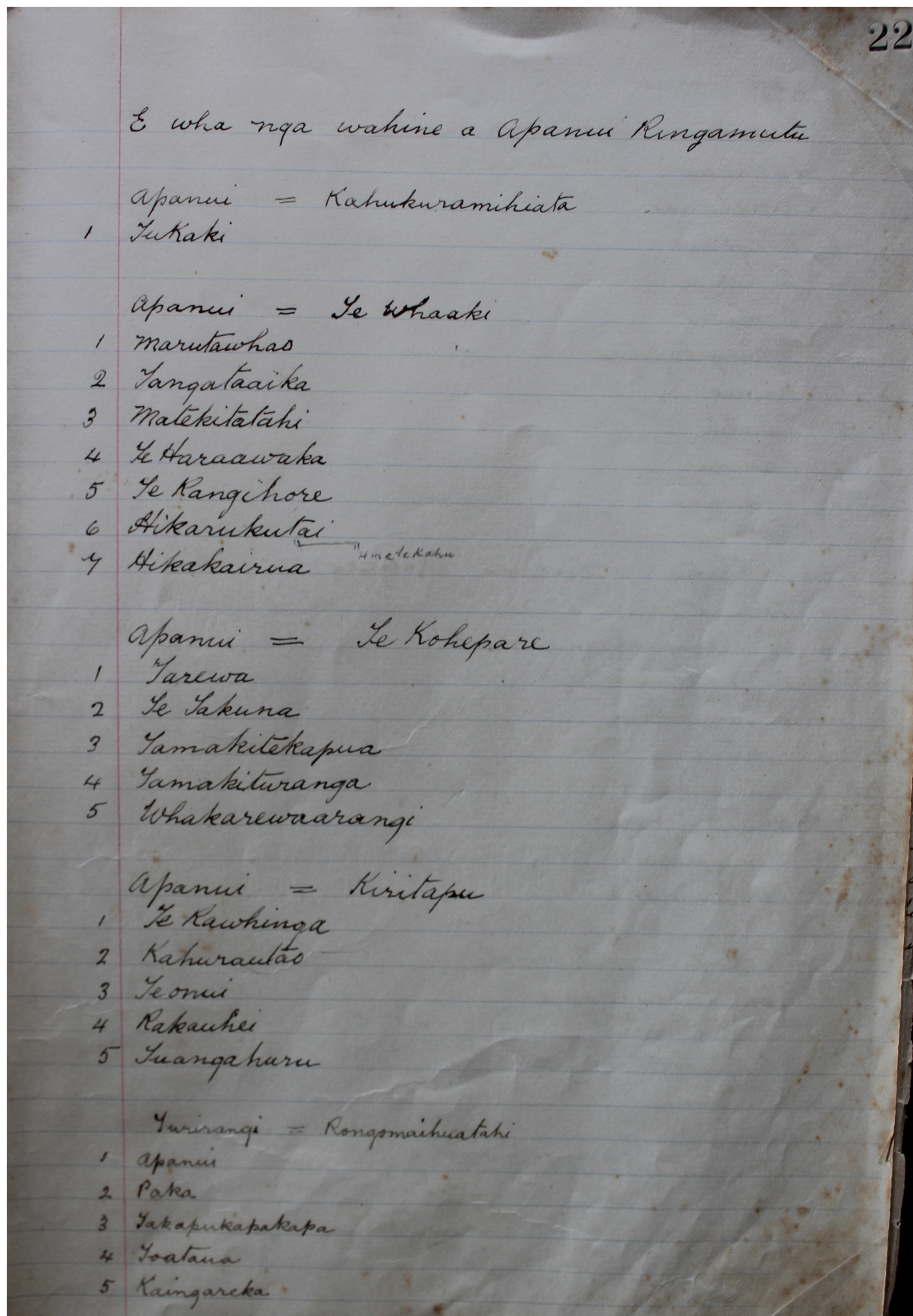
> In this way Apanui acquired the name of Apanui Ringamutu (Apanui of the cut off fingers) and the carved fingers have had only three fingers ever since as a symbol of Apanui's great sacrifice to Tane for the gift of carving.

These tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui were used by Roka and Pine Taiapa as teaching resources for their school students and carving students respectively to assert that carving was passed down from Hingāngaroa and his wānanga, Te Rawheoro, to Tūkākī, Apanui's son. The next section continues to look at tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about Apanui with a focus on who his children were and how they settled different parts of the tribal region and to whom some of them married.

My great-grandfather, Haukino Paora, used a whakamoe[50] approach in Diagram Four below that shows Apanui, his four wives and their eighteen children (HPMSS, nd:22).

[50] To recite a genealogy including males and their spouses.

Diagram Four: Apanui, His Four Wives and Their Eighteen Children.
Source: HPMSS, nd.:22.



22

E wha nga wahine a Apanui Ringamutu

Apanui = Kahukuramihiata
1 Tukaki

Apanui = Te Whaaki
1 Marutawhao
2 Tangataaika
3 Matekitatahi
4 Te Haraawaka
5 Te Rangihore
6 Hikarukutai
7 Hikakairua

Apanui = Te Kohepare
1 Tarewa
2 Te Takuna
3 Tamakitekapua
4 Tamakituranga
5 Whakarewaarangi

Apanui = Kiritapu
1 Te Rawhinga
2 Kahurautao
3 Teonui
4 Rakauhei
5 Tuangaharu

Tuwirangi = Rongomaihuatahi
1 Apanui
2 Paka
3 Takapukapakapa
4 Toatama
5 Kaingareka

As noted, Apanui had four wives. To Kahukuramihiata he had Tūkākī. To Te Whaaki, Apanui had Marutawhao, Tangataaika, Matekitātahi, Te Haraawaka, Te Rangihore, Hikarukutai and Hikakairua. To Te Kohepare, he had Tarewa, Te Takuna,

Tamakitekapua, Tamatituranga and Whakarewaarangi. To Kiritapu, Apanui had Te Rawhinga, Kahurautao, Teonui, Rakauhei[51] and Tuangahuru. At the bottom of the page Haukino Paora also records all of Tūrīrangi and Rongomaihuatahi's children including Apanui, Paka, Takapukapakapa, Toataua and Kaingareka.

These whakapapa were presented to the Native Land Court during the late 1800s and early 1900s when our ancestors claimed mana whenua in title investigations. The Native Land Court process, alongside the writings preserved in private manuscript books, have produced a significant amount of written tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui that have been renewed and extended in new formats. For example, the *Pahaoa Marae Wharenui: Centennial Celebrations 1912-2012* by Tony Trinnick and Pat Park provide interesting details about Apanui that were not found in Roka's archive. These details are important for my interpretation of tukunga iho later in this thesis in Chapters eight and nine. Trinnick and Park (2013:7) explain how Apanui moved to Whitianga with Kiritapu "after his conquest of Te Whānau-a-Uekauae, taking up residence in Te Kōhai pā where their children were born". They also present information about Kiritapu as part of a group who "migrated to Omaio where they were given land on which to settle" and how Kiritapu's marriage to Apanui, "was part of a deliberate strategy to keep the descendants of Apanui Waipapa and Hinemāhuru marrying back into the whānau to keep relationships close" (Trinnick and Park, 2013:8). A third important detail is about Apanui and Kiritapu's son, Kahurautao who:

> Married Te Rangipaanga of Ngai Tai, a younger sister of Karongarangi who married Te Hiranga-o-te-rā of Te Whānau-a-Maru. They had four children, Tukaki II, Tamatanui, Toakino and Te Ikapehapeha. Their descendants have maintained their whakapapa links throughout Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngāti Porou, Ngai Tai and Te Whakatohea through intermarriage (Trinnick and Park, 2013:8-9).[52]

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[51] Trinick and Park (2013) list Te Ikarauhei rather than Rakauhei. They also list Kahurautao, Te Auri, Te Rawhinga, Te Onui, Te Ikarauhei, Tuangahuru and Taihua as the seven children of Apanui Ringamutu and Kiritapu. Although they do note that "some tohunga whakapapa do not recognise Te Auri and Taihua" (2013:8).

[52] Roka is a descendant of Te Hiranga-o-te-rā and Karongaarangi (daughter of Te Roroku of Ngāi Tai) through her father William Jeremiah Swinton, a son of Herewaka Heremia and William Mitchell Swinton. Through this line Roka is also a descendant of Kahurautao and Te Rangipaanga.

Roka is a descendant of Te Whānau-a-Kahurautao as well. Her parents, grandparents and great-grandparents' marriages are examples of reinforcing whakapapa ties within and across Te Whānau-a-Apanui hapū boundaries.

Due to the breadth of whakapapa and limited scope of this thesis, I will focus on the whakapapa of Tūkākī, as Roka did when researching the carved house Tūkākī, to elaborate on the concepts and practices of 'tuku whenua tuku tangata' and 'hononga whakapapa', terms used by ancestors to describe customary allocations of land and genealogical links. Roka preserved a number of tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui about Tūkākī and it is well documented that Tūkākī had two wives. His first wife, Te Īkiwa-o-Rēhua, was his second cousin on his grandfather, Tūrīrangi's side.[53] Together they had Urukakengarangi. Tūkākī's second wife, Te Rangiwhakapunea, was his second cousin on his grandmother, Rongomaihuatahi's side.[54] Tūkākī and Te Rangiwhakapunea had Te Ehutū, Te Uanga, Ruarua, Te Rangitiakiao, Kaiaio, Kimihanga, Rongomai, Tamaahi, Kahutia and Tamahae. Tūkākī's two marriages are examples of 'hononga whakapapa' that ensured descendants of Apanui Waipapa and Hinemāhuru as well as Wāhiawa and Tānepāwhero continued to intermarry with Apanui's descendants.

During Tūkākī's time he did the same thing with his children as his father had with him and his younger siblings – i tuku whenua, tuku tangata. According to Rāpata Roihana and as translated by Roka (RPTMSS, 1984:16):

> Kimihanga and Urukakengarangi returned to Maraenui. Rongomai went to Hakota. Te Rangitiakiao went to Awanui. Kahutia was sent to Orete and he married a woman from there. Rautaokura took Kaiaio to Maungaroa. The children who remained were Te Ehutu, Te Uanga, Ruarua, Tamaahi and Tamahae.

This approach to 'tuku whenua, tuku tangata' over two generations explains the movement out from Tunapahore and Maraenui by Apanui's descendants to other parts of what we refer to today as the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region. 'Hononga whakapapa'

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[53] Tūrīrangi's sister, Tūwharemoa had Tūwāhiawa and he had Te Īkiwa o Rēhua. Therefore, Te Īkiwa o Rēhua was Tūkākī's second cousin on his grandfather's side.

[54] Rongomaihuatahi's brother, Pararaki, had Maruhaeremuri who had Te Rangiwhakapunea. Therefore Te Rangiwhakapunea was a second cousin to Tūkākī on his grandmother's side.

continued across the generations. For example, Tūkākī's son Te Ehutū married Te Ngaohe and they had Te Rangipuananga who married Hineate and they had Tamatamaarangi who married Hinetatua and they had Te Rangikawanoa who married Te Ataarangi (a sister of Te Putahou). The following table shows 'hononga whakapapa' of Te Ngahueoterangi's ancestors.

Table 5: He Tauira Hononga Whakapapa o ngā Tīpuna o Te Ngahue-o-te-Rangi
Source: RPGMSS, 1970; RPTMSS, 1984.

Ngā Tīpuna:	*Explanatory Notes:*
Apanui Ringamutu =Kahukuramihiata	Kahukuramihiata was of Kahungunu and Toi-Porourangi descent
|	
Tūkākī =Te Rangiwhakapunea	Apanui Waipapa had Pararaki who had Maruhaeremuri who had Te Rangiwhakapunea
|	
Te Ehutū = Te Ngaohe	Te Ngaohe and her sister Rukahika were both Te Ehutū's wives. They were granddaughters of Apanui and Te Whaaki through Te Harāwaka (who married Te Kitengaarangi, a mokopuna of Tūrīrangi and his first wife Hinetama)
|	
Te Rangipuananga = Hineate	Hineate is a great-granddaughter of Tūkākī and his first wife Te Īkiwa-o-Rēhua through Urukakengarangi and down to Te Urumahora.
|	
Tamatamaarangi I = Hinetātua (or Hinetetātua)	
|	
Te Rangikawanoa = Te Ataarangi	Te Ataarangi was Te Putahou's sister of Te Whānau-a-Ruahuia (of Toi-Porourangi descent). Te Putahou married Te Reo Makere, a sister of Te Ngunguru-o-te-rangi.
|	
Te Ngahue-o-te-rangi = Tikirākau	Tūkākī had Kaiaio who had Waiōkaha who had Tikirākau

Te Ngahue-o-te-rangi's marriage to Tikirākau[55] is itself an example of Tūkākī's descendants intermarrying for a specific reason. Tikirākau was betrothed to Te Ngahue-o-te-rangi as a gift from Te Whānau-a-Kaiaio to Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū for

[55] Tikirākau is a grand-daughter of Kaiaio, Te Ehutū's brother.

avenging the death of Te Ikaiteati by Ngāti Muriwai. Land was also given. The whakataukī that remembers this is "Anei te wahine mau whanau atu au tamariki au tamariki atu atu mokopuna au mokopuna atu" [Here is a wife for you so that our lineage and your lineage will be combined in the descendants of the union]. When the land was returned to Te Whānau-a-Kaiaio, it was said, "I te mea kua puta nei aku taniwha ina to koutou kainga" [Given my/our descendants are numerous, I return the land] (*Maungaroa Block Investigation* (1910) 1 TeKaha 261 (1TKA261)).

The whakapapa in Table 5 and the associated kōrero tahito were remembered, explained and sometimes debated by kaumātua in Native Land Court committee meetings and hearings in the late 1800s and early 1900s much of which is recorded in the Ōpōtiki and Te Kaha Native Land Court Minute Books. Roka's research of the tararere, whakamoe and tāhū formats of whakapapa in whānau manuscript books with the guidance of her kaumātua as well as close readings of associated kōrero tahito provided her with a strong base of information that she could incorporate into her teaching and translation work.

He Reta, He Petihana in A Report To The Waitangi Tribunal

Roka was also interested in how our ancestors sought to communicate with government officials. The examples I draw on in this section use writing as a mode of political and economic action. Roka's archive contains a range of interesting examples of and connections to nineteenth century letters, petitions and applications to the Native Land Court.[56] Lawrence Tūkākī-Millanta's (1995), *A Report To The Waitangi Tribunal on Behalf Of Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutu on the Whakaari Claim (WAI-225)* renew letters and petitions from the late 1800s in relation to Whakaari (White Island). Roka endorsed this publication and was a source for Tūkākī-Millanta to cross-reference whakapapa with.

The letters referred to in this section illustrate how the act of writing has been part of our whānau, hapū and iwi for at least eight generations. Preserved examples of their

[56] Boast (2013:142) says that, "the Native Land Court process generated a great deal of documentation much of it written in the Māori language … and the Court's correspondence files are replete with letters, petitions, applications for rehearing and so forth written in Māori".

writing shows how they asserted te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui and the style of their writing. Paora Mātenga, Roka's great-grandfather, signed a petition to the Native Land Court. His father, Mātenga, was the Native Teacher at Te Kaha during the 1860s and early 1870s. Paora Mātenga's son, Wiremu Tiaki Paora, wrote a letter to Sir Apirana Ngata in the 1930's, requesting financial support for the Te Kaha Pastorate of the Anglican Church. During their times, these ancestors asserted te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui to maintain mana over local resources.

Roka's whakapapa records and teaching notes from the 1980s show that she had a particular interest in the whakapapa of the tribal rangatira (chiefs) who communicated with external agencies right back to the rangatira who signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Te Kaha on 14 June 1840. The whakapapa in Table 6 shows the relationships between the signatories, Warau, Haopururangi, Hahiwaru, and Haomarama (Boast, 1993; Simpson, 1990). Tūkākī-Millanta (1995:3) states that, "tribal history records the correct names of these tipuna as being: Te Aopururangi, Te Ahiwaru, Te Aomarama and Te Wharau". Table 6 also clearly shows the four Te Whānau-a-Apanui signatories as descendants of Apanui down through Tūkākī and Te Ehutū. Tūkākī-Millanta (1995:3) explains that, "tribal traditions and genealogies place the signatories as part of the Te Whānau-a-Tamatama-a-rangi section of Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū". I remember Roka saying that she would celebrate Te Whānau-a-Apanui's Waitangi Day on 14 June with her students.

Table 6: He Whakapapa o ngā Rangatira o Te Whānau-a-Apanui i Haina i Te Tiriti o Waitangi
Sources: RPGMSS, 1970; RPTMSS, 1984; Tūkākī-Millanta, 1995.

Apanui **=Kahukuramihiata**					
Tūkākī =Te Rangiwhakapunea					
Te Ehutū = Te Ngaohe					**Te Ehutū** = Rukuhika
Te Rangipuananga = Hineate					**Marumaru** = Kaki[57]
Tamatamaarangi I = Hinetātua					**Toki** = Te Rangikonohi
Te Rangikawanoa = Te Ataarangi					**Te Whawharo** = Paturae[58]
Te Ngahue-o-te-rangi = Tikirākau	**Tinana-o-rongo** = Te Wewehi-o-te-rangi	**Wharengaio** = Te Pae ki Ōmeka			**Te Wharewai**
WARAU (Te Wharau)	**HAOPURURANGI** (Te Aopururangi)	**HAHIWARU** (Te Ahiwaru)			**HAOMARAMA** (Te Aomarama)

(NOTE: This whakapapa does not show all descendants of Apanui through Tūkākī and his son Te Ehutū. It specifically shows how the signatories are descended from Apanui.)

The whakapapa lines down from Apanui to the signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi represent a complex layering of intermarriage between high ranking male lines and high ranking female lines from across the region and neighbouring tribes - from Ngāi Tai at Tōrere and Ngaariki at Tunapahore through to Whangaparāoa and Ngāti Porou - consolidating Te Whānau-a-Apanui mana whenua rights and mana tangata (see whakapapa notes in Table 5). This extends on whakapapa presented in Table 5.

The four Te Whānau-a-Apanui signatories gathered at Te Kaha to sign the Treaty of Waitangi. Te Kaha was the only Te Whānau-a-Apanui settlement that the young Trading Master on the Mercury, James Fedarb, (1816-1890) called into on 14 June 1840. Fedarb had left Tauranga on the 22 May 1840 "to assist Reverand Stack" (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2015) to obtain Bay of Plenty signatures to the Treaty of Waitangi. He focused on coastal settlements between Tauranga and Cape

[57] Kaki is a great-grandchild of Tūwharemoa, Tūrīrangi's sister. Tuwharemoa had Tūwāhiawa who had Tamawhero who had Kaki – extending on Toi, Ngaariki and Porourangi whakapapa.
[58] Paturae is a great-great-grandchild of Maruhaeremuri and Apahoua. Maruhaeremuri had Te Hirangaoterangi who had Tikiwāhia who had Wakatōtara who had Paturae.

Runaway such as Whakatane, Ōpōtiki, Tōrere and Te Kaha. For this he has received much criticism over the years. Orange (1987:77) describes Fedarb as "a trader [who] was accustomed to moving among Māori people" and someone who "had the support of the local Māori teachers" at Ōpōtiki and Te Kaha. He obtained a total of 26 signatures on the Bay of Plenty copy during the end of May and early June. His witnesses were Papahia and Wiremu Maihi. Fedarb returned to the Bay of Islands on 19 June 1840, giving the Bay of Plenty copy to Colenso to return to Hobson. One scribe wrote the names of all four chiefs at Te Kaha on the 14 June and then each chief signed their 'tohu' (mark) alongside their written name (Simpson, 1990). An archived letter tells us that Fedarb then presented the chiefs with a gift of five fancy pipes and half a pound of tobacco.[59]

Native teachers were associated with hapū along the Te Whānau-a-Apanui coastline since the 1840s[60] and although formal school education did not begin in the region until the 1870s, a number of letters from ancestors to Crown agents illustrate early literacy skills and clearly express how they felt about issues of the day. The written word was used to protest and confirm aspirations and expectations. In 1862 for example, a Crown agent's report records a translation of a letter expressing the unhappy and hostile feelings of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui people in relation to the high prices charged by traders, debts with traders, prohibition of powder and harassment from rivals of King Vs Queen (Daily Southern Cross, 29 August 1862). It says:

> Go o my letter to the Governor
> If you are the Governor you must go back
> If you are a Magistrate you must go back
> If you persist in coming here you shall pay £100 penalty
> (Hunter-Brown, Parliamentary Paper, 29 August 1862)

This letter is clearly asserting the mana whenua and tino rangatiratanga of Te Whānau-a-Apanui to Crown officials by insisting that they stay well away from the district or else they would be charged a financial penalty of one hundred pounds.

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[59] www.treaty2u.govt.nz/the-treaty-up-close/treaty-trail/index.htm. There is a reference at this site to the Alexander Turnbull Library, MSCOL 1833-63, IV. A letter from Freeman to Colenso, 1st July 1840.

[60] Mātenga, Roka's great-great-grandfather was a Native teacher of Te Kaha during the 1860s. Hāmiora Rēweti, Tini Paora's great-great-grandfather was also a Native teacher of Omāio during that time. Both ancestors are referred to in correspondence to McLean in 1870 (MS-Papers-0032-0694E-06).

An 1865 letter[61] written by Te Hata of Raukōkore[62] to Donald McLean[63] speaks to two continuing issues of the time:

> kati mai te wawai i wai apu … me whaiho mo a maua ko te Iharaira … Aha koa ka rere te tangata kia koe mea atu ihe toku, ka ore akuhe. Kotaku kia hoki te Hauhau i ko nei no Ngati Porou te tohe tonu mai

Here, Te Hata instructs Donald McLean to stay out of any decisions about fighting in the Waiapu region. He states that the end of the fighting at Waiapu will depend on an agreement between himself and Te Iharaira. Te Hata's second issue is about a person giving false reports of him being in the wrong. He asserts that he has done no wrong. He says that once the Hauhaus[64] leave the region Ngāti Porou there will be issues with Ngāti Porou.

Te Hata Hokopaura is speaking as the Chief. He is reminding McLean about who has the mana in the district to give directions or make agreements about whether fighting should continue or end. He also took the opportunity to set the record straight that he was not in support of what the Hauhaus were doing.

An 1878 letter was sent to "Te penetana" (Judge Fenton of the Native Land Court) from Te Hata and 37 others representing the people of Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki. They requested a rehearing of the October 1867 Native Land Court decision, at a sitting in Maketū, to grant ownership of Whakaari (White Island) to Retireti Tapsell and one other, from Maketu. The 1878 letter says:

> he pouri no matou ta matou mahi tenei he tangi i te tau i te tau kaore hoki matou i mohio ki te hokonga tahaetanga a Apanui[65] i taua motu.

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[61] MS-Papers-0032-06891-08 (Archives New Zealand).

[62] Te Hata's letter was written ten years before the Native school was established at Te Kaha in 1875. Te Hata is probably the chief, Te Hata Te Rangituamaro. See Chapter six for further explanation.

[63] Donald McLean became the Native Secretary and Chief Land Purchase Commissioner in 1856. In 1863 he became the general government agent, Hawkes Bay, an appointment which involved him in the East Coast war (Ward, 2012).

[64] Hauhau is another name for the Pai Marire movement which was started in Taranaki by Te Ua Haumene. The movement was closely associated with the King Movement. During 1864 and 1865 they inspired Māori to resist military, colonial forces during the land wars.

[65] The Apanui being referred to here is a Ngāti Awa chief. He is a descendant of Apanui, the eponymous ancestor of Te Whānau-a-Apanui and I assume he was named after him.

Here, the letter outlines how sad the people of Te Kaha are for not being notified about the sale of that island (Whakaari). They refer to Apanui's sale as an illegal one. The letter goes on to say:

> heoi whakaeke tonu matou ki runga i taua motu ko te mahi i nga rawa o taua motu ia tau ia tau a tae noa mai ki tenei wa.

Here, they notify Fenton of their continued, annual use and harvest, of the resources on the Whakaari.

The representatives of the people of Te Kaha appealed for their rights to Whakaari to be heard fairly, pointing out that the Ngāti Awa chief, Apanui (not the Te Whānau-a-Apanui chief Apanui Ringamutu), did not have the authority to extinguish Te Whānau-a-Apanui's rights. The irony is that he had the same name as our eponymous ancestor Apanui. Whakaari is mentioned in a number of historical narratives as a place where Te Whānau-ā-Apanui ancestors took shelter on long journeys,[66] engaged in fights, harvested muttonbirds,[67] and took shortcuts to other Bay of Plenty settlements taking advantage of deep-sea currents.[68]

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[66] Story of Tamahae going to fight at Great Barrier Island and/or the story of Ngāti Muriwai coming to Te Kaha.

[67] Personal communication of Rūhīterangi - My grandfather went with other tribal members to harvest mutton-bird during the 1950s. My mother, as a child, remembers the smell of mutton-birds being processed and cooked.

[68] See Wairua's (1958) 'The Siege of Toka-a-Kuku', in *Te Ao Hou*, no. 25.

The thirty-eight signatories of the 1878 letter who represented the people of Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki (Tūkākī-Millanta, 1995) were:

Te Hata Te Rangituamaro
Paora Matenga
Mihaera
Ko Whakatere
Wairua
Te Wikiriwhi TeKani
Aperahama Ruha
Te Wetini
Hira, te rangi
Peraro
Enoka
Aterea
Te Irimana
Hamiora
Tamahaua
Heremia
Tamati te okooko
Wi Patene
Hirini Te Aopururangi
Hohepa Karapaina
Renata Te Ahu
Kawariki
Wirepa
Maihi
Reihana
Te Akiwaru
Kawha
Tukutahi
Paraire
Tametameiuha
Rawiri Toitoi
Kape Toutira
Haki Roihana
Tiopira Popata
Mita te Tawhiro
Pera te Atua
Teretiu arakirangi
Mitai te whenua

Heoi na te iwi nui tonu
o Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki

This list of signatories is a snapshot of the representatives of the Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki tribal community (van Toorn, 2001:131), only male, young and old, with whakapapa links to not only Te Kaha, but other Te Whānau-a-Apanui hapū. The chief of Te Kaha at the time, Te Hata Te Rangituamaro, is the first signatory. Paora Mātenga is the second. Te Hata and Paora are second cousins, great-grandsons of Ngahue-o-te-rangi. The majority of the remaining signatories were sons, nephews, cousins and grandsons of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui chiefs who signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. It is highly likely that Te Akiwaru, the 26th signature should be read as Te Ahiwaru, the only surviving Treaty of Waitangi signatory.

A number of the 1878 names were transliterations of biblical or English names. For example, Paora (Paul), Matenga (Marsden or Martin), Hamiora (Samuel), Aperahama (Abraham), Hirini (Sydney), Hohepa (Joseph), Reihana, Renata (Leonard), Paraire (Friday) and Haki (Jack). Less obvious transliterations are Roihana (Lawson or Larsen) and Wirepa (shortenening of William Leper). These names are indications that these ancestors had been associated with Pākehā (whalers, traders or missionaries) and highly likely baptised as Christians. A close reading of a photocopy of the 1878 letter and the handwriting styles of the signatories shows that each of the signatures is distinct. The Christian names and writing abilities are signs that Native teachers and Anglican Church teachings had influenced literacy and Christian belief in Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki district by the 1870s. There are some reports that say that Christianity was introduced to the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region as early as the 1830s (Daily Southern Cross, 5 May 1849).

Wi Pātene was advised or notified on 25 September 1878 that their application for a re-hearing had been rejected because it was not received within six months of the title decision that Judge Fenton, Judge Munro and two Māori Assessors had made at Maketū in 1867. A second letter to Judge Fenton was sent from Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki in 1882 (Boast, 1993:124). It was a follow-up letter asking for acknowledgement of their 1878 letter. It was written in Māori and said, "E hoa me tuku mai koe to matou tono kia mana mai i a koe …" [Friend, send us acknowledgement of our request]. Six ancestors signed this letter on behalf of Te Whānau-ā-Tūkākī, referred to as a hapū, and Te Whānau-ā-Te Ehutu, referred to as an iwi. In conclusion the 'kaitono' or

applicants said, “ko nga ingoa o nga kaitono koia e mau iraro nei” and their names were Tamahaua tukiterangi, Tehata hokopaura, Hamiora Patiere, Whakatere T[?]aterangi, Wiremu Kingi Tutahuaarangi, and Haki Roihana. Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū is the sub-tribe of Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki today. The name Te Whānau-a-Tūkākī is no longer used as a hapū name.

These signed letters are Te Whānau-a-Apanui examples of how the ‘act’ of writing was used for political protest and official purposes to communicate with the distant Crown administrators. Even though the local people valued some contact and ongoing interaction, it is clear, as Belich (2001:228) says, “the empire was not” supported. For descendants this letter will help to preserve aspects of tribal whakapapa, history and ancestral experiences. These types of political correspondence are also tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that provide further insight into Roka’s research to extend whakapapa and enhance her understanding of the complex relationships of Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

He Haka - *Puhikura*

The final example of how Roka applied tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in her teachings relate to the haka *Puhikura*. Roka and others taught this haka to the students of the Te Kaha school. In extending tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, such as those described in the previous section, *Puhikura* has been used and modified over time.[69] An adaptation of *Puhikura,* composed by Rikirangi Gage, was performed by Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau-a-Apanui at Te Matatini 2015. The original version is extended by Gage to assert mana whenua, mana moana and mana tangata in response to political issues of the day such as the foreshore and seabed legislation, deep sea drilling and fracking as well as the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement. Rikirangi Gage asserts that Te Wharau, Te Aopururangi, Te Ahiwaru and Te Aomarama did not cede te tino rangatiratanga o Te Whānau-a-Apanui when they signed the Treaty of Waitangi on June 14 1840 and extends kōrero tahito, petihana and letters referred to in the last section.

[69] *Puhikura* was also performed as a whakaeke at Te Matatini 2005 by Te Kapa Haka o Tauira-mai-tawhiti, another Te Whānau-a-Apanui kapa haka.

Roka's archive contains gestetner copies of the *Puhikura* words as taught by her, Wiremu Tawhai and others at the Te Kaha District High School during the 1970s. The students would perform it to welcome visitors. Eruera Stirling (Stirling and Salmond, 1980) described *Puhikura* as a "very rare" haka and remembered Te Whānau-a-Apanui performing it at two special occasions - the Ngarimu Victoria Cross Investiture Meeting and Reception to His Excellency the Governor General on the 6 October 1943 in Ruatoria and the opening of Tūkākī whare whakairo (carved meeting house) at Te Kaha in July 1944.

The performance of *Puhikura* at the 1943 Ngarimu Victoria Cross Investiture hui was recorded on that prestigious day.[70] The Sound Archive file and the transcribed words have been uploaded to the 28th Māori Battalion website. The words from that event are:

Kaea:	Taka, takahia, Taka takahia Turi whatia! ka mate koe, oi! Whakakau he tipua,
Katoa:	Hi!
Kaea:	Whakakau he taniwha,
Katoa:	Hi!
Kaea:	U nga iwi ki hea
Katoa:	U ki te Tairawhiti, pakia!
Kaea:	Puhikura, puhikura, puhikaka, puhireia
Katoa:	Ka eke nei hoki kei te umauma, Pakia!
Kaea:	Kaore nei hoki e te tukituki kei taku manawa,
Katoa:	Aha ha!
Kaea:	Na teko, na teko te konunutanga O tana pinanauhea meromero iti I whiua ki te taha waitai takoto titaha I whea ia ra o kupu te homai ai?
Katoa:	Hei tuki ake mo taku poho!
Kaea:	A i aha tera. E!
Katoa:	I motu te puehu tukawa Ka nana nei kss
Kaea:	Karariwha nei!
Katoa:	kss
Kaea:	Ka tae ki Hanea nei
Katoa:	Me tuku ki te wai whinau
Katoa:	Mai tona hua Ka pango nei Aue kss aue aue, Hi!

[70] www.28maoribattalion.org.nz/audio/ngarimu-investiture-hui-part-7-te-whanau-a-apanui-haka-pohiri

The words of *Puhikura* as they were performed at the opening of Tūkākī whare whakairo in July 1944 were modified for the occasion to welcome visitors to Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki rather than the Tairāwhiti. The words of the first verse were changed to:

> Taka, takahia, Taka takahia
> Whakakau he tipua, Hei!
> Whakakau he taniwha, Hei!
> I u nga iwi ki hea
> I u ki Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki, pakia!
> (Source: School Handout, Roka's Archive)

These are the words that Roka and others taught the students at the Te Kaha District High School, based at Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki.

Eruera Stirling says that *Puhikura* is about women and originally performed by them. He explains that the haka is about women:

> going into the bush to collect leaves, bringing them home to boil them and mix them to make different colours, red, black and green, and mixing the water with mud and special sorts to dye the fibres for piupius and cloaks (Stirling and Salmond, 1980:219).

At the Ngarimu Hui in 1943, Āpirana Ngata judged the haka competition and gave first place to the Te Whānau-a-Apanui group who performed *Puhikura* as part of their bracket. When announcing the results, Ngata alluded to *Puhikura* also having a deeper meaning that could not be interpreted easily into English. He said that:

> The haka of Te Whānau-a-Apanui was so beautiful that I cannot give the decision to any other team! If the words of that haka could be captured in English, it would be as fine as any of Shakespeare's poems! (Stirling and Salmond, 1980:219)

I remember Roka researching the double meaning of some of the words of *Puhikura* and some discussion about the sexuality of the haka but I do not remember details and I have not found any written records that document those converstions. I regret not asking her about this when she lived with us during the 1990s. Rather, I asked her to write down the names of the ancestors in Photograph 1. The photograph captures the

Te Whānau-a-Apanui kapa haka during their performance on Te Kaha Marae at the opening of Tūkākī whare whakairo.

Photograph 1: Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau-a-Apanui at the Opening of Tūkākī Carved Meeting House, 1944.

Source: Roka's Archive. Also on file at the Alexander Turnbull Library.

Roka with others, studied this photograph and noted the names (Paora, 2000) of the members of Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Roka's notes demonstrate her attention to not only preserving but also extending early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui by recording dates and names. Roka wrote:

> Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau-a-Apanui i te whakatuwheratanga o te Wharenui o Tūkākī i Hurae 1944. Ko Puhikura (Puhi Kura rānei) te haka pōhiri.
> Ko te hunga ka āta kitea atu e ngā kaituhi me ētahi o te whānau:
>
> Rārangi Tuatahi (maui ki te katau), he wāhine katoa:
> 1. Manaehu Waititi (nō Tauranga, i moe i a Moana Waititi o Te Whānau-a-Pararaki);
> 2. Miriata Callaghan (he Merito no Ngāti Awa, i moe i a Togo Callaghan o Te Whānau-a-Maru);
> 3. Hariata Tūrei (he Waititi nō Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia);
> 4. Kura Waititi (he Ranapia nō Te Whānau-a-Kaiaio);

5. Hiria Kingi (nō Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū);
6. Purukamu Paora (he Roihana nō Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū), te Kaitātaki o te haka pōhiri;
7. Rawinia Callaghan (he Ropiha nō Te Whānau-a-Maru me Te Whānau-a-Pararaki).

Rārangi Tuarua (maui ki te katau), he wāhine katoa:

1. Okeroa Kemp (he Tamehana nō Te Whānau-a-Kahu);
2. Rihi Callaghan * (he Waiariki nō Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia);
3. Rawinia Carlson * (he Waiariki nō Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia);
4. Hiria Butler (he Waititi nō Te Whānau-a-Pararaki);
5. Hoki or Koki Wall (he Waititi nō Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia);
6. Mereaira McDonald * (he Waiariki nō Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia).

- * He tuakana teina ngā tokotoru.

Rārangi Tuatoru, (maui ki te katau) he tāne katoa:

1. Wiremu Tāngira (nō Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia);
2. Kaore i te mōhio
3. Hiri Waititi (nō Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia);
4. Moana Waititi (nō Te Whānau-a-Pararaki);
5. Kahu Puha (nō Te Whānau-a-Maru);
6. Rāpata Kīngi (nō Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū);
7. Ben Callaghan (nō Te Whānau-a-Maru);
8. John Waititi (nō Te Whānau-a-Pararaki);
9. Sam Rangiihu (Padre of 28th Māori Battalion)

(Source: Roka Paora's handwritten notes, 2000. Roka's Archive)

Puhikura provides an excellent example of the application of tukunga iho as a methodology. *Puhikura* is a distinctive Te Whānau-a-Apanui haka that identifies the people, continuing the 'iho' of the history and knowledge it contains and also by its modification over time. This demonstrates the extension of knowledge as part of the tukunga iho process that enables a retelling or reversioning of knowledge. In this instance the current modification to express political opinions relating to the moana highlights the significant whakapapa links between Te Whānau-a-Apanui and the moana, and provides for the expression of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Conclusion

My waka hourua journey has guided me through an extensive and eclectic selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui from Roka's archive that Roka was involved in not only embracing but also renewing and extending. I have also taken the

opportunity to acknowledge the people that inspired and supported Roka, the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that they focused on or privileged, and the values and messages that dominated their expressions and feelings. This chapter also highlights Roka's personal journey to strengthen her identity and the identity of her students while also asserting te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Assertions of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui have been presented in ways that highlight the significant sites and symbols of Te Whānau-a-Apanui landscape, seascape and the people, epistemological frames of reference (Mahuika 2012:31) that continue to be significant to the tribe – our rivers, mountains, valleys, streams, bays, boundaries, blocks of land and cultivations, islands and fishing grounds, whakapapa connections across whānau and hapū as well as the connections with other Bay of Plenty and East Coast tribes.

This Chapter highlights how Roka's methodical use of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui informed her teachings and research. It also provides a rich repository from which I was able to draw from in understanding the complexities of whakapapa and Te Whānau-a-Apanui identity. The manuscripts demonstrate how Roka drew from multiple sources to enhance her research and extend tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui for the context she was working in.

This section of the thesis was represented by the waka hourua and that allowed me to lash my canoe hull to Roka's work to better inform my understanding and also allow me to extend tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

PART TWO: He Waka Tētē

Introduction

"He ika tapu tēnei	"This is a sacred fish
He moki taperu	A fleshy lipped moki
Kei waho o Tihirau[71]	That gathers
E huihui ana e …"	off Tihirau…"

Nā Inez Calcott (1987)
(Source: Personal Communication with Rūhīterangi Richards, 2013)

These opening lines of a waiata composed especially for the children of the local Te Whānau-a-Apanui kōhanga reo indicates the value placed on the moki. The tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki are the subject of the Chapters contained in this section. Using the analogy of the waka tētē, this section will specifically focus on the tukunga iho Roka applied in order to write her narrative 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki'. The waka tētē was chosen as the waka analogy for this section because it is small and was used for close shore fishing, providing an indepth focus on the different narratives she employed in order to not only renew but also extend kōrero tahito about the moki. Furthermore, this analysis will identify other significant tukunga iho embedded within her narrative that although primarily aimed at tamariki, extend our understanding of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

According to early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, the moki has been coming to Taungaawaka,[72] Whangaparāoa, for centuries. During its time there each winter, the moki swims around the undersea rock faces living on crabs and a wide variety of other sea life (Sutherland, 1963:173). On its arrival at Taungaawaka the moki is in its pre-spawning prime when it is at its fattest. Also known as the *Latridopsis ciliaris*, the moki continues to play a key role in the lives of Te Whānau-a-Apanui people.

[71] Tihirau is a mountainous headland at Whangaparāoa at the eastern end of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region.
[72] Taungaawaka was named when the Tainui canoe arrived at Whangaparāoa from Hawaiki.

In 1971, Roka wrote 'Ka haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki'[73] primarily for her Māori language students whom she believed deserved new Māori language resources that related to them and their world.[74] She wove together issues of the day relating to moki fishing in a way that drew interesting parallels to the decline of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in the post world war two years. Roka drew on a range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui as well as the day-to-day experiences of her whānau, hapū and iwi to create a tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that she could use in her classroom and share with other Māori language teachers by publishing it in *Te Wharekura 18*.

This section is divided into three chapters as follows:

Chapter four examines 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori', an early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki, to explain the iho of the moki narrative and why the moki continues to be significant to Te Whānau-a-Apanui. This analysis will provide a platform to discuss how Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars including Roka have contributed to a tukunga iho process by renewing and extending tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki in order to assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Chapter five examines a history of published tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki and celebrates the twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars who ensured that the iho of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' was not only preserved but also retold, renewed and extended in ways that assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The multiple transmissions highlighted in this chapter provide a richer repository that when brought together strengthen the platform established in Chapter four. It is a positive portrayal of how Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars applied the tukunga iho process.

Chapter six is my analysis of Roka's 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' as tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki. Important connections to earlier tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui sourced from Roka's writing and archive portray how

[73] Paora, Roka, 1971. 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki'. In *Te Wharekura 18*, Wellington: School Publications.

[74] 2007 Roka Paora Interview notes by Rūhīterangi Richards.

elements of the iho of the moki narrative have been embraced, retold, renewed and extended on in ways that assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Five elements of the moki narrative are presented as a result of my analysis in Chapters four and five including tīpuna, whenua and moana, whetū, te reo and values.

Chapter Four: Nā Pou i Tono Ki a Rēhua Kia Hōmai te Ika Nei, te Moki

> KO TAMAHAE: I wehe atu te tipuna nei a Ruamoengārara i taua puke mā runga i ana taniwha, ko Tūtehihi, ko Tūtewawa, ko Tūtakawerangi.
> KO REWI: I hoki ia ki Hawaiki ki te tiki i tō tātau tipuna i a Pou, ā, nā Pou i tono ki a Rehua kia hōmai te ika nei, te moki.
> (Paora, 1971:17).

Here, while fishing for moki at Whangaparāoa, Tamahae and Rewi explain to their fathers what they have learnt at school about the moki. It describes how Ruamoengārara returned to Hawaiki on three taniwha to fetch Pou who was responsible for asking Rēhua, the atua of fish, for the moki. This part of the dialogue in Roka's narrative makes important connections to early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki such as 'Ko te Putake mai o te Maori' (MWMSS, 1965), a printed record of our tribal oral traditions, that was handed down from Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars to Roka.

This chapter examines 'Ko te Putake mai o te Maori' as tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to explain why Roka referred to Ruamoengārara, Pou and Rēhua in her narrative. 'Ko te Putake mai o te Maori' compresses a long history from the time of cosmological beginnings to Hawaiki ancestors as well as their migration and early settlement history in Aotearoa at Whangaparāoa. It asserts names of atua, tīpuna, waka, whetū, whenua, moana and taonga significant to the Te Whānau-a-Apanui people. This analysis will provide a platform to discuss how Roka (Paora, 1971) applied the tukunga iho process to 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' by exploring what elements of the early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui she embraced and what elements she extended to assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in the twentieth century. The next section will give some background about Roka's (1971), 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' and outlines the important scholarly relationship between Roka and John R. Waititi (John Retimana Waititi also known as Hoani Waititi).[75]

[75] I will refer to John Retimana Waititi as John R. Waititi (11 April 1926 – 30 September 1965). He was born and raised in the Te Whānau-a-Apanui. His mother was Heremia Kerei and his father, Te

Te Reo Tuhituhi a Roka

'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' (Paora, 1971) in *Te Wharekura 18* is about Tamahae and Rewi's first moki fishing trip to Whangaparāoa with their fathers, Hata and Rua. This thesis asserts that this contemporary narrative incorporates Roka's whānau experiences of moki fishing during the 1950's and 1960's as well as elements of Te Whānau-a-Apanui knowledge and history. 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' adopts John R. Waititi's characters from *'Te Rangatahi One'* (1962) and *'Te Rangatahi Two'* (1964). The first part of 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' is about the way in which Hata's family gathers and stores moki baits (mussels and crabs) just prior to the opening of the moki season. They make good use of the fine weather and the low tides as well as their teenage children's availability to help out during the weekends. Hata and Pani expect Tamahae and Marama to help dive for mussels at Toka-a-Kuku and go crabbing at Hāmama. They also expect them to help shell and bag the mussels, pipi and crabs, and help them with chores at the beach and around the home.

The second part of 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' is about Hata, Rua, Tamahae and Rewi's moki fishing trip to Whangaparāoa where the main theme is the intergenerational transmission of moki fishing knowledge and skills. A range of entertaining experiences are also woven through this part of the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui such as Hata forgetting his anchor, Tamahae getting seasick, Tamahae's encounter with a shark, conversations about moki knowledge, the adult fishermen drinking whiskey and giving moki away to relatives on their slow return trip to Te Kaha.

Roka published 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' after John R. Waititi's early death in 1965 when he was only 39 years old. To me, Roka's choice of the moki as a kaupapa (topic) for her writing was an important way for Roka to honour John R. Waititi, his family and the people of Whangaparāoa as tribal scholars, fishermen and kaitiaki of the moki. As Roka explained to my mum Rūhīterangi, "John R. Waititi

Kūaha Waititi, both of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. He also had connections to Ngāti Awa through his mother. His sub-tribes were Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia at Whangaparāoa and Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū at Te Kaha.

was at his peak in Māori language teaching in the early 1960's and [Roka] sought assistance from him" (Richards, 1991:58). Roka told my mum that John R. Waititi taught her how to use the *Te Rangatahi* textbooks in the classroom[76] to their optimum so it is fair to say that she was well versed in the content and pedagogy of the texts. The *Te Rangatahi* textbook series and other writings by John R. Waititi and other tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui by members of the Waititi whānau are significant parts of Roka's archive.

Roka's Archive

A letter from Roka to Winston Waititi dated 9 September 1991, provides some background about Roka's association with 'Ko te Putake mai o te Māori' and how, in its text format, it became part of Roka's archive. Roka wrote:

> You may keep my humble whakapakehatanga but I would like the Maori version back na te mea he taonga. R.

The Māori version that Roka refers to is her handwritten copy of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' (MWMSS, 1965) from Moana Waititi's manuscript book. Roka's letter explains how "there were no Xerox machines then" (Personal Correspondence, 9 September 1991) and how sad she had been to run out of time to copy the remainder of Moana Waititi's manuscript book. Roka's handwritten copy of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' is in pencil and takes up 14 ½ pages that have been ripped out of a 1B5 exercise book and stapled in the top-left corner. Each page is numbered at the top-right corner, 1-15. Halfway down page seven is an asterisk in the right hand margin where Roka had recorded a date – the "2/6/65". Roka's 1991 letter to Winston Waititi is written on the back of this hand written copy of Moana Waititi's Māori version of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' (MWMSS, 1965).

During 1965 when Roka was a fulltime schoolteacher and First Assistant[77] at the Te Whānau-a-Apanui District High School, the task of copying text from Moana

[76] 2007 Roka Paora Interview notes by Rūhīterangi Richards.

[77] As First Assistant of the Te Kaha District High School during the 1960s and 1970s, Roka was like an Assistant Principal who had leadership and administrative responsibilities of the District High

Waititi's manuscript book would have been a time consuming task. It is clear from Roka's letter to Winston Waititi and her sentiment quoted above that she treasured the tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui that she had copied. Throughout this thesis, I will refer to Roka's copy of Moana Waititi's 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' as Moana Waititi's version (MWMSS, 1965).

Roka's "humble whakapākehātanga" or English translation of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' was completed some time between June 1965 when Roka copied it and September 1991 when Roka wrote to Winston Waititi. There is a handwritten copy of this in Roka's green manuscript book (RPGMSS, 1970) as well as a typed copy in one of her folders of translations (RPTMSS, 1984). While close reading Moana Waititi's version of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori', I have used Roka's translation to clarify my understanding of words and phrases that are not used frequently today.

A second Māori version of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' (OmMSS, 1907) is also part of Roka's archive. I have called it the 1907 Omāio version. Roka's record of this version has been typed on a typewriter and photocopied onto an A3 sized piece of paper. This version is similar to Moana Waititi's version but not exactly the same. Unlike Moana Waititi's version, the 1907 Omāio version includes sections entitled 'Ko te Korero o te Moki' and 'Te Haerenga Atu o Pou i Whangaparaoa'. These sections provide further details of the key ancestors, especially Poumātangatanga, and places associated with the coming of not only the moki but also the kahawai to the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region. The last paragraph of the 1907 Omāio version is like a bibliography that refers to kaumātua of the time, as the oral sources of those sections of the narrative about the ancestor Poumātangatanga and the kahawai at the Mōtū River. Naming the contributors adds to its authenticity by explaining that:

> Ko nga tino korero enei o nga tipua o Motu, me nga mahi, nga patunga kahawai. Na nga kaumatua i korero, i te hui i tu ki Omaio, i te whitu o nga ra o Noema, 1907. Nga ingoa o nga kaumatua, ko TE WAKA-TU-TE-RANGI-NO-TI; ko ERUETI-TIKETIKE-O-RANGI; ko ERU-MONITA-TE-MO-IHIIHI, me PAORA KAPO.

School and was based at the site above Maraetai Bay, while the overall Principal of the Te Kaha School was based at the Te Kaha Primary School at the lower Maraetai Bay site.

Here, Te Waka Tuterangi Noti, Erueti Tiketike o Rangi, Eru Monita Te Mo Ihiihi and Paora Kapo are specifically referred to as four kaumātua who presented the narrative orally at a hui held at Omāio on the 7th November 1907. They spoke about the supernatural beings of the Mōtū River and how to fish for the kahawai there. The 1907 Omāio hui may have been a "hui whakapapa" described by Ballara (1998:329) as early twentieth century "meetings of experts called in each area to discuss and write down traditions and genealogies which were then approved collectively by the assembled most knowledgeable local elders" (Ballara, 1998:329). In line with this explanation the 1907 Omāio version of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' is a unique Te Whānau-a-Apanui example of wānanga (Tau, 2003:45) because it includes karakia and whakapapa, and like Moana Waititi's version it is associated with a group of kaumātua.

Therefore, together the Moana Waititi and 1907 Omāio versions not only show that 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' was "widely known and not the invention of, or espoused by only one person" (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008:16)[78] but also how early twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors made efforts to co-operate across hapū to ensure that tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui relating to the ancestor Poumātangatanga and his roles in bringing the moki and the kahawai to the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region were remembered. This thesis does not set out to prove or falsify these tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui because as Tau (2012:25) explains, "such an approach is logically impossible". Rather, this thesis acknowledges that these two versions are sources that incorporate important tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that have been passed down from pre-European ancestors (the oral traditions of early ancestors) as well as interpretations of twentieth century kaumātua whose lives had interacted with Europeans and were influenced by new ideas and technologies (Smith, 2007). In line with Te Maire Tau's (2012:25) challenge to Māori academics, this chapter focuses on what early twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors "thought about and how they explained themselves to themselves" especially in relation to the moki and the three ancestors that Roka refers to in her narrative – Poumātangatanga, Ruamoengārara and Rēhua.

[78] My great-grandfather, Haukino Paora, had also recorded a very similar version in his whakapapa book (HPMSS:nd).

‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’

The prominence of the moki in the migration history of Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors and the role atua played, provides a strong illustration of the origins of many tikanga relevant to moki fishing. ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’, is a narrative that incorporates tikanga, kawa, whakapapa and karakia, “a library of information” (Roberts, 2012:40) that informs Te Whānau-a-Apanui people about the tikanga (moral guidelines) for moki fishing and the ancestors who claimed and named the Aotearoa landscape and seascape. The following sections are set out as they are in ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ focusing on the key elements of the narrative and the way in which Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

From Cosmological Beginnings to Hawaiki

‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ begins with whakapapa of the origin of the Māori and states that:

> Kotahi ano te putake mai o te tangata Maori. Ko Ranginui e tu nei, ko Papatuanuku e takoto nei. Ki ngā tangata katoa ko Rangi raua ko Papa nga take mai o te Maori ina hoki i pouri tonu ai Te Rangi me Te Whenua i mua. Ko Rangi raua ko Papa e piri tonu ana kaore ano i wehea noatia a e rapu noa ana a rāua tamariki ki te ahuatanga o te ao o te po. Ko nga tamariki a Rangi raua ko Papa tokoono. Ko nga ingoa enei:
> 1) Ko Rongomatane – ko te kumara tenei
> 2) Ko Haumiatiketike – ko te aruhe tenei
> 3) Ko Tangaroa – ko te ika tenei
> 4) Ko Tanemahuta – ko te rākau tēnei
> 5) Ko Tumatauenga – ko te tangata tenei
> 6) Ko Tawhirimatea – ko te hau tenei e pupuhi nei
> Ko te whakatipuranga mai tenei o te tangata. Ko ta te Maori kōrero i timata mai i a Tumatauenga. Heke iho nei tae mai nei ki a Maui ma. Heke iho nei tae iho nei ki a Uenuku ma. Heke iho nei ka tae mai nei ki a Hoturoa ma, ki a Tamatekapua ma me era atu tangata, ara, tipuna o te Maori.

This section asserts that there is but one origin of all Māori and summarises the extensive Māori cosmology whakapapa from Ranginui (Sky) and Papatuanuku (Earth) to their six children, down to Māori people, who are descendants of their son, Tumatauenga. This whakapapa summary is very similar to that published by Sir George Grey (1971:1-5) in *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*.

From the atua, the whakapapa then tracks down to Māui, Uenuku, Hoturoa, Tamatekapua and other Hawaiki ancestors. This whakapapa shows that Māori are related to all living things including cultivated kūmara, wild aruhe, fish, trees and natural elements such as the wind. This worldview of whakapapa flowed on to the values and behaviours practiced by Māori. Durie (2012:7) explains that, "the use of a resource therefore required permission from the associated deity". 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' emphasises this resource use approach in the next section by outlining Rātā's role and experiences of felling the totara tree used to build the Tainui canoe.

Rātā and the Tainui Canoe

'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' remembers Rātā's role as an expert canoe builder and the importance of asking atua for permission to use resources such as totara trees. The narrative explains:

> Ko te tohunga nana i tua taua rakau totara ko Rata. Ka hinga ki raro taua rakau ka ahiahi ka hoki a Rata ki te kainga ki te moe. Ao ake i te ata ka hoki mai a Rata. Tae rawa mai kua maranga ano taua rakau kai runga e tu ana. Ka topea ano e Rata, ka hinga ano ki raro, tapahi rawa te kauru. Ka ahiahi ka hoki ano a Rata ki te kainga ki te moe. Ao ake i te ata ka hoki ano a Rata ki te tarai i tona waka, ara a Rata ratou ko ona hoa. Tae rawa atu a Rata kua maranga ano taua rakau kai runga e tu ana. Ka whakahaua ano e Rata kia tuaina. Ka hinga ki raro tapahi rawa te kauru. Ka mutu ka korero a Rata ki ona hoa me hoki katoa ki te kainga. Ko ahau anake e noho ki te tauhanga i ta tatou rakau, he aha ra te mea e whakaara nei i te rakau nei. Akuni pea ia ko te Whanau-a-Tane. Ko hoki nga hoa o Rata, ka noho a Rata. Ka haere atu ia ki tahaki atu huna ai. Noho nei a Rata noho nei, ka hinga te-Ra-ka-iri-iri te Ra ki te pae ka whakarongo a Rata. Ka ki te waha o te manu o te Tatarakihi o te Kihikihi ka ngaehe noa mai te para rakau. Katahi ano a Rata ka kite atu e haramai ana te iwi ra ara te tini o te Hakuturi, ara nga manu whai parirau katoa o te ngaherehere me nga ngarara ngokingoki katoa o te ngahere.

This part remembers Rātā, the ancestor and well-known hero, and recounts how he went into the forest to fell a tree to build a canoe, in this tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui's case, the Tainui canoe. Each time he returns to the tree that he felled the previous day he finds it standing upright again. After the second time that occurs, Rātā decides to fell the tree again for a third time and then waits nearby to see what will happen next. Once the sun sets it is the 'tini o te Hakuturi', the winged birds and

insects[79] of the forest that appear. The 'tini o te Hakuturi' begin to say a karakia (incantation) alongside the felled tree.

> Ka tae mai ki te taha o te rakau ra e takoto ana. Katahi ano ka timatatia ta ratou karakia. Koia tenei te karakia.
> Ko Rata, ko Ra-ata anake te tangata i tua-tua noa i te wao nui a Tane e –
> Kia hinga ki raro-e-
> Te whai huru au e
> Te whai maro au e
> Rere mai te maramara o Tane e koia i piri, koia i tau
> Rere mai te kongakonga o Tane, koia i piri koia i tau
> E tu te maota[u] o Tane, a whakaarahia.

Roka did not translate this karakia therefore I looked to Te Maire Tau's (2012) discussion about how similar the Ngāi Tahu, the Te Arawa, the Tainui and the Tuamotu versions of this karakia are. Tau (2012:28) explains that all of the versions "refer to the chips of the tree returning back to the tree so that it eventually stands again as it had before its felling".

The narrative says that Rātā watches from his hiding place as the tree becomes upright again. When Rātā rushes out to question the 'tini o te Hakuturi', they say,

> He hē ra nou. Hua atu mātua tia ki Tainui o rehua. Kia pae a Tangaroa ki uta ka ahu mai ai koe ki a Rongomataane kia Haumiatikitiki kia pae i a koe katahi ano koe ka tua i a Tane kia hinga ki raro.
> Ka ki atu te iwi ra ki a Rata, Haere e hoki. Waiho matou e tarai to waka. Na ka oti ka toia ki waho, ka tapa te ingoa ko Tainui

Here, 'te tini o te Hakuturi' explain to Rātā that he was wrong not to follow the necessary tikanga and kawa to cut down Tāne for human purposes. They go on to tell Rātā to go home and leave them to prepare his canoe. When the work is completed, the canoe is towed out and named Tainui. The Rātā karakia and tikanga connect us to a wider past. As Tau (2012:30) explains, "we can be sure that before our ancestors left their homeland, they did so on canoes that were felled following the ritual of Rātā. We can also have a degree of certainty as to how the rituals were performed.

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[79] Reed (1946:70-71) explains that te tini o te hakaturi included the "riro and kuku, korimako and tui, hihi and kaka, kokako and huia, popokotea and mohua and many others and with them all the family of the insects".

The Tainui Canoe's Arrival In Aotearoa

'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' explains that Tainui was not the only canoe to leave Hawaiki. It states:

> He maha nga waka i haramai ai nga tipuna o te Maori i Hawaiki.
> Ko nga ingoa enei
> Ko Tainui
> Ko Te Arawa
> Ko Mataatua
> Ko Kurahaupo
> Ko Tokomaru
> Ko Toki-Matawhaorua
> Ko Tainui taku e korero ai au. Ka hoe mai nei nga waka nei waenganui o te moana ka wehewehe. Ka tika nei a Te Arawa ki te waha o te Parata. Ka u mai nei a Tainui ki konei ara ki Aotearoa, taihoa nei e huaina ai tona ingoa ko Whangaparāoa.

Here it is acknowledged that although a number of canoes left Hawaiki the focus of this section is the Tainui canoe that began its journey from Hawaiki with the Te Arawa canoe. Due to the Te Arawa canoe's experience at "te waha o te Parata", the Tainui canoe continued on alone and landed in Aotearoa at a place that was to become known as Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti. The Tainui canoe ancestors stayed at Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti for sometime. The names of these ancestors in 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori', were the captain Hoturoa, Hotupae, Hotuariki, Ruamoengarara, Mahia, Kokatangikiraukawa and Taikehu. Some of the children whose names have been recorded were Hioreore, Hiwakawaka, Tataaueanoa. The remaining adults and children were not named.[80]

There was tension amongst the Tainui canoe ancestors while they were all staying at Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti and this became an issue when the children were organised into two groups to partake in 'whakawai', a type of weaponry practice involving games and competition between two teams. The supporting adults of one side were Hoturoa, Hotuariki, Hotupae and others. The adults of the other side were Ruamoengārara, Mahia, Kokatangikiraukawa and others. When the game began the

[80] Kelly in *Tainui* says that 22 men and 10 women came on the Tainui canoe to Aotearoa. Jones and Biggs (2009reprint:29) lists 29 men and 11 women. Both Kelly and Jones do not list any children's names like the 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' does. Jones does not name Torere and Hineihi as listed by Kelly (1949:40).

children of one side faltered, and therefore their adults urged them to keep chasing the other team. The other team of adults urged their children to turn around and keep competing. All of the children responded to the barracking. This continued for some time until the adults became involved. Suddenly Kokatangikiraukawa's spear came down on Hotupae and knocked him unconscious. The game stopped and Hotupae was taken to the tuahu (a sacred place)[81] where the gods Kahukura and Tunui-o-te-ika were called upon to revive him.

This part of the narrative extends on the previous section about the building of the Tainui canoe, connecting Māori and more specifically Te Whānau-a-Apanui, to the Pacific (Tau, 2012:30). The practices of whakawai and taking injured people to the tuahu are also examples of tikanga and kawa that Māori ancestors brought to Aotearoa from Hawaiki.

Hoturoa and his Group Leave Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti

After Hotupae's accident, all of the Tainui canoe ancestors stayed on at Whangaparāoa for a while longer until one night Hoturoa told his group that they should leave. They all agreed. This was when the Tainui canoe left Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti and eventually landed at Kawhia. Those Tainui canoe ancestors left behind at Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti were Ruamoengārara, Mahia, Kokatangikiraukawa and Taikehu. Their children who remained with them included Hioreore, Hiwakawaka and Tataaueanoa.[82]

[81] Buck argues that the word 'tuahu' became the new name for 'ahu'. The tuahu was described by Buck as a "simple shrine" (Buck, 1987:480) and an "early religious shrine" that were simple mounds of stones or upright rocks "charged with high-power tapu" where tohunga communed with their atua and made offerings to atua. Buck refers to the "tuahu built by the voyagers of the Tainui canoe at Kawhia in New Zealand was named Ahu-rei (Buck, 1987:482).

[82] Kelly (1949) says about thirty names of people who migrated on the Tainui have been retained in the traditions including 22 men and 10 women. The names of those who had responsibilities on the canoe were Hoturoa, Marama, Whakaotirangi, Kuiamara, Taihaua, Taininihi, Taikehu, Mateora, Hiaroa and Rotu.

Ruamoengārara Returns to Hawaiki

Some time passed and Ruamoengārara decided that he should return to Hawaiki to encourage their elder relative, Poumātangatanga, to make the journey to Aotearoa. Everyone in his group agreed with him. At this point of my close reading I remembered a page of whakapapa in my great-grandfather, Haukino Paora's (HPMSS, nd:2 & 12) whakapapa book, where Poumātangatanga is shown as a son of Rātā and the father of Paimahutonga.[83] This whakapapa also extends to two key Porourangi ancestors of Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Apanui Waipapa and Hinemāhuru, the grandparents of Apanui. There are seventeen generations from Poumātangatanga down to Te Ehutū, Apanui's grandson. From Te Ehutū there are twelve generations down to me, twenty-nine altogether.

[83] Kelly (1949) writes that Poumātangatanga is the father of Paimahutanga, slave wife of Uenuku and mother of Ruatapu. There is also an explanation that Paimahutanga is a granddaughter of Rātā. This whakapapa also brings into question the number of generations between Poumātangatanga and Hoturoa.

Table 7: He Whakapapa mai i a Poumātangatanga ki ngā Tīpuna o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.
Source: HPMSS, nd:33&47.

<table>
<tr><td>Wahieroa</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
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<tr><td>Rātā</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>|</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>POUMĀTANGATANGA</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>|</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Paimahutonga</td><td>======================</td><td>Uenuku</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>|</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Ruatapu</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>|</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Haunui</td><td></td></tr>
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<tr><td></td><td>Nanaia</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>|</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Porourangi</td><td></td></tr>
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<tr><td></td><td>Hau</td><td></td></tr>
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<tr><td>Rakaipo</td><td></td><td>Awapururu</td></tr>
<tr><td>|</td><td></td><td>|</td></tr>
<tr><td>Manutangirua</td><td></td><td>Ataiau</td></tr>
<tr><td>|</td><td></td><td>|</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hingāngaroa</td><td></td><td>Tamahinengaro</td></tr>
<tr><td>|</td><td></td><td>|</td></tr>
<tr><td>Tauā</td><td></td><td>Rakaipikirarunga</td></tr>
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<tr><td>|</td><td></td><td>Rutanga</td></tr>
<tr><td>|</td><td></td><td>|</td></tr>
<tr><td>Apanui Waipapa</td><td>=====================</td><td>Hinemāhuru</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>|</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Rongomaihuatahi</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>|</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Apanui</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>|</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Tūkākī</td><td></td></tr>
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<tr><td></td><td>Te Ehutū</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Before leaving Aotearoa from Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti, Ruamoengārara gave some instructions to Mahia. He said:

> Hai te taha koe ki te ra o te maunga e tu mai nei, he mahi mahau, he titiro i nga whetu i te ra, i te marama[ra]. Ko a taua tamariki hai nga tihi o te maunga, e tu mai nei hai titiro i te paki i te kino. Kite kitea e ratou me tawhiriwhiri atu ki a koe. Ko Taikehu i haere noa atu ki te tuawhenua (MWMSS, 1965:7).

Roka's translation of Ruamoengārara's instructions to Mahia is:

> you are to go to the east of this mountain to study the stars, the sun and the moon. Our children are to go to the summits of this mountain to study the tides – the calm seas and the rough seas and what they observe is to be reported to you. Taikehu is to go inland (RPTMSS,1984:152).

This part of the narrative asserts that an important part of the early settlement process of our ancestors involved scientific observations of their new coastal environment. Mahia and the children are examples of astrologers and weather experts who read the moods of the sea, the stars, the sun and the moon.

Tauira-mai-tawhiti the Canoe

When Ruamoengārara arrived back in Hawaiki his main purpose was to convince Poumātangatanga to come to Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti. He was pleased to see that Poumātangatanga's canoe, Tauira-mai-tawhiti, was already complete. He discussed their destination with Poumātangatanga. Their conversation has been remembered and translated by Roka (RPTMSS, 1984:153) as follows:

> Ruamoengarara said to Poumātangatanga, "I have come to get you. Let us go across the sea. I have found a place for us to stay".
> "What's it like?" asked Poumātangatanga.
> "It's just like this Whangaparāoa here".
> Poumātangatanga asked, "Where have you left our children?" (Kei whea a taua tamariki i mahue atu na i a koe?).
> Ruamoengarara replied, "Kei runga kei nga Tihirau o tama, kei Puwharariki, kei te Ranga-a-te-Anewa" ("They [your sons] are on the Hundred Summits at Puwharariki and Te Ranga-a-te-anewa").

This is an explanation for why the Tainui canoe's arrival place in Aotearoa was given its name, Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti, because it was just like the Whangaparāoa of

Hawaiki where the Tainui, Tauira-mai-tawhiti and other canoe ancestors had left from. It is not clear whether Ruamoengārara had anything to do with the naming of Tihirau[84] or whether other ancestors were responsible.

Poumātangatanga and his peoples' decision to leave Hawaiki is remembered by the whakataukī, "He karere Tauira ka hiki i te ara!"[85] Before their departure Poumātangatanga asked his people to wait a while so that he could go to Rēhua[86] to ask him for one of his children. Everyone agreed.

Poumātangatanga Visits Rēhua

'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' presents in some detail Poumātangatanga's journey to Rēhua's home at Hui-te-rangi-ora.[87] Poumātangatanga came to an ascent of a hill where Pawa had travelled before him. Stakes had already been driven into the ground to assist Pawa on his climb of the steep ascent. That place was called Te Ara-tiatia-a-Pawa. In the context of tukunga iho about Tāwhaki, Te Maire Tau (2011:95) argues that, "the ascent to the heavens is essentially the entry of the student into the world of tapu and of the whare pūrākau". In line with this explanation, here Poumātangatanga is entering into Rēhua's world of tapu and the sacred knowledge associated with certain fish species including the moki as well as certain bird species including the tūī (Mead, 1986:12).

When Poumātangatanga arrived at Hui-te-rangi-ora, Rēhua was in his house. Poumātangatanga entered and Rēhua said, "Sit yourself down below the window". Poumātangatanga had not quite settled down when someone came in and as he approached the front of the house he called out, "My sleeping place is occupied". His short spear was on his shoulder. His name was Kōkiri and he settled himself down at

[84] Apirana Ngata lists Tihirau as one of the very early names given by the Toi ancestors (Ngata, 1944). See Map of Whangaparāoa in Appendix One.
[85] Roka did not translate this whakataukī.
[86] "the tenth overworld" and therefore linking Rēhua very closely to the atua.
[87] Note – this informant also explains that Pikopiko-i-whiti is the fringe of plain beyond the water where the sea lies round the big Hawaikis [… the world to the ancient Maori was chiefly sea with a sprinkling of islands on it and also the big ancestral land in part of it].

the side of the house. Kōkiri normally sat where Poumātangatanga was seated, a place where certain initiation rituals took place (Tau, 2011:95).

Rēhua asked Poumātangatanga, “What brings you here?” Poumātangatanga replied, “I have come to ask you for one of your children”. “Which one?” asked Rēhua. Poumātangatanga looked at the hāpuku, the whale and all the other fish. At this stage of the narrative it states, “Ka kite atu i te moki e whakawhirinaki ana te mahunga kite taku ahi o te ahi” (MWMSS, 1965:9). A literal translation is “The moki was seen resting its head on the hearth of the fire” (Personal communication with McGarvey, 2016). Roka’s translation of this sentence and the next refers to the sun rather than a fireplace and the relevance of her reference to the sun will be discussed further in this chapter. Roka wrote:

> Then he saw the moki basking in the sun.
> Poumātangatanga said to Rehua, “I shall take this fellow with protruding lips basking here in the sun”.
> Rehua said, “He will come in his own time” (RPTSMSS, nd:154).

Rēhua turned to one side of the house and took hold of a stick and he said to Poumātangatanga, “Take this stick to get food for this child” (RPTSMSS, nd:154). Its food lives on the rocks. When people appear it heads back into the cracks of the rocks to hide. Force them out from the cracks with this stick. The name of the stick was Matuahautea (RPTSMSS, nd:155). Rēhua also said to Poumātangatanga, “Look after our child. If you ill-treat it, it will come back. Take note, don’t roast it; don’t eat it raw; don’t hit it with a stick; and treat it with respect” (RPTSMSS, nd:155). When Rēhua had finished addressing him, Poumātangatanga returned to his people.

To understand the significance of Rēhua to Māori and Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors I reviewed a range of literature. John R. Waititi (Reed, 1963) explains that, “Rehua, also known as Tangaroa, was the God of the Fish” but he gives no further explanation about whether Rēhua is another name for Tangaroa, or whether Rēhua was a specific atua or deity for certain species. Sutherland (1963:174) describes Rēhua as “the God of Kindness” who “lived in the tenth overworld” and therefore linking Rēhua very closely to the atua. Rerekura (2014:1) says that, “Whaitiri (thunder) begat Puanga to Rehua Kaitangata”. According to Harris et al (2013:331) the whakataukī, “‘E whai i

muri i a Rēhua, kia kai ai koe i te kai' speaks of the greatness of the star Rēhua (Antares) in Scorpius" and loosely translated means "follow behind Rēhua in order to be fed". An explanation by Arapeta Awatere (2003:431) of Rēhua says:

> In mythology there were two Rēhua: One a guardian in the Top-Most Heaven, one a star, Antares, in the galaxy of stars called the Constellation of Scorpio, Te Pipiri oo Rehua.[88]

Mātaamua (2014:6) refers to Rēhua as the main Māori star, "the boss of all stars", and "the guardian of knowledge at Tihi-o-manono where Tāne went to get the three baskets of knowledge". Some Māori ancestors referred to Rēhua as the summer star and a personification of summer or summer heat (Best, 2002:53) that cooks or ripens all fruits of the earth (Best, 2002:54). Keane (2010:29) also explains, there is a saying, 'Te tātarakihi, te pihareinga; ko ngā manu ēnā o Rēhua' (the locust and the cricket are Rēhua's song birds) because these creatures sing when the heat of summer has arrived". Rēhua's two wives, Rūhīterangi[89] and Whakaonge-kai (located one on each side of Rēhua), are also associated with summer (Best, 2002:54).

Some referred to Rēhua as the father of the Sun (Tikao, 2004). Tikao speaks of Rēhua[90] as the sun who was "given charge of the ninth heaven" (Tikao, 2004:29) and also explains that "the sun, in its course, goes through his dwelling-place, going up high through the heavens, then sinking down the west side of space, under the earth during the night and comes up the east side each morning over the back of Hine-hau-one, who holds the sands there. Two names were used in connection with the path of the sun, Pikopiko-i-rangi and Pikopiko-i-nuku" (Tikao, 2004: 42-43), and as Tikao explains, he thought "the former denoted it's course through the heavens and the latter its course through space… Its course above is pikopiko-i-rangi, which means that it curves in an arch through the heavens…" (Tikao, 2004:43). Tikao's explanation sounds like the sun's ecliptic around the earth. Therefore, Pikopiko-i-whiti could be the rising place of the sun in the morning. Ellyard & Tirion (2001) further explain

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[88] Rēhua was used as a symbol over the dead especially for elderly people, nobly born people and leaders (Awatere, 2003:431).

[89] Rūhīterangi is also my mum's name. She was named after Roka's mother, Rūhīterangi Paora (1898-1936).

[90] Maku married Mahora-nui-a-tea (great expanse of whiteness) and they begot the sun, who they called Rēhua, but Tāne called him Tama-nui-te-rā, and he is usually known by the short title Rā. Maku by his second wife Huareare had Marama-huakea or Marama, the moon (Tikao, 2004:24).

that the pathway of the star Antares (Rēhua) is very close to the sun's ecliptic. Specifically, Rēhua's movement along this pathway in the night sky from early April to late October, during New Zealand's winter months, is important to the understanding of this moki narrative. The moki narrative personifies Rēhua's movement as a star close to the sun's ecliptic as Rēhua as atua in his house at Huiterangiora looking after his children. In keeping with this theme, the Kōkiri referred to in the narrative could be a reference to mata-kokiri which Best (1922) refers to as meteors. This discussion shows that Rēhua, as atua (god), and Rēhua, as whetū (star), have very close connections to not only the moki season at Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti but also the settlement of our Hawaiki ancestors in Aotearoa. A discussion of Rēhua's relationship to the moki stars, Autahi (Canopus) and Tautoru mā (Orion's Belt and nearby stars such as Puanga (Rigel) and Takurua (Sirius)), will be presented in Chapter six.

Poumātangatanga Brought Other Important Resources To Aotearoa

Poumātangatanga also went to Tawarua to ask Ruakapanga for some of his feathers, so Ruakapanga gave him some. The name of the feather from his right armpit was Tauninihi. The one from his left armpit was Mokonuiārangi. These feathers were put into a calabash called Tutumanawa. Poumātangatanga then came across Rakamaomao's clump of flax. He took part of it to lash his canoe. He also collected some kūmara called Paea and some gourd plants called Mawhara. When Poumātangatanga arrived at his canoe he placed his calabash containing the feathers and all his treasures onto the canoe and told his people that Ruatatanoa would bless Tauira-mai-tawhiti, their canoe. Once Tauira-mai-tawhiti was hauled out to sea Poumātangatanga and his people climbed aboard and Ruatatanoa stood and recited his 'kawa' or 'prayer'.

He kawa te poutu ki uta
He kawa te poutu ki tai
Karia iho i rangi pouri tewa
He tapu koa taku kawa
Ko Tauira-mai-tawhiti
He taku koa taku kawa nei
Ka mapuna uta ka mapuna tai
Tangaroa te ihi rangi te ihi moana

Katu tapa taku kawa
Kawa te waka nei
Whana whana haraitetoki
Haumi e Hui e taiki e-e (RPTMSS, 1984:156)

Ruatatanoa faltered during the kawa. He told everyone that there was going to be a disaster and asked that they turn back. Poumātangatanga did not agree and insisted that they continue on their journey. He said, “waiho kia haere ana. E whati ana i te tutira tane, ma te tapairu wahine e kawe ki uta” (OmMSS, 1907:4). Roka’s translation states, “if the senior male line can’t do it then the female line will guide us ashore”. So the canoe kept coming and arrived off shore at night. ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ explains that the night time arrival of the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe caused some confusion onboard. Some called out to go to Tutepawa first and while they were still considering this, Tauira-mai-tawhiti went aground on a rock called Tāmurenui and capsized. The people had to swim ashore.

Mahia Finds The Calabash and the Feathers

Tutumanawa, the calabash containing Ruakapanga’s feathers, floated ashore too and landed at Rātānui, at a channel called Ohuri. The next morning Mahia found the calabash, untied it and found the feathers inside. Mahia knew that Poumātangatanga had arrived because he knew that the feathers belonged to Ruakapanga. He spread them on a flat rock to dry in the sun. The red colour from the feathers became permanently fixed on the rock. Then Mahia went in search of Poumātangatanga, and while he was travelling west he came upon the sails of the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe lying on the shore. He also found Rakamaomao’s flax already planted. He realised that Poumātangatanga’s canoe had capsized and that was the reason the calabash containing the feathers had floated ashore.

Mahia followed the footprints to the west of the mountain, and at a place called Matarere he saw the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe people sitting in a shelter that they had built called Okooe. Mahia then pulled out some flax and plaited himself a headband and adorned his head with the feathers. Then he revealed himself to Poumātangatanga and the Tauira-mai-tawhiti people sitting in their shelter.

Poumātangatanga noticed the feathers in Mahia's headband. Poumātangatanga called out, "Those feathers you are wearing are mine, give them back". Mahia said, "My feathers were stranded" (RPTMSS, 1984:157) and he wouldn't give them to Poumātangatanga. Hence a well-known proverb of this area is, 'Nga kura pae a Mahia' – 'the stranded feathers of Mahia' (RPTMSS, 1984:157). Roka's translation states that this proverb is equivalent to the English proverb, "Findings keepings".[91] A recent interpretation of this whakataukī (Frame & Seed-Pihama, 2004:12) says that 'finders keepers, losers weepers' is a doctrine that "tells us that rights can be lost by neglect or abandonment, thus establishing the dynamic potential of rights" where "the earlier assertion of rights takes precedence over a subsequent claim".

It is after this incident that Poumātangatanga decided to leave the Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti area. Before he departed he spoke with Ruatatanoa. The 1907 Omāio version states:

> I mua o te haerenga o Pou, ka korero a ia kia Ruatatanoa, "Me ui ki a Mahia te rua o nga whetu ko Autahi te kai takiri o te tau kia rere a Tautoru ma ka tono ai i a Marupapanui ki te mataki. Ki te tae mai te potiki a Rehua, kia atawhai rawa, engari kia mahara rawa ki au (OmMSS, 1907:4)

Poumātangatanga instructed Ruatatanoa to ask Mahia to watch out for the stars associated with the arrival of the moki, in particular, Autahi (Canopus), the star that heralds the new year, and Tautoru mā (Orion's Belt and stars that are nearby such as Puanga and Takurua) that follow. When Mahia saw these moki star signs they were to get Marupapanui[92] to go and see if Rēhua's children had arrived. The words 'te kai takiri o te tau' assert that Autahi and Tautoru mā are important stars whose early morning rising in the eastern sky, marked the Te Whānau-a-Apanui new year.

[91] Buck (1987:49-50) quotes Grey's versions of this kura incident in relation to the Te Arawa canoe's arrival. On the Te Arawa it was the chief Tauninihi who wore a red feather headdress and the name of the kura was Taiwhakaea. The kura was found by Mahina at Mahiti. The saying by Mahina was 'te kura pae a Mahina' and Buck's translation is 'the drift kura of Mahina', the equivalent of 'Finding is keeping'. Buck emphasises that "the kura incident is important as showing that the kura headdress had become established in central Polynesia in the 14th century, [and that] it also gives botanical evidence that the canoes reached New Zealand when the pohutukawa were in bloom which means December".

[92] Haukino Paora's manuscript (HPMSS, nd) records a Marupapanui as a son of Paikea. See Paikea narrative in Chapter 7.

According to Harris et al (2013:329):

> Being the eldest of all the stars, Atutahi (Canopus) was suspended from the outside of the basket, and he remains the brightest star in the sky outside of the Milky Way.

Māori ancestors looked upon Autahi as a very tapu star (or man) that stands alone outside of the Milky Way (Mātaamua, 2014). Some say that Puanga (Rigel) and Takurua (Sirius) are his parents.[93] Māori narratives say that Autahi is "the paua shell that decorates the sternpost" (Calman, 2013:134) of Tamarereti's canoe, Te Rua-o-Māhu. These tukunga iho Māori provide information about Autahi's location in the far southern sky where he is a circumpolar star that does not rise or set (does not disappear below the southern horizon). Autahi is referred to as the guardian star of the south. Its movements as a rising star in the evenings as well as its heliacal rising in the early morning sky were important to Māori ancestors (Best, 1922). Autahi was also important to navigators as a guiding mark and also used to foretell weather conditions. For example, if its rays extend to the South, it foretells rain and snow. If its rays extend to the North, it fortells a mild season (Best, 1922).

Tautoru, Orion's Belt, are part of the constellation of Orion and also known as Te Kakau, Te Tuke o Maui or te Whata (Best, 1922:31-38). Rerekura (2015:63) explains that in Māori mythology Tautoru is also called Te Tira o Puanga and they "resemble the wāhi tapu of the tuke where the bird is snared sealing its fate". Calman's (2013:135-136) explanation of Tautoru refers to Tautoru the Hunter who:

> Design[ed] a bird snare where he set scented flowers and berries to attract and catch Kererū, Kākā and tūī. He fell one day and broke his neck. He disappeared and it is said Tāne took him to the overworld.
>
> …
>
> In the constellation of Orion, Tautoru can be seen in the act of snaring the kererū. The principal star cluster Puarangarua is the mass of berries and flowers with which he decorated his snare. Rigel is Te Pua-tāwhiwhi-o-Tautoru (The berry bloom of Tautoru). The star beneath it is Te Tuke-o-Tautoru (The elbow of Tautoru), while Te Pewa-o-Tautoru is the arm and a row of stars forms Te Tata-o-Tautoru (The apron of Tautoru). The row of three central stars (The belt of Orion) is Tautoru (Settled three) (Calman, 2013:135-136).

[93] This is according to some as published by the Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary Online by John C. Moorfield retrieved in http://maoridictionary.co.nz/.

In June, the heliacal rising of Tautoru (Orion's Belt) is directly above east where it follows Autahi (Canopus) and Puanga (Rigel). Autahi is rising in the southeast and Puanga is rising directly above Tautoru. Takurua (Sirius) is rising at the same time as Tautoru to the south of east. In Chapter six the relationship between Autahi, Tautoru mā and Rēhua as stars closely associated with the moki season and the Te Whānau-a-Apanui New Year will be discussed further in my analysis of Roka's 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' (Paora, 1971).

Poumātangatanga Quarrels Over A Stranded Whale

'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' (MWMSS, 1965:13) goes on to describe an event that involved Poumātangatanga and a stranded whale. As he was leaving Whangaparāoa Poumātangatanga claimed the stranded whale by plaiting a rope and tying its tail to a pohutukawa tree. When he finished he noticed someone walking towards him with some utensils to cut up the whale. That person was Taikehu. Poumātangatanga called out, "That is my fish". Taikehu also called out, "This is my own fish". Poumātangatanga said, "Can't you see my rope tied to it?" Taikehu said, "Now then turn your fish over". When Poumātangatanga turned the fish over there was no lower jaw. "Where is the jaw of your fish?" asked Taikehu. "I don't know", replied Poumātangatanga. Taikehu said, "Here is the jaw of my fish. I have made a club for myself". Poumātangatanga then said, "Cut up your fish but leave the part that is tied with my rope". Taikehu agreed. This quarrel between Poumātangatanga and Taikehu at Te Ākau is remembered by the ancestral name, Kauaetangohia. The name of the hapū (sub-tribe) at Whangaparāoa, Te Whānau-ā-Kauaetangohia (the family of Kauaetangohia), also takes the name to remember the ancestor and this event.[94] More disgruntled after the stranded whale experience, Poumātangatanga continued on his departure from Whangaparāoa (MWMSS, 1965:15). Roka's copy of Moana Waititi's version ends at this point of the narrative.

[94] Buck (1987) briefly discusses Grey's versions of similar whale incidents as they relate to an argument between the Tainui and Te Arawa canoe arrivals at Whangaparāoa where "Tainui gave up the whale and voyaged off towards the north" (Buck, 1987:51) as well as a separate insertion in the Tokomaru canoe traditions that Buck says is "borrowed … from the Tainui tradition" (Buck, 1987:53).

The 1907 Omāio version continues on at Whangaparāoa by giving readers a brief insight into what happened when the moki first arrived at Whangaparāoa. It says:

> Ka tae ki te wa i kitea ai nga whetu, ka haere a Marupapanui ki te mataki. Tae atu ia e amio ana, ka waitohungia e Marupapanui a ia taunga a ia taunga. Nona ka tae ki tetahi o nga taunga ka pakaru te toto i tona ihu, a tapaia tonutia iho kauria, ka ora. Tapaia tonutia iho te ingoa o tena wai ko 'Te wai kaukau o Marupapanui'. E tino mohiotia ana tenei wai, he wai tapu (OmMSS, 1907:5)

When the stars, Autahi and Tautoru mā were seen, Marupapanui went to have a look for the moki. At each place that he found them swimming together, Marupapanui named the fishing ground. His dive to one of the fishing grounds made his nose blood, he bathed it until it stopped. That water was named 'The bathing water of Marupapanui'.

The 1907 Omāio version goes on to assert a high level of sacredness associated with the moki. It says:

> Ko nga tikanga enei mo te hi Moki, he mea tapu rawa i mua. Ka tae ki te wa e takiri ai a Te Whaiti, (ara i te hinga tuatahi i te Moki mo te tau) ko te ika tuatahi e mauria ana ki runga i te rakau, e karangatia nei ko te herenga o te ika a Pou, mo te korero a Pou, "Kia mahara rawa ki au" (OmMSS, 1907:5).

Here, the 1907 Omāio version notes that this tukunga iho records the guidelines for moki fishing, a very sacred activity in the past. It remembers Poumātangatanga's instructions that when the first moki of the season is caught, it should be hung on the tree called, te herenga o te ika a Poumātangatanga, to remember him and his deeds.

Poumātangatanga goes to the Mōtū River

The 1907 Omāio version then focuses on Poumātangatanga's arrival at the Mōtū River where he married Hine-ki-Mōtū and had a son called Hekopara. In particular the narrative describes a day when Poumātangatanga went to gather food and Hekopara went to the river to sail his flax canoe. On Poumātangatanga's return Hekopara had disappeared. They feared that he had drowned and was with Tangaroa so Poumātangatanga went to ask Tangaroa where his son was. Tangaroa did not know

where Hekopara was and told Poumātangatanga to return home and wait for him to come to acknowledge the death of Hekopara.

Poumātangatanga and Tangaroa's conversation is recorded as follows:

> Ka ki atu a Pou ki a Tangaroa, "Kia whai tohu ra mou ki uta, kia whai tohu mou ki te moana".
> Ka ki mai a Tangaroa, "E kore e ngaro. Ka ura te karaka ko au tena. Kai te haere atu. Me titiro tonu ki te moana, ka penei tonu me te mohunu rauaruhe, ko au tena kei te haere atu" (OmMSS, 1907:5).

When Poumātangatanga returned to the Mōtū he told his people that Tangaroa had spoken to him and said that when the karaka tree is orange the people should keep monitoring the sea. When the sea is bubbling and frothing,[95] that is Tangaroa coming. Poumātangatanga asked the people to be ready to kill Tangaroa to avenge the death of his son, Hekopara. Poumātangatanga spoke directly to Titipa about preparing the flax to make nets to catch Tangaroa. Poumātangatanga also spoke directly to Mawake about preparing driftwood and stones to cook Tangaroa. They agreed.

The narrative goes on to name the different types of nets that were made under the instruction of Titipa. It says:

> Ka whakahau a Titipa kia tapahia he harakeke, ka pae ka whakahau a Titipa kia mahia nga kupenga mo te awa, kia rima, kia rima ano mo te paripari. Ko nga ingoa enei mo nga kupenga mo te awa:
> 1. He kaharoa;
> 2. He kupenga kooko;
> 3. He poua-hao-kai;
> 4. He kupenga whakaū;
> 5. He auparu.
>
> Ko nga kupenga mo te paripari:
> 1. He wahanui, arā he Matarau. Mo rungawaka tenei kupenga.
> 2. He kupenga whiu mo runga toka;
> 3. He kupenga kookoo;
> 4. He haua, ara he hinaki;
> 5. He pouraka.
>
> (OmMSS, 1907:5-6)

[95] The *Maraenui School 1927 – 1977* booklet (1977:28) says, "soon Tangaroa was sighted inside White Island (Whakaari) approaching with his attendants (all kinds of fish) that caused the sea to bail and froth". "Bubbling and frothing" and "to bail and froth" for mohunu rauaruhe.

Titipa and the people made five river nets (ngā kupenga mō te awa) and five shoreline nets (ko nga kupenga mō te paripari) from flax. They each had a name and a specific role in harnessing Tangaroa. The narrative continues with an explanation of the weather patterns leading up to the arrival of Tangaroa.

> Ka pa te hau, he hau-tonga, ka ua te rangi, ka roa, ka huri ki te paeroa, ka huri ki te mawake, ka waipuke a Motu. Ka huri te hau ki te hau-a-raki, ka ia mai te tawhaowhao ki te akau. Ka tae ki te waru, ka ura te karaka, ka haramai a Tangaroa. I korero ano a Pou ki a Tapuiria, "ko koe hai tutei, ara, hai titiro. Ina kite koe ka nui, mahau e whakahau kia patua" (OmMSS, 1907:6).

Roka's translations folder (RPTMSS, 1984) includes a translation of this section. It states that:

> The southerly wind blew and it rained. Then the wind blew along the coast (paeroa) and then followed a southeast breeze (mawake). Motu was in flood. The wind from the north (hauaraki) blew and the driftwood was washed ashore. On the eighth month when the karaka berries were orange[96], Tangaroa was on his way. Pou spoke to Tapuiria again, "you be the lookout to watch out. If you see many, give the word to kill them"

It is interesting to note that the word for southeast breeze, Mawake,[97] is also the name of the ancestor who prepared the driftwood and stones to cook Tangaroa. When Tangaroa arrived at the Mōtū to acknowledge the loss of Hekopara, he came in the form of the kahawai. Thousands of kahawai were sighted by the Ruanuku (high priests) watching from a high ridge called Taumata Kahawai.[98] Many fish were caught in Titipa's nets and died. Because there were so many kahawai, some were not caught by the nets. Instead they were left on the beach and died, therefore Tangaroa decided to send particular types of waves to clear the beach of scattered fish remains.[99]

> Ko te ope tuatahi no Tua-wharau. Ko te ope tuarua, no Whatiwhati-rau-tutu. Ko enei tangata, he ngaru, e karangatia ana he huaroa. E rua putanga mai i te wa kotahi, ara, i te raumati, i a Pepuere, i a Maehe e tahia atu ai nga makatea o Tangaroa pau katoa atu (OmMSS, 1907:6).

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[96] The Karaka tree blooms during spring between August and November. The Karaka berries are ripe between January and April.

[97] Timi Waata Rimini (Tregear, 1901:184) referred to Mawake as a "tupua" who continued to ensure that there was driftwood on the beach near the Mōtū.

[98] *Maraenui School 1927-1977* (1977:28).

[99] Tangaroa came to collect the remains of the fish that had been left dead on the beach – that is, the gills, the heads and the fins as well as the maggots (Tregear, E., 1901 - Timi Waata Rimini to Mr George Davies and translated with notes by E. Tregear).

Here, the groups of huaroa waves (sea swells) are referred to as "ēnei tāngata" (these people) and associated with names. The first group of huaroa are associated with Tua-wharau (person or place) and the second group of huaroa are associated with Whatiwhati-rau-tutu. They came twice during the summer months, in February and March. One interpretation is that there were three waves and the third was called Huaroa.[100] Another interpretation is that there were six huaroa, three from Tua-wharau and three from Whatiwhati-rau-tutu. The *Maraenui School 1927-1977* booklet (1977:28) says that the "six great waves, that causes people to flee far inland, Rangawhenua (a sea deity) and Whaki-whaki-rautuhi came to seek the remains of Tangaroa". This could be a record of catastrophic events in light of McFadgen's (2007) research into the consequences of saltwater inundations[101] and earthquakes on Māori communities in pre-European times.

The names of the 'tipua o Motu' (guardians of the Mōtū) where the kahawai come have been preserved as:

1. Ko He-kopara;
2. Ko Hine-ki-Motu;
3. Ko Wai-puaki-hau;
4. Ko Wheao;
5. Ko Tangi-toronga;
6. Ko Pou;
7. Ko Wai-o-Pi-aiki.

(OmMSS, 1907:6)

This is where the 1907 Omāio version ends. The *Maraenui School 1927-1977* extends this by explaining that:

> Pou Kohinemotu (a young lady of Motu, deity now represented by a rock near the mouth) and Te Wharau, are Goblins or Supernatural Beings (Tupua) are reputed to bring fish into Motu whose powers influence "Mana" in modern times.
> Thus, to keep Motu free from Tapu a youngster was sent to catch three Kahawai, a ritual known as Takiri, which are offered to those directly Spirits and only when this is done then the river is declared open for fishing. The local people (Tangata Whenua) never dare catch Kahawai till the days of December.

[100] Tregear's (1901) interpretation of what Timi Waata Rimini told Davies is, "Six days afterwards, Huaroa, Rangawhenua and Whaki-whaki-raututu came to seek the remains of Tangaroa …. [they] were immense waves, and the people knew when those six waves would arrive, those six exceedingly great waves; men and women all rushed inland" (Tregear, 1901:186).

[101] Saltwater inundations are unusual and bigger than normal, flood like events by one or more sea waves … tsunamis … or storm surges (McFadgen, 2007:6-7).

The Maraenui hapū, Te Whānau-a-Hikarukutai, continue their active guardian role of the kahawai. The hapū announces when the kahawai season is open and enforce rules associated with fishing. Rikirangi Gage's (2015) winning poi composition by Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau-a-Apanui at Te Matatini 2015, 'Touti mai Tangaroa', remembers Poumātangatanga's role in inviting Tangaroa to Hekopara's tangi and Tangaroa coming to the Mōtū as the kahawai. Tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki, Poumātangatanga and the kahawai continue into the twenty-first century informing not only whānau, hapū and iwi but also the nation through kapa haka.

Te Tapu o te Moki – The Sacredness of the Moki

'Ko Te Putake Mai O Te Maori' is tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that helps to explain the origins of the moki and the kahawai in the context of Te Whānau-a-Apanui's migration history. Connections to traditions guide our aronga (worldview) from which our kaupapa (values and principles) and tikanga (how to behave) flow, guiding our relationship with the moki and the kahawai – how we should fish for it, process it, cook it and eat it. Manihera Waititi II[102] and others[103] maintained that the early traditions pertaining to the fishing and preparation of moki had been very strict because it was tapu (sacred). Manihera Waititi II explained that:

> Your moki boat must be spotlessly clean. If you used crayfish bait, this should be dived for the previous day and left, with any other bait, in the boat overnight. To take lines and bait down together in the morning was certain to cause a blank day. A moki fisherman boated nothing but moki. Snapper, or hapuku coming up on his hooks must be held clear and cut loose, and on no account allowed to

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[102] Manihera Waititi II's contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki is discussed further in Chapter five.

[103] Poata (1919) of Ngāti Porou and Best (1986) also outline some of these tikanga pertaining to no food and water. Best also explained how rites and customs were related to the level of *tapu* (sacredness) associated with the moki. Best (1986:50) wrote that "when fishing for [the moki] it is most unlucky to mention the word ahi (fire): no fish will be caught. Again, no fires might be kindled by the village folk, and no food partaken of by them, until the fishermen returned home". Poata's (1919:13) version of moki fishing preparations is also in line with Manihera Waititi II. He states that, "before proceeding to the fishing ground the fisherman must dive for his crayfish bait, which must be left in the boat, together with the lines, after the boat has been thoroughly cleansed. … He must take neither food nor water with him, nor must he even think about food nor mention it to his mates. His wife must not get up in the morning to light the fire for cooking purposes. The mother must not under any circumstances suckle the baby at the breast." (p. 13). Poata (1919:13) also wrote that, "at Cape Runaway [Whangaparāoa], … custom allows cooking only in the Māori copper".

> touch the boat. No food, water, or tobacco could be taken in the boat, nor could the fisherman think about food in any shape or form. This ban applied equally to the members of his family on shore. Even his infant must forgo its mother's mild until the fishing was done. Quarrelling before going fishing was avoided at all costs, and the night before he went to sea, the moki fisherman slept alone (Sutherland, 1963:175).

These very specific guidelines (tikanga and kawa) stem from the Rangi and Papa traditions which were established at the beginning of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori'. This whakapapa connects our Hawaiki ancestors, and us, to atua Māori. This whakapapa, as Te Maire Tau (2003:33) explains, "imposes[s] a relationship between an iwi and the natural world … [and is] a metaphysical framework constructed to place oneself within the world". From this worldview flow a range of Māori values and principles related to family and the notion of sharing in a unity of being (Salmond cited in Tau, 2003:33) such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, kotahitanga and rangatiratanga as outlined in Chapter two of this thesis.

The inclusion of the Rātā narrative in 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' reinforces the values and principles of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, kotahitanga and rangatiratanga. The underlying message of the Māori worldview is that because people have whakapapa connections to the trees, there are kaupapa (values and principles) and tikanga (behaviours) to follow when taking trees for human purposes. Consequently, to understand the kaupapa and tikanga of tree felling for canoe building, we also need to understand the tukunga iho about Rātā[104] and vice versa because tukunga iho and aronga-kaupapa-tikanga can only be properly understood when both go hand in hand.

The tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about Rātā, the archetypal tohunga[105] of canoe building, outlines the appropriate kawa (rituals) that canoe builders and other

[104] Binney (2007) in her research and writing pays attention to the "altered contexts" in which the narratives are told and the "new implications and meanings [that] spring from "old vessels". She refers to narratives as "vehicles by which people find ways of connecting diverse periods of time and unforeseen events" (Binney, 2007:141). A Tainui paddle chant makes reference to Rātā – "E hiki e Rata! Nau mai! Te haria, te kawea a Tane ki uta" – where Kelly (1949:47) describes Rātā and Tāne as metaphors for the Tainui canoe.

[105] As Tau (2011:94) explains: "tohunga is often described as an 'expert', which is correct but also unsuitable. An accountant is obviously an expert, but hardly a tohunga. Tohunga teach belief systems that are tightly bound to spiritual ideas, whakapapa and rituals. A tohunga who builds whare, whether it be whare pūrākau or wharenui, is not the same as a modern registered master builder. A master

participants should enact when going through the process of felling trees. The tohunga in ‘Ko Te Putake Mai O Te Maori’ who sets out to cut down the tree to build the Tainui canoe “transcends into another realm of godliness” (Tau, 2003:260) where Rātā from the past “appear[s] in the relative present … within a spiritual context” (Tau, 2003:259). The inclusion of the Rātā tradition and his lessons are acknowledged as important to Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Tainui waka traditions. In the end, ‘te tini o te hakuturi’ tell Rātā that they will build his canoe. Alpers (1975:74) explains that the ‘tini o Hakuturi’ come to Rātā’s aid because of his courage to question and understand the role of ‘te tini o te hakuturi’. When it was complete the canoe was towed out and named Tainui.[106] Te Maire Tau (2012:29-30) argues that:

> As the Rātā karakia shows, mōteatea, whakapapa, karakia and tikanga connect us to a wider past that deserves our attention. … We can be sure that before our ancestors left their homeland, they did so upon canoes that were felled following the ritual of Rātā. We can also have a degree of certainty as to how the rituals were performed. But just as importantly, we can be certain that Māori belong to the Pacific and are themselves the ‘primary’ peoples.

Second, the Rātā narrative reminds us that we should respect our relationship with the environment and our atua by following certain guidelines for rituals. A retelling of the Rātā tradition during Hoturoa and Tamatekapua’s migration time period shows that our ancestors believed it was important to remind their descendants of the kaupapa of whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga and rangatiratanga. In simple terms, our ancestors are telling us to show respect for the atua and the environment. The role of the ‘tini o te hakaturi’ is important in reminding people to make offerings to the gods when cutting down a totara tree for human purposes of building a canoe.

For generations, ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ has explained the moki’s place in the scheme of the Māori world and signifies the value that our ancestors placed on the moki. In line with Tau’s (2012) analysis, Firth (2011) explains how tukunga iho Māori are important to understanding the tapu of the kererū because it sets “a

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builder does not know the whakapapa, rituals or incantations”. For this reason, I have left tohunga untranslated.

[106] The Māori script says “waiho ma matou e tarai to waka. Na ka oti ka toia ki waho, ka tapa te ingoa ko Tainui” (MWMSS, 1965:4)

precedent and a justification for the body of ritual observances which mark the importance of the Māori forest and its products" (Firth, 2011:49).

Within 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' there are also a number of warnings and instructions from Rēhua and Poumātangatanga that have been preserved. Rēhua warned Poumātangatanga to "Look after our child" because "if you ill-treat it, it will come back" [to Huiterangiora]. These instructions assert the importance of our role as kaitiaki of the moki. One of the reasons why we should look after and respect the moki is because of its whakapapa connection to Rēhua. Rēhua is an atua and 'parent' of a certain family of fishes including the moki. The 'parent-child' whakapapa link between Rēhua and the moki lays the foundation of the moki's sacredness.

The origin of the moki, Rēhua's home at Huiterangiora, and Poumātangatanga's efforts to seek it out enhance its sacredness. The way in which Poumātangatanga climbed to Huiterangiora and placed himself in Rēhua's house can be explained by Te Maire Tau's (2011:39-40) analysis of one of his own tribal tukunga iho where his ancestor, Iwi-kau, places himself on the ledge of the window of Te Rehe's house, he explains that it is "an old custom that allows him to retain his state of 'tapu', which would have been lost if he had gone through the door of the meeting house". Poumātangatanga's ascent to Huiterangiora along 'te ara a Pawa' and his approach to Rēhua and his house are about Poumātangatanga, like others before him, entering a tapu (sacred) domain. Therefore, he establishes guidelines for the moki fisherman and how he should prepare himself before going moki fishing, that is, into a state of tapu. One of the kawa that developed at Whangaparāoa included fishermen sleeping away from their wives for a few nights. During this time they would prepare the best baits and their boats based on tikanga and kawa. Rēhua as the star Antares and the timing of its movements across the New Zealand winter sky is also an important star and guardian (Mātaamua, 2013:6).

Rēhua was also specific in instructing Poumātangatanga not to roast the moki or eat it raw; not to hit it with a stick; and to treat it with respect (RPGMSS, nd:155). Poumātangatanga instructed that the first catch of the season should be hung on the tree, 'te herenga o te ika a Pou'. This is an acknowledgement of Poumātangatanga

and Rēhua as guardians and protectors of the moki. Rēhua passed on his guardianship role to Poumātangatanga by outlining the rules and guidelines to be followed. The primary function of tapu here is the maintenance of social control and discipline - “a valuable restraining principle” (Firth, 2011 edition of 1929:238) so that the moki is treated with respect, protected and preserved (Mikaere, 2003) thus laying a foundation of kaupapa (key values and principles) such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and rangatiratanga.

There is also a close relationship between tapu and respect in ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’. The respectful or disrespectful treatment of Tangaroa’s children can be linked to the tukunga iho about Ranginui and Papatuanuku’s children. In *Maori Myths and Tribal Legends,* Alpers (1964:213) explains that, “Tū took revenge on Tangaroa for being no help to him against Tawhiri. He sought out the sea god’s offspring, and found them leaping and swimming in the water. He cut down strips of Tane’s flax and wove them into nets, and dragged them in the sea and hauled out Tangaroa’s children. And he cooked them, and made them common, and ate them”.

In *The Coming of the Māori*, Buck (1987:485) states that the gods expected “recognition and priority in accordance with their status, so the first share [of food] was given to them e.g. the first fish caught went to Tangaroa”. Best (1987) also refers specifically to Te Whānau-a-Apanui and the moki in this regard stating that:

> some tribes had a local god for particular fish, such as Pou for the moki among the Whanau-apanui. The first moki caught on the opening day of the season was hung up in a particular tree which had been designated as the local shrine of Pou (Buck, 1987:500).

Anthropologists like Best (1929) and Firth (1929) understood the significance of the moki to the tribes of the East Cape and referred to the tapu fish as “the prized moki”. The sacredness of the moki was reflected in the number of rules associated with fishing for it and preparing it for a meal. The moki was not to be eaten raw or cooked in fires on the beach because these actions were seen to be disrespectful to a sacred child of an atua. Instead it should be cooked whole, the best way to make the child of an atua common.

‘Ko Te Putake O Te Maori’ weaves together the arrival and settlement of our migratory canoes with our genealogical connections to our Hawaiki ancestors. The history of these cultural connections to tipuna (ancestors), atua (gods) and mana with tapu (sacredness) provide the people with spiritual sustenance and a foundation for tribal identity. The retention of whakapapa from Poumātangatanga down to our Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors as well as the naming of the land provided our ancestors right down to us today, with “tangible markers” (Anderson, Binney & Harris, 2014:47) and points of reference where “names in the landscapes were like survey pegs of memory, marking the events that happened in particular places, recording some aspect of feature of the traditions and history of a tribe” (Davis, O’Regan and Wilson, 1990:5). This naming of places and association with ancestors confirms that one of the primary functions of these types of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui is “to preserve kinship links and establish tribal links to the land” (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008:139), providing Te Whānau-a-Apanui with tangible markers of mana whenua and mana moana.

Furthermore, the narrative provides guidance in respect to kaupapa and tikanga about how humans should interact with and behave when dealing with Tangaroa and the moki. Te Whānau-a-Apanui continues to be proud of how the moana continues to provide physical sustenance for Te Whānau-a-Apanui. As a coastal tribe, sea fishing is an important part of the tribe’s economy. Fish continue to be a significant part of the peoples’ diet and provide the people with physical sustenance throughout the year. The moki provides sustenance from the mid-winter month of June to September. Like other fish, catching the moki in season is important because that is when they are spawning at Whangaparāoa and are at their fattest. Te Whānau-a-Apanui has also had our special seasons for catching different species of fish such as the kahawai, the maomao and the hāpuku (Poata, 1921). This was one way in which the ancestors kept in touch with nature and natural life processes of important food sources. It has also been a great treasure to the local people for the entertainment of their visitors (Firth, 1929) during the winter months. Catching the moki during the moki season also preserves the moki for future generations. The process of fishing for moki reflects the peoples’ respect for this sacred fish.

Conclusion

‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ was important to Roka’s journey to reverse the decline of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. She was entrusted with a manuscript book belonging to kaumātua, Moana Waititi, in 1965 from which she copied and translated the unique tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. In 1971 Roka’s ‘Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki’ was published in *Te Wharekura 18* highlighting key ancestor names, landscape names and protocols associated with moki fishing. This chapter began by discussing Roka’s efforts to preserve and revitalise tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. This is followed by a close reading of ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ by outlining the key messages of two early versions to understand why Roka referred to Ruamoengārara, Pou and Rēhua in ‘Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki’ (Paora, 1971).

This chapter has examined ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’, the earliest tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki, available from Roka’s archive. ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ is a unique tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that has been preserved and passed down from Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors since the arrival of the Tainui canoe, and soon after, the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe to Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti. This chapter has used two te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui versions – Moana Waititi’s and the 1907 Omāio version - both from Roka’s archive to explore ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’. Both sources are associated with twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars. My exploration of ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ is a foundation for examining a range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki in Chapter five and Chapter six.

‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Māori’ incorporates kōrero (narrative), whakapapa (genealogy), whakataukī (proverbs) and karakia (incantations). It is Te Whānau-a-Apanui written tradition that passes on the knowledge and history of the moki, key ancestors and important natural resources that journeyed from Hawaiki on the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe as well as the early settlement patterns in Aotearoa (Tau, 2012:21). ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ pulls together layers of key Māori and iwi narratives that provide a framework for fishing moki at Whangaparāoa. It contains historical,

cultural and scientific knowledge and value messages that have been passed down and have also ensured the continuity of a unique te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

There are a range of assertions that this tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui makes in respect to te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui – our history and identity in relation to the moki. The assertion that the moki is tapu (sacred) reminds us as humans of our place in the scheme of all things of the natural world. 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' connects Te Whānau-a-Apanui people to atua such as Rēhua[107] and Tangaroa and tīpuna such as Ruamoengārara, Poumātangatanga, Hoturoa and others, reminding us not only of the long and rich history of our Hawaiki ancestors but also the whakapapa connections between them. This particular aronga is similar to those of other iwi but it is also distinct because of the way kaupapa and tikanga flow from and are represented by Poumātangatanga, the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe, the moki and the kahawai. Each of these aspects of our aronga contributes to a foundation of our values, principles and behaviours as Te Whānau-a-Apanui people today.

'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' reminds us of the nature of the oral culture of our ancestors by providing a framework for a range of identity markers that connect our history to the significance of the moki, such as landscape, seascape, starscape and technology. Most significantly, the moki has been an important winter food source for generations and the local people continue to look to the moki for both spiritual and physical sustenance during the months of June, July and August. With the decline of moki stocks and moki fishing activity, the act of writing about the moki, in Māori, is an important way of using the language as a vehicle for not only preserving history and culture but also asserting tino rangatiratanga in contemporary times. Harvesting or fishing for moki was accompanied by many ritual observances and restrictions. Over time, Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors developed fishing knowledge, techniques and technologies that allowed the moki to be caught and cooked in the best possible way to maximise it's flavour and sweetness.

After close reading 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' I have come to clearly understand the roles of the tīpuna, Poumātangatanga and Ruamoengārara, in asking the atua,

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[107] Rēhua is also known as Tangaroa to some iwi. Rēhua resides at Hui-te-rangiora, the tenth heaven.

Rēhua, for the moki as well as the statement in the 1907 Omāio version that says, “he tapu rawa i mua”. The group of three tipuna names commemorates core elements of the migration history of Te Whānau-a-Apanui, how the land was settled and whakapapa that extends to today. I also acknowledge the kaumātua who made the decision to preserve the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui by writing it down. Moana Waititi’s version as copied and translated by Roka provides us with an example of the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that had been recorded in writing. The 1907 Omāio version extends Moana Waititi’s version with further details about ‘te kaupapa o Poumātangatanga’[108] in relation to not only the moki but also the kahawai. This is a fine example of how kaumātua across hapū co-operated across hapū in order that tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui relating to Poumātangatanga could be told as one narrative and passed down to future generations. Chapter five will further explore ways in which Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars have embraced tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki and the ways they have retold, renewed and extended them to assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

[108] Rikirangi Gage (2015) refers to ‘te kaupapa o Poumātangatanga’ in his poi composition ‘Touti mai Tangaroa’.

Chapter Five: Ka Pū Te Ruha Ka Hao Te Rangatahi

> KO TAMAHAE: Kei roto ngā kōrero mō ngā taunga moki o konei i tētahi pukapuka kei te wharekura, ko te *Treasury of Maori Folklore* te ingoa.
> KO REWI: Kei roto i taua pukapuka ngā kōrero a te Māori mō ngā ika, mō te tohora, mō te mangō, mō te moki me ētahi atu kai moana.
> KO TAMAHAE: Nā tētahi tangata, nā John R. Waititi o Te Whānau-a-Apanui i tuhi ngā kōrero o te moki, nāna anō hoki i whakaae kia tuhia aua kōrero ki roto i te *Treasury of Maori Folklore* (Paora, 1971:19)

Here, while they are moki fishing at Whangaparāoa, Tamahae and Rewi explain to their fathers that they have read about the moki fishing grounds in A.W. Reed's (1963) *Treasury of Maori Folklore*. Tamahae explains that John R. Waititi of Te Whānau-a-Apanui is the writer of 'The Story of the Moki' (Reed, 1963) and it was John R. Waititi that agreed to have it published in *Treasury of Maori Folklore*. For me, Roka's specific reference to John R. Waititi's English account of 'The Story of the Moki' (Reed, 1963)[109] represents another important connection between 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' and 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori', the early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui examined in Chapter four.

Further on from the above extract, Roka wrote:

> KO HATA: E Rua, he mōhio ake ā rāua [sic] tama i a tāua ki ngā kōrero o te moki.
> KO RUA: Kāore anō hoki tō tāua nei whakatipuranga i whakaakotia ki ēnei kōrero. He pai tonu nō tēnei mahi, nō te hī moki, i hihiri ai tāua ki tēnei mahi. Kāore noa tāua i āro ki ngā kōrero o neherā mō tēnei ika" (Paora, 1971:19).

Hata admits that their sons have learnt more tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki than he and Rua have. Rua agrees by saying that their generation had never had formal lessons about the knowledge and history of the moki, rather they learnt about it through the exciting experiences of moki fishing. When they were growing up, they were not interested in the early stories about the moki. Admissions by Hata and Rua bring forth issues relating to a decline in the handing down of early

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[109] Pages 404-406 in *Treasury of Maori Folklore* (Reed, 1963). Also in the revised edition by Ross Calman (2004), *Reed Book of Māori Mythology.*

tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki such as 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' discussed in Chapter four.

The decline of the Māori language, the decline of intergenerational transmission of knowledge, urbanisation and their chosen roles as educators must have been key motivators for John R. Waititi and Roka to not only write in Māori but also focus on topics of tribal knowledge and history – tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. In the first year of publication of the *Te Wharekura* journal, two tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui - 'Tētahi Kōrero Mō Te Waka Nei Mō Tainui' (Te Whānau-a-Apanui, 1960a) and 'Te Tipuna nei a Pou' (Te Whānau-a-Apanui, 1960b) were published where Te Whānau-a-Apanui is the author. Together, these Māori language contributions to *Te Wharekura* are very similar to John R. Waititi's english account of 'The Story of the Moki' (Reed, 1963) and the Māori versions of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori'. These publications have been a way to promote distinctive tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, as well as assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in popular and accessible books of their time.

My close reading of Roka's archive took me to other tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki that had been published[110] by Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars during the twentieth century. These scholars have ensured that the familial as well as the intellectual whakapapa or layering of interpretations about the moki has continued to assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. This chapter explores a twentieth century publication history of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki. Specifically, how scholars have applied the concept of tukunga iho by embracing, renewing or extending them and then continuing to pass down core elements – the iho – of knowledge and history while asserting te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. I believe that Roka and more recent scholars such as Rikirangi Gage[111] have been inspired by both the oral tradition as well as this history of publication to interpret tribal history

[110] Māori magazines such as *Te Ao Hou*, niupepa Māori (Māori newspapers) such as *Te Pipiwharauroa*, Māori school journals such as *Te Wharekura*, as well as historical biographies (Christensen, 2013), New Zealand fishing and tourism books (Sutherland, 1963; Woods and Woods, 1998) and Māori legends books (Reed, 1963).

[111] Rikirangi Gage's two Te Matatini (2005 & 2015) winning poi compositions are examples – *Touti, Touti, Tou Tangaroa* (Gage, 2005) about the moki coming to Whangaparāoa and *Touti mai Tangaroa* (Gage, 2015) about the kahawai coming to the Mōtū River.

and make their own contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki.

In the book, *Kāti Au i Konei*, Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal states that:

> Ultimately, … it is for Māori to explain themselves to the world, to share the riches of ancestral creativity (1994:14)

This thesis demonstrates how Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars have shared some of the riches of ancestral creativity by taking tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui further into the realm of print media. Many of the published written legacies that I examine have been copied by Roka and are preserved in her archive. Some published material has been sourced from public libraries and national electronic databases to extend my own understanding of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki. Genealogical and intellectual connections across four generations of twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars including Te Manihera Waititi I, his three sons, Te Kuaha, Moana and Hirini Waititi as well as Manihera Waititi II and Winston Waititi will be made. An analysis of their tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui captures a period in time when Te Whānau-a-Apanui traditions were changing due to increased interaction with other tribes and the influence of Western ideologies and technologies.[112]

This chapter presents what I see as an interlinked record[113] of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki by a "chain of informants" (Malcolm-Buchanan, 2009:107) or scholars that ensure an interlinked oral tradition is maintained and a successive series of historical documents is preserved.

[112] For example, the *Journal of Polynesian Society* (since 1892) and niupepa Māori including Te Wānanga and Te Pipiwharauroa exposed Māori to tukunga iho from a wide number of other sources as the scholars of their time published their accounts. Similarly, the Native Land Court put pressure on the authenticity of tukunga iho where scholars sometimes "twisted to support the political and economic interests of the tribe" where "traditions emphasised early settlement and origins as tribes attempted to assert primordial connection and therefore ownership of lands" (Prendergast-Tarena, 2008:28).

[113] When an oral account from an observer of an event has been transmitted from informant to informant and generation to generation and an evident chain of informed transmission can be seen, the oral account is recognisable as generationalised, and is therefore an oral tradition. The chain of informants can then be looked upon as creators of an interlinked oral record, an oral tradition which should be regarded in the same way as a successive series of historical documents; albeit debatably interpreted by each informant (Malcolm-Buchanan, 2009:107).

The multiple transmissions highlighted in this chapter provide a richer repository that when brought together, positively asserts the ways in which our tribal scholars applied the tukunga iho process and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui during the twentieth century when te reo Māori and Māori scholarship was most vulnerable due to interracial marriage, mission Christianity, English language-based schooling and State education (Stevens, 2015:63). An examination of the published tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui as far back as the early 1900s will, as Prendergast-Tarena (2008:78) says, "add many more fragments to create a more complete context to interpret and analyse tradition". Therefore, this chapter explores an exposition of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki.

Manihera Waititi I

'Te Kura Pae a Mahia', in *Te Pipiwharauroa* No. 45, November 1901; No. 48, February 1902; and No. 57, November 1902.

Te Manihera Waititi I (Manihera I) was from Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia and Te Whānau-a-Pararaki,[114] hapū of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. He was a tribal scholar and expert moki fisherman who through his writings and teachings showed his commitment to the continuity of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui especially about the moki and the Whangaparāoa district. His writings have been preserved in a number of niupepa Māori (Māori newspapers) such as *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* (1903) and *Te Pipiwharauroa* (1901&1902) during the early part of the twentieth century.

Education was important to Manihera I. In 1903, Manihera I's letter to *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* (Waititi, 1903:4) spoke out strongly and publically about the importance of education, reminding Māori that education and schools were important aspects of Māori life, handed down from our Māori ancestors of pre-European times. He wrote:

> …te haere ki te kura he taonga, te whiwhi ki te matauranga he taonga nui whakaharahara, kauaka hei ki, na te Pakeha anake tenei mahi te kura, kaore, na te Māori tonu no tua whakarere mai ra ano, no nga tipuna tuku iho nei …(Waititi, 1903:4).

[114] Young, Grant & Belgrave, Michael, 2009. *Te Papatipu o Ruawaipu: Traditional History Report.* Prepared for the Ruawaipu claimants in the East Coast Inquiry (Wai 900). Wai 900, #A30. Retrieved from www.ruawaipu.com on 6 May 2016.

Manihera I asserted that the centuries old whare maire[115] was just as important as European schools and that Māori should be educated in both schools of learning so that they may hold on to their language and knowledge (Ballara, 2014). Manihera I was a fine example of a Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholar and a great supporter of European education and schools coming to the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region. He was also well known and greatly respected for passing on his practical skills of fishing and kumara growing to whānau, hapū, iwi (Sutherland, 1963; Stirling and Salmond, 1980) and the nation (Best, 1928).

During Manihera I's lifetime, the Waititi family lived mainly at Whangaparāoa[116] and Raukōkore although the *Raukōkore Jubilee Booklet* (1964) records that in the late 1870s and 1880s, the families of Whangaparāoa moved to other settlements to pursue education. The Waititi family moved to Te Kaha some time after the Maraetai Native School[117] opened there in 1875. The Waenga family and other Whangaparāoa families moved to Hicks Bay for the same purpose. The Whangaparāoa families then moved to Raukōkore in 1887 when the Raukōkore Native School opened. Between 1883 and 1886 some families returned to Whangaparāoa. "Ahiwaru Waenga settling at Te Ahinuiapawa and Te Ware Waititi at Okahaturi" (Whangaparāoa Maori School, 1964). Manihera I returned to Whangaparāoa from Raukōkore when his father, Haimona (or Te Ware), died in 1898.

Further correspondence from Manihera I to niupepa Māori included three strongly worded reo Māori letters to the *He Kupu Whakamarama: Te Pipiwharauroa* newspaper between November 1901 and November 1902 (No. 45, 1901; No. 48 in 1902; No. 57 in 1902). This niupepa Māori (Māori newspaper) was published by the Church of England in Gisborne, first as *He Kupu Whakamārama: Te Pipiwharauroa* (58 issues between March 1898 and December 1902) and later as *Te Pipiwharauroa* (122 issues between 1903 and 1913) "or the Shining Cuckoo', a bird that in the oral poetry could signify summer, planting, and prosperity" (Curnow, 2002:46). It was

[115] The term 'whare maire' is used by Angela Ballara in 'Waititi, Hoani Retimana', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.
[116] Named Cape Runaway by Captain James Cook because local Māori fled when his ship fired a canon.
[117] The Maraetai Native School took its name from the name of the bay where it was built. In 1876 it became the Te Kaha Native School.

especially established by the Church to promote the "advantages of Christianity and European custom" (Curnow, 2002:46).

Manihera I's correspondence to *Te Pipiwharauroa* and *Te Puke ki Hikurangi* convey his expertise and confidence to assert local Whangaparāoa knowledge and history. His letters in particular welcomed further debate about the whakataukī, 'te kura-pae-a-Mahia', as explained in 'Ko Te Putake Mai o te Maori' in Chapter four. Scholars from other iwi like Takaanui Tarakawa[118] were using public forums such as the Māori newspapers and the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* to claim 'te kura-pae-a-Mahia' as their own. Manihera I (Waititi, 1901:7) was to the point in his first letter when he said:

> E tautohetia ana te Kura-pae-a-Mahia. Ko te Arawa e ki ana naana taua kura, no runga i tona waka a te Arawa; ko etahi atu iwi e ki ana no runga i a Tainui me era atu waka o tatou tipuna i hoe mai ai i Hawaiki. Kaati ko au hoki e ki ana naku ano enei kura, no runga ano i tooku waka i a Tauira-mai-tawhiti.
>
> Kaati maku e tuatahi te whakamarama. Ko enei kura na Pou i tiki no te manu nui a Ruakapanga no Whaitiri-papa, no te keeke maui ko Mokonuiarangi, no te keeke katau ko Tauninihi. Kotahi ano te taha i whaoina mai ai otira i te tahuritanga o Tauira ki Tamurenui ka kau nga tangata ki uta me etahi o nga taonga, ka tere te taha i aua kura nei pae rawa atu ki Ratanui, kei te taha tonga o Tikirau; ka kitea e Mahia, koia i tika ai tenei ingoa ko te Kura-pae-a-Mahia.

Manihera I argued emphatically against the claims that the peoples of the Te Arawa and Tainui canoes were responsible for the whakataukī, 'Te Kura Pae a Mahia'. He stated that the kura (feathers) being debated were "his" because they came to Aotearoa on "his canoe", Tauira-mai-tawhiti, as referred to in Chapter four. Here Manihera I takes ownership of his claims and links himself to his atua, Ruakapanga; to his tīpuna, Poumātangatanga and Mahia; to his moana at Whangaparāoa, Tamurenui; and to his whenua by specifically mentioning the placenames, Rātānui and Tikirau.

Three issues later in *Te Pipiwharauroa No. 48, 1902*, Manihera I was more specific in outlining and disputing three other claims made by Takaanui Tarakawa (1893:234) in

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[118] Tarakawa, Takaanui, 1893. The Coming Of Te Arawa and Tainui Canoes from Hawaiki to New Zealand. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Volume 2, No. 4, December 1893.

relation to, 'Te Kura Pae a Mahia'. Tarakawa had claimed that the two kura referred to in the whakataukī were called Tuhepo and Tuheao,[119] that they originally belonged to Tamatekapua, and that he himself had seen the kura at the death of Hikareia Ngamoki[120] of Te Whānau-a-Apanui when the kura were buried with him in a cave at Ōmāio. Manihera I (Waititi, 1902:10) questioned these claims because from his knowledge the Te Arawa canoe did not get close to the shoreline at Whangaparāoa because of a bad storm called "te koringa o Pawa". The two kura that had arrived on his waka, Tauira-mai-tawhiti were Mokonuiārangi and Tauninihi. Manihera I was also adamant that there was no record of his elders seeing the two kura at the death of Hikareia Ngamoki and presents whakapapa to support his case by arguing that:

> ko Mokonuiarangi kei Kauae-nui e huna ana … kei roto i te mahunga o Putahou he tipuna tenei no matou. … [and] Ko Tauninihi kei roto i tetahi waro kei Te Kaha ko Moaho te ingoa kei roto i te mahunga o Tataiarangi (Waititi, 1902a:10).

Here whakapapa is used by Manihera I to show how two leaders of his generation, Te Hata Te Kani and Teretiu te Arakirangi, were the great-grandsons of Putahou and Tataiarangi respectively, who had been buried with the two kura. Mokonuiarangi had been buried with Putahou at Kauae-nui and Tauninihi had been buried with Tataiarangi at Moaho [sic Moaha].

Manihera I challenged readers to go to Whangaparāoa so that he could show them some of the taonga (treasures) that had been brought to Aotearoa on the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe. He said:

> Nga taonga o runga i a Tauira-mai-tawhiti
> 1. Ko aua kura nei kei konei te wahi i pae ai, kei te mau tonu te tohu ki runga i te kohatu maaku e whakaatu kia koutou.
> 2. Ko te harakeke kei te tipu tonu, ko tana mahi he patu i te hauaraki kia marino te moana, maku ano e whakaatu kia koutou.
> 3. Ko te ika nei ko te moki kei konei tonu e noho ana, kei te mau tonu ona tikanga katoa me ona tapu hoki (Waititi, 1902a:10).

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[119] Ko te kura o tawhiti nā Tūhaepō "The treasure from afar, the treasure of Tūhaepō". According to Tarakawa's account two feather plumes were thrown into the water by Tauninihi when the Arawa reached Whangaparāoa and he saw the red blossoms of the pōhutukawa. It was Mahina who picked them up from the shore and kept them (He kura pae nā Māhina or Ko te kura pae a Māhina (Riley, 2013:502).

[120] I assume that Hikareia Ngamoki is another name for Paora Ngamoki who was killed in the Pakoriri battle at Tunapahore between Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāi Tai in 1856.

Specifically, Manihera I said he could take anyone who was interested to where the feathers in question had drifted ashore and the rock where Mahia had dried those feathers; the flax that came on the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe and was still grown at Whangaparāoa to shelter the westerly winds; and the moki that was still being fished according to sacred guidelines. In line with Peter Adds' (2012:17) comments Manihera I was arguing the significance of the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe and its taonga to retain important connections to "Polynesian homelands" in order "to trace ancestry" and add to the legitimacy of Te Whānau-a-Apanui claims to land and resources that "conferred mana".

Only a few months later in *Te Pipiwharauroa* No. 57, Manihera I (1902) also responded to Wi Pauro Te Whareaitu's comments about the Te Arawa canoe. Manihera I argued that only the Tainui canoe actually landed at Whangaparāoa and questioned that if the Te Arawa had landed there, where exactly? And what are the landmarks? Manihera I explained that Tainui's landing place had a name and its two anchors, Marokawiti and Pohatunui, were still at Whangaparāoa, and were tangible representations of Tainui's landing there.

By preserving in writing specific details of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Manihera I ensured that te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui continued to be asserted by descendants of the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe continued. In terms of the lore, customs and history of the moki, he knew the scholarship intimately and he also took on the responsibility to actively preserve and extend the retelling of the narrative in newspapers.

Mr Bird, Inspector of Schools during the early 1900s, remembered going moki fishing with Manihera I at Whangaparāoa (McCallion, Bennett and Gardner, 1957:12) where their observation of the strict fishing rules lead to a successful day of moki fishing. Bird remembered that:

> When you go after moki there are certain defined rules which must be observed lest the fish "run away". You must not take any food, you must not let a fish touch any iron when caught, you must not have committed any sin. With these precautions you should have every success. Manihera and I were evidently

> without sin for we caught fifty-one while another fisherman who had stolen some bait caught none.

Bird's memories of Manihera I are of an expert fisherman who ensured that his crew observed the rules of moki fishing in order to be successful. This example shows how seriously Manihera I took his role in handing down the guidelines and techniques of moki fishing. While fishing with Mr Bird, Manihera I also convinced him to support the building of a school at Whangaparāoa, ensuring him that a piece of land was available and that the community had ten students to enroll. The Whangaparāoa Native School was opened in 1914 with one teacher.

Eruera Stirling also remembers learning the tikanga and kawa of moki fishing from Manihera I. Eruera's earliest memories are of Manihera I opening the moki fishing season and sending for him and his older brother to pick up his first catch especially designated for their mother, Mihi Kōtukutuku. Eruera also remembered that when he and his brother Taikorekore arrived back at Raukōkore, Mihi Kōtukutuku would share the catch with all of the Raukōkore people.

Stirling (Stirling and Salmond, 1980:106-107) remembered "the old man" as:

> … the most talented moki fisherman in the district, and a real expert in tribal histories of the Cape. When he was ready to catch the first moki each year he'd send word to my mother, and Taikorekore and I had to ride on packhorses to the Waititi homestead at Whangaparaoa, and old Mrs Waititi would make us a good cup of tea while the old man loaded the moki into our saddlebags to carry home to Mum…[who told Stirling and his brother] about the moki fishing, how to go out and how to use the lines. … [and] the special Maori hooks … bent out of ordinary wire.
>
> We woke up early the next morning before sunrise, and as the sun came up a strong wind was blowing from the land. Manihera said, 'This is the best time to go out to the grounds because you don't have to use the oars, just put the sail up and the wind will take you there'… within a few minutes we were on the spot. The fishing ground was at Ratanui, where the canoes landed in the Great Migration, and when we were about one hundred yards offshore from the cave at Ratanui, the old man called out to my brother, 'Drop the anchor!'

Manihera I showed Eruera and Taikorekore how to remember his secret moki fishing grounds by showing them the tohu whenua (landmarks). Because those two grounds

were special and secret to Manihera I he told the young men that if they wanted to fish there they should sail out early in the morning before anybody else is on the sea. Eruera described he and his brother's first moki fishing trip with Manihera I when they had slept in a small meeting-house near Manihera I's home and listened to tukunga iho about the moki as well as how to use the fishing lines and the "special Maori hooks" (Stirling and Salmond, 1980:107) that Manihera I had "bent out of ordinary wire" (Stirling and Salmond, 1980:108), an adaptation of the pre-European moki hooks that were made of whalebone.

Some seasons later Eruera went on a solo moki fishing trip where his sailing skills that he learnt from his father saved his life and his moki catch. He remembered using a sail to get his boat to the mouth of the Cape Runaway River, camping in the Rātānui cave overnight and going out to the secret moki grounds early the next morning before others woke up. He followed Manihera I's guidelines by using the landmarks of the old man's special secret grounds and moved from one to the next, catching a few moki at each ground. Eruera (Stirling and Salmond, 1980:175) caught seventy moki that day before using his sailing skills to return to Raukōkore in a storm, approximately ten miles by sea. Not one of the seventy moki were lost. The most significant of Manihera I's wise words and warnings that he shared with Eruera (Stirling and Salmond, 1980:108) were, "if people come and fish without knowing the proper use of the moki, all the fish will leave and in the end there'll be nothing". These cautionary words highlight Manihera I's commitment to the continuity of the scholarship and the techniques of moki fishing and consumption. Eruera's example of his successful solo moki fishing trip exemplifies that he must have been a very good student of Manihera I who learnt the proper use of the moki.

I found further examples of Manihera I's scholarly and sharing nature in unexpected publications such as A.H. Reed's (1946:115-117) book, *Farthest East: Afoot in Maoriland Byways*, which records "the story relating to the Tainui canoe and this neighbourhood" with references to Mr Kemp,[121] past owner of the Rukuhanga Station at Whangaparāoa. Mr Kemp was the holder of a manuscript book given to him by Dr.

[121] Mr Ernest Kemp bought the Rukuhanga Sheep and Cattle Station at Cape Runaway in 1909 (Rau, Charles, 1993. 100 Years of Waiapu. Gisborne: Gisborne Herald Co. Ltd.:114).

Tūtere Wīrepa (Wīrepa). It was noted that Manihera I had passed the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui on to Wīrepa orally and Wīrepa had recorded it in writing. It was Wīrepa who had told Kemp about the treasured 'kura' that were stored in a calabash for Tauira-mai-tawhiti's journey from Hawaiki. The Reed publication (1946:116) records that:

> These kiwas [kura], which were sacred ornaments, and possessed magical powers, were packed away in a calabash. Whenever the physical powers of the crew lagged, the mere sight of the Kiwas [kura] put fresh energy into them, and even soothed the pangs of hunger.

Manihera I had explained to Wīrepa that one of the 'kura' had been buried with Putahou and the other with Tātaiarangi, just as he argued in *Te Pipiwharauroa* (1902a:10). Reed (1946) also stated that Mr Kemp had made notes in the manuscript book relating to landmarks, for example the rock between Taungāwaka and Cape Runaway called Tauira (Reed, 1946:117).

Local church leaders such as Canon Hakaraia Pahewa and Reverand Joe Tuhiwai, past ministers of the Te Kaha Anglican Pastorate, also acknowledged Manihera I as "an authority on Maori law and custom" (Tuhiwai, 1960s). Canon Hakaraia Pahewa (Best, 1929: 236) said:

> Kotahi anake te tangata tino mohio o tenei takiwa, kei Whangaparaoa, ko Te Manihera Waititi. He tangata tino mohio rawa atu tenei mo te korero mo nga ika, mo nga korero o nehe ra.

Canon Hakaraia Pahewa had spent a lot of time with Manihera I during his time as the Anglican Minister of the Te Kaha Pastorate from late 1896 to 1939. When he travelled between Hicks Bay and Te Kaha by horseback, Pahewa would often call in to see or spend the night with Manihera I and his family at Whangaparāoa. The Waiapu Church Gazette would often publish the Bishop of Waiapu's diary entries describing his visits to the Te Kaha Pastorate.[122]

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[122] For example, Waiapu Church Gazette (1913:140) and Waiapu Church Gazette (1915:126). The Waiapu Church Gazette can be accessed via the Papers Past website - paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

Manihera I was also very well respected by his peers of other tribes. Reweti Kohere listed Manihera I as a "tohunga o te reo Maori" (Kaa and Kaa, 1996a:7) alongside Mohi Tūrei, Āpirana Ngata, Tūtere Wīrepa, Te Angiangi Hau, Ira Tahu, Tahupotiki and Nikora Tautau. He also represented his hapū and iwi in the Native Land Court during the late 1800s and early 1900's arguing land block boundaries and tribal boundaries.

Pākehā anthropologists such as Elsdon Best would often consult him on matters of Māori lore and tradition (Waititi, 1967:146). Manihera I shared information with Best about fishing, eeling, whitebait fishing, kūmara and other aspects of agriculture. Several times, Elsdon Best (1925:302; 1929:251; 1934:271) actually named Manihera I in his lists of authorities. For example, *The Māori As He Was: A Brief Account of Maori Life As It Was In Pre-European Days,* Manihera Waititi I is named (Best, 1934:271) and is described as "one of the innumerable bands of natives who, in past years, provided the bulk of matter in this work".

This section has explored Manihera I's contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and the ways in which he chose to assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, especially in relation to the knowledge and history of the moki. The ways in which he passed down his skills and knowledge of moki fishing to his children and others such as Eruera Stirling and Wīrepa have been significant to the way in which intellectual and practical tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki have been maintained.

A number of Manihera I's children and descendants have actively embraced and continued their ancestor's scholarly legacies. Contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui by Manihera I's children have been preserved and can be studied in libraries and the national sound archives. Initial research of their works have helped me to understand their broad interests, especially in waiata, and the energy they put into participating in hapū and iwi hui not only within Te Whānau-a-Apanui but the Bay of Plenty wide.[123] The remaining discussion of this chapter focuses on published

[123] They would often lead and sing the waiata for the Te Whānau-a-Apanui speakers when they attended hui. For example, Te Kuaha Waititi's voice has been preserved by the New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound, leading a waiata at the opening of Tama-te-kapua Meeting House at

tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki by some of Manihera I's descendants who have continued to embrace, renew and extend tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui handed down by ancestors.

Moana Waititi

'Na Te Take o Tinirau[124]-Whangaparoa-Maitawhiti' in *Te Ao Hou*, No. 30, March 1960.

Moana Waititi (Moana)[125] was a scholar, a farmer and an expert moki fisherman. He was also referred to by Mervyn McLean (2004) in *Tō Tātau Waka, In Search of Maori Music 1958-1979* as a song leader (2004:115) at Matapihi on 8 April 1958 alongside Turi Te Kani and Hautu Toitoi.

Moana has already been referred to in the previous chapter as Roka's source of a version of the early tukunga iho, 'Ko te Putake o te Maori', that she copied in 1965 and translated soon after. Moana (1960) wrote and published 'Na te Take o Tihirau-Whangaparaoa-Maitawhiti' in the *Te Ao Hou* magazine published by the Department of Māori Affairs. Between 1956 and 1976 the purpose of the *Te Ao Hou* magazine was to provide "interesting and informative reading for Maori homes … like a marae on paper, where all questions of interest to the Māori can be discussed" (Māori Affairs Department, 1952). A number of Māori scholars like Moana and his father Manihera I wrote in Māori for *Te Ao Hou*, an ideal place to publish tribal tukunga iho, especially if the author wanted to make a point to a wide Māori and Pākehā audience about tribal history and tribal mana.

Moana wrote 'Na te Take o Tinirau-Whangaparaoa-Maitawhiti' in Māori and asserted that the original name for Tikirau was Tihirau[126] and the full name for Whangaparāoa

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Ohinemutu in 1943. Moana Waititi was a song leader at a recording session at Matapihi on 8 April 1962 by Mervyn McLean (McLean, 2004:115). McLean (2004:114-119) also remembers Moana Waititi at a recording session at Matapihi on 8 April 1962 and Te Rere on 13 April 1962. Hirina [sp] and Hariata with their spouses, Merimāhineroa and Tūrei, gave McLean permission to record fourteen songs, "some of which they had not sung for upwards of 20 years but now resurrected for the recording session".

[124] There is a misprint in the title of Moana Waititi's article. Tinirau should be Tihirau.

[125] Roka's copy of the Raukōkore Christ's Church Baptismal Register records the birth date of Moana Waititi as at August 1891. Therefore, based on this, Moana was 69 years old in 1960.

[126] Means the 'many summits'.

was Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti. Tihirau is the well-known coastal mountain and headland at Whangaparāoa named Cape Runaway by Captain Cook in 1769 when our ancestors fled back to shore on their canoes as the Endeavour fired at them. Soon after, during the whaler[127] and trader era in the district Tihirau was mistakenly called Tikirau.[128] Therefore, when the name Tikirau was recorded in print the incorrect name was retained and used by the local hapū and iwi for up to a century. Manihera I himself used Tikirau in some of his correspondence in the early 1900s. There are similar examples of incorrect placenames along the Te Whānau-a-Apanui coastline that have been retained in place of the old names. Two examples include Omāio, originally Toka-a-Māia, and Raukōkore, originally Raukuakore. Today, the local people use the name Tihirau and this original name is recorded in official documents and maps.

'Na te Take o Tinirau-Whangaparaoa-Maitawhiti' briefly outlines 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori', reminding the people of the origins and early use of Tihirau and Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti and their associations with the arrival of the Tainui and Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoes to Aotearoa, as well as the arrival of the moki and the ancestor Poumātangatanga. Moana extends on the versions of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' as outlined in Chapter four by providing further details of place names and the locations of events associated with the coming of the moki. Some examples from his article follow:

> I u mai ki te taha tonga o te maunga nei i tau ki tetahi awa atahua kei te take o te maunga nei huaina tonutia iho te ingoa o tera awa ko Taungaawa. E mohio nuitia ana tenei awa me tona ingoa tae mai ki tenei whakatipuranga (Waititi, 1960:42).
>
> [[Tainui] landed at the southern side of the mountain at a beautiful river at the base of the mountain that is still called Taungaawa. This river has been known by this name right down to the current generation.]

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[127] Between 1841 and 1844 a Whaling Station was established and operated near the mouth of the Whangaparāoa River by a gang of whalers under the leadership of a whaler called Webster.

[128] Records show that a whaler called Webster was in charge of a whaling station at Cape Runaway between 1841-1844. For the season ended October 1845, Webster's station had processed 10 tons of black oil and a quarter of a ton of whalebone. He had three boats and 26 men (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, Vol II, Issue 61, 6 Dec 1845. According to Tamati Ru, a witness at the Seth Smith-Hone Heke Royal Commission hearing into the Tunapahore Block, Webster joined Cooper at Te Awanui (between Omāio and Te Kaha) before they established a whaling station at Whangaparāoa (Cape Runaway) (Mackay, 1949:102-103).

> Ka toia a Tainui ki uta ka whakawateatia he takotoranga ara he riu huainatonutia iho te ingoa o tena wahi Riu o Tainui e mohiotiana mai i tera wa tae mai ki naianei (Waititi, 1960:42).
>
> [When Tainui landed, a space was prepared for its landing and the name of that place was Riu o Tainui known by that name from then right up until now.]
>
> Ka mahue ko te punga e kitea nuitia na tenei kohatu a huaina tonutia iho tona ingoa ko Te Punga-o-Tainui mai i tera wa tae noa mai ki naianei e karanga tonutia ana tenei ingoa (Waititi, 1960:42).
>
> [The anchor was left and the rock is still called Te Punga-o-Tainui, from that time until now.]
>
> Huaina tonutia iho hei ingoa mo tena ana ko te ana ko Hooe mai ano i reira ki inaianei (he ana moenga no nga tira haere ki te hi ika) (Waititi, 1960:42).
>
> [That cave continues to be called Hooe (a sleeping cave where fishermen sleep before going fishing).]

Moana asserts that the place names and landmarks such as Taungaawa, Riu o Tainui, Te Punga o Tainui and Hooe had been handed down over many generations and were still being used during his lifetime.

In his summarising paragraphs, Moana (1960:42) states:

> No konei katahi ano ka karangatia te ingoa nei a Tihirau ki te maunga e tu nei – me ona tihi me Puwharariki me te Rangaateanewa. Ko Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti i takoto tenei ingoa ki te parae (ara ki te raorao).

Here, Moana emphasises the main purpose of his article. He asserts that, their mountain, Tihirau, and the original names of its peaks, Puwharariki and te Rangaateanewa, are being used and will continue to be used. He also explains that the name Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti refers to the ‘parae’ or ‘raorao’ (the level open country/land of the bay). All of the place names and landmarks handed down by the ancestors since the arrival of the Tainui and Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoes, are “definitive geographical markers” (Higgins, 2004:159), that provide the foundation for te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui because they are Māori names that memorialise special events in our history. They are also connections between the whakapapa of the ancestors to the people of the day (e.g. from Ruamoengārara and Poumātangatanga down to Moana Waititi) and are “directly connected to the whakapapa of the land” (Higgins,

2004:159). Therefore, Moana wrote to further explain these connections, recording the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in print, using te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, the language in which he was raised. He also provided similar depth and detail of local history when he wrote an early history of the Raukōkore district for the *Raukōkore Māori School Jubilee* publication in 1962 (Stirling and Salmond, 1980:264-266).

Moana is also remembered for his expert practical skills and expertise in building houses. He led the building of the first Whangaparāoa Native School building[129] that was opened in 1914. Much later, in 1961 he also led the dismantling of the wharenui, Te Ōhākī, at the Pāhāoa Marae, and took parts of the house down to the Kereū River to clean.[130] During those renovations he and the hapū community changed the name of the wharenui from Te Ōhākī to Kahurautao, the ancestor who the hapū takes its name from. Eruera Stirling (Stirling and Salmond, 1980:155-157) also remembered Moana building a barge and using his bullocks to tow Bishop Bennett and his party across a flooded Raukōkore River in the late 1920s or early 1930s.

Another tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that Roka translated was recorded by Reverend Joe Tuhiwai (RPTMSS, 1984:108) and is about a moki fishing hook called Te Kopa-a-Rongopanapa that was handed down to Moana. It mentions that due to a long history of inter-tribal fighting over fishing grounds and a nineteenth century invasion by Ngāpuhi, Te Kopa-a-Rongopanapa was lost from its original owners and changed hands several times. It finally ended up in the hands of Mere Rēweti, a granddaughter of a local chief called Pakipakirauiri, who was killed by Ngāpuhi. Mere Rēweti decided to hand the hook over to a male who could take it fishing and they renamed it Mauora (RPTMSS, 1984:110). During his fishing years, Moana would follow the traditions and customs of his people and use Mauora to catch the first moki and declare the moki season open in June of each year. Mauora is now kept by the Auckland Museum.

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[129] In an extract from the Whangaparāoa Maori School Jubilee Committee's booklet 1914-1964, in Waititi, S., 1966. Outline History of the Whangaparāoa District, Cape Runaway. In *Historical Review: Journal of Whakatāne and District Society Inc.*, Vol 14, no. 4, December 1966.

[130] Trinick, Tony and Paetahi Park, 2013. *Pahaoa Marae Wharenui Centennial Celebrations 1912-2012*.

Like his father, Moana was a moki scholar and expert fisherman who wrote about the moki to assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. He extended on tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki to endorse his argument that the tribe and the nation should go back to using their mountain name, Tihirau, and its peak's names, Puwharariki and te Rangaateanewa. He also continued to assert that the local people of Whangaparāoa continue to live around and use the place names and landmarks that commemorate the tribe's connections to Hawaiki. Moana's article reinforced that tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui continued to inform the everyday lives of the people even though our mountain name had been changed by others more than a century before he wrote. For me, Moana's choice to submit his article to the *Te Ao Hou* magazine also represents his commitment to pass down core tribal knowledge and language to not only whānau, hapū and iwi but also the nation. In the next section I examine an article entitled 'Outline of the History of Whangaparāoa District, Cape Runaway' by Mr S. Waititi (1966), Moana Waititi's brother.

Mr S. Waititi

'Outline of the History of Whangaparāoa District, Cape Runaway', in *The Historical Review: Journal of Whakatane and District Historical Society Inc*, Volume 14, no. 4, December 1966

Moana Waititi's brother, Sid Waititi or Hiri Waititi (Hirini)[131] was also a scholar, a farmer and an expert moki fisherman. He too was committed to continuing the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki, especially in his later years. As a young man during the 1930s he supervised four newly established farm units that had been set up on the Whangaparāoa Block under Sir Apirana Ngata's Land Development Schemes where owners "bought stock from the Native Affairs Department at Government valuation, … erected buildings, then … commenced farming the land" (Whangaparāoa Maori School, 1964).

[131] Roka's copy of the Raukōkore Christ's Church Baptismal Register records the birth date of Hirini Manihera as at December 1896. McLean (2004) records Hirini's birthdate as 1892. Therefore, in 1966 Hirini's age was around 70-74 years old.

In 1966 Hirini presented a seminar, in English, to the members of the Whakatane and District Historical Society Inc.,[132] 'Outline of the History of Whangaparāoa District, Cape Runaway' (Waititi, 1966). The seminar was transcribed and published in the Society's journal *The Historical Review: Journal of Whakatane and District Historical Society Inc.* The Historical Review was first published in 1958 and aimed to "present research and reference material relating to the history, prehistory and archaeology of the Bay of Plenty and surrounding districts" (Kean and Jordan, 2014:37). Hirini's choice of audience is interesting because one can assume it was a majority Pākehā audience from Whakatāne and its surrounding district. That is probably why he spoke in English. In line with Moana Waititi's 1960 article, Hirini speaks and writes to insist that people use the name Tihirau instead of Tikirau. Hirini must have had some faith and belief that there were benefits in providing the Society with further details of the local history to increase the understanding of the hapū and iwi peoples' wish to reclaim the name Tihirau.

Hirini's brief history of the Whangaparāoa district is based on what is outlined in 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori'. Where he differs to the writings of his father and his brother is in the detail he presents about a range of landmarks and place names. For example, he gives more detail about the location of Taungawaka "on the eastern side of the hill, Tikirau" (Waititi, 1966:139) and what actually happened there by naming a number of Hawaiki canoes that anchored there but did not come ashore. Hirini also explains that:

> From Taungawaka, Tainui, Mataatua and Te Arawa went north, Tokomaru and others went south. The Tainui canoe sailed round the tip of Tikirau and landed at Waitawake, a stream running out in the centre of the Whangaparāoa beach.

This is where the Tainui canoe threw out their anchor and then pulled their canoe further ashore to "a prow-shaped hollow in the hillside" (Waititi, 1966:139) called Te Riu o Tainui. Later in the article, Hirini presents more detail about place names associated with the ancestor, Mahia, who found the calabash containing the kura washed ashore at Rātānui. He says that Mahia went in search of Poumātangatanga, to

[132] "The society was founded in 1952 to promote the protection and appreciation of historic heritage, and to facilitate research, through the provision of high quality information about the human history of the Eastern Bay of Plenty" (Kean & Jordan, 2014:37).

the west of Rātānui. Mahia passed by Ohuri and Pohuerau before he arrived at Matarere where Poumātangatanga and his people had erected some shelter for them.

Hirini also describes Marupapanui's investigations of the moki fishing grounds in much more detail. He writes:

> Because of the great depth he was out of breath several times before he finally reached the surface. That was why that particular moki fishing ground was named Otamaroa (so deep only reached by man). He came back further in towards the shore and descended again. There at the bottom he discovered a flat rock (Huapapa) and Rehua's children swimming above and quite close to it. This fishing ground was named Tuapapa (swimming above flat rock).
>
> He returned further in and went down again. When he reached the bottom he saw Rehua's children churning up seaweed as they swam around. He named this fishing ground Kokohura (churning up seaweed). Further in again he discovered Rehua's children. On his return to the surface the blood came out of his nose and he called that ground Pakaru (the full name is Te Pakarutanga o te toto ki te ihu o Maru-papanui – where Maru-papanui's nose bled).
>
> Maru was taken ashore. On landing he began to heap up sand and water gathered in the hollow he had made. Here he bathed his nose and stopped the bleeding. This water was named Te wai kaukau o Maru-papanui (where Maru bathed his nose). This pool may still be seen today not far from the Cape. The water from it is regarded as tapu and is never touched.
>
> Thus were the fishing grounds of the moki discovered and named.

According to Manihera Waititi II, the Te Waikaukau o Maru-papanui pool had dried up before 1963 (Sutherland, 1963:176).

At the end of Hirini's presentation he explained two things about the moki. First, "it always pulls down when caught on a line, so that the line is always taut" (Waititi, 1966:142). Second, "the moki season lasts from late May to the end of July, but it is most plentiful between June 6 and June 7" (Waititi, 1966:142). Here, June 7 is highly likely a misprint based on the first part of Hirini's kōrero. It should probably be July 7. Hirini's tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui also highlighted some interesting pieces of information that were not directly linked to narratives about the moki examined so far. One example is information about the star, Kopa, guiding the travel direction of the canoes from Hawaiki, and a brief explanation that Kopa rises in the east.

He presented details of a wider range of place names and landmarks that remember the events leading up to the departure of the Tainui canoe – the name of its anchor 'Te Haika o Tainui' and how far the canoe was dragged up onto the shore which is now called, 'Te Riu o Tainui'. There are some similarities between Hirini's tukunga iho and that of J.R. Waititi's English account (Reed, 1963) that will be examined in the next chapter. The differences between the two are the specific details shared by Hirini about the taonga that Poumātangatanga gathered before leaving Hawaiki on the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe (Waititi, 1966:140) and Marupapanui's investigation of the moki fishing grounds. Hirini's article provides further and more specific details of the important Whangaparāoa place names and landmarks that remember the arrival of the Tainui and Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoes and the coming of the moki to the district.

Hirini (or Hiri) Waititi (1965) also authored, 'Te Taenga Mai o te Waea-Kōrero ki Ōrete' for the *Te Ao Hou* magazine where he preserved the memories of his friends and relatives who were involved in establishing the Māori phone lines from Ngāti Porou through to Ōpōtiki around 1903. He refers to Waikohu Waenga, Timi Mekerāpata and Moana Waititi as his oral sources and those who were directly involved in the work. Hirini explains that Parekoihu Te Kani was the chief at Peria, Ōrete, and confirms that Maihi Tamatamarangi from Te Kaha completed the carvings on the posts of the 'whare-waea'. There is a photo of the posts in Stirling and Salmond (1980:53). The opening ceremony for the Whangaparāoa section of the 'Māori phone lines' and the phone at Ōrete was held in 1903 and was attended by a group of Ngāti Porou people including Tā Āpirana Ngata. By December 1907, 155 miles from Waipiro Bay to Raukōkore and partly on to Omāio was the longest private phone line service in New Zealand. It had forty-two connections, three switches and cost one thousand six hundred and fifty pounds. Hirini's article is evidence of his interest in preserving more recent tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui pertaining to significant events of the region that remember the determination, tenacity and independence of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui people to adapt new technologies that would link them to the rest of the nation and the world. He also shows how our twentieth century ancestors valued kotahitanga - how they came together to build their own telephone service - another important modern application of a customary

tikanga. The next section explores contributions by Manihera Waititi II (Manihera II) and his wife Dorothy. Manihera II is a nephew of Moana and Hirini.

Manihera II and Dorothy Waititi

In Temple Sutherland's (1963) *'Maui and Me: A Search For a Fisherman's El Dorado'*

Like his father and uncles, Manihera II was a scholar, a farmer and an expert moki fisherman. Roka often mentioned the different pākeke and kaumātua who supported and mentored her. Living and teaching in the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region gave Roka opportunities to seek out the advice and teachings of her elders. Sutherland's (1963) book, *'Maui and Me: A Search for a Fisherman's El Dorado',* has enhanced my understanding of how Roka's pākeke and kaumātua such as Manihera II and Dorothy Waititi passed down tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki to those who wanted to learn.

Reed's (1963) introduction to John R. Waititi's account of 'The Story of the Moki' provided me with a connection to Sutherland's (1963) book. Reed's (1963) introduction says:

> In *Maui and Me*, W. Temple Sutherland has noted, "Among the people of easternmost Bay of Plenty, one fish transcends all others in its importance and traditional associations with their district – the moki … The legend of the coming of the moki has been handed down lovingly from generation to generation, especially by the people of the Cape Runaway and Waihau Bay districts (Reed, 1963:404).

After reading this paragraph, I searched the Rotorua Library catalogue for Sutherland's (1963) book to find out who Sutherland had spent time with, what they had shared with him and how they shared with him their experiences of the moki. I was successful in finding a copy of *'Maui and Me: A Search for a Fisherman's El Dorado'* in the fishing section of the Rotorua Library. From page 173 to page 177 Sutherland (1963) gives readers an insight into the loving approach of Manihera II, moki scholar, fisherman and farmer, and his wife Dorothy Waititi.

I do not remember Manihera II but I do have very strong memories of Aunty Dorothy. During the 1980s, whenever I went to hui with Roka and we met up with Aunty Dorothy, I observed the particularly close relationship that Roka had with her. They would always give each other a big hug and acknowledge each other with what I remember as endearing terms. I never questioned Roka about this relationship and always followed her example by giving Aunty Dorothy a hug and a kiss. My mum recently gave me a good reason why Roka and Dorothy would be so close. Mum was told that when Roka was a young girl Manihera II and Dorothy would visit Roka's parents' home at Te Moari, Raukōkore, where Nanny Rūhīterangi would play the piano and the young couple would dance. When Nanny Rūhīterangi died in 1936, Roka was only eleven years old. I have no doubt that the relationships that Roka's mum and dad had with their relatives, peers and elders, were a foundation for Roka as she grew up and for her contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. For Roka, living and teaching at Te Kaha for more than forty years, being married to a Te Kaha man, attendance at whānau, hapū and iwi hui across the district as well as her own whakapapa connections were all important factors in her own tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui journey.

Manihera II and Dorothy's contributions to Sutherland (1963) include early kōrero tahito about the moki, some customary fishing practices and some special personal memories in a fishing book that continues to have a wide New Zealand readership. First Manihera II recounts the origins of the moki that is very similar to John R. Waititi's account in Reed (1963). He then summarises some of the ways in which the local Whangaparāoa people fished for moki (both old traditions that were no longer followed and recent ones that Manihera II and locals were still following in 1963. For example, in 1963 Manihera II was burying, instead of hanging, the first moki). Other tohu were used to decide which were good or bad fishing days. Certain weather trees, like those above the Rātānui Cave, were also used to read the wind changes even on the calmest days.

Finally, Sutherland recorded Manihera and Dorothy Waititi's memories and experiences of moki fishing during their lifetimes. Sutherland admits that although Manihera II had offered to show him some of the significant historical places relating

to the moki, he couldn't show him "the spirit of the old days" (Sutherland, 1963:176) and the fun they had even when everyone "played the game according to the old rules" (Sutherland, 1963:175). As a boy and young man, Manihera II had really enjoyed staying overnight at the "Sleeping Cave" where he would lie next to the fire listening to the men share their "brave tales of old" (Sutherland, 1963:175). He also had fond memories of fishing with eight to ten hooks on a hand line. His father-in-law had held the local record of nine moki on nine hooks. Manihera II described one of the games the fishermen would play with each other as they competed for the biggest catch. He said they would:

> feel the moki getting themselves hooked, but the idea was to sit there looking bored and staring in the other direction. Then when your pals had been convinced that you were having no luck you'd calmly fetch up half a dozen moki in a single haul (Sutherland, 1963:176)

Manihera II also told Sutherland about the changing attitudes to the traditional moki rules and guidelines. Sutherland (1963:176) notes that:

> a strong infusion of outside blood, a slackening of interest in the ancient traditions, and altered patterns in the community way of life [were] largely responsible for [todays] laxity in observing the old customs of moki fishing. Moki are caught out of season along with other fish. Food, drink, and tobacco are consumed on the sacred grounds and the other age-old tapu are disregarded, sometimes quite openly.

Between the 1920s and 1970s, dairy and cattle farming contributed significantly to altering the community's way of life. Like many local men of his generation, Manihera II was a farmer. His father and uncles had also been heavily involved in Apirana Ngata's land development schemes. Therefore Manihera II, from his own upbringing and experiences, must have understood the benefits but also the negative impacts of farming on what he referred to as the "ancient traditions". Ngata's land development schemes focused many rural tribes like Te Whānau-a-Apanui on developing and farming their lands. Ngata admitted how the scheme dominated Māori activities when he said:

> Every resource, physical, mental and spiritual … was marshalled in the argument in support of the project. It was one chance in one hundred years of British rule in this country offered to the Māori people and it must not fail (Ngata cited in Anderson, Binney and Harris, 2014:369).

The growth of dairying on Te Whānau-a-Apanui lands required a significant amount of commitment, energy and co-operation of the people. Roka's parents and grandparents were very supportive of Ngata's plans and saw them as a way to use local resources to participate actively and positively in the New Zealand economy with profitable outcomes for whānau, hapū and the iwi. Roka's father, William Swinton of Raukōkore, worked very hard to turn the Taungaure Block that he leased from Mihi Kōtukutuku Stirling into a successful farm. Roka was born at Taungaure in 1925. William Swinton was recognised in 1932/33 when he became the inaugural recipient of the Lord Bledisloe Ahuwhenua Cup.[133] His brother, James Swinton, was also "highly commended" (Keenan, 2013:51) for his presentation of a twenty acre dairy farm with fourteen cows.[134] To be considered for the Ahuwhenua Cup, Māori farmers had to be farming in the Waiariki district under a native land development scheme (Keenan, 2013:49). Roka's mother, Rūhīterangi Paora of Te Kaha, supported her husband wholeheartedly and worked hard in the community to assert Christian values[135] and schooling.

Other Te Whānau-a-Maru and Te Whānau-a-Apanui men and women did extremely well in the Ahuwhenua competition. In 1948, Tikirau Callaghan won first place on his farm near Waihau Bay and in 1959, William Swinton II, Roka's brother, won the dairy competition on his Whangamata farm of 115 acres (Keenan, 2013:134).[136] Noti Tiopira was awarded fourth place in 1953 on her farm at Te Kaha (Keenan, 2013:116). A 1956 Report of a Te Whānau-a-Apanui Economic Survey (Māori Affairs, 1956:3) stated that, "of the 224 families [in Te Whānau-a-Apanui], 139 are already engaged in farming pursuits" and also highlighted that five of the top seven income earners in the district were farmers who earned more than two thousand pounds per annum.

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[133] Seventy-two people entered the inaugural competition (Keenan, 2013:49). Including 26 from Rūātoki, 14 from Te Kaha and 20 from Horohoro.

[134] James Swinton, father of thirteen children, was "complimented for his 'judicious top-dressing and surface growing of grass, and for converting ratstail paddocks into good grass'" and for building "a two-bail cowshed out of materials considered worthless by other settlers" (Keenan, 2013:51).

[135] According to Aunty Hiria, Nanny Rūhīterangi was an assistant teacher at the Te Kaha Native School after graduating from Hukarere Māori Girls Boarding School 1915 and before getting married in 1921. She was also a Sunday-School teacher at Raukōkore's Christ's Church and a secretary of the Raukōkore Branch of the Eastern Bay of Plenty Federation of Country Women's Institute.

[136] William II had also won second place of the Ahuwhenua dairy competition in 1956 and 1958.

According to Manihera II, the rātā tree, Te Herenga o te Ika o Pou, fell down before 1963 (Sutherland, 1963:176) and therefore environmental factors were impacting the tikanga and kawa of moki fishing. After that, the people would bury the first moki at the spot where the tree once stood. Manihera II and Dorothy's memories of their moki fishing experiences are a very special part of Sutherland's (1963) book. Both remembered being woken up to the early rise of the moki stars[137] on cold winter mornings. These memories helped my research into the moki stars and the moki fishing season. This will be discussed further in Chapter six. Dorothy's memories of her and Manihera II's fathers being close fishing buddies and her father's local record of nine moki on nine hooks in one haul were special to her. Manihera's criticism of the more recent negative impact of trawlers on the sacred moki fishing grounds is also important in building a picture of twentieth century moki fishing.

This wide range of issues discussed by Manihera II and Dorothy and recorded by Sutherland (1963) must have propelled Manihera II to find more relevant, creative and innovative ways to preserve and revitalise local history and customs. Sharing tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki with a passionate fisherman and writer such as Sutherland, and allowing him to record their tukunga iho in English was another way of passing down the knowledge and history – te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui - about the moki to a wider audience, but was it enough to ensure the survival of the sacred moki.

Manihera II ensured that the significance of the moki and local history was part of the Whangaparāoa Maori School Jubilee Committee's programme in 1966 (Langley and Walker, 2004:76-77) and Jubilee booklet. Although the Sutherland (1963), Reed (1963) and School Jubilee (1966) publications have been important ways to preserve tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in ways that are easily accessible to not only Te Whānau-a-Apanui descendants and scholars but also Pākehā fishermen and scholars, Manihera II decided to pursue another innovative idea to preserve the local knowledge and history about the moki. In 1973 he approached Clifford Whiting, at the inaugural Māori Writers and Artists Conference held at Te Kaha Marae and engaged him in a major revitalisation project at Whangaparāoa Marae including

[137] Moki stars – the stars that signal the migration of the moki to Whangaparāoa.

tukutuku, kōwhaiwhai and a significant mural. The next section is about the Whangaparāoa Project,[138] a community effort to preserve tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Manihera Waititi II, Clifford Whiting and Paratene Matchitt

The Whangaparāoa Project, 1974

Manihera II pursued Clifford Whiting to lead the Whangaparāoa Project. Whiting (Christensen, 2013) remembers his Uncle Manihera chasing him and challenging him to fill the houses at Whangaparāoa Marae with tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that would preserve and revitalise the history of the Whangaparāoa region. More importantly, Manihera II wanted Whiting to create tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that would be visually appealing and relevant to the young people and visitors to the region. Whiting remembers Manihera II saying, "I want the stuff that you've been doing, not the old stuff" (Christensen, 2013:72).[139] To do this, Whiting told Manihera II that he needed all of the knowledge and history about Whangaparāoa. Manihera II and others wanted to find new ways to connect the people to tīpuna (ancestors), to atua (Gods) and to whenua (land). Up until the project, a kōruru and carved ends of the maihi were the only carvings[140] on the wharenui (meeting house), Kauaetangohia.

Another famous Te Whānau-a-Apanui artist and scholar, Paratene Matchitt (Matchitt) was invited by Whiting to be involved in the Whangaparāoa Project. In line with Manihera II's wishes, Whiting and Matchitt decided that the tukunga iho of the district would be recorded in the mediums of paint, kōwhaiwhai and tukutuku. The work began in the meeting house, Kauaetangohia, where Whiting was responsible for the tukutuku panels on the walls of the house and Matchitt was responsible for the kōwhaiwhai of the heke (painted rafters) on the ceiling.[141] Both Whiting and Matchitt

[138] The Whangaparāoa Project is the name given by Clifford Whiting (Christensen, 2013:72) for the work carried out at Whangaparāoa Marae by him, Paratene Matchitt and their team of community people and friends.

[139] Manihera Waititi II's brother is John R. Waititi, author of the *Te Rangitahi* series (1962 & 1964).

[140] Wi Kuki Waititi Whānau Reunion Website at www.freewebs.com/wikukiwaititi/kauaetangohiamaraehistory.htm. Retrieved on 15 September 2014.

[141] Christensen, 2013:72.

had already completed nationally recognised projects using these and other mediums that challenged traditional boundaries in respect of tukunga iho, particularly in carving and painting.

It is also obvious that Whiting was an avid recorder of the project. He took photographs and wrote detailed notes about different tasks and his designs (Christensen, 2013:71-73). Photographs in *Cliff Whiting: He Toi Nuku, He Toi Rangi* (Christensen, 2013) record the way in which Whiting and Matchitt drew in the support of local whānau members and friends to ensure the project's completion. One photograph (Christensen, 2013:71) is of Manihera Waititi II working on a tukutuku panel called pātikitiki, and another photograph (Christensen, 2013:72) is of Dorothy Waititi working on a tukutuku pattern called poutama.

The work in the dining hall, Coronation (now Te Whatianga), carried on after the meeting house, where "the modern graphics of an enormous four-walled mural … contains 54 pictures of moki" (Woods & Woods, 1998:116). Whiting, Matchitt, their teaching colleagues and friends as well as experts from other tribes (Christensen, 2013:71) went to Whangaparāoa during school holidays and weekends to get the project done. Whiting took responsibility for "the old traditions" to be recorded in the dining room and Matchitt designed paintings that record the contact period of colonisation on the coast (Christensen, 2013:72). Overall, their work has extended tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about Whangaparāoa and the moki by pushing the boundaries of presentation where the use of traditional materials and the addition of new materials (Christensen, 2013:120) have provided a "stately and definitive record of the moki story" (Woods & Woods, 1998:116).

Photograph 2: Part of the Moki Mural, Te Whatianga Dining Hall, Whangaparāoa Marae (Source: Ministry of Education, 1993: Slide 17).

Photograph 3: The Moki Mural and Tukutuku Panels, Work in Progress in the Dining Hall, Whangaparāoa Marae (Source: Roka's Private Collection).

There are two photographs of the dining hall's painted mural in *Cliff Whiting: He Toi Nuku, He Toi Rangi* (Christensen, 2013:74 & 76). The memories I have of Roka's knowledge of the mural made me think about the benefits for Roka of living locally and spending time with her elders at Whangaparāoa, not only during the project but also outside of the project at whānau hui including tangihanga, weddings, church meetings and birthdays. Roka was fortunate that Manihera II, his father Te Kuaha, and his uncles Moana Waititi and Hirini (Hiri or Sid) Waititi[142] were still actively moki fishing and passing down tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki during her years as the Māori language teacher at the Te Kaha District High School. I believe that Roka's familial and intellectual connections to the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki were important foundations for her own writing. Roka was encouraged by Māori and tribal scholars to take full advantage of her position. Pine Taiapa acknowledged Roka for living and teaching in Te Kaha and encouraged her to keep, "walking the talk" (Rūhīterangi Richards Interview, 2011). Aunty Pae used stronger words to explain her observation of the situation. She says she pressured Roka to learn from their kaumātua and she expected her to take responsibility for continuing tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui because of who she was and her educational background. The letter referred to in the earlier part of chapter four, from Roka to Winston Waititi, is also an example of how they, of their generation, co-operated to ensure the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki continued to be passed down.

Winston Waititi

In Woods & Woods (1998) *State Highway 35*

Winston Waititi (Winston) is one of Manihera Waititi II's sons. He continues the scholarly traditions of his father and ancestors to this day. June Mariu[143] is his sister and the late Arthur Waititi was his brother. They have all been great role models and active contributors to the leadership and scholarship of not only Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia at Whangaparāoa but also Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Winston was

[142] Manihera II's father was Te Kuaha Waititi, brother to Moana and Hirini Waititi.

[143] My mum remembers Aunty June teaching at Queen Victoria during the early 1960s and I remember her teaching at Rutherford High School during the 1980s. She played netball for New Zealand, held leadership and governance roles in National Māori netball, the Māori Womens Welfare League and Te Whānau-a-Waipareira.

teacher-principal at Cape Runaway School during the 1990s where he taught the story of the sacred moki to the local school children for more than thirty years (Woods & Woods, 1998). During his lifetime Winston has seen a decline of the moki harvest and back in 1998 he said that, "it is merely a memory for older people, and the cause of a grievance among younger people" (Woods & Woods, 1998:116).

Winston further explained this statement when he said that:

> Maori had large catches up to the early 1970s, but these declined after several years of fishing with nets. Recently catches have been patchy, as not enough boats have been out fishing at the same time. If there are 30-40 boats fishing with a lot of hooks in total, it increases the feeding of moki and increases the overall catches. The local Maori do not have enough confidence in boating to be out fishing. The moki are still there in the same abundance but may have shifted grounds slightly (Langley & Walker, 2004:77).

Winston also shared his boyhood memories of moki fishing in the late 1940s and early 1950s when he says they:

> could count more than 50 small boats out there, every one of them fishing for moki with hand lines. They were like mosquitoes, none of them moving fast as they had Seagull motors or inboards that used to just putt-putt about the place, and yet they all came back loaded with fish (Woods & Woods, 1998:112)

Since the 1970s the decline in moki catches has been partly attributed to outside fishermen who come fishing with their modern equipment and technology, in their "flash aluminium and fiberglass commercial boats with a couple of hundred horsepower and radars to find the fish – they take everything" (Woods & Woods, 1998:112).

In 1986 Winston asserted te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui by raising the issue with local and Māori fishermen that it was unacceptable to use nets between Oruaiti Beach and Potikirua Point (Langley & Walker, 2004) where the moki fishing grounds are. During the 1990's Winston put significant effort into stopping the commercial fishing boats that take [all fish including moki] using high-powered equipment and nets. As Chairperson of the Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia Trust he submitted a claim to the

Waitangi Tribunal in 1989 calling for three taiāpure[144] and a protection zone for the moki with no response from the government (Woods & Woods, 1998:112). Although Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia had not had word about their tribunal claim up to 1998, a taiapure was established in 1996, between Oruaiti Beach and Pōtikirua Point, extending two miles out to sea.

Winston sadly explained that to many people the moki "is just a fish to use as bait in a craypot" … he himself has witnessed them being "fished out by commercial set nets in the hands of a few big Gisborne companies and local commercial fishermen" (Woods & Woods, 1998:116). In 1998 Winston further explained his dismay at the responses of the authorities. He said:

> Questions the authorities cannot or will not answer are why the moki have gone from Cape Runaway, why tribal submissions for fishery protection have fallen on deaf ears and when, if ever, they will take action. Part of the explanation is that the moki aren't an important species: ninth most common finfish caught commercially in New Zealand, almost all of it between Bay of Plenty and Kaikoura, with 404 tonnes caught in 1993-94, and a peak total of 960 tonnes caught in 1970 and 1979. Adult moki migrate from Kaikoura in late April and May to spawn until September between Mahia Peninsula and East Cape, then disappear. According to MAF scientists, the moki return 'south towards Kaikoura', but according to the lore of the moki people at Cape Runaway, that's when they go home to Hawaiki (Woods & Woods, 1998:121).

In the early 1990s the young people were beginning to break into commercial chillers where moki were stored due to their frustration over the health and decline of the sacred moki. Winston felt strongly that some people didn't understand the local concern because "to many the moki is just a fish to use as bait in a craypot – not a delicacy to be sought after when it is fat for a few winter months" (Woods & Woods, 1998:121).

The assertions that the moki are of special significance to the Whangaparāoa and Te Whānau-a-Apanui people was recognised by the Ministry of Fisheries in the late

[144] A taiāpure is a locally managed sea area established under Part IX of the Fisheries Act 1996, where a committee nominated by the local Māori community may recommend the making of regulations to manage all types of fishing (Ngāti Konohi, Department of Conservation & Ministry of Environment, 2005:26).

1990s. The Auckland and Kermadec Areas Commercial Fishing Regulations 1986, Amendment No. 13 sets out that:

> fishing by the methods of trawling, Danish seining and setnetting has been prohibited at all times within a two nautical-mile wide coastal band beginning at the high water mark and extending from Cape Runaway to a stream tributary at Oruaiti Beach (Ministry of Fisheries, 2009:144).

To complement this protection of the moki from netting, Winston (Woods & Woods, 1998) also presents twentieth century, practical explanations of the significance of the moki to our ancestors. Winston asserts tikanga and kawa by explaining that only men go moki fishing and that they should only use hooks not nets. He asserts why hooks are a more respectful way of catching a moki. He says, "Its head is sacred, not to be abused by netting or striking", and therefore, "the custom of protecting the head makes sense to us because there is no kick in a moki when it has been lured up on a hook. There's no need to strike it dead" (Woods & Woods, 1998:121).

The other customary practice he explains relates to why fishermen should hang their moki catch overnight. Winston says, "A secret to eating the moki is that there is green bile in it which makes the body sour" (Woods & Woods, 1998:121) therefore, unless it is drained out of the mouth by hanging the fish by its tail the cooked fish will be sour. To me, Winston's practical explanations of how fishermen should fish and process the moki are twentieth century ways of sharing the riches of ancestral creativity. He explains connections between the long time sacredness of the moki and the nature of the guidelines developed by our ancestors. Winston's explanations are examples of practical applications of tikanga and kawa.

Discussion

Table 8 below summarises a thematic analysis of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki. The themes include atua, tīpuna, tikanga, whenua, moana, waka and taonga. My analysis shows that the early tukunga iho, 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori', abounds with names of atua, tīpuna, whenua, moana, waka and taonga. Tikanga associated with the atua such as karakia for building canoes, karakia for reviving

people at the tuaahu and karakia for journeys across the sea are recorded. ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ as examined in Chapter four not only provides strong links to Hawaiki ancestors and places but also makes important connections to landscapes and seascapes in Whangaparāoa during the settlement period of Hawaiki ancestors.

As the twentieth century went on, the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki focused less on the historical detail of the migration and settlement aspects of the moki narrative and more so on contemporary interactions and associations with the moki. Atua were seldom referred to and only key tīpuna directly associated with the naming of landscape, seascape and the moki were mentioned such as Pou, Mahia and Marupapanui. Although important connections have been made to ‘Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori’ the scholars have given contemporary meaning to the narrative by retelling and extending on aspects relevant to issues of the day.

Manihera I’s publications are specifically arguing a case about the kura, Mokonuiārangi and Tauninihi, and therefore ancestors and names of burial grounds associated with those taonga in more recent times are named and add authenticity to his arguments. Moana Waititi, in a similar vein to his father, wrote his article to assert the name Tihirau, rather than Tikirau. He provides further names of landscape and seascape that are specifically related to the landing place of the Tainui canoe and Tihirau such as Riu o Tainui, Puwharariki and Rangaateanewa.

Manihera II and his son Winston publish their concerns for the traditions of moki fishing and the health of the moki during the second half of the twentieth century. Although Manihera II is still concerned with naming landscape and seascape he and Dorothy are also very concerned about sharing their own memories of moki fishing. Although names such as Tikirau (instead of Tihirau) and the Sleeping Cave (instead of Rātānui) are evidence of the impact of external influences (English language) this chapter has shown the positive impacts of twentieth century tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui on asserting te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui and the role of scholars as agents of change (Ellis, 2016). Manihera II’s mention of how Te Waikaukau a Marupapanui has dried up and how Te Herenga o te Ika a Pou has fallen over are also insights into the changing nature and impact of the environment. Outside influences

and the nature of environmental change continue to concern Winston. Commercial fishing, netting and a lacking interest in the significance of the moki is evident.

Table 8: Thematic Analysis of Tukunga Iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui About the Moki

	Ko Te Putake Mai	Manihera I	Moana Waititi	Hirini Waititi	Manihera II	Winston Waititi
Atua	Rangi Papa Tangaroa Tanemahuta Rongomatane Haumiatiketike Tumatauenga Tawhirimatea Rātā Rēhua Kokiri Ruakapanga Rakamaomao Kahukura Tunui-o-te-ika	Ruakapanga				
Tīpuna	Maui Uenuku Hoturoa ma Tamatekapua Ruamoengārara Pou Ruatatanoa Mahia Taikehu Marupapanui	Pou Mahia Te Putahou Tātaiarangi Te Hata Teretiu	Pou Mahia	Pou Mahia Marupapanui		
Tikanga	Karakia o 'te tini o te Hakuturi' Tuaahu Karakia o Ruatatanoa 'Kura pae a Mahia'	'Kura pae a Mahia'			Early tikanga and kawa (guidelines) Associated with moki fishing and processing	Men go moki fishing To use hooks Moki should be hung overnight
Whenua	Hui-te-Rangiora Te Aratiatia a Pawa Whangaparāoa mai tawhiti Okooe	Whangaparāoa Mai tawhiti Ratanui Tikirau Kauaenui Moaho	Whangaparāoa Mai tawhiti Tikirau	Ratanui	Whangaparāoa mai tawhiti Ratanui (the Sleeping Cave)	

	Ko Te Putake Mai	**Manihera I**	**Moana Waititi**	**Hirini Waititi**	**Manihera II**	**Winston Waititi**
Whenua		Whaitiripapa	Riu o Tainui Te Punga o Tainui Hooe Puwharariki Rangaateanewa	Te Riu o Tainui Te Haika o Tainui Ohuri Pohuerau Matarere	Te Herenga o te Ika o Pou	
Moana		Tamurenui Taungawaka Tauira (rock)	Taungaawa	Taungaawa Tuapapa Kokohura Pakaru		
Waka	Tainui Te Arawa Mataatua Kurahaupo Tokomaru Toki Matawhaorua Tauira-mai-tawhiti	Tainui Te Arawa Tauira-mai-tawhiti	Tainui Tauira	Tauira	Tauira	
Taonga	Matuahautea Moki Kura Mokonuiarangi Tauninihi Harakeke Tutumanawa Paea (kumara) Mawhara (hue) Autahi Tautoru mā (moki stars)	Moki Kura Mokonuiarangi Tauninihi Harakeke	Moki	Moki	Moki Early morning winter stars in the east	Moki

Conclusion

Roka's archive, writing and translation work reveal other important Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars who influenced her scholarship, ensuring that the iho of knowledge and history about the moki continued. Early in the twentieth century te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui and tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki found wide public exposure by Te Manihera I in *Te Pipiwharauroa*. Sixty years later after tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki had been kept close to its original

context, Te Manihera I's descendants - Moana Waititi, Hirini Waititi, Manihera II, John R. Waititi and Winston Waititi - gave the moki scholarship renewed public exposure in *Te Ao Hou*, *The Historical Review*, *Te Wharekura*, the local school jubilee publication, Sutherland (1963), Woods & Woods (1998) and Langley and Walker (2004). This renewed public exposure ensured the revitalisation of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki that not only embraced knowledge and language from the past but also recorded and extended them to show how moki fishing had been impacted by schooling, farming and technology. The other innovative way in which the core knowledge and history about the moki was extended was through the kōwhaiwhai, the tukutuku panels and the mural at Whangaparāoa Marae where famous Te Whānau-a-Apanui artists, Whiting and Matchitt, applied their artistic skills to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

This chapter has shown that four generations of Waititi scholars applied a tukunga iho process by committing their knowledge to print. This important work has ensured that the knowledge, language and history of the moki continued into the 21st century. They have shown descendants how to embrace tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui as well as retell, renew and extend them. They have all used print media to keep the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki alive and to assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in intellectual ways that reflect the experiences and aspirations of their community. Their writings show how they continued to interpret the knowledge and history about the moki based on their experiences as people who lived in the region, who fished the moki according to the tikanga and kawa of our ancestors, and as scholars. Even during changing times and increased interaction with other tribes and the influence of Western ideologies and technologies, the Waititi's used print media to assert the sacredness of the moki at the same time as asserting mana whenua, mana moana and mana tangata. The more recent contributions have not only drawn on earlier contributions but have been innovative in applying early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to the issues of their time, giving it contemporary meaning. They have also made the knowledge and history more accessible to wider audiences.

For me, this chapter has been an important way to acknowledge a long line of Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars by bringing their work together and celebrating a

publication history. By doing this I develop a foundation to foreground my analysis of Roka's 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' in the next chapter. Another important connection between this chapter and the next is John R. Waititi and his contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Chapters four and five have reinforced my thinking that Roka was inspired by a wide range of Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars to write about moki fishing. I also believe that the issues experienced by pākeke and kaumātua of her time propelled her to write, to bring contemporary meaning to the knowledge and the history about the moki. Her writing gives further insights into the changes and adaptations that have occurred between the early 1900s and 1960 in association with the mana and tapu of the moki.

Chapter Six: 'Ka Haere a Hata mā ki te Hī Moki'

In this chapter I discuss how Roka (Paora, 1971) applied a tukunga iho process to 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki'. The previous two chapters provide me with a platform to analyse the core elements of knowledge and history about the moki - the iho - that Roka embraced and extended to assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. I focus on the way in which Roka asserted significant ancestors, the landscape/seascape of Te Kaha and Whangaparāoa, the moki season calendar date and the important moki season star, Whānui. My analysis then turns to Roka's use of Māori language phrases and terms that I believe illuminate te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui as a living language of science and culture. Finally, I look at how Roka incorporates a portrayal of tikanga (behaviours) and kawa (guidelines) into her narrative.

Overall, this chapter extends on the previous two chapters to show how familial and intellectual connections across generations of twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui moki scholars have been important to the tukunga iho process in relation to the moki. Chapters four and five are used as a platform to show how a line of twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars not only retell and renew but also extend the oral traditions of our ancestors to ensure that core knowledge, language and history about the moki carried on into the future. My analysis in this chapter shows how I now engage in and apply the tukunga iho process about the moki. The next section opens this chapter by acknowledging further connections between Roka and John R. Waititi's work as Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars and their commitment to contributing to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Background of Narrative

Roka's (Paora, 1971) 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' extends John R. Waititi's approach to writing in *Te Rangatahi II* (Waititi, 1964) such as 'Te Rama Tuna' (Waititi, 1964:5), 'Te Mahi Tītī' (Waititi, 1964:117) and 'Te Mahi Tohorā' (Waititi, 1964:131). In a much longer format of twenty-one pages compared to the *Te*

Rangatahi narratives, Roka's 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' extends the breadth and depth of Tamahae's experiences while also asserting the significance of the moki to Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

The issue of urbanisation is woven into 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' by noting that Pani and Hata are expecting Tamahae to go to Auckland to work when he finishes school. Roka writes:

> KO PANI: Me ako ia ināianei ki tēnei momo mahi. Koroua rawa ake koe, kua waia a Tamahae ki te haere ki te hī moki. E rua tau noa iho kei muri ka haere tā tāua tama ki te mahi i Ākarana. Kāore tēnei mahi e mahia ana ki te tāone, nō reira mauria i te wā e hihiri ana te tamaiti nei (Paora, 1971:8).

Pani believes it is important for Tamahae to join his father on this upcoming moki fishing trip because he should learn now while his father is able to teach him and while he is enthusiastic to learn because he will be going away to Auckland to work in two years time. The 1956 economic survey[145] referred to in Chapter five recorded that 222 men and women between 16 years and 35 years had 'drifted' away[146] from the district during the previous three years to mainly labouring or factory work in urban centres such as Auckland and Wellington.[147] Research into language decline by Professor Biggs (Walker, 1987) also showed that by 1958 only twenty-six percent of Māori students spoke Māori as their first language, compared to 90 percent in 1900. Richard Benton's research also showed "that by the late 1960s Maori had ceased to be the primary language of socialization for most Maori families" (Benton, 1997:24). Walker (1987) added that Māori social customs were changing and Māori were losing touch with their history as well.

In Whai Ngata's (1971) review of Roka's (Paora, 1971) textbook, *Learn Māori with Parehau and Sharon 1*, he paralleled the depleting crayfish stocks at Te Kaha with the decline of the Māori language in Te Whānau-a-Apanui. He made the comment that:

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[145] Appendix D in Whanau-a-Apanui Economic Survey 1956-1973 MA Acc W2459 box 170 record 19/1/229 Pt 2, photographed on 9 September 2010 at Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[146] The term 'drifted away' is used in the Te Whānau-a-Apanui Economic Survey (1956).

[147] 69 men and 43 women (16-21 years) plus 78 men and 32 women (22-35 years).

> Because Māori has become a foreign language to many of the children in the area, Roka Paora decided to write *"Learn Maori with Parehau and Sharon"*. … The crays may never come back but Roka Paora is doing something positive about trying to get the young people in her district – indeed, throughout the country – to speak Maori again.

Between World War One and World War Two when Roka was at primary school and boarding school she remembered her parents and grandparents' generation encouraging her to speak English. Roka often emphasised that her elders believed that "the pursuit of Pakeha knowledge was [their] salvation" (Richards, 1991:58). As a result Roka and her peers "put aside things Māori, particularly the language" (Richards, 1991:58). These types of comments by Roka reveal that her elders consciously made the decision to teach English rather than Māori to their children whereas Benton (1997:30) was not convinced of the reasons and commented around the issue by saying:

> it seems that Māori people collectively and individually decided that the effort required to maintain the language within their homes was too great, even though at that time they seemed to be substantially in control of their immediate social environment.

In line with Manihera II's comments in Chapter five, there is evidence within Roka's own family that economic activities such as Ngata's Māori land development schemes may have kept the people so busy that the "effort required … was too great". Therefore, Roka's own life experiences as highlighted in earlier chapters, helped her to understand the issues affecting her students. 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' highlights how vital John R. Waititi's account of 'The Story of the Moki' (Reed, 1963) was to Roka during the 1960s because she and her students had not grown up having learnt the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. 'The Story of the Moki' (Reed, 1963) is John R. Waititi's interpretation that summarises 'Ko Te Putake Mai o te Māori'. It is an English version that provides a window into key aspects of knowledge and history about the moki including the origin of the moki, connections to Atua and tīpuna associated with the moki, some of the traditional fishing grounds and information about the moki fishing season.

I have no doubt that John R. Waititi and his contributions to Māori language revitalisation and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui were important to Roka's

development as a Māori language teacher, a writer and a tribal scholar. John R. Waititi and Roka were examples of those who had been raised in rural Māori communities as native speakers, 'pushed out' to be educated at Māori boarding schools and expected to go on to tertiary education or to get good jobs. John R. Waititi attended both St Stephens and Te Aute. Roka was a third generation Māori boarding school student. Roka's mother, Rūhīterangi, and maternal grandparents[148] had been sent away to Māori boarding schools in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Roka followed their examples by applying herself in the classroom. She also enjoyed sports activities and became Head Prefect at Hukarere Māori Girls School. She pursued Pākehā education because her elders believed that it was for her and her generation's "salvation".[149] Both Roka and John R. Waititi returned to teach at the Te Kaha Native School during the 1940s after World War Two. For those teenage boys and girls who did not go to boarding school and were students in Roka's Māori language classes during the 1970s, studying 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' was a great opportunity for Roka to raise the important issues of declining Māori language, declining intergenerational transmission of knowledge and urbanisation through Tamahae, Rewi and Marama's experiences as teenagers living in Te Kaha.

By the late 1950s John R. Waititi had become a well-respected Māori scholar and had a successful career in education. He moved to Auckland in 1949 to teach at St Stephens, Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls and Auckland Girls' Grammar (Ballara and Mariu, DNZB, 2014). My mum was a student at Queen Victoria in 1961 and 1962 when John R. Waititi was trialling *Te Rangatahi One* (Waititi, 1962) and *Te Rangatahi Two* (Waititi, 1964). She remembers him being a strict taskmaster who expected his students to work hard. Later, John R. Waititi became a takawaenga Māori in the Department of Education and worked alongside people such as Matiu Te Hau, John Rangihau and Maharaia Winiata, who were "hugely influential to Māori and Pākehā communities in the 1950s and 1960s" (Ngahiraka, 2008:20).[150] All of these takawaenga Māori were notable teachers, educationalists, scholars and

[148] Roka's grandfather, Wiremu Tiaki Paora, attended St Stephens. Her grandmother, Purukamu Roihana, attended St Josephs Māori Girls School. Roka's mother, Rūhīterangi (or Lucy Pahewa) attended Hukarere Māori Girls School from 1911 to 1914, and Roka (Roka Swinton) followed in 1940, becoming Head Prefect in 1943.
[149] 2007 Roka Paora interview with Rūhīterangi Richards.
[150] *Te Pou Taki Kōrero*, 2010:7.

community leaders who contributed to both Māori development and bicultural development as "negotiators and important go-between representatives" (Ngahiraka, 2008:20).

John R. Waititi was a member of the inaugural Māori language advisory committee alongside Dr Bruce Biggs, Beth Ranapia, Wiremu Ngata and Dr Sir Hirini Mead in the late 1950s and early 1960s. They were also the inaugural editors of the Māori language journal, *Te Wharekura*. They published a range of tukunga iho Māori defined by Mc Rae (2004) as Māori fiction, poetry, children's stories, collected writings and biographies. Between 1960 and 1971 the early publications included contributions by tribes including Ngati Awa and Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Sir Hirini Mead's and John R. Waititi's tribes respectively. During her career, Roka wrote eighteen tuhituhi Māori for the *Te Wharekura* and *Te Tautoko* school journals. They present a wide range of topics that were relevant to Māori language students, the Māori language curriculum and to her identity as a Te Whānau-a-Apanui person. These publications show that Roka was serious about the continuity of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. She frequently quoted tribal tukunga iho or highlighted ancestral messages in her writing.

This section has highlighted connections between John R Waititi and Roka as Te Whānau-a-Apanui moki scholars and their connections to earlier scholars who continued the iho of the moki as examined in Chapter five. In Chapter four my analysis focused on why Roka refers to Ruamoengārara, Pou and Rēhua in 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki'. The next section of this chapter provides two examples of how Roka asserted other significant ancestors by following John R. Waititi's *Te Rangitahi* series format. Specifically, Roka continues to use character names such as Tamahae and Hata that assert Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors.

Asserting Tīpuna

The characters of 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' are exactly the same as *Te Rangatahi One* (Waititi, 1962) and *Te Rangatahi Two* (Waititi, 1964) providing descriptions and details of everyday life in Te Kaha during the 1950s and 1960s.

John R. Waititi's selection of Tamahae and Hata as names for the main characters of his language texts is important to explore. Tamahae is an obvious Te Whānau-a-Apanui choice of ancestral name for a young, male, modern tribal warrior character that takes on an array of life experiences and challenges during the 1950s and 1960s. Tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui[151] remind us how our ancestor Tamahae was born and bred to be a warrior chief. During a restless period of intertribal fighting with Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Kahungunu, the mana of Te Whānau-a-Apanui lay in his hands. His fame spread throughout the Bay of Plenty and East Coast.

Tamahae was a grandson of our tribe's founding ancestor, Apanui, and his first wife, Kahukuramihiata. As explained in Chapter three, while Kahukuramihiata was living amongst her people she did not accept the advances of Kuriteko, a great Ngāti Kahungunu warrior, so he raped and killed her. For this reason, Tamahae avenged his grandmother's death by killing Kuriteko.[152] This event is remembered by Tamahae's whakataukī, "He noa taku taiaha ki te marahea" which Roka translated as, "My taiaha is wasted on one of no consequence". Kuriteko's response as he lay on the ground was, "E tā, he marahea hoki au?" As he pointed to his head, he said, "Ko au rā tēnei, ko Kuriteko!" which Roka translated as, "Do you really think that I am one of no consequence? This is I, Kuriteko" (RPTMSS, 1984:24).

In 2007, Roka referred my mum to a piece she had published in *Te Wharekura 17* called, 'He Kōrero Mō Tamahae'. When I found a copy of this tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, I saw that Roka was not the named author. Instead, 'Te Whānau-a-Apanui' was the author.[153] Although Roka's writing style and voice comes through clearly to me in the text, 'He Kōrero Mō Tamahae', is another example of acknowledging a historical literary text that is a collective narrative (Mahuika, 2012), a tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. For me, 'He Kōrero Mō Tamahae' acknowledges

[151] Narratives such as '*Rohe Nui'* – recorded by Canon Hakaraia Pahewa as told by Ngamotu Tūkākī (HPahewaMSS, nd:61-63). Translated by Roka Paora (RPTMSS, 1984:23-25). 'The Story of Tamahae', is an edited version by John Waititi in *Journal of the Whakatane and District Historical Society Inc. New Zealand*, Volume XV, No. 2, August 1967, pp. 142-146.

[152] 'The Story of Tamahae', an edited version by John Waititi in *Whakatane and District Historical Society Inc.*, Volume XV, No. 2, August 1967, pp. 142-146. Also see, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, 1960. He Kōrero Mō Tamahae. In *Te Wharekura 17*. Wellington: School Publications, Department of Education.

[153] 2007 Roka Paora Interview notes by Rūhīterangi Richards.

and provides background to John R. Waititi's choice to use the name of Tamahae for the main character of the *Te Rangatahi* series (1962-1964), explaining history about Te Whānau-a-Apanui's warrior leader, Tamahae.

Research for this thesis and my close readings of *Te Rangatahi One, Te Rangatahi Two* and 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' also led me to wonder about the main character's name, Hata. John R. Waititi may have selected this name because it is a short, two-syllable, easy to pronounce name for beginning Māori language students. But he may have also chosen the name Hata as a memorial to the nineteenth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui chief, Te Hata Kakatuamaro,[154] also known as Te Hata Hokopaura,[155] Hata Moutara[156] and Te Hata Rangituamaro?[157] Te Hata represented Te Whānau-a-Apanui as a leader and scholar in a wide range of activities. Te Hata's wife was Maraea who was from Raukōkore and Whangaparāoa (Te Kaha Minute Book No.1:103). He provided a significant amount of evidence in the early Native Land Court hearings where the ancestors argued tribal boundaries with our neighbouring tribes Ngāi Tai (e.g. the Tunapahore Block) and Ngāti Porou (eg. the Whangaparāoa Block (*Whangaparāoa* (1881) 2 Opotiki 302 (2 OPO 302)) and the Puketauhinu Block (*Puketauhinu* (1881) 2 Opotiki 37-55 (2 OPO 37-55)). He wrote letters to and petitioned Donald McLean about issues of the day as discussed in Chapter three of this thesis and as "the principal chief of Te Kaha", he also escorted Sir Donald McLean onto the marae at Whakatāne to the opening of the Mataatua House in 1875 (Te Rūnanga o Ngati Awa, 1990).

Te Hata is also remembered as a composer who wrote a song with his cousin Maihi to remember Tamahae. Their composition includes the words, "ka whakahikihiki i te

[154] An 1884 Petition of Te Hata te Kakatuamaro and 117 others who asked for a hearing in the block at Opotiki, known as Whakaari (White Island). ATOJS 1884 I-02 Session II No. 295: 24.
[155] An 1870 Return referring to Te Hata Hokopaura as the Leading chief of Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutu, based at Raukōkore and Ōrete where the total number of people recorded was 361. A11 – Return giving the names etc., of the Tribes of the North Island, ATOJS 1870 Session 1, see internet address. Also a 1898 Petition of Te Hata Hokopaura and 34 others who prayed for a rehearing in connection with the Maraehako Block – No. 246, 1898, Reports of the Native Affairs Committee – see nzetc.victoria.ac.nz.
[156] Referred to as Te Hata Moutara in the Native Land Court, Te Kaha Minute Book, 1915:138, where his children are succeeding to his land.
[157] See Chapter three. The 1878 Petition of Te Hata Te Rangituamaro and 37 others representing the people of Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki and Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

tiriti o Wahakino, ka tu te toka i Takore, ka hiki te toka i Wahakino" (RPTMSS, 1984:30). The word 'tiriti' is evidence that this waiata is a post-European composition (Te Hata and Maihi's era) that remembers the pact between Tamahae and Konohi, a chief from the Whāngārā district. They remember that although Konohi did not honour the pact, Tamahae did. Remembering ancestors in waiata and tuhituhi Māori is a key feature of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that asserts mana tangata. Roka's specific references to ancestors are important to her. Chapter four explains why she continued to write about our ancestors Ruamoengārara, Pou and Rēhua and this section has discussed my interpretations of why Roka followed John R. Waititi to use the ancestral names, Tamahae and Hata. It was also important to Roka to base her narrative at Te Kaha where she and her husband lived and where she worked. The ways in which Roka asserted landscape and seascape follows.

Asserting Landscape and Seascape

> Ko te Hatarei tēnei rā, te toru tekau mā tahi o Mei. He rā tino pai tēnei. Tino marino te moana.
> KO HATA: Tamahae, Marama, e Pani, ka haere tātau ki te ruku kuku i Toka-a-Kuku
> KO MĀRAMA: Hei aha ngā kuku, Pāpā?
> KO HATA: Hei mōunu, Mārama. Kua tata ki te wā hī moki, no reira me whakareri ngā kuku i te wā e marino ana te moana.
> …
> Tekau mā rima meneti e rere atu ana i te awa poti o Hata mā, ka tae ki Toka-a-kuku. He toka nui a Toka-a-kuku. He tokomaha ngā tāngata i reira e ruku kuku ana hei mōunu hī moki (Paora, 1971:3).

Here, Roka (Paora, 1971) names Te Kaha and Whangaparāoa seascape and landscape associated with moki fishing during the 1950s and 1960s, providing further breadth and depth to the context of Hata and his Te Kaha family's lives in *Te Rangatahi One* (Waititi, 1962) and *Te Rangatahi Two* (Waititi, 1964).

At the beginning of Roka's narrative Te Kaha seascape is the setting. Without mentioning Te Kaha, Roka writes about Toka-a-Kuku, the significant mussel rock of the Te Kaha coastline. On May 31, two weeks before the moki season opens, Hata and his family take advantage of a fine day and a calm sea and go to Toka-a-Kuku to dive for mussels. It is nearly the moki season and therefore they are preparing

mussels for moki bait. It takes the family about fifteen minutes to get to Toka-a-Kuku by boat from the channel where they launch their boat (te awa poti).

Toka-a-Kuku, the mussel rock, has the same name as Toka-a-Kuku Pā that was the location of a well-known Siege[158] during the 1830s. Wairua (1958:17) explained the significance of the Pā site when he wrote:

> Owing to its admirable geographical position and other features favourable for the purposes of defence it can be readily understood why the Whanau-a-Apanui established "Toka-a-Kuku pa" as their chief stronghold. The pa is situated on Te Kaha point and is approximately fifteen acres in area. The point extends seaward for some considerable distance, its cliffs being particularly rugged and precipitous. The defenders had little to fear from enemies in guarding the only practicable approach to the pa which was landward.

The first recorded raid on Toka-a-Kuku Pā was carried out by the Ngāpuhi fighting chief, Hongi Hika who attacked so vigorously that Te Uaterangi, the Apanui chief, decided to "form a truce" (Wairua, 1958:17). A few years later when a Ngāpuhi war party broke one of the conditions of the truce, Te Uaterangi sent his lieutenant, Te Mango-Kai-Tipua,[159] to intercept the Ngāpuhi canoes that had entered the Te Whānau-a-Apanui boundaries. Wairua (1958:17-18) explained the outcome of Te Mango-Kai-Tipua's pursuit when he wrote:

> The Apanui canoes overtook the Ngapuhi near White Island and after a brief encounter between the rival captains the latter were captured. On reaching the Maungaroa beach, contrary to the wishes of Te Uaterangi, the whole of the Ngapuhi party was massacred.

This was the main reason for the attack of a powerful alliance of tribes including Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu and other Gisborne tribes. Toka-a-Kuku Pā is well known for its extensive site that was used to grow kumara during the Siege. Wairua (1958) also wrote about the fearsome Apanui fleet that was successful in defending the waters and shoreline of the Te Kaha point as well as paddling to Torere

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[158] Haukino Paora referred to the Siege as Te Haona o Toka-a-Kuku and explains "ko nga iwi i waho o te pa, Ngati Porou, Gisborne tribes, Ngati Kahungunu and others" (HPMSS, nd:146).

[159] Te Mango-Kai-Tipua (alias Wiremu Kingi) was the older brother of Te Ahiwaru, one of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi. They were the sons of Wharengaio, a younger brother of Te Ngahueoterangi.

via White Island during the night to replenish their provisions. Although the long defence of Toka-a-Kuku Pā resulted in many deaths, the defenders held their own.

Another seascape that Roka writes about is Hāmama, she wrote:

> KO HATA: E Pani, me haere tātau ko ā tāua tamariki ki te rama pāpaka a te pō nei.
> KO MĀRAMA: Hei aha ngā pāpaka?
> KO HATA: Hei mōunu anō mā te moki.
> KO MĀRAMA: He mahi pai ki a au te rama pāpaka.
> …
> KO MĀRAMA: E haere ana tātau ki hea rama pāpaka ai?
> KO HATA: Ki Hāmama.
> KO MĀRAMA: Ka pai hoki! He pai ki a au te haere ki Hāmama.
> KO PANI: Me moata te hapa kia horoia ai ngā pereti i mua i te haerenga.
> I te whitu karaka i te pō ka haere te whānau nei mā runga i tō rātau taraka ki te rama pāpaka i Hāmama. He pō pai tēnei mō te rama pāpaka. Kua waia kē te whānau a Hata ki tēnei mahi. Kei te pari haere mai te tai (Paora, 1971:6-7).

Here, Hata and his family go crabbing at Hāmama, a rocky bay at Te Kaha, between the Te Kaha point[160] and Maraetai Bay.[161] Mārama is especially excited about going crabbing, a winter evening activity that they are familiar with. Pani is very keen to have an early dinner so that they can tidy up before going to Hāmama by 7pm that night. When they arrive, the tide has turned. Tamahae and his mother crab together. He tells Pani to hold the torch while he catches the crabs. Pani reminds him not to get over excited in case he falls into the water.

Roka took the opportunity in her writing to explain some other important safety rules about crabbing. This is similar to John R. Waititi's (1964:120) approach in the "Te Mahi Tītī" chapter where Hata instructs Tamahae and Rewi about how to catch muttonbird. Roka wrote that crabbing is not an easy task and you should dress warmly for the cold winter weather. She also warned readers to walk carefully so that you do not trip over rocks and fall. Two other warnings include catching the crabs from the back so that your hands do not get bitten, and how important it is not to be noisy and make the crabs scared.

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[160] Te Kaha Point is near the old Toka-a-Kuku Pā site and close to the Te Kaha Resort.

[161] Maraetai Bay is below the Te Kura o Te Whānau-a-Apanui site at Te Kaha.

Another popular moki bait that Roka refers to is pipi. There are no pipi beds in Te Kaha therefore including pipi into the narrative gave Roka the opportunity to write about Te Kaha's location in relation to Ōpōtiki to the west and Whangaparāoa to the east. Roka wrote:

> KO HATA: Kua tū te pahi o Ōpōtiki. Tamahae, haere ki te mātaki he aha tā te taraiwa mā tātau.
> KO TAMAHAE: Pāpā, he pēke pipi. Nō hea rā?
> KO HATA: Nā tō matua kēkē, nā Hare, i tuku mai i Ōpōtiki hei mōunu.
> …
> KO TAMAHAE: Pāpā, kei te hia kai pipi au.
> KO MĀRAMA: Me au hoki.
> KO HATA: Kāti rā, tīkina he kōhua.
> Kāore he pipi o Te Kaha, nō reira he kai tauhou tēnei ki te whānau a Hata (Paora, 1971:6).

Up until the early 1980s you could catch a bus from Ōpōtiki to Te Kaha that took approximately an hour. When the bus from Ōpōtiki stops outside their house, Hata sends Tamahae to see why. Tamahae announces that a bag of pipis has been dropped off. Hata tells him that they are moki bait from his Uncle Hare in Ōpōtiki. There are no pipi in Te Kaha and Ōpōtiki is too far away from Te Kaha for the family to go and gather pipi regularly. Therefore pipi are not a local, familiar food in Te Kaha and Hata's children are hungry for some. Once they have had a meal, they prepare the remaining pipis for bait. After their successful fishing trip Hata plans to send moki to Ōpōtiki to show their appreciation. Roka also explains the distance between Te Kaha and Whangaparāoa. She wrote:

> Toru tekau mēneti pāhi i te rima karaka te tāima. Kua wehe atu a Hata rāua ko Tamahae.
> …
> Kua tae kē mai a Rewi rāua ko Rua ki te rori me ā rāua taputapu.
> …
> Kotahi hāora e haere atu ana i Te Kaha, ka tae ki Whangaparāoa. Nō te toru tekau meneti pāhi i te ono karaka ka tae a Hata mā (Paora, 1971:12).

It took Hata and his crew an hour, from 5.30am to 6.30am, to travel from Te Kaha to Whangaparāoa, reminding readers of the era in which Roka's narrative is set. Up until the late 1960s the road between Te Kaha and Whangaparāoa was a gravel road so the travel time was longer than it is today. Today on a tarsealed road it takes approximately thirty minutes. Before Hata and his crew launch from the river mouth

they greet the other fishermen who have arrived from near and far. Some are from Whangaparāoa and others are from Ngāti Porou to the east, Ōpōtiki to the west, as well as local settlements including Raukōkore and Te Kaha. There are six cars, four trucks and two tractors parked nearby, vehicles that have assisted the fishermen to get to Whangaparāoa.

When Hata and his crew arrive at Whangaparāoa, parts of the local landscape and seascape are named. The mouth of the Whangaparāoa River is the favourable spot to launch their boat and Tihirau is the tall mountain that overlooks the bay. The traditional moki fishing grounds in 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' - Pakaru, Ōtamaroa, Tuapapa and Kokohura – are also named. Puketapu, the hillock below Tihirau is also remembered as the place where the Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestor, Ruamoengārara, left from on his return journey to Hawaiki to fetch Poumātangatanga who was responsible for asking Rēhua for the moki. Ruamoengārara's kaihari are sometimes referred to as his taniwha. Their names were Tūtehīhī, Tūtewāwā and Tūtekawerangi. When the three kaihari arrived on the beach below Puketapu, Ruamoengārara departed with them and declared the departure place a sacred place. To remember this, the hillock was named Puketapu (Sacred Hill).[162]

From the 1950s, easier access from Ōpōtiki to Whangaparāoa by gravel road improved and newly constructed bridges, as well as the technology of motor vehicles and motorised boats presented a wider group of people with the opportunity to go moki fishing at Whangaparāoa. Roka wrote:

> Kua taetae mai ētahi atu tāngata ki te ngutu awa. Kei te mihi a Hata rāua ko Rua ki ngā tāngata nei. Nō Whangaparāoa ētahi, nō Ngāti Porou, nō Ōpōtiki, nō Raukōkore, nō Te Kaha hoki. E ono ngā motokā, e whā ngā taraka, e rua ngā tarakihana i reira.
> KO TAMAHAE: Te tokomaha hoki o ngā tāngata! Ākuanei kāore he rūma i ngā taunga moki mō ngā poti katoa (Paora, 1971:13).

This influx of fishermen must have contributed to the challenges faced by the Whangaparāoa people when trying to enforce the moki fishing rules and guidelines that had been followed for generations.

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[162] See Whangaparāoa Map in Appendix One.

Roka records food and alcohol being associated with moki fishing during her time. She wrote:

> KO PANI: Āe. Kua reri anō hoki ā kōrua kai.
> KO HATA: I tunua e koe he bacon and egg pie?
> KO PANI: Ae, haere mai kia kite i tā kōrua pouaka kai.
> KO HATA: Ka pai hoki, e Pani! Mō te ata noa ka mahi ai he tī ki rō flask.
> I te pai o ngā kai a Pani mā Hata rāua ko Tamahae, ka kihia e Hata a Pani.
> KO HATA: E Pani! Kei hea taku wēhike?[163]
> KO PANI: Tō aha?
> KO HATA: Taku pounamu wēhike.
> KO PANI: Kei roto i te kāpata. E mauria ana e koe tō pounamu?
> KO HATA: Āe. Hei whakamahana i a au (Paora, 1971:10)

I remember Roka talking about Tini and their uncles taking whiskey with them to Whangaparāoa when they went moki fishing. My mum also remembers the state of the moki fishermen when they returned home (Rūhīterangi Interview, 2011). On one trip when Tini and his fishing crew arrived back in Te Kaha, Uncle Mutu Kirikiri opened up another "pounamu wēhike" and threw the cap away in front of her. Rūhīterangi explained to me that that meant he and his fishing crew would have to finish the bottle of whiskey rather than waste it.

This section has examined the names of landscape and seascape that are preserved and revitalised in Roka's 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' as well as tikanga and kawa that were being adapted in response to declining Māori language, declining intergenerational transmission of moki knowledge and the introduction of new technology. In the 1960s, cars, tractors and motorised boats had taken over from horses and sailing boats during Eruera Stirling's time in the 1920s and 1930s. The tukunga iho relating to the expertise of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui waka fleet at the Siege of Toka-a-Kuku, made me realise that the accessibility of the moki fishing grounds at Whangaparāoa was a lot easier than I thought. Therefore, keeping the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui alive across the region and following the strict guidelines has been important to the sustainability of the moki resource. Another way of managing the sustainability of the moki resource was by following seasonal cycles. The moki season and the signs used to tell the moki season, will be examined in the next section.

[163] Wēhike is a Māori loanword for whiskey.

Asserting Starscapes and Calendar Dates

'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' (Paora, 1971) asserts that the moki season begins on the 15 June each year. This calendar date is a linear Western mode of conceiving time that was adopted by Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors in post-contact times. A letter from Roka to John Moorfield (Paora in Moorfield, 2001:86) confirms that Roka used this calendar date in her everyday life. She wrote:

> Koia nei te marama hī moki i Whangaparāoa; nō te 15 o Hune i tīmata ai. Ko te 22 o Hune tēnei, ā, kāore anō kia kai moki. Nā te mea kua āhua koroua taku hoa tāne kua kore noa e haere ki Whangaparāoa. Nō reira, ākuanei pea ka hoko au i tētahi moki, kia ngata ai te reka o te ika nei, o te moki.
>
> [This is the month for fishing moki at Whangaparāoa; the season commenced on the 15th June. It is the 22nd June and we are yet to eat moki. This is because my husband is getting old and no longer goes to Whangaparāoa. Therefore, I might have to buy a moki soon so that my yearnings for the sweetness of the moki will be satisfied.]

From the very beginning of 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki', calendar dates provide a chronological approach to Hata and his family's preparations for the opening of the moki season on the 15 June.

Roka also made space in the narrative to make a connection to Te Whānau-a-Apanui astronomy in relation to this date. She wrote:

> Ko Tamahae: He aha rā i meatia ai mō te tekau mā rima o Hune ka tīmata ai te hī moki?
> Ko Hata: Kāore tonu au e mōhio. Kei te mōhio koe, e Rua?
> Ko Rua: E kiia ana koianei te rā e puta ai te whetū ko Whānui te ingoa. I te tekau mā rima o Hune ka puta taua whetū, ka mōhio ngā tāngata kua tae mai te moki ki Whangaparāoa (Paora, 1971:17).

Here, Tamahae asks why the 15 June is the beginning of the moki season. Hata admits that he does not know why and asks Rua. Rua says that it is the date when the star, Whānui (Vega) appears. He explains that it is a sign to the people that the moki have arrived at Whangaparāoa. Rua's assertion that Whānui is the moki star sign differs from other tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that refer to Autahi (Canopus) and Tautoru mā (Orion's Belt and other nearby stars such as Puanga and Takurua). Here

Roka's writing brings forth questions of the significance of Whānui to the moki season. This information led me on a journey to cross reference the astronomical knowledge of my ancestors in relation to the moki, that is, to research the relationship between the stars Autahi, Tautoru mā, Rēhua and Whānui, and the calendar date, 15 June. I began by close reading those parts of the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui relating to the arrival of the moki at Whangaparāoa as discussed in Chapters four and five.

No two versions of the published tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki that I navigate in this thesis are exactly the same in respect to the moki stars. Moana Waititi's version does not refer to a sign or a time at all. Hirini Waititi's (1966:141) close English translation is vague stating that, "when the signs were seen, Marupapanui was sent out to investigate". Cross-referencing John R. Waititi's (Reed, 1963:392) reference to Autahi and Tautoru mā with the Māori explanations, "ko autahi te kai takiri o te tau kiarere a Tautoru ma" and "nga whetu" (OmMSS, 1907) steered me to study the star movements during the month of June. Manihera II and Dorothy's childhood memories of being woken on dark winter mornings to "be shown the Moki star, newly risen in the east" as well as their reference to the 15 June date (Sutherland, 1963:175) provided further clues to when and where the moki stars appear. Winston Waititi's comment that, "All the Maori of old used to come here every June" (Woods & Woods, 1998:116) was also a useful contemporary cross-reference.

The whakataukī, 'Ka tahia e Atutahi, ka rere Matariki' (Canopus paves the way, the Pleiades star system follows after) (Riley, 2013:382) highlights Canopus as an important star. Matariki's heliacal rising in the north-east during June follows Autahi's early morning rising in the south-east. These star movements mark the Māori New Year for some tribes.

Close monitoring through observation and the use of the Stellarium application on my computer has enhanced my understanding of the star movements. Autahi moves from the southwest to the southeast and moves upwards from early May. On 15 June, it moves down from the southwest to just above south at 1am. It then starts moving upwards quite high into the southeast sky while it is still dark at 6.05am. At that point, the heliacal risings of Tautoru mā occur directly above east and those stars become

clear between 6.15am and 6.30am. Earlier that morning directly above north, Whānui is at its highest point (culminating) in the night sky at approximately 1.06am as it moves from the east to the west low above the northern horizon. Rēhua moves from the southeast horizon in the afternoon of 15 June and then it is very high overhead in the night sky culminating directly above west at approximately 11pm. Early the next morning Rēhua disappears below the southwest horizon while Tautoru mā are rising above the eastern horizon. Māori ancestors acknowledged the close relationship of these stars. Autahi is due south with Whānui due north. They are opposite each other in the sky and have a similar altitude above the horizon. Between Autahi and Whānui overhead is Rēhua (Ellyard & Tirion, 2001).

To summarise this section on asserting starscapes, I assert that by recording the names of the moki stars and aligning their appearance with a calendar date, Roka's and John R. Waititi's application of the tukunga iho process ensured that tribal astronomical knowledge is not completely lost. Roka's (Paora, 1971) published reference to Whānui and John R Waititi's (Reed, 1963) published reference to Autahi and Tautoru mā defy Elsdon Best's (1922:42) belief that Māori would no longer look to the sky for the appearance of stars such as Autahi, Tautoru mā and Whānui. Tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui presented in this Chapter and the previous two Chapters show that the significance of the moki stars continued to be important into the twentieth century. Their significance has continued on into the twenty first century in a poi composition by Rikirangi Gage (2002) called *Tauira Mai Tawhiti* about the canoe's journey to Aotearoa:

> Ka whiti te marama
> Tiramarama ana te ika i te rangi
> Puanga, Autahi e
> Tautoru, Rehua, Koopu, Matariki e
> He Tia He Tia
> He ranga He ranga
> Hoea te moananui a Kiwa ki uta rawa ra
> Hoea te moananui te waka Tipua
> Tauira mai Tawhiti
> Tauira mai Tawhiti e

In June, the early morning rising of Autahi and Tautoru mā on the eastern horizon signifies the beginning of the moki season. These are the stars that Manihera II and

Dorothy observed on dark winter mornings during June in accordance with the 1907 Omāio version and J.R. Waititi's (Reed, 1963) 'The Story of the Moki'. The rising of Whānui to its highest point on that same early winter morning is another sign that the moki have arrived at Whangaparāoa. The observations of these star movements and their significance to the way Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors organised their lives are examples of their precise understanding of astronomical phenomena. Later after the arrival of Europeans, our ancestors adapted their knowledge of the beginning of the moki season to the calendar date of 15 June. Although Roka's 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' asserts calendar dates, she also refers to Whānui as the moki season star. This tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui alongside earlier tukunga iho was at first quite confusing, but with further close reading, research and the computer application Stellarium, I have been able to investigate my Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestor's astronomical knowledge in more depth as an example of renewing and extending ancestral knowledge.

Roka's 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' also increases our generation's understanding of the regular cycle of activities that kept our ancestors busy leading up to and including the moki fishing season from June 15 to September. As outlined by Roka, Hata and his family make use of the low tides, the good weather and the availability of family members to organise themselves for the moki season. In the narrative Roka asserts that when certain knowledge and practices continued, moki fishing continued to be successful. The preservation and revitalisation of such knowledge and practice using the Māori language illuminates te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui as a living language. This will be examined in the next section.

Asserting Te Reo Māori

From the very beginning of 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki', Roka's Māori language is simple and understandable but also varied and challenging for students. Roka's writing has the ability to hold a learners attention with short sentences, interesting vocabulary, a wide range of sentence starters[164] and a wide range of

[164] Sentence starter particles include 'Ko te', 'Ko', 'He', 'Kua', 'Ka', 'Hei', 'Tino', 'Kaore i', 'Nā', 'E', 'Me', 'Kei te', 'Mauria mai', 'Ae'.

sentence structures. Te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui is represented as a living language that is being passed from one generation to the next through the lengthy conversations between the members of Hata's family.

In the context of preparing moki baits and moki fishing during the winter months Roka has preserved relevant idioms and sayings by making use of them in the narrative. Some examples include 'Ka reka hōki!'(This is so sweet!), 'Ēngari he tika hōki tēnā kōrero' (But that story is so true), 'kātahi hoki te kāinga makariri ko tēnei!' (This is one cold place), 'hutia ake' (pull it up), and 'ka wehi hoki' (wow). The preservation and revitalisation of words and phrases relevant and particular to gathering seafood are also important contributions. Some examples of nuanced language that Roka has included are, 'awa poti' (1971:3), 'kōwhiti kuku' (1971:4), mounu (bait) and tāruru (ground bait), as well as constructions such as 'tētahi rama ki a kōrua' (1971:6), 'māu e rama, māku e hopu ngā pāpaka' (1971:7) and 'ki rō wai Māori kia matemate ai' (1971:7). Other distinctive Te Whānau-a-Apanui phrases include, 'hei paepae i ngā kuku' (1971:4), 'he aha tēnā e kanapa mai nā' (1971:17) and 'kāore tēnei ika e tuakina ana (1971:21). Roka also emphasises certain constructions such as:

> KO REWI: Kua mau i a au tētahi ika (I have caught a fish)
> KO TAMAHAE: Kua mau anō hoki i a au tētahi! (I have caught another one too!) (Paora, 1971:18).

Today, Te Whānau-a-Apanui children still go fishing, white baiting, eeling and hunting. I do not know whether they speak Māori language while they engage in these activities but Roka has preserved some specific language that can be revitalised. It is timeless.

There is also something about the language that is particular to kōrero paki. The language used is humorous, appeals to the listening ear, and sets out the kaupapa of the tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Kōrero paki are therefore useful to speakers who want to lighten the listener after a serious or heavier presentation has been made to a gathering of people. As Milroy (2004:120) says, 'hei unu mai i te tapu o āna kōrero kia takoto noa anō ai i roto i te āhuatanga māmā o te huihuinga tāngata'. Roka adopts this approach particularly as her target audience is younger and also second

language learners. The language used is varied and interesting. Like the *Te Rangatahi* texts (Waititi, 1962 & 1964), Roka's tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui incorporates activities and events at home, according to certain whānau, hapū and iwi expectations that are relevant for the learner.

Roka uses mainly Māori words in 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' although a wide range of loanwords, mainly nouns, are woven through the text. As Moorfield and Ka'ai (2009:5) state, students need "to include them in their active language in order to communicate effectively and naturally". Today, some of Roka's loanwords would not have relevance to our twenty-first century Māori speaking children such as, 'waerehe', a loanword for 'wireless', as in transistor or radio.

These words and phrases add to the meaning of the narrative, its time and its place because the words have been written down, preserved on paper and revitalised by bringing tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki alive. A thorough vocabulary list at the end of the story also includes a list of Māori words and translations by the author that is invaluable to any Māori language student.

Although Te Whānau-a-Apanui used many loanwords, Roka used a wide range of English vocabulary in this tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. She inserted English words for new items and technologies that she did not seem to have Māori words for, or want to use loanwords for, like 'diving glasses', 'flask', 'trailer', 'pop songs', 'plastic bags', 'rubber bands', 'deep freeze', 'batteries', 'flat' (batteries), 'swivel', 'sinkers', 'spark plugs', 'spanner', 'starting cord' and 'bacon and egg pie'. This would have been a conscious decision not to include a translation of some modern words and could have been to support the language learner.

This section has examined the Māori language words, phrases and constructions that Roka used in 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki', preserving and revitalising them for Te Whānau-a-Apanui. For me, Roka asserts that although there was much concern about the decline of the Māori language, te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in relation to moki fishing was still a spoken language that had adapted during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Asserting Aronga, Kaupapa and Tikanga

In 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' Roka connects her memories and experiences of twentieth century moki fishing to earlier ancestral experiences by making a direct reference to John R Waititi's account of 'The Story of the Moki', an English adaptation of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori'. This direct reference links Te Whānau-a-Apanui descendants to key elements of a tribal worldview that connects us as collective whānau, hapū and iwi to all things in our world.

Roka also ensured that she continued key connections between Ruamoengārara and the Tainui canoe as well as Poumātangatanga and the Tauira-mai-tawhiti canoe. Further, she reinforced the handing down of certain guidelines from Rēhua to Poumātangatanga to Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors and on to us. Roka recorded the following rules:

> E whā ngā ture o te moki. Tuatahi, kaua e haua ki te rākau; tuarua, kaua e kai otatia; tuatoru, kaua e tunutunutia i tātahi; tuawhā, me hoatu te ika tuatahi ki a Pou (Paora, 1971: 18).

Here, Roka reinforces four moki rules. The first rule says not to hit the moki with a stick. The second says not to eat it raw. The third rule says not to cook it on the beach and the fourth says to give the first catch to Poumātangatanga. These rules are kawa (guidelines). They guide our tikanga (behaviour) that flow from our aronga and the kaupapa of the moki and Poumātangatanga. In comparison to Rēhua's rules in chapter four, rule three is more specific than "don't roast it" and rule four is specific about how to show respect.

Roka also provides examples of how the Te Whānau-a-Apanui worldview flows down to tikanga and kawa by reminding us how important it is to practice whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. A number of themes come through strongly including, the way families and friends come together to go moki fishing, the way fathers and mothers pass on the experience and knowledge to their children, and the way relatives share anchors and help each other to tow their boats ashore. Finally, the story illustrates how Hata and Rua practice aroha and manaakitanga. Roka wrote:

> Ono karaka te tāima. Kua wehe mai te waka o Hata mā i Whangaparāoa.
> KO TAMAHAE: He aha tātau i tū ai?
> KO HATA: Ki te hoatu ika mā tō matua kēkē wahine.
> E rima rawa ngā kāinga i tū a Hata ki te hoatu ika mā ngā whanaunga.
> KO TAMAHAE: Tae rawa ake tātau ki te kāinga, kua pau ā tātau ika.
> KO HATA: E tama, rite tonu koe ki tō tipuna te matapiko. Pēneitia ai tēnei ika – hoatu ai mā ngā whanaunga.
> KO RUA: Koianei ngā whanaunga hōmai mea mā tātau, nō reira koianei hei utu. He kai tauhou tēnei, me hoatu mā te tangata (Paora, 1971:21).

Here, Tamahae struggles to understand why their fathers are giving moki away. Hata tells Tamahae that he is miserly just like his ancestor. Rua explains that the people they are giving moki to have given them things during the year and therefore these moki are an acknowledgement of what they have received - like a repayment to show their appreciation. He emphasises that the moki is a 'kai tauhou'. One meaning of tauhou that aligns with the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui discussed in this thesis is 'exotic' because eating moki can be out of the ordinary for many who cannot go moki fishing for a number of reasons.[165] Moki are scarce to many and they are unique and special, therefore moki are great gifts for relatives who have shared with the fishermen during the year. 'Tauhou' broken down into two words, 'tau' and 'hou' means New Year so moki as a new years food also aligns with the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki because the beginning of the moki season is also the beginning of the Māori New Year. As a new years food the moki should be shared and celebrated. Hata and Rua are showing their sons how to practice manaakitanga. This was one way in which Roka showed that her generation were still carrying on customary kawa and tikanga associated with moki fishing. Whānau practiced whanaungatanga and kotahitanga by going to the beach/sea together with other families, by sharing a meal at the beach, by preparing bait together, and by sharing anchors. There are also examples of change where old customs are no longer followed. During the 1960s and 1970s the moki fishermen ate breakfast before going fishing, ate on the fishing boat and drank whiskey on the beach. Today, it is rare for my mum to have a moki in her freezer or a moki delivered to her, and no one sells them to the locals at Te Kaha like they did during the 1980s. Few Te Kaha people go moki fishing like my grandfather's generation did and therefore the tikanga of toha

[165] The moki season goes from the 15 June to September, a limited window of opportunity to fish moki. Traditionally, women do not go moki fishing. Not all people have the means to go to Whangaparāoa or have a boat.

moki as a sign of manaakitanga has ceased. One way of having a meal of Whangaparāoa moki today is to go to a hui at Whangaparāoa Marae during June or July where the local people still fish and serve moki at their hākari.

This example of twentieth century Māori writing gives historical meaning to who I am and my love for moki. I believe that this narrative, 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki', helps me to make connections to my past and present. It is also vital in laying out connections to my future and the future of my urī (descendants).

Conclusion

This chapter follows on from Chapters four and five by connecting John R. Waititi and Roka to a line of Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars who have contributed to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki. Genealogical and intellectual connections across the group of twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars are important. In particular, this Chapter acknowledges the support and inspiration Roka received from John R. Waititi and argues that 'Ka Haere a Hata Ma ki te Hī Moki' was one way in which Roka honoured John R. Waititi's great achievements in Māori education and Māori language teaching.

The actions taken to not only write tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in Māori but also publish them in books that are widely accessible in libraries are important ways in which our Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars have preserved, retold, renewed and extended tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in distinctive ways that assert te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. An examination of the way in which Roka continued to name ancestors and make connections with atua, to name local landscape and seascape, to name stars and to outline kawa and tikanga pertaining to the moana is a way in which I have extended tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

My analysis has shown that through naming Te Whānau-a-Apanui landscape and seascape, Roka had already embraced core elements of knowledge, language and history about the moki that were clearly connected to John R. Waititi's account of 'The Story of the Moki' and 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori'. Therefore, her narrative

was extending on these elements in a way that made it relevant and interesting to her students as a teaching tool. Also, as a source of whakapapa, knowledge, language and history, 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' is invaluable. Roka provides signposts that remind readers that the named landscape and seascape are "living histories" (Stuart and Thompson-Fawcett, 2010:100) that "embody Māori indigenous knowledge as well as historic" (Blair, 2010:101). Naming starscapes and calendar dates also links us to the precise astronomical knowledge systems of our ancestors as well as the new knowledge that they embraced in post-contact years. However, tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki have preserved and revitalised enough fragments of tribal astronomical knowledge for researchers to explore and understand the significance of moki stars such as Autahi, Tautoru mā and Whānui. Modern technology such as the Stellarium application, i-pads and i-phones are also very useful and help to "defend the integrity of the Māori memory" (O'Regan cited in Stevens, 2015:61) and to show that mātauranga is as valid as other forms of knowledge and science (Stuart and Thompson-Fawcett, 2010:104).

This chapter has also shown that the preservation and revitalisation of tribal language in written format, using the *Te Rangatahi* method, reminds us that our language is a spoken language that is able to describe the activities that our ancestors engaged in and therefore we should not be afraid to use it and adapt it to suit the activities that we engage in. The way in which Roka incorporated English words into her Māori text also challenges Māori language students to keep speaking Māori even if they have to use english vocabulary sporadically. The final section of this chapter has also examined the ways in which Roka's generation continued to uphold the values and principles of the Māori worldview by following moki fishing guidelines handed down from atua and ancestors, and by practicing whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. It also records how Roka's generation departed from old customs by eating and drinking on their fishing boats. 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' is both a record of the challenges of strengthening te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui as well as strengthening the process of tukunga iho across generations.

PART THREE: He Poti Wēra

Introduction

> He patu wēra
> He pureitanga nā ngā tīpuna hei oranga
> Te moni wēra
> I tū ai aku whare huihuinga e
> Puruhiti, puruhiti, puruhiti, Hī!
> (Nā Erueti Korewha, 2013)

This verse is from a poi that was composed by Erueti Korewha for the Tauira-mai-tawhiti Roopu Kapa Haka of Te Whānau-a-Apanui to perform at Te Matatini 2013 in Rotorua. This poi asserts the benefits of community whaling and how the monies from whaling were used to build community meeting houses. The tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whaling are the subject of the Chapters contained in this section. Using the analogy of the poti wēra, this section of the thesis will examine a range of tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui that Roka applied in order to write her article, 'He Kōrero Mō Te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' (Paora in Moorfield, 1992). I specifically chose the poti wēra as these types of vessels became a prominent feature along the seascape of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Furthermore, they represent Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa connections with Pākehā settlers and more specifically whalers to the area. Like this thesis has attempted to demonstrate, te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui is located not only in whakapapa but also location and social activity. Whaling is an important feature of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui and this is portrayed in Roka's writings as well as key tukunga iho that she draws from to inform her work. Moreover, poti wēra and associated forms of whaling technologies clearly feature many of the marae in Te Whānau-a-Apanui, amplifying the significance of whaling to the iwi.

There is no single Te Whānau-a-Apanui narrative that preserves our tribal traditions relating to whales like 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' does for the moki (examined in Chapter four) but there are some key, early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui such as the Te Tairuku Pōtaka carvings and the complementary narratives that assert that

Te Whānau-a-Apanui has had a long tradition of whales. Recent nineteenth and twentieth century tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui also record a history of adaptability where our ancestors became successful community whalers who embraced new technologies to hunt whales for the benefit of hapū and the iwi.

This section is divided into two chapters as follows:

Chapter seven examines early pre-contact tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales to explain Roka's assertion that Te Whānau-a-Apanui already had a knowledge base and a tradition of whales before commercial whaling came to Aotearoa and Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Chapter eight explores post-contact tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about community whaling to explain Roka's assertion that in post-contact times Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors used loanwords to name the whales that they hunted for commercial, community purposes. Financial records from a whānau manuscript book and Canon Hakaraia Pahewa's photographs are used to illuminate Te Whānau-a-Apanui's experiences of shore whaling and how our ancestors embraced communal whaling so that economic benefits would flow to whānau, hapū and iwi rather than individuals.

Chapter Seven: He Ika te Tohorā, te Parāoa me te Pakakē.

> He maha ngā ingoa mō te wēra. He tohorā ki ētahi, he parāoa ki ētahi, he pakakē ki ētahi. …. Ki te Pākehā he kararehe te wēra, engari, ki a tāua ki te Māori, he ika.
> ….
> Nā konei mātou i mōhio ai kāore te Māori i whaiwhai wēra i mua i te taenga mai o te Pākehā (Paora in Moorfield, 1992:9-10).

Here Roka explains that there are many Māori names for whales including tohorā, parāoa and pakakē. She then asserts that Māori classify whales as ika (fish) [166] not as kararehe (animals) like Pākehā do. Roka also explains that our ancestors did not hunt whales before the arrival of the Pākehā. For me Roka is conveying to readers that before the arrival of Europeans and commercial whaling to Aotearoa, Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors already had a knowledge base and a tradition of whales. Hunting whales for commercial purposes was not part of that tradition.

This chapter examines a selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales to explain Roka's use of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui and assertion that Te Whānau-a-Apanui already had a knowledge base and a tradition of whales before commercial whaling came to Aotearoa and Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The chapter begins with an examination of whakapapa to outline the relationship between people, whales and atua. Analysis of whakapapa will then be extended to Paikea's[167] whakapapa as a way to locate te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui at the centre of early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales. The Paikea narrative will then be examined to provide context and history to the whakapapa.

[166] 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori', discussed in Chapter four, uses the word 'ika' when describing the quarrel between Poumātangatanga and Taikehu over a stranded whale.

[167] Ruatapu's writings also included a tukunga iho about Paikea where he records a karakia recited by Paikea. The karakia says, "Ka w[h]akaika au i a au, ē, Hiki-tai ē, Hiki-tai ē, Hiki-tai ore wae! Ka w[h]akapakake au i a au, ē, Hikitai ore wae" (Reedy, 1993:98) which is translated by Anaru Reedy as, "Oh I make myself into a fish, Hiki-tai, Hiki-tai, Hiki-tai ore wae! Oh I make myself into a minke whale, Hiki-tai ore wae" (Reedy, 1993:204).

Non-literary texts such as carvings will also be examined to further explain the significance of whales to our ancestors. My analysis turns to the maihi (bargeboards) of significant Te Whānau-a-Apanui houses, Te Tairuku Potaka and Tūkākī whare whakairo (carved meetinghouse) because the carved motifs represent a whale being hauled up to the apex of the house. Tribal and regional meanings of the whale as expressed by our carvings are recovered. Roka's archive and the writings of both Māori and Pākeha academics provide explanations of how the majestic whale motif and the very detailed surface decorations on the maihi are directly related to early narratives about Ngāē, Tutununui and Tinirau. A review of these early narratives is a significant part of this chapter. Mohi Ruatapu's writings[168] about Ngāē and Tutununui help to explain what Te Whānau-a-Apanui's knowledge base and tradition of whales looked like in pre-contact times. Highlights of recent research of whakairo (carvings) and pātaka (store-houses) elaborate on the significance of whales (Walker, 2008; Jahnke, 2006).

Other early tukunga iho Māori about whales are also explored briefly to highlight other significant aspects about whales, especially for the eastern Bay of Plenty and East coast tribes of the North Island who reside along the coastline. Recent research of these early narratives about whales (Royal, 1994; Paringatai, 2004; Mikaere, 2003) support Roka's assertion of pre-contact whale traditions. In the next section whakapapa in relation to whales will be presented and provides a platform for an examination of early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales.

He Whakapapa

As discussed in Chapter four, whakapapa summarises the cosmological beginnings of the Māori world and provide a foundation for understanding genealogical and intellectual connections between humans and all other natural beings through the atua (Best, 1929:53; Waitangi Tribunal, Ngāi Tahu Sea Fisheries, 1992). Mikaere (2003),

[168] Mohi Ruatapu's (Reedy, 1993:240) writings classify whales as fish in the tukunga iho about Ngāē. A specific example is when Ruatapu wrote, "ka tonoa e Tinirau a Te Poua-hao-kai ki te tiki, ka mauria mai ko te ika, he pakake" (Reedy, 1993:65), translated by Reedy as, "Tinirau ordered Te Poua-hao-kai to go and fetch it, and he brought the fish – it was a minke whale" (Reedy, 1993:169). Here, Tinirau's pet is referred to as a fish not an animal or mammal.

Higgins (2004) and Royal (1998) explain the significance of whakapapa connections to atua by presenting accounts of the separation of Ranginui and Papatuanuku and the events that unfolded soon after. The most common versions of the separation is that Tāne Māhuta was responsible for forcing his parents apart "by standing on his head and using the strength of his legs to push his father upwards" (Mikaere, 2003:15). After the separation, Tāne Māhuta became the atua of trees and forests. Tangaroa became the atua of oceans, sea life and reptiles (Higgins, 2004:31). Tangaroa is sometimes referred to as "the lord of the ocean (Harrison, 1988:3) and sometimes the ocean is referred to as "the realm of Tangaroa" (Best, 1924:180). In the version outlined by Higgins (2004), Tangaroa's children, Ikatere and Tūtewehiwehi along with their children, were separated as they sought shelter from the strong winds of Tāwhirimātea. Ikatere and his descendants became the sea life of the oceans and Tūtewehiwehi's descendants went inland and became the reptiles.

Some tukunga iho Māori refer to Tinirau as the "rangatira of the fish" (Orbell, 1995:214) because he had power over all fish in the ocean, especially whales. According to a Beattie (1994:423) informant, "Tinirau is a god something like Ruaimoko – he thought he was a man once but later a great fish or montster (taniwha). Tinirau, a male fish, was one of those who guided the people from Hawaiki". One version of Tinirau's whakapapa is set out below:

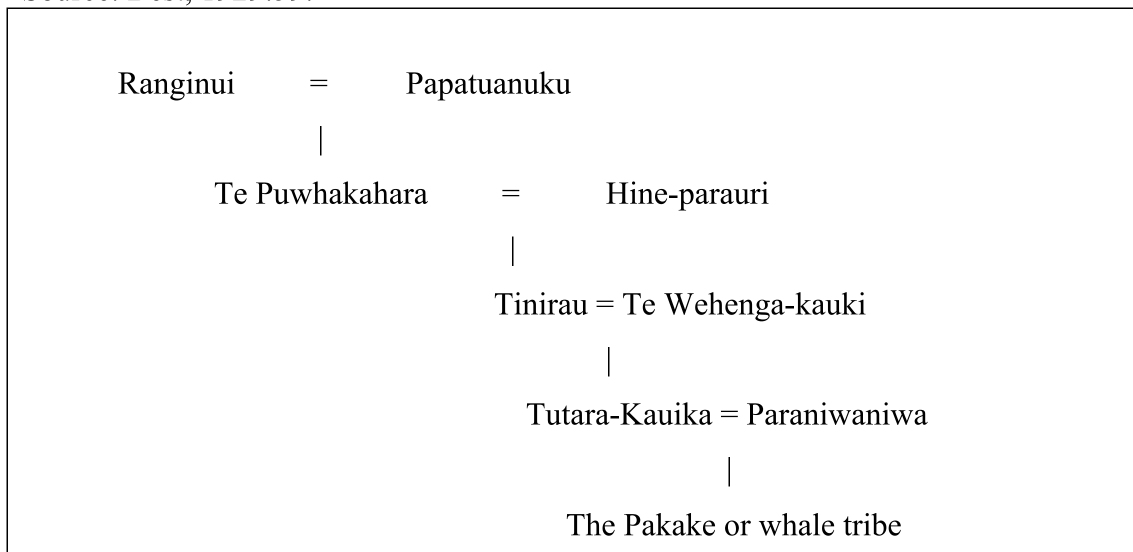
Table 9: Te Whakapapa o Tinirau
Source: Best, 1982:258-259.

	Ranginui	=======	Papatuanuku			
		|				
		Tangaroa				
		|		|		|
		Tinirau		Tūtewehiwehi		Punga
		|		|		|
		Whales		Lizards		Repulsive reptiles

This whakapapa in Table 9 shows whales, lizards and repulsive reptiles as the grandchildren of Tangaroa. Three of Tangaroa's children, Tinirau, Tū-te-wehiwehi, and Punga are the parents of these creatures. Whales are descended from Tinirau, lizards from Tū-te-wehiwehi, and Punga is the atua of repulsive reptiles as shown in the table below.

The Tākitimu version as set out below in Table 10 is another version of Tinirau's whakapapa. It is different to the whakapapa in Table 9 because it includes further layers of whakapapa down to the pakakē.

Table 10: The Tākitimu Version of Tinirau's Whakapapa
Source: Best, 1929:59.



Here, Te Puwhakahara and Hine-parauri are Tinirau's parents. The pakakē or 'whale tribe' are the grandchildren of Tinirau (Best, 1929:59).

Another unnamed authority told Best (Best, 1982:260) that whales and porpoises were descendants of Tinirau who was a grandchild of Te Puwhakahara not a child. A further version (Best, 1982:260) said that Te Puwhakahara married Takaaho and they are the parents of sharks (mango-pare, te mango-urerua, te mango-ururoa etc) and whales (kauika pakake, te wehenga kauki, tutara kauikao and upokohue). A South Island tukunga iho elevates Tangaroa to the husband of Papa, the Earth Mother (Best, 1924:180) and across Polynesia Tangaroa is worshipped as "the chief god and creator of the world" (Best, 1924:180). Ta'aroa is the creative being in Tahiti, Tangaloa is

the principal atua in Niue and the original being in Samoa, Tanaoa in Marquesan, Kanaloa in Hawaii and Tangaroa in Manihiki (Best, 1924).

This section shows how whales are descendants of atua and therefore tapu (sacred). As explained in Chapter four in relation to trees and the moki, we should respect our relationship with the environment and our atua by following certain tikanga and kawa when dealing with whales for human purposes. Our whakapapa connections remind us to show respect for the atua and the environment. Whales were sometimes called upon to assist our ancestors' migration from Hawaiki and their settlement in Aotearoa. The Paikea narrative is an example of this. Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa and waiata about Paikea extends the above whakapapa from atua and are important platforms to understanding the Paikea narrative. Paikea's whakapapa will be examined in the next section.

Ko Paikea Taku Tipuna

Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa records – tukunga a Te Whānau-a-Apanui – assert that Te Whānau-a-Apanui people are descendants of Uenuku and both of his sons, Paikea and Ruatapu. This whakapapa has been sourced from two whānau manuscript books in Roka's archive – the Te Moari[169] Manuscript (RPTeMMSS) and Haukino Paora's Manuscript (HPMSS). These manuscripts record two important elements of whakapapa - one branch tracks down to Paikea from Te Aihumoana to Petipeti and others. The other manuscript records Ruatapu's ancestry from Rātā and tracks down to Ruatapu and Haunui. Table 11 brings these whakapapa together to locate Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa at the centre of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about our ancestors, Paikea and Ruatapu.

[169] Te Moari is a papakāinga land block at Raukōkore passed down from Nanny Herewaka Swinton.

Table 11: Te Whakapapa o Paikea

Sources: RPTeMMSS, 1910; HPMSS, nd:12-26.

Te Aihumoana[170]				
|				
Petipeti				
|				
Te Rangahua		Rātā		
|		|		
Rongomaitahanui[171]		Poumātangatanga		
|		|		
Paikea[172]		Paimahutonga	=============	Uenuku
|			|	
Pouheni			Ruatapu	
|			|	
Tarawhakatū	============	=============	Haunui	
			|	
			Nanaia	
			|	
			Porourangi	
			|	
			Hau	
		|		|
		Awapururu		Rakaipo
		|		|
		Ataiau		Manutangirua
		|		|
		Tamahinengaro		Hingāngaroa
		|		|
		Rakaipikirarunga		Tauā
		|		|
		Rutanga		|
		|		|
		Hinemāhuru	========	Apanui Waipapa
			|	
			Rongomaihuatahi	
			|	
			Apanui	

170 "A species of whale – q., the pike-nosed whale?" (White, 1887:25).

171 Whales were also represented by Rongomai-tahanui and people would refer to this name when a whale was stranded ("Kua u a Rongomai-tahanui ki uta" (Best, 1982:318).

172 Paikea's name was Kahutia-te-rangi before his journey to Aotearoa. Paikea is also a name for the humpback whale (Richards, 2008:2).

Here, Paikea is an expression of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Paikea's whakapapa links Te Whānau-a-Apanui to the whakapapa of ancestors who were closely associated with whales and the atua. In this instance, Paikea, through his maternal ancestor, Petipeti, is a descendant of Te Aihumoana who was closely associated with and named after the pike-nosed whale (see footnotes 170 and 171). This whakapapa then tracks down to descendants through the ancestors Hinemāhuru and Apanui Waipapa to Rongomaihuatahi and then to Apanui. It extends the whakapapa in Table 7 on page 122 by showing how Porourangi and Hau are descendants of Te Aihumoana and Paikea, extending core elements – the iho – of Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestry.

Rikirangi Gage's waiata-a-ringa, *'Paikea Taku Tipuna',* further extends on the Paikea whakapapa above by asserting that Paikea is a significant ancestor of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The waiata-a-ringa was performed at Te Matatini 2009 by Te Kapa Haka o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. One verse says:

> … Tōku manawa kei a koe
> Ko tō manawa e koro kei roto i ahau
> E pātuki ana.
> Paikea taku tipuna
> He tangata kaha
> Ki te oma toka
> Ki te hī tawatawa
> Ki te kau moana
> Ki te pure kūmara
> Ki te tū wānanga
> Ki te ei wāhine
> Ka puta ngā urī e
> Hei ha! (Gage, 2009)

Here, Gage uses the words 'taku tipuna' emphasising that Paikea is 'my' ancestor and that his 'manawa' (heart) beats in me.[173] Paikea is acknowledged for his many skills and attributes associated with running, fishing, swimming, growing kūmara, teaching and learning as well as his popularity with women. This knowledge and history has been handed down by ancestors and is complemented by the Paikea narrative. A

[173] Paikea is renowned as an ancestor of Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Kahungunu. The carved tekoteko at Whitireia Marae, Whāngārā, and the wellknown Ngāti Porou haka/waiata, *'Uia Mai Koia'*, preserve details of Paikea's journey from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. Here, Gage is reminding the nation and ourselves that we too are descendants of Paikea.

close reading of the Paikea narrative as it is recorded in the Te Moari manuscript book helps to explain the above whakapapa and the words of Gage's (2009) waiata-a-ringa. The Paikea narrative is examined in the next section.

The Paikea Narrative

The Te Moari Manuscript (RPTeMMSS, 1910:12-18) version of the Paikea narrative, the same source of the whakapapa in Table 11 above, begins in Hawaiki during the time of Uenuku. Uenuku had a number of wives, the most senior being Rangatoro,[174] the mother of Kahutiaterangi (who later became Paikea). From his second wife, Takarita, he had Ira. From his third wife, Aitumatangatanga, he had Hakumana. His fourth wife was the captive slave wife, Paimahutanga or Paimahutonga, mother of Ruatapu (RPTeMMSS, 1910; White, 1887). All of Uenuku's wives and children lived together with Uenuku. Trouble arose one day when Ruatapu found Kahutiaterangi's comb and took it. Uenuku became very angry with Ruatapu when he found that he had taken the comb. Ruatapu asked him, "am I not your son too?" Uenuku replied, "Nāku anō koe ēngari he mea rahara parae noa koe naku, ā, ko tō tuakana ko Kahutiaterangi, te tangata i aitia ki runga ki te whariki wharanui i titia kite titireia" (RPTeMMSS, 1910:12). Here, Uenuku is referring to Ruatapu as his common child from a common bed whereas Kahutiaterangi was a child of high rank from a chiefly bed. Ruatapu was highly embarrassed and went to lay on his bed with a very heavy heart. He thought about killing Kahutiaterangi and all of Uenuku's sons in revenge for what Uenuku had said to him. This particular incident over family status (tuakana-teina and whakapapa) and rivalries caused Ruatapu to act.

Ruatapu borrowed a canoe and made a hole in its hull and then blocked it up again as explained by the sentence "Ko te kokonga a Ruatapu kei te takiwa tonu ki te tangawai" (RPTeMMSS, 1910:13). Early the next morning, Ruatapu invited all of Uenuku's sons, his brothers, to take a ride on the canoe with him. They all arrived and Ruatapu took command of the canoe as they launched it into the water. Everyone climbed aboard as it floated in the water. After a short time Ruatapu's younger brothers were returned to shore before the canoe went on its way again. This journey was called "te

[174] Rangatoro may have changed her name to Rongomaitahanui as per the above whakapapa.

Hokowhitu tama ia Ruatapu" (RPTeMMSS, 1910:13). Ruatapu used his foot to block the hole that he had made in the hull the previous night. They rowed for some time. Then Kahutia-te-rangi who was sitting at the stern asked where they were going to and Ruatapu told him to keep paddling. When the brothers lost sight of the island many of them wanted to return to shore. Ruatapu told them that they should keep going until the afternoon and then return. They kept going until it was dark. At that point Ruatapu kept taking his foot off the hole in the hull and the canoe began to fill up with water. It capsized and everyone drowned except for Kahutia-te-rangi, Haeora and Ruatapu, all of whom must have been strong swimmers. Ruatapu tried to catch Kahutia-te-rangi and Haeora with no success.

After the waka capsized and Kahutia-te-rangi survived his name changed to Paikea in the narrative. The third survivor, Haeora,[175] comes to the fore in the narrative, asking who of them will survive to let their people onshore know about this disaster. Paikea is determined and believes that he can make it ashore. Haeora calls to him "kei a wai he ara mou e u ai koe ki uta" [who will guide you to get ashore?] (RPTeMMSS, 1910:14).

To find his way to the shore, Paikea recited his father's whakapapa (genealogy) in the first instance, calling on his paternal ancestors to assist him. As he had already explained to Haeora, if his paternal ancestors could not help him, he knew he could turn to his mother's whakapapa where he was as a descendant from Petipeti to Rangahua[176] as well as Rongomatahanui.[177] In the end it was with the help of his maternal ancestors that Paikea made it to shore. One interpretation of this is that by Kahutia-te-rangi transforming himself into a whale, a Paikea (Humpback whale), he was another example of a connection between humans and nature.

> e Pai huihui tia nga morehu ki Pukehapopo i Rangitoto hei nga po roroa o te waru au te tae atu ai (RPTeMMSS, 1910:15).

---

[175] Haeora is referred to as a tohunga in a version of the Paikea narrative (White, 1887). Haeora was killed by Ruatapu.

[176] Rangahua is also the name for a type of porpoise.

[177] Rongomatahanui is also the name for a type of whale. Beattie (1994:433) wrote, "Paikea answered he would bear the message ashore and he called two taniwha – one male (perhaps this was Tinirau) and one female – to aid him to the far distant shore".

These words are part of Ruatapu's farewell to Paikea. He told Paikea to meet (or take refuge) (Beattie, 1994:433) with the survivors at Pukehapopo, at Rangitoto. Ruatapu also called out to Paikea that the great waves of the eighth month would be him coming to fight him (Reedy, 1993). He said that if he made it to shore it would prove that he was the son of their father. If he did not make it, he was not Uenuku's son. White's (1887) English translation of this part of the narrative states: Ruatapu now gave his last and parting words to Paikea, and said, "Go on; swim away to land to our home". If Pukehapopo at Rangitoto was their home then the survivors Ruatapu was referring to must have been their father, mother's and extended family who were not drowned by him. One interpretation of this part of the narrative is that Ruatapu did arrive in Aotearoa on significant waves. This, like the reference to the Huaroa waves in relation to the coming of the kahawai to the Mōtū River in Chapter four, could be a record of a catastrophic event such as a saltwater inundation (McFadgen, 2007).

When Paikea arrived ashore, he made a heap of sand and called that place Ahuahu[178]. At that point he composed a whakataukī (proverb), "E ko te ao, te ingoa o te waka i tahuri ra, ko Huripureiata" (RPTeMMSS, 1910:15). Mahuika (2012:3) explains that the naming of the waka as Huripureiata represented, "the turning point or turning of events from an act of tragedy to one of survival".

Paikea then came across a village of people and married Te Ahurumoairaka, the daughter of Rotohenga (and sister of Rātā). They had three children – Marunui, Marupapanui[179] and Maruwhakaaweawe. This explanation is in line with the timeframe of Paikea and Ruatapu's whakapapa in the previous section. While Paikea was married to Te Ahurumoairaka he continued to be homesick for his real home at Whāngārā so he kept searching for his home. When he arrived at Whakatāne he married Manawatini.

Paikea carried on his search for Whāngārā. When he arrived at Waiapū he met a woman called Huturangi and her friend swimming at a swimming hole called Mahitihiti. After a while, the women realised it was Paikea. When they returned to

[178] Great Mercury Island.

[179] The timing of this event is in line with the timing of Marupapanui's appearance in 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' in Chapter four.

their home that afternoon, the women told Whironui that they might have seen Paikea. When Whironui saw Paikea their suspicions were right. Whironui betrothed his daughter Huturangi to Paikea. When their child[180] was born they went on their way to search for Whāngārā. Paikea took the Parera bird and the eel Tangotangorau with him to Ūawa. They left the bird at a place that they called Waimanu. When they arrived at the repo of Tahe they left Tangotangorau there.

This narrative traces Paikea's journey and locates him at Whāngārāmaitawhiti (White, 1887:31-37) on the East Coast where he died and was buried. This tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui has preserved a Te Whānau-a-Apanui collective memory of this historical journey and the whakapapa connections to East Coast ancestors such as Whironui. This section has shown that tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales such as whakapapa, kōrero tahito and waiata have been and continue to be handed down by Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars to not only remember the deeds of our ancestor, Paikea, but to also remember the close relationships between humans, whales and the natural world under the realm of atua. Contemporary extensions of early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui such as whakapapa remind descendants of who we are and where we come from. The narrative complements the whakapapa and waiata by explaining the significance and acts of ancestors.

I will now turn to Tūkākī whare whakairo (carved meeting house) located at Te Kaha Marae because the whale motif is a central part of the maihi at the front of the house. I look to examine the way in which whales were represented in our carvings, non-literary tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, by our ancestors in pre-contact times and look at how a literary text can explain the significance of whales to te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

[180] Paikea and Huturangi's child was Pouheni as per the whakapapa in the previous section.

Tūkākī

Photograph 4: The Maihi and Tekoteko of Tūkākī Carved Meeting House, Te Kaha.
Source: Roka Paora's personal collection.

Tūkākī whare whakairo was built during the Second World War years and opened in July 1944 as part of Sir Āpirana Ngata's model of Māoritanga where whakairo rākau, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai were "central to Ngata's understanding of how Māoritanga could best be protected and transmitted to future generations" (Grant and Skinner, 2007:41). Tūkākī whare whakairo is named after the firstborn child of Apanui

Ringamutu and his first wife, Kahukuramihiata.[181] Woven into four tukutuku panels inside Tūkākī are shortened names for Tamatekapua, Porourangi, Toroa and Kahungunu, four significant ancestors of Tūkākī and Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The tekoteko at the apex of Tūkākī is Tamahae his son, a renowned warrior. Tūkākī whare whakairo represents this ancestral whakapapa and is a symbol of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, our tribal identity and mana (Walker, 2008:225).

When I interviewed Clifford Whiting for this thesis he also spoke about Tūkākī whare whakairo. He said that a comprehensive kaupapa of Tūkākī whare whakairo was never recorded and he is of the opinion that at some time in the future that could still occur.[182] Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau-a-Apanui master carver of Tūkākī whare whakairo, Hone Taiapa, turned to the Te Tairuku Pōtaka pātaka carvings, housed at the Auckland Museum since 1912, for examples of an authentic tribal carving style and surface decorations from pre-European times. All carvings inside and outside of Tūkākī embody the stylistic traits of the Te Kaha style or Te Whānau-a-Apanui style of carving found on the Te Tairuku Pōtaka carvings – poupou are three-dimensional around the mouths, torsos and legs, surface decorations include the taowaru and the taratara-a-Kae alongside manaia and human figures. The motifs and surface decorations of the Te Tairuku Pōtaka maihi were copied for the Tūkākī whare whakairo. This direct copying of the pātaka maihi was typical of an era where "old models were simply repeated with little change" (Skinner, 2008:116). Te Arawa tohunga whakairo, Lionel Grant, describes this process useful for carvers to learn the styles and techniques of the past but one of his criticisms is that "whakapapa lost ground to style as a key means of interpreting the wharenui" (Grant and Skinner, 2007:46-47).

Colonisation and the social upheavals of the nineteenth century had a significant impact on the loss of carving and the decline of tohunga whakairo (expert carvers) (Walker, 2008; Grant & Skinner, 2007; Skinner, 2008; Brown, 2009). Harrison's whare whakairo (carved houses) and the carving scholarship that he has set out in books on Te Poho o Tīpene, Ōtāwhao, Tāne-nui-a-rangi and Ngā Kete o Te Wānanga

[181] As explained in Chapter three, Tūkākī is often described as our eponymous ancestor who descends from ancestors of a number of waka (canoes).
[182] Clifford Whiting Interview, 2010, at Russell.

are invaluable in generating “new insights into [carving] symbolism and meaning” (Walker, 2008:224) and assist my generation and future mokopuna to understand the significance of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui such as Te Tairuku Pōtaka. As Paki Harrison (Walker, 2008) said:

> in the past it was likely the surface decorations also had ideographical and mnemonic significance which were overlaid by colonisation and submerged by the advent of reading and writing (Walker, 2008: 220).

Paki Harrison’s (Walker, 2008:178) scholarly work resonated in several ways when researching the whale motif and surface decorations of Tūkākī and Te Tairuku Pōtaka. First, he is Ngāti Porou, close whanaunga of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Both tribes share a genealogical connection to carving through our ancestor Hingāngaroa and his wānanga Rawheoro. Whale symbolism also permeates Te Whānau-a-Apanui carving styles.

Second, Harrison’s analysis and explanations of the symbolism and knowledge transmission role of the waka taua (war canoe), whare whakairo (carved house) and kōwhaiwhai (painted rafter patterns) connects carving and painting to whakapapa and the systematic layering of knowledge beginning with the Atua such as Tāne and Tangaroa, then the mediating ancestors between gods and humans such as Māui and Tāwhaki, then the seamen and navigators who made their way from Hawaiki to Aotearoa.

Third, Harrison’s explanation of the kaupapa (conceptual design) of a wharenui and how important it is for carvers to know about whakapapa if they are “to project the hopes and aspirations of the group he is representing” (Walker, 2008:108) is important because he connects carving to the collective.

Fourth, Harrison’s scholarly work and his willingness to learn from others such as David Simmons (Walker, 2008:216) has guided me to research writings relating to the Te Tairuku Pōtaka Pātaka carvings by Māori and Pākehā scholars such as Phillips (1952), Simmons (1985; 2006), Mead (1986), Day (2004), Jahnke (2006) and Ellis (2016).

Finally, Harrison's explanation of the genealogy and history of carved pātaka, waka taua and the carved meetinghouse as symbols of tribal mana (Walker, 2008). Harrison describes the carved pātaka (storehouse) as:

> the storehouse stocked with the finest of preserved food … the first status symbol of chiefs in pre-European times. That is why the carvings of a pātaka were placed on the outside, to be admired as an expression of the mana of its owner (Walker, 2008:224).

Although Simmons (1985) wrote that the pātaka, the waka taua and the whare whakairo were each symbolic expressions in their own right, Harrison (Walker, 2008:228) speaks about the similarities between them, for example, the carved prow of the waka taua having the same symbolism as some lintels of meeting houses.

The physical structure of pātaka was also unique in order to store preserved food as well as other taonga. Becker (1978:246) describes the structure and its purpose as follows:

> Its basic form was an A-frame construction, the roof extending over a front porch and low side walls, and it was usually raised on posts to protect it from animals and to elevate it above the common building level.

Harrison's argument about carved surface decorations of storehouse bargeboards having ideographical and mnemonic significance in pre-European days will now be applied to Te Tairuku Pōtaka, tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Te Tairuku Pōtaka

The Te Tairuku Pōtaka (Jahkne, 2006; Christensen, 2013; Ellis, 2016) pātaka has also been referred to as the Te Kaha Pātaka (Phillips, 1952; Archey, 1977; Mead, 1986), the Te Potaka Pātaka (Day, 2004; Simmons, 1985) and sometimes the Maraenui Pātaka (Mead, 1986). According to Best (1916:6 as cited in Phillips, 1952:96) "potaka taonga" were storage places for general objects such as ornaments, garments, weapons and implements as well as specially preserved or dried meats and fish, including whale meat stored for winter consumption. They were not storage places for kūmara or taro.

The carving style of Te Tairuku Pōtaka is often referred to as the Te Kaha style (Mead, 1986) and sometimes more recently as the Te Whānau-a-Apanui style (Jahkne, 2006) or the Tūkākī school style (Ellis, 2016). Te Tairuku Pōtaka was initially carved and erected at Maraenui near the western end of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region for an Ariki Wānanga (Simmons, 1985) during the eighteenth century. Later in the early decades of the nineteenth century, Te Tairuku Pōtaka, was moved to Raukōkore, towards the eastern end of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region where Puhiake began to renovate it (Day, 2004). According to Parekoihu Te Kani (*Motuaruhe Block* (1910) 1 Te Kaha 104 (1TKA104)), the pātaka belonged to the descendants of Pakipakirauiri of Te Whānau-a-Kauaetangohia.

Presenting evidence at the same Land Court sitting as Parekoihu Te Kani, Dr. Tūtere Wīrepa counter-argued Parekoihu Te Kani's claim and said that the pātaka was considered to be Te Mātenga's[183] (also known as Mātenga or Mātenga Peraro) sole property. Later in the court proceedings Parekoihu Te Kani agreed that there was no question around the pātaka being associated with Te Mātenga. Due to the impending Ngāpuhi raids of the 1820s, Te Mātenga asked his elders of Motuaruhe if they could conceal the pātaka carvings in the cave called Tokatea (*Motuaruhe Block* (1910) 1 Te Kaha 118 (1TKA118)). This tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui from Native Land Court minutes presents our family with an opportunity to reclaim genealogical whakapapa to a very old carved treasure because Te Mātenga is Roka's great-great-grandfather[184] who died in 1875.[185] Te Mātenga is remembered in a range of tukunga

[183] Te Mātenga was the son of Te Hinu. Te Hinu was a son of Te Ngahue-o-te-Rangi. Te Hinu's brothers were Te Uaterangi, Te Kakatuamaro and Te Wharau (one of the signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi). Te Ngahue-o-te-rangi was a son of Te Rangikawanoa, Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū and Te Whānau-a-Apanui chiefs of the late 18th century and early 19th century. Te Hinu was shot by Ngāti Porou in a battle at Rangitukia in the 1830s (Kaa and Kaa, 1996:93). Parekoihu Te Kani is a descendant of Te Uaterangi and a first cousin to Te Mātenga.

[184] Te Mātenga had Paora Mātenga who then had Wiremu Tiaki Paora (Tiaki). Tiaki married Purukamu and had Rūhīterangi I. Rūhīterangi I married William Swinton and had Roka and her older brother William II. Knowledge of Te Mātenga's association with Te Tairuku Pōtaka was not passed on to my mother, Rūhīterangi II or me. There is oral evidence in the Te Kaha Minute Book No.1 (109-119) that says the elders wanted to re-erect Te Tairuku Pōtaka because Wiremu Tiaki and Purukamu were expecting their first child, Rūhīterangi I, who was born in 1898. The chief, Te Hata, supported the idea of re-erecting Te Tairuku Pōtaka but there were no experts in carving or building who could carry out the work. They had all passed away. It is also recorded that some of the young people were afraid of the carvings.

[185] Te Mātenga Peia is referred to as a Chief of Te Kaha by Brabant, H.W. (Resident Magistrate), 1875. In *Further Reports From Officers in Native Districts. G-1A, 3.*

iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and other sources as a hapū spokesperson and leader[186] (1899 Waikawa Block Native Land Court record in RPTMSS, 1984:), a "teacher" of Te Kaha by Reverend Edward Clarke (1997) and "an experienced carver of the Te Kaha school" who was joined by his cousins, "the six sons of Ahiwaru: - Heremia, Wī Taokuku, Wairua, Mīhaere, Rura and Teira" (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, 1990:15) to assist Wēpiha Apanui to complete the Mātaatua carved meetinghouse at Whakatāne during 1874 and early 1875.[187] Te Mātenga's association with Te Tairuku Pōtaka may be related to his own personal whakapapa connections as a son of Te Hinu and Te Mōtuhi or because he was a carver or both. I have not been able to find specific details.

The Te Tairuku Pōtaka carvings remained hidden in the Tokatea cave for three generations, until the late 1800s, when eight carvings were purchased by Edward Spencer, for £70, from the Te Whānau-a-Apanui chief, Te Hata. By that time, although there had been some goodwill to erect Te Tairuku Pōtaka again due to Te Mātenga's grandson expecting a child, the expert carvers had passed on, some relatives were jealous of the idea, and some of the young people were afraid of the carvings (*Motuaruhe Block* (1910) 1 Te Kaha 109-119 (1TKA109-119)).

In 1912 Edward Spencer sold the eight carvings to the Auckland Museum for £425 (Phillips 1952:174 as cited in Day, 2004:27). The set of eight totara carvings included two maihi (bargeboards), one kuaha (doorway) and five heke (rafter panels) as described by Day (2004). The carvings were described in the 1911-1912 Auckland Museum Annual Report as "remarkably good examples of the best period of Maori workmanship" (Phillips, 1952:174) and Day (2004:34) writes, "Te Potaka was undoubtedly a prestigious and superior pataka, both in size and decoration". The next section will describe what is carved onto the maihi and summarise views of what the motifs and surface decorations mean.

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[186] This is the evidence of Dr. Tūtere Wīrepa at the Waikawa Block court hearing at Te Kaha, March 9th, 1899 (RPTMSS, 1984:171-179).

[187] In a letter to Wadmore, Dr. Wīrepa of Te Whānau-a-Apanui said, "Not only was Wepiha Apanui the architect of the house, he was also the master carver, te tohunga whakairo" (Te Runanga o Ngati Awa, 1990:15). Mātenga and his cousins replaced the first team of carvers under the supervision of Wepiha Apanui who remained master carver and Paniora of Te Whānau-a-Apanui who remained master builder. "Matenga's error is remembered as 'tipi-whakairo'; and the subsequent illness which ended in his death (probably Tb)" (Wadmore, 1958:8).

The Te Tairuku Pōtaka Maihi

Simmons (1985) describes the symbolism of the Te Tairuku Pōtaka maihi as:

> That of a whale shown with a spiral for a mouth, a smaller spiral for the eye, and a body which tapers behind the figures to flukes at the end. The surface is decorated with taratara a kae, the notching of Kae. … The manaia and human represent the spirit and mortal worlds. The central human figure has five figures in a rope either side with the two centre figures united at the large human figure (Simmons, 1985:29).

Phillips quotes Best's (1916 cited in 1952:99) explanation of a whale or pakake being hauled up "to the figure representing the owner at the apex of the gable" and the figures helping to haul the whale "are attended by the personal atua of their chief, which is represented by the manaia-like figures". Phillips and Huria (2008:85) say that the central figure at the apex represents the chief. Phillips (1952:174) adds more details to these descriptions saying:

> Here we have the whale in all its symbolic splendour, so real that it appears almost to move while manaia and one human strain at a rope of human bodies placed along its length. A loop coil … is not uncommon in the filling-in work of this maihi; and in the background of the end volutes shows up the partially interlocking arms and the S-curves of the background. Whakaironui spirals in tara tara o kai are much used on this maihi not only on the large spiral formations, but also on shoulders and hips of all manaia and humans (Phillips, 1952:174-178).

The whale motif is central to the carved maihi. For coastal tribes the symbol of a whale was very relevant or applicable because the capture or claiming of a stranded whale would provide plenty of meat for a considerable period, "the largest food treasure-trove the Maori people could conceive" (Phillips, 1952:95). In this respect, the carvings of Te Tairuku Pōtaka symbolise "the collective wealth of the owner-group and the mana of the group's leader" (Brown, 2009:37).

Taratara-a-kae is the dominant surface decoration on the Te Tairuku Pōtaka maihi. Harrison describes it as "a row of barbs on each side or edge of parallel grooves" (Walker, 2008:220-221) and Becker says that it is "grooves with zig-zag patterning on the edges and a ridge between, called at times "water pattern" (1978:248). Taratara-a-kae is used to decorate koru motifs across most of the surfaces of the carved bodies of

manaia, human, whale and loop coils referred to by Phillips above. Both Whiting (Christensen, 2013) and Harrison (Walker, 2008) explain that the koru and other surface decorations show movement and energy. Phillips (1952) also observed that the carved pātaka of both the East Coast and the Te Arawa peoples were the most elaborately carved maihi. Taratara-a-kae is significant because of its association with the early tukunga iho Māori about Ngāē[188] and Tutununui.[189] These are examples of how Te Tairuku Pōtaka demonstrates the rich vocabulary of forms and styles of the Te Kaha carving tradition.[190]

I now turn to tukunga iho a te Tairāwhiti such as Ngāē and Tutununui including whakapapa, whakataukī and waiata to examine the ways in which our carved treasures such as Tūkākī and Te Tairuku Pōtaka express the natural world and the close but complex relationships our ancestors had with whales, therefore exploring how our Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors asserted our tribal identity.

Ngāē and Tutununui

A close reading of Ngāē and Tutununui narrative shows the complex, multi-faceted relationship that Māori ancestors had with whales in pre-European times. People not only had whakapapa connections to whales through the atua as explained above, but whales were also friends and guardians. Whale meat and other whale resources were also highly valued because of their importance to diet, lifestyles and other issues such as conservation and sustainability were also important.

There are a number of published versions of what is commonly referred to as the Tinirau and Kae narrative. Two are East Coast versions, narrated by Mohi Ruatapu and Henare Potae, called 'The Story of Ngāē and Tutununui' (Best, 1928:261-270). The basic storyline tells of Ngāē going fishing with his younger brothers just out from Reporua on the East Coast of the North Island where they get caught in a storm. As a result, they are swept far out to sea and end up in Hawaiki at Tinirau's village. One

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[188] Ngāē is another name for Kae in the Porourangi/Ngāti Porou version of Kae and Tinirau.

[189] Tutununui is another name for Tutunui in the Porourangi/Ngāti Porou version of Kae and Tinirau.

[190] These words are taken from Lionel Grant (Grant & Skinner, 2007:39) in his explanation of how Ngatoroirangi demonstrated the rich vocabulary of forms and styles available to carvers working in the Ngāti Tarāwhai tradition.

day Tinirau came across Ngāē weeping for his homeland so he offered him his pet whale to take him back to Reporua. Ngāē promised to treat Tutununui with respect because of Tinirau's kindness. He would follow Tinirau's instructions to dismount the whale when it shook. Instead, when they arrived in the waters of his homeland and Tutununui shook, Ngāē did not dismount. Tutununui became stranded on the shoreline because his gills were filled with gravel. Ngāē and his people dragged Tutununui ashore, cut him up and cooked his meat in kōkōmuka leaves. The smell of the cooked whale meat drifted to Tinirau in Hawaiki where he realised that Tutununui had been killed. Tinirau summoned a group of women and some men to find Ngāē and bring the old man to him.

The second East Coast version includes more detail (Best, 1928; Reedy, 1993). Ngāē and his brothers from the house Te Kikihi-taihaki at Reporua, in the Waiapu district, go on a fishing trip and are driven out to sea by a wind called Aputahi-a-Pawa. They drift across the ocean for twenty days and twenty nights to the far off land of Hawaiki. While adrift, six of Ngāē's brothers die from the cold and a lack of food and water. A seventh brother dies on their arrival in Hawaiki. Initially, when Ngāē arrived at Tinirau's village, the people wanted to kill him because they had found him in a sacred place. Instead, Tinirau asked for Ngāē's life to be spared and looked after him. After some time, a particular wind from the direction of his home reminded Ngāē of his home and he wept. Tinirau lent Ngāē his pet whale Tutununui to take him home. On their arrival Ngāē and his people killed the whale and cooked it on fires like version one.

Mohi Ruatapu says that some of the group who had been summoned included "Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Rekareka, Rawea, Kurahau, Poruhiruhi, Poroherohe, Whakaarorangi, Ruhi-i-te-rangi, and Hine-te-iwaiwa" (Best, 1928:264). The group travelled from Hawaiki to as far as the South Island and many places in Aotearoa before they found Ngāē, the man with the broken tooth, at Reporua. They found Ngāē amongst all of the men in the many villages by presenting a wide range of different performances such as the 'tā pōtaka', the 'miri porotiti', the 'kū' and the 'whai' (Royal, 1994:114). After some time and effort Ngāē was discovered when the group performed a pōtēteke where they showed their genitals to Ngāē, making him

laugh. Then the group used spells to put Ngāē to sleep and lifted up Ngāē's whole house and took it to Tinirau's village. Ngāē was killed and eaten as 'utu' (payment) for Tutununui's death.

The Te Rangihaeata/Te Whiwhi version as summarised by Royal (1998) in his doctoral thesis is set in Hawaiki not the East Coast of Aotearoa and the focus is Tinirau's marriage to Hine-te-iwaiwa and the difficult birth of their son, Tuhuruhuru. Tinirau asks the tohunga Kae (not Ngāē as used in the Ngāti Porou version) to perform the naming ceremony for his son. To show his gratitude to Kae, Tinirau calls his pet whale Tutunui to the shore where he cuts a piece of whalemeat and cooks it for Kae to eat. Kae then steals Tutunui and rides him to his island where as recounted in other versions, he and his people kill and eat Tutunui. The aroma of cooked whale meat is sent by the winds to Tinirau. In retaliation, Tinirau and Hine-te-iwaiwa organise a group of women to find Kae, trick him and take him to Tinirau to be killed. The group of women that also included Ruatamāhine and Te Whakapitaumanawa put a considerable amount of effort into using a wide range of performances and skills to expose Kae by making him laugh and show his teeth. They sang, played instruments, played finger and hand games, stick games, puppetry, and other items such as the porotiti. In the end they succeeded by performing an erotic haka. They then used spells to make Kae sleep. From the poutokomanawa of Kae's house the group lifted him, rather than the whole house, and carried him to their canoe and took him to Tinirau. Kae was killed. This version then goes on to say that when Te Aitanga-a-Pōporokewa heard of Kae's death, they sought revenge by killing Tuhuruhuru.

As summarised by Royal (1998), the Ngāti Awa version events leading up to the baptismal ceremony include Hineteiwaiwa becoming pregnant and Tinirau abandoning her. When Tuhuruhuru was born he stayed with his father while Hineteiwaiwa fled with her cousin Rupe. When Tuhuruhuru grew up and found his mother, he tricked her and her sisters to take him with them as a slave for Rupe. After more tricks his aunties realised that it was Tuhuruhuru. They take him back to Tinirau's village and have a baptismal ceremony. When Kae asks for Tinirau's pet whale to take him home, he is told not to urinate or defecate on the right hand side of the whale or not to force him close to the shore. When Tinirau realises that his pet

whale is dead he instructs his wife and her sisters to find Kae, the man with the ill-formed teeth. This version says that the women performed three types of haka called Te Puapua, Te Anaana and Te Waitōremi.

The Tākitimu or Kahungunu version (Royal, 1998) says that when Kae arrived at Tuhuruhuru's baptismal ceremony from Tihi-o-Manono, there was no choice food for him so Tinirau summoned a tame whale called Tutunui. Tutunui's young one was killed and served to Kae. When Kae was ready to return home he asked for Tutunui to take him to the other side of Mata-ahurangi, a sea at Ranginaonao-ariki, where the great hill Tihi-o-Manono, is located. Tihi-o-Manono is the home of the offspring of Tāwhirimatea and his grandchildren.

In all versions, Tinirau agrees to lend his pet whale to Ngāē/Kae so that he can return to his homeland across the sea. Ngāē/Kae repays Tinirau's kindness by killing, cooking and eating the whale. Tinirau is so devastated that he asks a group of women (sometimes his wife and his sisters and other times his wife and her sisters plus other women) to find Ngāē/Kae, the man with ugly teeth. The women return Ngāē/Kae to Tinirau to revenge the death of Tutununui/Tutunui, the pet whale.

A number of researchers (Royal, 1998; Mikaere, 2003; Paringatai, 2004; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010) have studied this narrative because it is considered to be the most important (Royal, 2006:2) or the quintessential myth (Paringatai, 2004:19) concerning the traditional 'Whare Tapere'. This traditional narrative also explains natural phenomena and imparts moral instruction. The most important features of this tukunga iho Māori in relation to this thesis are the multiple roles of the whale as a catalyst for social change.

In Polynesian traditions, Tinirau is a descendant of Tangaroa, the god of the sea. Versions of Tinirau's whakapapa[191] as outlined earlier support this and they all show

[191] Best (1982). In some versions he is the Atua of dolphins and porpoises (Ngāti Kahungunu, 2010) and in other versions he is the god of whales (Best, 1929:264). Best (1921) refers to White's record of another whakapapa that presents Tutara-kauika as the personification of whales, Puhi as the personification of eels, Takaaho of sharks and Te Arawaru (or Te Arawarau) of shellfish. Kahungunu refer to Te Arawarau as the atua of shellfish and crustaceans, and Kewa is the atua of whales (Best, 1921).

that Tinirau is an important link between Tangaroa and fish (including whales). As descendants of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, people are related to fish. People should therefore treat and respect whales (Cawthorn, 2000). According to Royal (1998:126), because Tinirau is the progenitor of fish, the killing of Tutunui represents the killing of Tangaroa and Tinirau's progeny. As a 'mōkai' or pet whale in the story, Tutunui has been tamed and is loved by Tinirau. Tutunui clearly trusts his owner and he listens and obeys Tinirau to the point of making himself or his young one, available as food for Ngāē/Kae. The relationship is not one way. When Tinirau realises Tutunui has been killed, he wants revenge. Tutunui's death has been the catalyst for social change and the custom pertaining to utu or revenge for the death of relatives or cherished ones.

All versions refer to Tinirau's very kind act of letting Tutununui/Tutunui take Ngāē/Kae to his faraway home. In some versions Tinirau is very grateful for Ngāē/Kae's services at Tuhuruhuru's naming ceremony and wants to repay him for his services. In other versions there is no particular reason why Tinirau is so kind to Ngāē/Kae. This theme of giving is made more complex in some versions where Tinirau used whale flesh to feed Ngāē/Kae. In one version this act is clearly linked to Ngāē/Kae's services provided in the baptismal ceremony. Tinirau wanted to share his best or choice food with Ngāē/Kae - a slice of whale meat. This act is in line with narratives that speak of how important it was to "propitiate" (Royal, 1998:126) or show thanks to the Gods. Harrison (Walker, 2008) explains how the whanake-a-Tinirau heke design reminds humans of the need to propitiate Tangaroa. Royal (1998:126) also explains that this could be an example of the whāngai hau ceremony.

Having pet whales gave Tinirau access to highly valued, tasty meat at all times. In the Tākitimu version Tinirau kills a young whale to feed to Ngāē/Kae but in most other versions Tinirau slices some flesh from the living body of Tutunui. Tinirau had powers to access highly valued meat that he would prepare in sustainable or conservative ways for his special guests. So even though whales are related to people, they are a resource to be used respectfully (Cawthorn, 2000). Although the careful management of resources was a key role of chiefs, it was also important that chiefs were able to feed their guests. The whale motif on pātaka such as Te Tairuku Pōtaka

represents an abundance of seafood. Therefore this narrative is about the importance of showing hospitality to special guests – manaaki tangata where Tutunui has been used in a sustainable manner to increase the mana of Tinirau in the eyes of his guest, Ngāē/Kae.

Stranded whales were seen as a gift from Tangaroa and science literature (Cawthorne, 2000; Leach, 2006) has some reasons why. Some argue that a meal of whale meat was significant because it was like a protein boost in typically low-protein diets (Cawthorne, 2000). Leach (2006:249) has a different opinion and argues that pre-European feasting of sharks and whales was not about feasting on protein but rather about accessing carbohydrates and fat in economies that were low in readily available carbohydrates and lipids. Tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui explained in the next section highlight the significance of stranded whales to Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Part of the process of seeking retaliation was the search for Ngāē/Kae. The role of the women and the whare tapere performances were key to this process. The whale's death has been a catalyst for the performance of a wide range items that make up the traditional whare tapere – of mainly women using all of their skills and womanly moves to make Ngāē/Kae laugh. Women were specially chosen by Tinirau to find and return Ngāē/Kae. The task required a range of skills and the ability to trick a man like Ngāē/Kae who had already deceived others. Female sexuality was used to bring about the desired result of catching Ngāē/Kae (Mikaere, 2003:38). Mead and Grove (2001:161) record the whakataukī, "Ka kata Kae" (Kae laughs), which is "used when a gloomy person is at last induced to smile". Mead and Grove (2001:161) say that "one learns from this that guilt may be inadvertently revealed by the guilty one". Therefore, Tutununui/Tutunui's death is not only a catalyst for social change in the whare tapere or performing arts, it was also a catalyst for the public use of sexuality. Carvers also continue to incorporate "the female element/energy that secured the fate of Kae" (Toia and Couper, 2006:106). Harrison also emphasises that the taratara-a-kae surface decoration and the whanake-a-Tinirau are designs that reiterate the theme of Tinirau's "attention to planning, strategy and subterfuge to punish Kae" (Walker, 2008:180) for his killing of Tutununui/Tutunui.

An examination of early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui such as the Te Tairuku Pōtaka, Tūkākī whare whakairo and early narratives about 'Ngāē and Tutununui' has illuminated the ideographical meaning and mnemonic significance of whales as they have been carved into the wood. Research into the narratives about Ngāē and Tutununui have allowed me to delve deeper into the representations and messages embedded in the tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui such as whales symbolising survival, wealth, manaakitanga, kai-tangata and utu.

Other Whale Guardians

When other Hawaiki ancestors travelled to Aotearoa they too were often accompanied and guided by taniwha (guardians) such as whales, sharks or stingrays (Toia and Couper, 2006:106). Some examples include Tūtara-kauika who escorted the Tākitimu canoe and Paneiraira who came with the Tainui canoe. Tūtara-kauika is also the whale that features in the Te Tahi o te Rangi narrative of Ngāti Awa. 'Hokianga whakapau karakia' is a whakataukī that records the deeds of an ancestor called Ruanui from the Hokianga district in the north of the North Island. Ruanui performed a karakia to bring a whale ashore for the opening ceremony of his wānanga. Nukutawhiti did a karakia to float the whale back out to sea on a wave. Both kept saying karakia (Harris, 2012:344) and hence the term "whakapau karakia" – exhausted karakia.

Ruāwharo, tohunga of the Tākitimu canoe, also had the abilities to call upon whales for assistance and protection. When he settled with his people at Te Māhia he planted a mauri for fish and whales. Soon after, more whales would visit Te Māhia. He also sent the whale, Tūtara Kauika, as a kaitiaki for the chiefs of the Wairoa district (Toia and Couper, 2006:100). Whakataukī and kōrero tahito remember these sorts of examples of whales being called upon by humans to assist them in their endeavours.

Another early narrative tells of Ruāwharo's mother advising him and his brother on their departure from Hawaiki that, "at the place where a whale is cast ashore you two must settle" (Best, 1976:414). It is highly likely that a stranded whale was a sign of a future food source, a gift from Tangaroa. Sometimes, stranded whales would cause

tension and conflict between individuals or groups. Tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui highlight how important it was to our ancestor's mana and mana whenua to find and claim stranded whales.

Already in Chapter four I discussed the tension between Poumātangatanga and Taikehu. Poumātangatanga believed that he was the first person to find the whale on the beach at Whangaparāoa so he tied a rope to its tail, claiming it as his own. He did this without knowing that another ancestor, Taikehu, of the Tainui canoe, had already claimed the whale, cut out its jawbone and fashioned a weapon from it. Many generations after Poumātangatanga and Taikehu's dispute, a stranded whale was fought over by two neighbouring hapū (sub-tribes) at Raukōkore (Stirling and Salmond, 1980), southwest of Whangaparāoa. Te Whānau-a-Maru and Te Whānau-a-Pararaki fought over a stranded whale near the mouth of the Waiōkaha Stream, the border between the two sub-tribes. Mārama Paraone or 'The Bishop' also told A.H. Reed about a "fierce tribal fight" over a stranded whale between his tribe, Te Whānau-a-Maru and another (Reed, 1946:119).

Conclusion

'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' was important to Roka's journey to reverse the decline of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Roka highlighted early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to assert that Te Whānau-a-Apanui did not hunt whales in pre-contact times and we had our own knowledge, traditions and customary practices of whales. This thesis has examined a selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales that are renewed and extended by Roka's work such as Te Tairuku Pōtaka, Tūkākī whare whakairo as well as whakapapa and kōrero tahito about Tinirau, Paikea, Ngāē, Tutununui, Poumātangatanga and others. This chapter outlines my interpretation of these tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to extend Roka's writing and research and explains important elements of the whale traditions of our ancestors that have been handed down over many generations.

This Chapter has highlighted the genealogy of whales identifying that they are descendants of Tangaroa, god of the sea and fishes, through Tinirau. The whale

whakapapa is then extended to Paikea's whakapapa to show genealogical links between Te Whānau-a-Apanui people, whales and atua. The Paikea narrative is then examined to highlight important connections and explain the collective memories of battles over family status, rivalries, revenge, survival, migration and settlement.

Tūkākī whare whakairo at Te Kaha Marae and Te Tairuku Pōtaka pātaka, with a particular focus on their maihi, were examined to show the way in which Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors expressed the significance of whales during several generations of settlement in Aotearoa. Throughout the chapter I was guided by sources from Roka's archive and the writings of both Māori and Pākeha academics that explain how the majestic whale motif and the very detailed surface decorations on the maihi are directly related to the early narratives about Ngāē, Tutununui and Tinirau. An analysis of that early narrative has been a significant part of this chapter. Other early tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about Poumātangatanga, Ruāwharo and others have also been explored to highlight the significance of whales.

Whales have been recognised as *taniwha* or *tipua*, supernatural beings that carried or guided humans across the ocean or saved humans from death (Gillespie, 1999:2). For example, seasonal north-south migration routes of sperm, humpback and right whales helped explorers and navigators of the great Pacific Ocean. This chapter has shown that coastal tribes such as Te Whānau-a-Apanui have preserved and passed down tukunga iho about whales from generation to generation to show their significance to our history and identity – te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Whales have been extremely important to the survival, migration and development of our Hawaiki and Māori ancestors. They are integral to our histories as peoples of the Pacific. Roka's article is a significant contribution to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui because it provides a window into what she called the pakiwaitara of Māori and Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors and encourages readers to engage with them in order to understand our ancestor's views of and experiences of whales in pre-contact, traditional times.

Chapter Eight: Kau ana Kāwhe - Whales and Whaling in Post-Contact Times

> Mō ēnei kōrero ka karangatia he wēra.
> He maha ngā momo wēra… Ki te Pākehā he kararehe te wēra, ēngari ki a tāua ki te Māori, he ika… Anei ngā ingoa Pākehā me ngā ingoa Māori e whai ake nei. Koia nei ngā ingoa a ō mātou tīpuna.
> - Ko te right whale he raiti wēra
> - Ko te sperm whale he pāmu wēra
> - Ko te humpback whale he hamupēke wēra
> - Ko te killer whale he kera wēra
> - Ko te pilot whale he paraki pīhi
> - Ko te porpoise he pāpahu
>
> Ko te wēra tāne ka karangatia he 'pūru'. Ko te wahine he kau. Ko te punua he kāwhe. Ko te ingoa Pākehā mō te kau me te kāwhe he *cow and calf*, ā, ki ō mātou tīpuna ka kī he 'kau ana kāwhe' (Paora in Moorfield, 1992:10).

In 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' (Paora in Moorfield, 1992) Roka uses the word wēra for whale and asserts that her Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors used loanwords[192] to name the whales that they hunted. The loanwords used by Roka are examples of what Poia Rewi (2012:87) calls Maoricisation where:

> the systematic conversion of English words into Māori words, premised on the sounds of the English words. Thus were created new Māori words without any direct cultural meaning or customary history: words that were Māori in sound, but Pākehā in meaning.

When Rewi's explanation of Maoricisation is applied to the whaling loanwords asserted by Roka, they represent cultural change for Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The whaling loanwords have no direct cultural meaning or customary history. When commercial whalers arrived in Aotearoa the long Te Whānau-a-Apanui tradition of whales changed. These loanwords are one example of the many elements of change that affected everyday lives during the nineteenth century. Roka's use of the word

[192] Māori words borrowed from English where the English words have been adapted to the "sound system" and "orthography" (Moorfield and Ka'ai, 2009:1) of the Māori language. "Loanword and borrowing … are the terms preferred in the literature on this subject" (Moorfield and Ka'ai, 2009:1). Other words used to describe this process are 'transliteration' and 'denizen'. 'Borrowing' is commonly used to describe the process of adapting words from one language into another. Duval (1995) uses the word 'gainword' rather than 'loanword'.

wēra for whale makes me mindful of these changes and focuses my examination of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whaling on the changing nature of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui during the early post-contact years. This is in line with the purpose of her article, that is, to write about, "te toa o ngā tīpuna ki tēnei mahi ki te patu wēra" (Paora in Moorfield, 1992:9), the expertise of our ancestors to hunt whales. In this chapter, a range of whaling loanwords will be used to understand a wider Te Whānau-a-Apanui narrative of how our ancestors, between 1868 and 1924, engaged in the economy as independent, community whalers, rather than the labourers of Pākehā whalers.

In this chapter I will explore a selection of twentieth century tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui to show how our tribal scholars have embraced and passed down knowledge and history about community whaling in the post-contact years. I am particularly interested in the continuity of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui in the midst of changing circumstances – contact with new languages, cultures and the technologies. Specifically I explore the oral history of early twentieth century kaumātua, the published literary texts of more recent Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars such as Te Tane Tūkākī[193] (1957; Tūkākī in Moorfield, 1992), and private family manuscript books that have been passed down and are preserved in our whānau archive. Roka also renewed and extended the work of these twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui whalers and scholars by continuing to use whaling loanwords[194] and by continuing to celebrate their successes as community whalers. Roka then passed down the loanwords to Māori language students so that we can understand them and actively use them to communicate how whales and whaling in Te Whānau-a-Apanui have been an integral part of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

[193] Te Tane Tūkākī, a retired farmer, was seventy-seven years old when he died in September 1963 (*Te Ao Hou*, 1964:64). He was well respected by his people as a fine orator, leader, and one of the last kaumātua knowledgeable in the whakapapa of Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāti Porou. For a number of years he was the Chairperson of the Te Kaha School Committee and it was at his request that the Education Department recently changed the name of the Te Kaha Māori District High School to the Te Whānau-a-Apanui District High School. He was also involved in providing the school with the motto "Tākore Tokatū" from an old proverbial saying of the tribal warrior ancestor Tamahae's, 'Ka tū te toka ki Tākore, ka hiki te toka ki Wahakino', meaning 'the steadfast rock of Tākore'. Te Tane was also heavily involved in Anglican Church matters and tribal administration.

Te Tane Tūkākī's (Te Tane) view of when whaling began in the region begins with whakapapa and will be discussed in the next section. This chapter also explores literary and non-literary texts that record economic activities during the whaling era and give some insight into how the benefits flowed to the hapū. The financial records I have selected are from a family manuscript book that was used as a ledger during the 1880s. An examination of these records will focus on how individual and whānau monies were used for the benefit of the collective. Canon Hakaraia Pahewa's photos are also used to illuminate our tribe's collective approach to shore whaling and how collective approaches to hapū activities and asset management continued.

He Whakapapa – Ngā Roihana

> Me timata e au i te timatanga o tenei mea o te patu tohora no te wa i moemoe ai nga Pakeha i nga wahine Maori o tenei takiwa, ka timata mai te ako i te Maori i taua wa ki te patu i tenei ika i te tohora … Ka puta mai nga uri, i toku wa nei, ka puta mai nga tau iwi a aua uri toa ki te patu i tenei ika (Tūkākī, 1957:18).

Here, Te Tane begins his radio interview (1957), later published in *Te Ao Hou* (1957) and *Te Māhuri* (Tūkākī in Moorfield, 1992), with an explanation of when whaling began in Te Whānau-a-Apanui. As Te Tane knew it, whaling began when Te Whānau-a-Apanui women married Pākehā whalers. For example, Roka's ancestor, Makere Te Horowai, married a whaler named Robert Larsen or Lawson (Roihana). Those Pākehā whalers taught the local Māori of that time, probably the brothers, sisters and cousins of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui women, to hunt and process whales. "When they left the Maoris carried on … and got whale catching down to a pretty fine art" (Annabel, 1962). During Te Tane's time the descendants of local Te Whānau-a-Apanui women and Pākehā whalers became experts at hunting whales. In his interview he often refers to a very exciting whaling expedition that he went on as a teenager in 1902, with older, expert whalers who were brothers, sons and nephews of the local Te Whānau-a-Apanui women who had married Pākehā whalers.

I begin this section with the above excerpt as a way to acknowledge that when Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars speak or write about whaling history they refer to recent ancestors and navigate themselves. Therefore, whakapapa and intermarriage are key

elements of that whaling history. The previous chapter highlighted the whakapapa of whales and the whakapapa of Te Whānau-a-Apanui further linking the connection between whales and our people. This chapter places Roka and her whakapapa at the centre of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whaling as a descendant of not only a Te Whānau-a-Apanui woman, Mākere Te Horowai, but also the Scandinavian American whaler, Roihana. Roka is a fourth generation whaling descendant.

Studying whakapapa and presenting it here is a way to position whaling as Te Whānau-a-Apanui whānau, hapū and iwi history. It is, although fragmented, a history of love, adaptability and commercial independence in a changing world where local Te Whānau-a-Apanui women and their children are valued members of their whanau, hapū and iwi. Together, the women, their families, the foreign men they married and their descendants have made important contributions to the independence and progress of their hapū through commercial whaling. This thesis acknowledges the agency (Wanhalla, 2004) of female ancestors in the cultural encounters of the whaling era. Table 12 shows Roka's maternal whakapapa from the ancestor Te Ehutū down to Mākere Te Horowai then to Purukamu who had Rūhīterangi who had Roka, all women actively involved in preserving tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales.

Table 12: Te Whakapapa o Mākere Te Horowai Heke Iho ki a Roka
Source: Roka's Whakapapa Notes and HPMSS, nd:80.

	Tūkākī			
	|			
	Te Ehutū	=	Te Ngaohe	
		|		
		Te Manawahe		
		|		
		Te Kākahupukupuku		
		|		
Pikirangi	=	Tīpare		
	|			
	|			
|	|	|		
Te Hinewaha	Te Horowai	Te Manawa		
		|		
		Mākere Te Horowai	=	Lawson (Roihana)
			|	
			|	
		|	|	|
		Haki	Haara	Rāpata
		|		
		Purukamu		
		|		
		Rūhīterangi		
		|		
		Roka		

This section about whakapapa sets out a context and foundation for this chapter that highlights ways in which whānau and hapū adapted commercial whaling to suit the needs and aspirations of Te Whānau-a-Apanui hapū communities of the late 1800s and early 1900s. They did not disintegrate like some other Māori communities (Wanhalla, 2004) impacted by whaling, intermarriage and urbanisation. Rather the children of local Te Whānau-a-Apanui women and Pākehā whalers intermarried with other Te Whānau-a-Apanui descendants and had families who continued to remain on the land to this day. The hapū communities continued to be well populated and vibrant right up until the post World War II years and the urban migration of the

1950s and 1960s. Intermarriage brought new blood, access to new technology and new skills.

As set out in Table 12 above, Mākere Te Horowai was a descendant of Te Ehutū and his wife Te Ngaohe, through one of their children, Te Manawahē. Te Manawahē had Te Kākahupukupuku who had Tīpare. Tīpare married Pikirangi and had Te Hinewaha, Te Horowai and Te Manawa. Te Manawa had Mākere Te Horowai. Mākere Te Horowai had three children to Roihana. Haki, Haara and Rāpata. Haki Roihana, Roka's great-grandfather, lived a long life. He was at least 90 years old when he died and was buried at Te Kaha[195] during the 1940s.[196] Haki was still making a financial contribution to the Te Kaha Komiti Tāne in 1943. Further evidence from the St Paul's Anglican Church Births and Deaths register states that Haki's children Tū Mihaere (or Tūnoa), Hone and Purukamu were born in 1870, 1878 and 1881 respectively (St Paul's Anglican Church Register, Te Kaha). Haki's age at his death and the birthdates of his children make it highly likely that Haki Roihana was born by 1850, approximately twenty years before he and his wife Ngāmane had their first-born son Tū Mihaere (or Tūnoa). Haki's wife, Ngāmane, was a daughter of Te Ahiwaru, one of the four Treaty of Waitangi signatories, and his second wife Ngākau. Rāpata Roihana's wife was Te Ipo, also a local woman. Haara married a Kīngi from Manutuke, Gisborne, and they have a large number of descendants some who live in Te Kaha today.

When the whaler Roihana died or left Te Kaha, he and Mākere's children remained an integral part of the community and retained his surname, Roihana. Today, one branch of the whānau continues to use the name Lawson. There are no historical accounts of whether Roihana actually settled fulltime in Te Kaha like there are for other whaler-traders such as Tame Mete and Hēmi Hei,[197] or whether he continued to work on whaling ships and return to Te Kaha intermittently.

[195] Haki Roihana is buried at Te Kaka urupā (cemetery), Te Kaha.
[196] The last record of Haki Roihana contributing to hapū fundraising was in 1941 (HPMSS2, nd).
[197] Tame Mete and Hēmi Hei are recorded in the 1863 *Return of Europeans in Occupation of Native Land* (McConnell, 1991).

Roka's husband Tini is also a descendant of whalers. Tini's grandmother, Mereana, married James Hayes (Hēmi or Tiemi Hei). They had seven children between 1844 and 1864.[198] Their names were Hariata, Hēmi, Wīremu, More, Pori, Pīhi and my great-great-grandmother, Ruihi-tererewaipuke who was born in 1863. Table 13 shows whakapapa from Mereana and Hēmi Hei down to my mum, Rūhīterangi.

Table 13: Ētahi o Ngā Tamariki, Mokopuna a Nanny Mereana
Source: HPMSS1, nd.

			Mereana	====	James Hei			
|	|	|	|	|	|	|		
Hariata = Anaru Te Kahara	Hēmi = Maria	Wiremu = Pukekawa	More = Perkins	Pori = Tauhou	Pīhi	Ruihi b. 1863 = Paora Te Rua		
|	|	|	|			|	|	|
Tiweka b. 1874 AND Wharetunoa b. 1877 and others	Hamiora b. 1869 AND Wi Hei b. 1884 and others	Parekura b. 1893 and others	Perkins			Hone b. 1887 = Mākuini	Haukino b. 1889 = Kapua	Mita b. 1891 = Emere
						|	|	|
						Mihi & others	Parehau b. 1916 & Paora Te Rua b. 1919 & **Tini b. 1920**	Makarita & Tumoana & others
						|	|	|
						Kuini Webb	Rūhīterangi	Barry Peake

Mereana's grandsons were adults during the 1910s and 1920s, the last two decades of whaling at Te Kaha. Tiweka was born in 1874 and Wharetūnoa in 1877. Hēmi's sons, Hamiora and Wi Hei were born in 1869 and 1884 respectively. Wiremu's son Parekura was born in 1893. Ruihi's three sons, Hone, Haukino and Mita were born in 1887, 1889 and 1891. Tiweka and Hamiora were two of the first generation of Te Whānau-a-Apanui children who were sent away to Boarding Schools during the 1880's. They both attended Te Aute College.

[198] *Return of Europeans in Occupation of Native Land in 1863*, E – No. 16, p. 9 - records that James Hay (Trader) had been in occupation in Te Kaha since 1844 and that the character of his tenure was by sufferance. The quantity of land held by him was that on which his house stood. The return specifies that he was not paying rent, he did not have stock or other property and there were no other family occupant's living with him.

On Tini's side again there are a number of interesting tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about intermarriage with whalers that add to this context of post-contact whaling. Some Te Whānau-a-Apanui female ancestors were encouraged by whānau and hapū to marry again and not wait for their husbands who had ventured away on whaling ships for periods of time. Peti Te Hā[199] and Sam Delamare's relationship is one example. When he returned from a lengthy whaling voyage to America, the Te Whānau-a-Apanui people told him to go away because Peti Te Hā had a new husband. He tried to take his son, Neri, with him but his attempt was unsuccessful. The people hid the young Neri away from his father.

Peti-te-Hā and Sam Delamare's four children produced more than twenty grandchildren and they had more than 120 great-grandchildren, so the Delamare family is a very large extended whānau today. Maaka Jones, a great-granddaughter of Peti-te-Hā through Te Kohi and Ngarori, remembers the whaling stories of three generations of her family at Whitianga:

> Grandpa Kuki, Uncle Karauna, Hiki and Dad. … my father's family, my grandfather's family and my great-grandfather, they were all whalers and that was predominant in their characters. That's how my great-grandfather landed here, as a whaler, and the whaling boat is an important element in their lives (Binney and Chaplin, 2011:90).

Whakapapa records also help trace the approximate time of the relationship between Peti Te Hā and Sam Delamare. They had four children – Edward or Neri for short (also known as Te Kohi), Ann or Ani, Elizabeth or Raiha and Isobel. Ann was fifty years old when she drowned at the Mōtū River parekura on 5 August 1900. After that tragedy, Raiha changed her name to Waimate. Waimate married Te Wharekooti Pita and they had nine children. One of their daughters, Rangitahi (Kuira, pre-1900) married Te Toma (or Taihuka, post 1900) Ākuhata and they had twelve children.

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[199] Peti-te-Hā was a direct descendant of Apanui Ringamutu and his first wife Kahukuramihiata. Tūkākī and his first wife Te Īkiwa-o-Rēhua had Urukakengarangi who had Urumahora who had Totonumia who had Te Rii who had Pohepohe who had Matireau (Peti Te Hā's mother). On her father's side Peti Te Hā is a direct descendant of Te Ōnui, child of Apanui Ringamutu and his fourth wife, Kiritapu. Te Ōnui had Ngawhakamatemate who had Kaitoto who had Te Horo who married Matireau. Through Kaitoto, Peti Te Hā is a close cousin to Roka's great-great grandfather, Mātenga (referred to in Chapter seven in association with Te Tairuku Pōtaka).

Their eldest daughter, Kapua-i-te-Rangi, was born in 1894. Rangitahi's gravestone says that she passed away in October 1947 aged seventy years.

Kapua-i-te-Rangi's father, Te Toma Ākuhata, was also a grandson of a whaler. Te Toma's grandmother, Mere, married a whaler called George Barton, or Hōri Pātene, and they had at least two daughters, Mākere and Maraea (Titari and Irihaere respectively, post 1900) (Binney and Chaplin, 2011:62). Irihaere married Ākuhata Rēweti and had eight children including their eldest, Te Hēnare, and then Te Toma who was born in 1876. One of Te Toma's younger sisters, Hariata, was one of the children who drowned at the Mōtū River on 5 August 1900. Two of Te Hēnare's children also drowned at the Mōtū. He changed his name to Te Hurinui. Te Toma's youngest sister, Reremoana, married Tohi Koopu and lived at Maraenui. In *Ngā Mōrehu* (Binney and Chaplin, 2011:56) Reremoana remembered their kāuta at Ōtūwhare Marae using a number of pots, boilers and irons for cooking on the fires that had been gifted from her whaler grandfather, Barton. The Māori name for Barton, Pātene, is still used by descendants today.

My examination of whakapapa, manuscript books and grave stones provided approximate dates of when first generation children of local Māori women and whalers were born, when they married, who they married, and when their children were born. The discussion in this chapter shows that Te Whānau-a-Apanui communities did not disintegrate like those described by Wanhella (2004; 2009; 2013). For example, Waimate's brother, Te Kohi (or Neri as referred to earlier), was instrumental in inviting Te Kooti to have the Ringatū Churches Rā at Maraenui in July 1887. Many people from Gisborne, Wairoa and the eastern Bay of Plenty attended the Rā and it has been remembered as the first major inter-tribal gathering held for Te Kooti. According to Binney (1995:365) Te Kohi had also "fought in the wars for the government" which I assume were during the 1860s when he was a young man. So it is highly likely he was born around 1840.

It is difficult to gauge how brief or meaningful relationships (Wanhalla, 2004) or marriages between whalers and local women were but as a descendant of Te Whānau-a-Apanui women and whalers/traders my research has highlighted a number of things.

Firstly, some whalers stayed or visited for long enough to teach and share knowledge with locals about commercial whaling by the late 1860s. Local people were also willing to learn new skills because within twenty years, between the 1840s and 1860s. Te Whānau-a-Apanui hapū communities had become independent whalers who were in full control of their whaling stations and their whaleboats. Secondly, whānau and hapū continued to raise the children of local Māori women and their whaler husbands. The rank of the mothers, mainly chief's daughters, passed onto their children (Dawbin, 1954). They spoke Māori and were schooled in the knowledge of their Māori ancestors at the same time as learning the language and ways of their Pākehā parents. Haki and Rāpata Roihana for example gave evidence in the Native Land Court (*Te Kaha Investigation* (1910) 1 Te Kaha 271-272 (1TKA271-272)) about tribal boundaries and history at the same time as they were whaling at Te Kaha in the early 1900s. The Neri Delamare example also illustrates how serious whānau and hapū were about retaining their children and raising them locally.

Roka and her husband Tini are both descendants of Te Whānau-a-Apanui women and their Pākehā whaler husbands. The main reason why the Pākehā whaler husbands came to the Eastern Bay of Plenty region was to hunt whales. The main types of whales hunted by Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors were sperm whales, southern right whales and humpback whales or as Roka refers to as, te pāmu wēra, te raiti wēra and the hamupēke wēra. The next section will describe these three types of whales.

Ngā Wēra

The commercial whaling era began when European and American whale ships began venturing to New Zealand waters in the late 1700s to hunt the "countless thousands of great whales" (Gillespie, 1999:4) seen by James Cook during his 1773 visit. The most commonly hunted whales were the sperm whales (pāmu wēra), the southern right whales (rāiti wēra) and the humpback whale (hamupēke wēra). This section provides some background about each of these whales.

Pāmu Wēra (or Parāoa)

Pāmu Wēra or Parāoa are Māori words for Sperm whales. Pāmu wēra were once numerous in the waters to the north and east of the North Cape of New Zealand. They were the main reason deepsea or pelagic whaling vessels visited the South Pacific region. They fall into the Pākehā scientific grouping of *Odontoceti* because they are toothed whales and have single blowholes (Ell, 1995:14; Carter, 1996:28). They also have large heads containing a chamber of spermaceti oil that make up one-third of their body size. To sustain their large bodies they hunt in deep oceans for fish, squid and octopus. They were highly valued by the early whaling industry for three products including the highest-quality oil found in its 'case' (Druett, 1991:59) or body; the spermaceti oil from the fibrous fat contained in the spermaceti chamber in it's head or 'junk'; and the ambergris, a biliary concretion from the sperm's intestines. Its odourless 'case' oil was used in to make candles and fine ointments (Druett, 1991). Its spermaceti oil was a superior lubricant for things like precision instruments and high quality smokeless candles (Phillips, 2009; Ell, 1995). The ambergris was used as a holding agent of perfumes and "prized in some countries as an aphrodisiac" (Grady, 1986:225; Grady, 1986:64; Druett, 1991:224).

Raiti Wēra (or Tohorā)

Te Tane Tūkākī (1957) describes the raiti wēra as "te wēra utu nui i mua", the whales that raised big money in days gone by. Raiti wēra or Tohorā are Southern Right whales that were otherwise known as black whales because of their colour. Whalers called them 'Right' whales because they did not sink when killed (Druett, 1991:60) and their movements were slower and therefore they were easier to catch. They belong to the scientific group, *Mysticeti*. Raiti wēra are also referred to as baleen whales because they feed on small fish and crustaceans by straining them from seawater through hundreds of springy plates in their mouths made from keratin (Carter, 1996:28) called baleen plates, or the treasured whalebone (Tod, 1982:227; Tod, 1982:15). A characteristic of the Raiti Wēra is their nostril-like paired blowholes. They grow up to eighteen metres long and can weigh up to seventy tones (Ell, 1995:14). They yielded large quantities of oil when their blubber was boiled

down and their baleen, strong but flexible protein, was used for making corset busks and reinforcing seats (Ell, 1995). The hairs growing around their baleen plates were used for stuffing furniture and making wigs. They often came close to the East Coast shoreline or sheltered bays on their way to warmer waters to calve between May and October (Auckland Star, 1881; Grady, 1986).

Hamupēke Wēra (or Paikea)

The Hamupēke wēra or Paikea is the Humpback whale that is also known as the '*Megaptera novaeangliae'* or the 'big-winged New Englander', because it has an enormous pectoral flipper and arches its back when it dives. They are part of the *Mysteceti* group. A newborn humpback weighs 2.5 tonnes and is four metres long. An adult humpback is as long as sixteen metres and can weigh as much as "two fully laden concrete trucks" (Carter, 1996:28). Their tongues alone weigh as much as an elephant and their hearts weigh two tonnes. Humpbacks in the southern hemisphere migrate annually "between summer feeding grounds in the Antarctic and islands in the tropics to breed and give birth, a return journey of nearly 20,000 kilometres" (Frankham, 2013:34). Many humpbacks journey north via the east coast of New Zealand to the warmer waters of New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga, Niue and Samoa. Humpbacks swim faster than right whales and sink when they are dead and therefore shore based operations found it harder to hunt humpbacks. Hamupēke wēra also produced oil of a lesser quality to Pāmu wēra but it was still valuable for lighting. Although they swam faster than right whales and sunk when they died, they became the staple catch of New Zealand's shore whaling stations during the 19th century.

Māori ancestors came to realise the value of whale oil to the Europeans as an important commodity in Europe and America during the late 1700s (Morton, 1982; Ell, 1995; Howard, 2011; Phillips, 2009). The benefits of this early trade should be seen in the wider context of the world economy of the late 1700s and early 1800s when whaling was significant to the growing European and American economies for the purpose of "illumination" (Pearson, 1983:40). Whale oils were the main fuels for lighting homes and streets until the development of coal gas lighting in the 1820s and as lubricants for the large machines of the Industrial Revolution of the 1800s. This

section has described the three most popular wēra that were hunted by whalers in Aotearoa. Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors called them the pāmu wēra, the raiti wēra and the hamupēke wēra. In the next section examinations of old cassettes in Roka's archive took me to a Pao and a Prayer that extended this research into the early whaling era when large whaling ships frequented the coastal waters and bays of Te Whānau-a-Apanui to shelter, to trade and to process whales.

A Pao and a Prayer as insights into the Deep Sea Whaling Era

> Koi ana e koro (wha)kauruurutia
> Te peia o tō poti o Monika i ara ahau

Here are the words of a Te Whānau-a-Apanui Pao.[200] Two publications by Mervyn McLean (1996; 2004) preserve this standalone couplet called, *'Koi Ana e Koro'* (McLean, 2004:157).

In December 1971, Mervyn McLean recorded Hariata Tūrei singing the Pao and recorded the following short explanation in his recording session notebook:

> Again this is the full text. The song tells of a married woman of Te Kaha who fell in love with the captain of a whaling ship, the "Monika". Early in the morning she used to go up the hill to watch the boat going out. The song refers to the whaler painting the boat a different colour so that she could "pick him out". There are other verses but the singer was unwilling to give them because they refer to people whose names are well known in the district (McLean, 2004: 155).

Considering the purpose of pao, the words of this particular pao and Hariata Tūrei's explanation of its meaning, it indicates the views from several high points on the Te Kaha landscape such as Kākānui, Toka-a-Kuku, Wharekura and Whakaruru. It also indicates a woman climbing to one of those high points or another to sing her pao.

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[200] Pao (also called ruri, ruriruri or too) are seldom referred to in the ethnographic and travel literature. …they are generally dismissed as 'ditties'. All pao take the form of two-line couplets, each couplet representing a verse or stanza. …(Orbell cited in McLean, 1996:117). Pao sung for entertainment are epigrammatic topical songs characterised by Orbell as "offering comment, often witty and incisive, on love, sex, politics, and the vicissitudes of life in general" (Orbell cited in McLean, 1996:118). The most numerous of the pao are pao whaiaaipo (love songs), sung mostly, as stated above, for entertainment. Some are songs of romantic or unhappy love, similar in sentiment to waiata whaiaaipo.

She must have been emotionally driven to compose the pao and maybe grieving for a sweetheart that she could not have because she was already married. Therefore, this tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui is about love and heartache. For this Pao to have survived more than one hundred years the composer must have sung it in front of other people and it must have been passed down from generation to generation. She did not sing it alone on the hill looking out for her sweetheart.

Roka's archive includes more than twenty cassettes labelled with a mix of Māori and tribal waiata names as well as kaiwaiata (singer) names. Research into Te Whānau-a-Apanui waiata and kaiwaiata led to the recordings, research and publications of Mervyn McLean who visited the East Coast and Bay of Plenty several times during the 1960s and 1970s. Hariata Tūrei, a sister to Moana Waititi and Hirini Waititi in Chapters four and five, co-operated with McLean to ensure that this Pao was preserved.

Roka's archive also contains a two page document from a 1986 Wānanga that summarises memories shared by kaumātua Tama Gage and Pēti Delamare about Peti Te Hā and the family's involvement in whaling (Gage and Delamare, 1986). They note that Peti Te Hā climbed heights to Te Rae-o-Whitianga, to pray for her whaler husband, Sam Delamare. The tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui says that she would stand with her hands clasped and say *"by God Sam"*, praying to God to look after her husband while he was at sea. At a tribal wānanga held at Whitianga Marae in 1986, kaumātua, and descendants of Peti Te Hā, said that the words *"by God Sam"* were the only English words that Peti Te Hā knew and for them this three-word prayer shows how much she loved her whaler husband, using his language rather than her own. According to Mackay (1949), Peti Te Hā and Sam's three daughters were born at Wharariki and it must have been their love for each other that took Peti Te Hā to new places. The outcome of Sam Delamare's long absence on a return trip to the United States has already been discussed earlier in this Chapter. *"By God Sam"* may have been Peti Te Hā's prayer for Sam to return quickly.

Early whaling era literature about relationships between Māori women and early Pākehā whalers and traders speaks more about prostitution and a sex industry rather

than love. However this pao and the prayer present another type of record of love between Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors and whalers. According to Wanhella (2004) most of the analysis about marriages between Māori women and whalers are as economic, political and sexual ones that are mainly from the viewpoint of European male historians. Wanhella's (2004) research deviates from this and reveals that Southern New Zealand 'interracial marriages' were "monogamous and enduring" relationships that continued after 1840. More specifically she reveals that intermarriage at Maitapapa involved a wide range of relationships "from brief encounters to meaningful marriages" (2004:6).

In Roka's narrative 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' she describes a conversation with her Aunt Pareraututu Parata. Roka asks her aunt about whaling when she was a child. Pareraututu's response was:

> I te mahi au i te poutāpeta o Te Kaha, ā, i te whakawhaiāipo māua ko Pā i taua wā. (Ko Pā te ingoa o tana tāne). I tētahi rangi ka kite atu au i te poti e whai ana i tētahi wēra i waho tonu atu i te poutāpeta. Kāore au i mōhio i runga taku whaiāipo i taua poti. Kātahi ka puta ake te wēra i raro iho tonu i te poti, ka makaia te poti ki waho i te wai. Tau ana ki raro ka pakaru. Ka hoe atu he poti ki te kohikohi i ngā tāngata. Nō te taenga mai ki uta ka āta titiro atu au ki ngā tāngata, ehara, ka kite atu au i taku darling. Ka aroha atu au ka heke atu ki te mau koti mahana ki taku darling (Paora in Moorfield, 1992:13).

Roka's incorporation of this highlights the love relationships between the local women and the local men whalers that continued on into the twentieth century. Furthermore, the inclusion of 'darling' as part of the narrative further highlights how not only loanwords but also English was incorporated into the local vernacular. The pao, the prayer and the indications of landscape as well as large whaling vessels guided me to seek more understanding of deep sea whaling.

Deep Sea Whaling

Deep sea whaling (Morton, 1982:230) also known as pelagic, oceanic or offshore whaling (Ell, 1995) involved offshore operations using large whaling ships to hunt down and process whales at sea. Dead whales were chained to the side of the ships while strips of fatty flesh were stripped away using blubber spades and then cut into

smaller pieces. On deck, a large furnace surrounded two or three cast iron trypots where the oil was "boiled out" (Ell, 1995:32) of the blubber pieces. The oil was stored in copper cooling tanks and then poured into casks or barrels.

This method of whaling became popular in New Zealand waters in 1805 (Cawthorne, 2000; McLean, 1996) where the attraction was the sperm whale. Between 1809 and 1839 the number of whaling ships in New Zealand waters and north into the Pacific (Gillespie, 1999:4), between North Cape, Tonga, New Caledonia and Australia increased from twelve to more than two hundred. Large whaling ships up to 500 tonnes in size (Phillips, 2009) came to Aotearoa from Britain initially and then the United States, France, Canada, Portugal and Germany later in the 1830s. They only stayed for short periods of time on land in Aotearoa and then set sail across the Pacific. They were away from home for two to four years. Life onboard the whaling ship was not easy. Food and water was limited, especially when the ships were far from land. Sometimes they needed to harpoon porpoises from the ship's bow to use for food ('sea beef') and cooking oil. Sharks and turtles were sometimes caught and the oil from their livers kept cabin lamps burning (Best, 2013:27).

Deep sea whaling off New Zealand peaked between 1835 and 1841. By 1839 seventy five percent of these whaling ships were from New England, America. Others were from England and France while some were 'colonial' or Australian-based. Many of them used the Bay of Islands as a base for re-stocking provisions, rest and recreation (Ell, 1995; Phillips, 2009). Others called in to the Hokianga Harbour, the Whangaparāoa Peninsula, South Island bays such as Akaroa, Cloudy Bay in Marlborough, Otago Harbour and Banks Peninsula (Tremewan, 2005:135).

Whaling ships were quick to recruit Māori because they were impressed with their seamanship. This was often due to overseas crewmembers deserting the ships when on land. Māori were employed for short or long periods as crew or harpooners and many of them travelled to other countries including America and France (Tremewan, 2005:147). Māori quickly realised that travel on these whaling ships gave them the opportunity to not only earn money but also learn about new places, European tools and technology (Ell, 1995:22). Some became expert boatsteerers or harpooners.

Others also learned many skills that they could put into practice ashore as coopers, carpenters, and boatbuilders (Cawthorne, 2000:7).

According to Captain Rhodes (Straubel, 1954:73) an American ship called *Parker* was away from home for thirty months during which time it processed 1650 barrels of whale oil. The *Hope* was out for forty months and processed 600 barrels of sperm oil. In 1838, Rhodes' ship, the '*Australian',* returned to Sydney with 720 barrels of sperm oil and 430 barrels of black oil (Straubel, 1854:83). After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, government duties and port charges contributed to the decline of American and European whaling ships (Phillips, 2009).

Due to a number of inter-tribal battles during the 1820s and 1830s (Kaa & Kaa, 1996; RPTMSS, 1984) Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors must have been distracted for long periods of time. Te Kaha chiefs, similar to other chiefs across the North Island at the time, must have been anxious to acquire guns and gunpowder to defend their people against Ngāpuhi who had been well equipped with firearms in 1818 when they called into Maraenui to avenge the death of two women (Mackay, 1949; Bentley, 2010). And later in 1823 when Ngāpuhi raided again after causing havoc at Rotorua. They took many captives north with them after these raids.

Around this time the trader Phillip Tapsell was already well established at Maketū trading muskets for flax. Muskets were used against Te Whānau-a-Apanui during the first Ngāpuhi invasion of 1823 as well as the Omaruiti battle at Rangitukia in 1829-1830 (Mackay, 1949:91; Soutar, 2000:134). Soon after, Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū and Te Whānau-a-Apanui went to the Manga-te-Waha swamp at Whangaparāoa to harvest flax that they could trade with a European trader for guns. Soutar (2000:134) suggests that this European trader was Thomas Atkins of Ōmāewa. The battle at Wharekura Pā, Te Kaha, followed where Te Whakatōhea joined forces with Ngāti Porou against Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū and Te Whānau-a-Apanui. After that many Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū and Te Whānau-a-Apanui spent a long period of time, maybe two years (Mackay, 1949:92), dressing flax to trade with Tapsell. It is highly likely that they were trading for muskets and powder in preparation for further 'expected'

invasions by Ngāti Porou to the east, or Ngāpuhi of the North – Te Haona o Toka-a-Kuku[201] (The Siege of Toka-a-Kuku).

Between 1834 and 1836, Ngāpuhi returned to avenge the death of Te Whareonga, Pomare's nephew who had been killed against the orders of the Te Whānau-a-Apanui chief, Te Uaterangi. Ngāti Porou and other east coast tribes joined forces with Ngāpuhi to avenge losses at an earlier battle at Wharekura e.g. Te Porioterangi (Wairua, 1958:17). The Te Kaha people prepared Toka-a-Kuku Pā to defend themselves against Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Porou and others. During this decade of unrest, some whaling ships called into the East Coast and the Te Whānau-a-Apanui coastline where they traded European goods such as blankets, tobacco, firearms and axes for fresh food, firewood and fresh water. Tribes sought strategic opportunities to ensure longer-term trade arrangements often involving marriage between local women and crewmembers. At other times arrangements involved employment for local men on whaling ships or at shore stations. Peta Wairua's (1958) tukunga iho o Te Whānau-a-Apanui about Te Haona o Toka-a-Kuku (the Siege of Toka-a-Kuku) at Te Kaha includes a local example of trade arrangements. According to Wairua (1958) the Te Kaha people traded food and water with a foreign ship for some guns and gunpowder. They also became friendly with Captain Thompson and his crew, naming a child after Thompson and forging alliances through marriage between local women and crewmembers. Peta Wairua's female ancestor, Ngarangikahui married Thompson and they had a son called Rūtangiwhenua, Wairua's greatgrandfather. The translation for Thompson, Tamehana, continues to be used as a name by descendants today. Similar to the Waitangi Tribunal's (2014:247) example of timber arrangements in the North, rangatira (chiefs) of Te Kaha appear to have seen this trade arrangement "in terms of ongoing relationships, rather than mere commercial transactions".

From the earliest contact between Māori and whalers, relationships between Māori women and whalers helped to cement comprehensive arrangements. One report says that, "three hundred whalers were settled in New Zealand in 1840 … most of these whalers possessed native wives" (New Zealand Herald, "NZ's Jubilee 1840-1890 The

[201] Te Haona o Toka-a-Kuku is also discussed in Chapter six. It is a term used by Haukino Paora (HPMSS, nd) for the Siege of Toka-a-Kuku.

First 50 years of our History”). Some whalers felt protected if they were in relationships with Māori women. Some married highborn Māori women and gained land (Cawthorne, 2000). It is highly likely that marriages with early whalers advantaged Te Whānau-a-Apanui people like the Te Haona-a-Toka a Kuku example mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Kōrero Tahito and Whakapapa as Insights into Early Shore Whaling

As explained in Chapter three, Roka’s archive is a repository of her translation work that includes Native Land Court minutes and Papatipu meeting minutes in relation to Te Whānau-a-Apanui land investigations. Roka translated minutes of the Tunapahore Block, the Karaka Block, the Te Kaha Block, the Waikawa Block and the Awanui-Hāparapara Block (RPTMSS, 1984; RPGMSS, 1970) which document individual and collective hapū memories of early whalers and shore stations of the mid-1800s. The memories are woven through the evidence presented by whānau and hapū representatives claiming lands based on ahi kā and ancestry. An examination of a selection of these types of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui provide a background to how shore stations were introduced to Te Whānau-a-Apanui hapū and how ancestors learnt about commercial whaling.

At the Seth Smith-Hone Heke Royal Commission (1904) enquiry into the ownership of the Tunapahore and adjacent blocks (Mackay, 1949:149) early Pākehā whalers to the region were remembered. Te Hata and Tamati Rū named a man called Cooper as the first Pākehā whaler-trader to settle temporarily at Te Awanui, between Omāio and Te Kaha. They presented evidence that Cooper had married a local woman called Apuhau and had paid a cask of tobacco to use the Te Awanui foreshore as a shore whaling station. Soon after, another whaler called Webster joined Cooper at Te Awanui for a short time before they both moved on to Whangaparāoa (or Cape Runaway) to establish a shore whaling station there (Mackay, 1949:103). Tamati Rū also remembered Apuhau being taken away from Cooper by the people before he left Te Awanui.

The *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian* newspaper (1845) recorded annual whale catches and show that a Webster was in charge of the shore whaling station at Cape Runaway (Whangaparāoa) during the 1843 and 1844 whaling seasons. During the 1844 season, Webster ran a big operation in comparison to others across the country. He had four boats and thirty men working for him. Only five other stations across the country had more than this number of men including, Kapiti (35), Fyfe's station at Kaikora (35), Murray's station at Kaikora (40), Woods station at Goashore (35) and Stirling's station at the Bluff (50). (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, 1845:2). In comparison to twenty-eight other stations, Webster's station at Cape Runaway processed the third lowest amount of whale oil (5 tons). Kapiti station had processed 140 tons and Ekolaki station 110 tons. Webster would have probably used the lay system of European and American whalers where they allocated the largest proportion to the station owner with decreasing proportions to headsman, boat-steerers, and men (Petrie, 2006:181). Low numbers of whale catches at Cape Runaway and the low amounts of processed oil must have been a reason why early whalers such as Webster moved away from the region or adapted their lifestyles to become traders.

Early Economic Interactions With Whalers

During the 1899 Waikawa block hearing (RPTMSS, 1984:148-212) when the land, 'Waiopapa o Hakuhaku' was in question, kaumātua presented historical accounts of an early whaling ship trading "manao" or "mauwao" (blankets) for firewood and water with Paretiti (RPTMSS, 1984:153). They remembered when Tiaki Paraihe, the first Pākehā whaler to ask for a shore station at the Waikawa Block, caught a sperm whale and paid money and tobacco to Paretiti. This payment from Tiaki Paraihe was for access to three lookouts called Patukoeae, Ngatokorua-a-tiheparera and Te Kuritapapa, the use of the beach at Taurangaroa (west of the Waikawa block) as a shore station, and for the local people to look after some trypots there. In the evidence given, the 1856 battle between Te Whānau-a-Apanui and Ngāi Tai at Pakoriri Pā, Tunapahore (Tarakawa, T., New Zealand Herald, 9 August 1904:3) is referred to when Tiaki Paraihe caught a sperm whale. He relied on the local labour and many people from Te Kaha to go to Waikawa to help render the whale.

Spokespeople also remembered another European, Hēmi Tamakoro, hosting a feast (RPTMSS, 1984:176) for the local people at Waikawa when the sperm whale was caught and processed. Another European, Hēmi Hei, also based just west of Waikawa at Taurangaroa had been living there before the feast. Like agriculture and timber trade in the North, whaling "created demands on Māori labour" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014:246) but it did not cause any changes to traditional political structures for some time. Labour for the above whaling operation was provided for by the hapū, not by employed individuals.

Tiaki Paraihe's associates were remembered as, 'Tame Mete', 'Miki', 'Hare' and 'Tamekoroua' (RPTMSS, 1984:152 & 173). Tame Mete built a house at Taurangaroa and was still living in Te Kaha in 1863 (McConnell, 1991:8-9). Thirty to forty years later, the European whalers were remembered by kaumātua in their evidence about who had the mana to enter into trade agreements or rental agreements for the land. Evidence included details of the new technologies used by the Pākehā whaler/traders such as European houses, gardens and orchards. It is also recorded that when Tiaki Paraihe caught the sperm whale and paid Paretiti he took the money and tobacco to Mātenga,[202] the spokesman for the the hapū associated with the Waikawa lands. Although the barter of tobacco was gradually giving way to the introduction of money as a new approach to economic exchange (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014:241), the local people continued to follow tikanga to allocate the monies. It was Mātenga's role to allocate the money and tobacco in front of the people at the marae. The barrel of tobacco was distributed to Whanau-a-Kahu as well as relatives at Omāio and Tōrere, descendants of the ancestor Kahurautao through his child, Te Ōnui. The money was distributed to a number of individuals by Mātenga with the consent of all of the people. The hapū also agreed that Mātenga would take £5 to pay for his cousin, "Peti's",[203] clothes account.

Other hapū decisions at another meeting also included Paretiti and Mātenga. Wīrepa explained that:

[202] This is Roka's great-greatgrandfather, Mātenga, who passed away in 1875.
[203] This may be Peti Te Hā who married Sam Delamare. Peti Te Hā was a close relative of Matenga.

> Paretiti gave Wirepa £1, Matenga and Tamati £1 and he also held on to £1, because he claimed that it was money from his land at Waikawa, from Te Hira to where Brice's tri-pots were. Everyone who was at that Christmas witnessed this. The balance of the money was given by Paretiti to Enoka to buy a horse from Auckland. Wheat money made up the price of the horse which was called Waikawa (RPTMSS, 1984:152).

At a later date when another two whales were caught, rendered and the oil taken to Auckland, again money was allocated to Paretiti and Amiria (£2-10), as well as, Eru, Raumati, Wirepa and Maihi (10 pence each). These examples of hapū income and hapū distribution seemed to be on the basis of whakapapa, contribution to the work completed and resource needs e.g. clothes and horses. These examples show that rangatira like Paretiti and Mātenga played significant roles as hapū leaders "to serve hapū interests" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014:499) which involved maintaining kinship ties with other closely related hapū by sharing the resources and benefits of whaling. There is also mention of local men catching whales from Waikawa such as Mihaera, Wipatene and others (RPTMSS, 1984:174 & 184).

Tame Mete's orchard, the vegetables in his garden and the style of his house were also remembered by kaumātua. Tiaki Paraihe's house at Te Horanga Tawatawa on the Pahaoa or western side of Taurangaroa was also detailed. Between the 22 October and 23 November 1853, surveyors involved in the Pandora Survey (Byrne, 2007) noted that there was a whaling station at Waikawa at a small cove that protected the boats (1 mile east of Pahaoa). The surveyors also documented that:

> There are a few Englishmen living about here, whose business is to trade with the natives, principally for grain….. [at Tokatā Pā above the Mōtū River] a large village has a beautiful church but rather dilapidated … all ground other than that occupied by houses is sown with potatoes (Byrne, 2007:184).

According to the *1863 Return of Europeans in Occupation of Native Land* (McConnell, 1991:8-9). Tame Mete and Hēmi Hei were still living at Te Kaha in 1863 but Paraihe was not.

In the Awanui Hāparapara Block hearing, Haweti noted how the people and their customs had been impacted by Christianity, European whaling and war (RPTMSS, 1984:25). An example of the impact of tribal wars is Haweti's account of Te Retiu's

birth to Ripeka Hinetioromea, the enslaved granddaughter of the local chief, Tātaiarangi. It seems that Ngāpuhi took Ripeka in 1823 during their rampage of the Bay of Plenty all the way to Wharekahika in Ngāti Porou territory. Haweti explained that Ripeka was taken from her home to Wharekahika, then on a long journey to Whangaroa, north of the Bay of Islands, where she had a child to an enslaved Ngāti Porou man called Riaka. Te Retiu Arakirangi was born to this couple at Whangaroa. When Te Retiu Arakirangi returned from captivity during the late 1840s, his first job was at Opotiki sawing timber (RPTMSS, 1984:71).

Kaumātua remembered other Te Whānau-a-Apanui people returning from captivity in the North. In the late 1840s they were released and welcomed back into their whānau and hapū communities. Haweti remembers captives returning on "Native vessels" with their children and babies. There are few details of how this was organised but there are references in the Te Kaha block investigations (*Te Kaha Investigation* (1910) 1 Te Kaha 172 (1TKA172)) of Pāora Mātenga[204] bringing his relatives back from the North. The rights of the captives and their children, many of them descendants of chiefs and chiefly people, were reinstated on their return.

Approximately ten to fifteen years later in 1860 Pākehā interest and involvement in land use continued. Tamatamarangi II (alias Te Ahiwaru)[205] rented land at Te Awanui to a Pākehā called Pereki (Black). The New Zealand Herald (26/9/1865) records Captain Black of the schooner, *Hope*, taking cargo of wheat, maize and port from Te Kaha and Te Awanui to Auckland. By that time the Te Retiu mentioned above had returned to his mother's people, Te Whānau-a-Hinetekahu. Te Retiu worked with his people to run a whaling station at Te Awanui while living at Te Ahikehe pā. They tried out and processed the whale oil at a nearby place called Opiha. Some of the young men of Whānau-a-Rūtaia helped at the whaling station. After some time away at Wairoa in the Hawkes Bay, Pereki returned to Te Awanui (in approximately 1870) and continued to pay £5 per year rental for use of some land (RPTMSS, 1984:30). There are also references to Pereki trading for kauri logs, one log for £1 (RPTMSS, 1984:40), and sheep farming.

[204] Paora Mātenga was Mātenga's son.
[205] Te Ahiwaru who signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Te Kaha on 14 June 1840.

These tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about early shore stations in the region compelled further research into shore whaling stations, their purpose and how they operated in New Zealand as a foundation for a better understanding of whaling in Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Shore whaling stations were set up along the East Coast of the North Island especially to capture Sperm whales and Southern Right Whales. Shore based whaling became popular in New Zealand in the late 1820s to pursue the slow-moving right whales that swam close to the coast to calve during the winter months from May to August. The earliest shore station was in the Cook Strait in 1827 (London, 1976; Ell, 1995). Many of these stations were set up and financed by Australian businessmen and serviced by Australian traders and merchant vessels (Rickard, 1996:51). Sometimes there was competition between the shore-based whalers and the foreign whaling ships (Cawthorne, 2000:8) but as foreign fleet catches began to decline in the early 1840s, shore stations became more popular.

During the early stage of shore whaling stations in New Zealand, Māori owned and controlled the majority of land and resources and took an active interest in European visitors. As in the opening examples of contact with shore whalers, when the whalers went ashore Māori were willing to give them access to water, firewood and food for something in return such as clothes, weapons, boats, food, drink, tools and technical know-how (Tremewan, 2005:135-151). In the Waikawa and Te Awanui examples above, tobacco was a popular bartering commodity in return for access to land and foreshore for lookouts and shore whaling stations.

Shore whaling intensified in Australasia between 1828 and 1842 during what Belich refers to as “the great Tasman boom” (Belich, 2009:191) where up until 1834, whale-product exports from Sydney were higher than wool exports (Belich, 2009:276). Although there were at least 113 shore stations established during this period, mainly on the east coast from Foveaux Strait to the East Cape (Cawthorne, 2000:8), “most of these consisted of a few ramshackle huts and one or two try-pots and a very few lasted for any length of time. … most of the whaling sites were abandoned” (London, 1976:74) when the right whale industry declined in the 1840s. At one stage fifteen Sydney businesses operated 22 shore stations and employed anywhere between twenty and eighty men per station. By 1836 American whalers dominated this aspect

of whaling. Dutch, British, French and Portugese were also involved. Māori too began setting up shore stations. A chief in the Otakou district, Taiaroa, was running a shore whaling station by 1839 (Cawthorne, 2000:7). At Te Awaiti, Māori operated whaleboats on their own and sold whales to the Te Awaiti Station in Tory Channel at twenty pounds each (London, 1976:75).

A decade later in New Zealand alone, whale products (£27,000) were at the top of the 1844 list of exports followed by - kauri gum (£1938), timber (£1729), flax (£1311) and curiosities (£1238). More than two-thirds of these exports went to Great Britain (Best, 2013:98). Soon after, competition from the wool industry, the decline in whale numbers and the decline in the demand of oil were the main reasons for the decline of the whaling industry. The total annual shore station and local vessel activity went from a total annual catch of less than 300 in 1846 to less than 50 after 1862 (Dawbin, 1986).

According to Rickard (1996) there were good reasons for carefully selecting shore whaling station sites. A temperate climate "inclining to cold" (Rickard, 1996:53) was important to ensure that minimum levels of oil leaked from the barrels. It was also important to have plenty of wood and water close by to a safe harbour that had enough land adjacent land to grow food and stock. Good relationships with traders also ensured successful station operations. They were most often set up near a projecting headland close to deep water and a lookout point for good view of passing whales. It was typical for stations to build a pair of sheers where a whale carcass could be hung above water and easily cut up. Furnaces or trypots were set up for melting the blubber. Storehouses were erected to store equipment and barrels to hold the whale oil. Deserters from whaling ships also worked at shore whaling stations or were employed as carpenters, sawyers, coopers or blacksmiths (Tremewan, 2005:140). Some of the advantages of shore stations included lower set-up and maintenance costs to that of a whaling ship, oil could be sold regularly at the end of each season, and the owners also had greater control over the operations (Rickard, 1996).

This section has examined tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that tell us about early whaling operations along the Te Whānau-a-Apanui coastline and some of the ways in

which our ancestors engaged with the European whalers and traders. This work extends on Roka's article and her translation work, passing down narratives in a wider context of whaling in New Zealand. Spokespeople remember positive interactions where ancestors agreed to leasing land for lookouts and processing stations; facilitated large groups of local people to assist with processing operations; received tobacco and monies on behalf of the hapū; and distributed benefits in line with customary practices. Examples of entrepreneurship and tribal cohesion where people were able to "control the nature and extent of their engagement" (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008:40) were discussed. Tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui show that Te Whānau-a-Apanui "did not break under the weight of Europe" and goes against the fatal impact myth. The 'my Pakeha' phenomenon explained by Wanhella (2004:5) involved marriage bringing whaling and trading men into the hapū where the hapū had a measure of control over them socially and economically. Information from the *1863 Return of Europeans in Occupation of Native Land* showed the presence of few European settlers in the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region; six altogether, and they occupied land by sufferance on Māori terms. They lived in a predominantly Māori world. As mentioned earlier, James Hay (Hēmi or Tiemi Hei) and Thomas B. Smith (Tame Mete), had been residents since 1844 and 1843 respectively. Trading vessels also brought people and goods from distant places. Considering the extent of change that occurred between 1863 and the 1880s, the local Te Whānau-a-Apanui people must have been open to learning and adapting to the ways of early whalers, traders and settlers. Economic and financial records will be discussed in the next section as examples of post-contact tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that are an important aspect of the wider narrative of community whaling.

Paraire's Financial Records, 1883 – 1887 as Insights into Community Whaling
Source: The Awakōkō Manuscript Book, 1880:12

	Paraire Maehe 12	1883		**12**
	Moni poaka	2	13	-
	Moni utu nama	7	5	-
	Moni witi	1	11	4
	Moni kanga	2	1	11
Hurae 7 1883	Moni poaka	3	5	6
	Moni witi	4	9	6
	Kahore he kanga	-	-	-
	He witi moni	4	3	6
	Kahore he kanga	-	-	-
	Moni utu hea	4	11	-
	Moni hinu	1	-	1
	Moni Witi	2	7	3
24 Akuhata 1886	Moni Kanga	11	6	-
	Moni utu rakaraka	2	-	-
	Kahore he Witi	-	-	-
Hurae 24 1887	Moni kanga	8	4	8

This is from page twelve of the Awakōkō Manuscript book, a record of the monies raised by Paraire Ihaka[206] between 1883 and 1887 for a range of post-contact economic activities including the sale of wheat, corn, pigs and whale oil (hinu). There is no record of who the writer is but this page is one of twenty-one pages in the manuscript that record the income of Paraire and twenty others from his whānau, including his siblings, his cousins, his nieces and nephews. Each page is similar in that it records how much each individual had earnt from the sale of mainly wheat, corn and pigs. Paraire is one of a few men in the manuscript book that had earnt

[206] The Bay of Plenty Times (1883) reported that a Te Kaha man called Friday assisted the Mōtītī Island people with their whaling enterprise that included four whaleboats and the necessary whaling equipment. Friday was well known as a first class hand.

money from moni hinu (oil money) between 1883 and 1886, and like most of the other men in his whānau he had received monies for pigs. I have assumed that the moni hinu is oil money from whaling.

In 1882, Paraire had contributed eighteen pounds to a fund that was used for hapū purposes. Together with Paraire, twenty others of his whānau and hapū also contributed different amounts of money to the fund. The record of the twenty-one people who contributed monies for hapū purposes on 10 September 1882 is as follows:

Page 3 of the Awakōkō Manuscript Book, 1880.

Ka ti mata te kohi moni
hai mahi hapu ma matou.
Konga tangata tenei nana
ikohi moni

3	Hepetema 10th 1882				My Whakapapa Research Notes (Source: HPMSS)[207]
		£			
	Wi patene	20			*Mereana's brother. Wi patene Ihaka*
	Hamiora	5	15		*Father of Mereaira listed below? Father-in-law of Heremia next on list?*
	Heremia	5			*Te Ahiwaru & Te Ahuna's son? Wife is Mereaira. Their children are Kerehi, Raepata and Mahia.*
	Hemi hei	22			*Mereana and James Haye's eldest son*
	Paraire	18			*Mereana's brother. Paraire Ihaka is listed in 1904 Maraehako list. Their father was Ihaka.*
	Teri	4			*Teri Tatua listed in 1904 Maraehako list*
	Tukutahi	6			*Mereana's second husband. Kawha's half-brother*
	Wiremu hei	8			*Mereana and James Haye's second son*
	Waikura	5			*Is this Waikura Tautuhiorongo?*
	Pihi hei	9			*Mereana and James Haye's third son*
	Wetini	5			*Wetini is one of the Pirini mokopuna names.*
	Hariata	8			*Mereana and James Haye's eldest child*
	Pori hei	6			*Mereana and James Haye's daughter*
	Tiweka	5			*Not sure if this is Tiweka I or Tiweka II. Tiweka II is Hariata's eldest child who was born in 1874.*
	Mereana	8			*Mereana Toki, daughter of Ihaka. Wife of James Hay. Second husband was Tukutahi*
	Rura Rawiri	5			*Hamiora's brother Rawiri is Rura's father. So Rura is a first cousin to Mereaira?*
	Ruihi hei	7			*Mereana and James Hay's youngest daughter*
	Mereaira	2	10		*Hamiora and Ramari's daughter. Heremia's wife? Or is this Te Pirini's mother?*
	Ngapo	7			*A Ngapo Tukutahi is listed no. 5 on the 1904 Maraehako list.*
	Te mahia	2	10		*Mereaira and Heremia's daughter*
	Hape or Kape	6			*Is this Te Pirini's father? Mereaira is Te Pirini's mother. Different to Heremia's wife*
		164	15		

Ko te huihuinga tenei
o te moni ikohia ematou
ka hoatu kia Wi patene
he ranga tira motaua
moni hei hoko taonga (Source: AWAMSS, 1880:3)

Note that some names in this list begin with lower case letters. This follows the convention of the manuscript book.

[207] The green shaded part of the above table are my research notes sourced from Haukino Paora's whakapapa book.

Specifically, the total monies were collected and given to Wī Pātene to purchase collective, community 'taonga' on behalf of this whānau group. The total amount of contributions amounted to £164-15. The three largest contributions of £22, 20 and 18 were made by Mereana's brothers, Wi Patene Ihaka (1st on list) and Paraire Ihaka (5th on list), and her eldest son, Hēmi Hei (4th on list). Hēmi Hei would have been approximately thirty years old. Mereana would have been approximately fifty years old. Mereaira and Te mahia contributed £2-10, the smallest amounts. This may reflect their ages as youngest members of the group. Nineteen year-old Ruihi hei (b. 1864), Mereana and James Haye's youngest child, contributed £7. A number of others on the list contributed similar amounts of five or eight pounds, some women and some men.

In my research this record has served two purposes. First it has been an example of financial records, and second it has been an extension of Mereana's whakapapa outlined earlier in this chapter on page 238. The twenty-one names on this list are mainly members of Mereana Hei's immediate whānau – Mereana, six of her seven children to James Haye, Tiweka their eldest mokopuna (grandchild), Mereana's second husband Tukutahi and one of their two children - a total of ten whānau members. This record gives readers an idea of how much money was collected for hapū purposes and invested in taonga, maybe horses, ploughs, whaling equipment or boats? The hapū referred to here is Te Whānau-a-Te Ehutū, at Te Kaha. A further distinctive aspect of this list is that the pākeke such as Mereana, her brothers and others, descend from or have a close connection to the ancestor Hinekitepō so maybe this list is associated with a or some particular maara (cultivations) that had been handed down from the ancestor Hinekitepō. The list also highlights that both men and women were able to earn money from the cultivations and/or the work associated with growing wheat and corn.

This record took me to other tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui where I focused on the identity of the people on the list and researched whakapapa connections between people on the list and me. I cross-referenced this list with other whānau whakapapa books (HPMSS & AMSS) to make the whakapapa connections. The column on the right-hand side, shaded green, are my research notes.

This record complements other hapū narratives. For example, during the 1870s and 1880s, Te Whānau-a-Apanui people were seen as progressive and energetic. By then, the people would have seen that whaling could supplement their busy land-based activities of maize, wheat, potatoes and pigs. In 1871, the Te Kaha hapū had four whaleboats and they were successful in rendering twenty tons of whale oil that was then taken by Mr Kelly to sell in Auckland. That year whaling netted the Te Kaha people £200. The Resident Magistrate reported that the people were planning to purchase "a combined reaping, mowing, and threshing machine" if it could be bought at a good price (New Zealand Herald, Volume IX, Issue 2499, 1872:2). In 1872, Brabant continued to be impressed with the hard work and progress of the people, for such a small population of approximately 600 people. They had also purchased "several drays, ploughs and harrows, and sets of harnesses" (New Zealand Herald, 1872). Ten new whaleboats were built for other hapū communities in the region and four new whaling stations were set-up to take advantage of increasing numbers of whales travelling along the coast again (New Zealand Herald, 1872). During the 1875 season, the small, remote population produced 8,700 bushels of wheat and 6,800 bushels of maize (New Zealand Herald, 1875).

This financial record is an example of how whānau and hapū put significant effort into co-operating with whalers and traders to learn and succeed at saving money for capital investment. It therefore illustrates some of the social, cultural and economic successes and challenges of whānau and hapū during the last quarter of the 19th century (1875 – 1900), a period that history has often described as a period of not only decline but 'death' of Māori. According to politicians and anthropologists, the great challenge of that time was survival. To survive Māori needed to accept assimilation and be more like Pākehā. Against such odds, hapū continued to organise themselves in customary ways. This source is an example of this.

Generally, the twenty-one names and their contributions on the 1882 list are interesting in a range of ways. There is a mix of men and women as well as old people and young people. This supports the observation that both males and females had rights to work cultivations and to benefit financially from their work. Mereana is a particularly good example of a Te Whānau-a-Apanui woman of her time who lived

a busy life that went against the odds of the time. She was an adult woman throughout the fifty years from 1840-1890 who not only witnessed but participated in considerable change.

This new economy did not occur in isolation of national politics and inter-tribal politics. Across the country there were concerns about government activities and land loss. According to Ani Mikaere, a hui was convened at Maketū in April 1876 for iwi to discuss the challenges confronting them at the time. In *Te Wananga* (cited in Mikaere, 2012) a report of the hui includes this statement:

> …kua uhi te kupenga nui a te Kāwanatanga ki runga i te whenua katoa nei, kia riro katoa ai ngā whenua mā rātou, mā te Kāwanatanga anake, ā, he iti rawa nō ngā mata o taua kupenga i kore ai e ora te tangata kotahi, e mau ai te katoa, te katoa.
> … the great net of Government had covered all the land so that all the lands could be taken for them, for the Government alone, and, as it was a very small mesh in that net, not one person would escape, all would be caught, all. (Cited in Mikaere, 2012: 29)

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Te Whānau-a-Apanui people continued to organise and carry out their economic activities on a communal basis. "As Alan Ward observes, the more general Māori experience was that 'borrowings from the west' were more often than not incorporated into a customary cultural framework which remained substantially intact" (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008:39-40) and "adopted European artefacts and institutions on a selective basis" (O'Malley & Armstrong, 2008:40).

Hapū monies from horticulture and whaling were invested in local infrastructure such as equipment and buildings. A large wharenui called Te Aokatoa was built in the 1860s or 1870s at Toka-a-Kuku pā (located near the current St Paul's Anglican Church at Te Kaha, above the Te Kaha Resort). Kaumātua remember it being as big as Tūkākī whare whakairo. Co-operative work continued on into the twentieth century. The Te Kaha Dairy Factory was built by a Mr Wilde with voluntary labour from the local people. It was opened and began operating in 1925. It was a co-operative and run by an all-Māori Directorate, a European manager and a European Secretary.

Haukino Paora was the treasurer of the Te Kaha Kōmiti Tāne during the 1930s and 1940s. The Te Kaha Kōmiti Tāne collected monthly subscriptions to build up their fund for certain community and marae activities. The Kōmiti Tāne's main responsibility was to cater for groups passing through Te Kaha on their way to or from hui in distant places. For example, a bus from Ruatoria might call in for a toilet stop and a cup of tea on their way home from a hui in Hamilton. The Te Kaha Kōmiti Wāhine also collected subscriptions which they used to cater for the first meal and cup of tea at local tangihanga at Te Kaha Marae.

Te Whānau-a-Apanui communities have continued to rely on community efforts and fundraising events for large projects such as the building of wharenui and wharekai. I remember going to the opening of Hineterā the wharekai at Te Maru-o-Hinemakahō marae with my grandparents during the 1980s where donations were receipted, recorded and read out to the people after the formalities and hākari (feast). Whānau, hapū and marae as well as other organisations had donated to the new wharekai.

The whaling era was a significant part of Te Whānau-a-Apanui's transition from traditional economics to a post-contact money economy. Managing money and their community approach to whaling provided benefits to whānau, hapū and the iwi. Although whaling was hard work, the local people must have enjoyed the thrill of chasing whales using new technologies. The impact of whaling as an adventurous sport is highlighted in the next section.

'Hikihiki Katoa te Puku'

> Ka pātai atu au, "Uncle, i haere anō koe ki te patu wēra?"
> "Āe"
> "Pēhea ki a koe, tēnā mahi?"
> "He mahi tino pai. Ka hikihiki katoa te puku"
> "He aha tēnā mea, 'Ka hikihiki te puku?"
> "Exciting. Good feeling …"
> (Paora in Moorfield, 1992:14)

This oral history interview between Roka and her Uncle Parekura Hei tells readers what it was like to go whaling - it was exciting and a good feeling. Te Tane Tūkākī (Te Tane) supported this by saying that it was "a very great sport … a great thrill"

(Annabell, 1962:19). Te Kaha kaumātua[208] explained to Annabell (1962) that sometimes, when the whale was harpooned, it would take off at high speed, diving and threshing and twisting as it tried to dislodge the steel spear embedded in its body. The kaumātua remembered their boats being towed by whales for miles before the whale could be killed with the shovel-nosed iron lances. Laidlaw Pirini remembered one particular night taking eleven hours to tow a whale from Waikawa Point to Te Kaha.[209] He said that they "killed that whale about 8pm… and put a line on it, and started towing with four whaleboats at 9pm" (Annabell, 1962:19). They got to Te Kaha at 8am the following morning. Te Tane remembered those particular instances with little enthusiasm because it was hard work. Once they arrived at the whaling station the hard work of processing the whale blubber continued for more than a week most times. The next section will use Canon Hakaraia Pahewa's whaling photos to portray how Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors processed whales at Te Kaha.

Pahewa's Whaling Photos as Insights into Community Whaling

Roka's (Paora in Moorfield, 1992) 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' is illustrated by five Te Kaha whaling photographs of which one is special because it was taken by Roka's grandpā, Canon Hakaraia Pahewa (Pahewa). The Pahewa photograph illuminates oral history shared by Uncle Parekura Hei in his interview with Roka where he explained that:

> Kia timu te tai ka tapatapahia te wēra mā ngā naihi roroa nei ngā kakau. He tangata tū ai ki runga i te wēra, ā, ko ētahi ki raro hei kukume iho i te mīti. (Paora in Moorfield, 1992:16).

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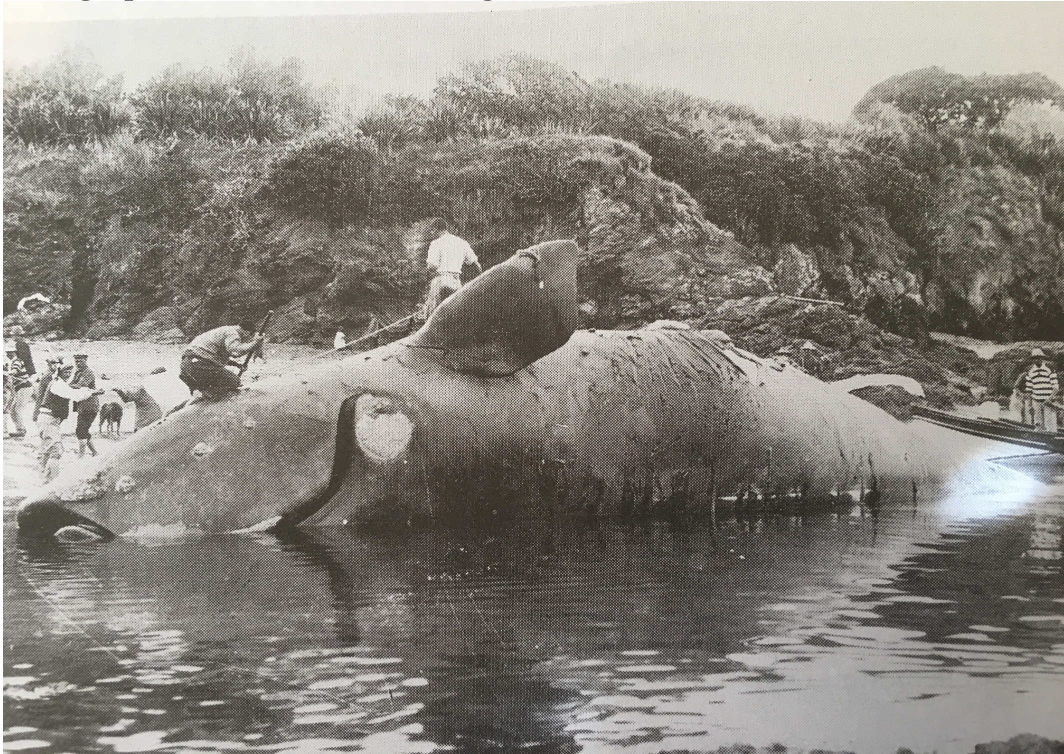
[208] Te Tane Tūkākī, Laidlaw Pirini, Haukino Paora and Wi Hei all kaumātua of Te Kaha .

[209] From Waikawa Point to Te Kaha it is approximately 10 kilometres by road today.

Photograph 5: The Pahewa Whaling Photo in Moorfield (1992:16)



This Pahewa whaling photo (Paora in Moorfield, 1992:16) is one of several Pahewa whaling photos archived at the Whakatāne Museum. This photo illustrates Hei's description of what they would do with the dead whales once they were lying in the tidal zone at low tide. Two men are on top of the whale with long handled knives that they are using to cut the whale meat. Approximately ten people are standing on the beach, pulling the meat away from the whale using a long rope.

Pahewa's whaling photos situate the subject of Māori photography within twentieth century practices of creating, transmitting, preserving and revitalising tribal reo and mātauranga, in this case, tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Specifically, Pahewa's whaling photo (Paora in Moorfield, 1992:16) is another expression of how Roka utilised tukunga iho to enhance and extend her own research and writing. Utilising such non-literary texts highlights her method to cross-reference with Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars to renew and extend Te Whānau-a-Apanui narratives.

For this study, the Pahewa whaling photo extended my research to private and public archives that are repositories for a wide range of Pahewa photos. Roka's private

archive unlocked information about her source of the Pahewa whaling photo. In an envelope are fourteen black and white photos of Te Kaha whaling activities. Each photo has the same sticker on the back with the printed words, 'this photograph must be acknowledged as from the Whakatāne District Museum and Gallery Collection'.

Pahewa was well known amongst the Te Whānau-a-Apanui people as a devout Christian, a great storyteller and a peoples' person. These are the skills that served him well as the Pastor, and later the Canon, of the Te Kaha Mission District for forty-four years, from 1896[210] to 1940 (Vercoe, 1998). He married Roka Bristowe and they adopted a number of children including Roka's mother, Rūhīterangi.[211] Pahewa was the son of Matiaha Pahewa and Hera Marokau of Ngāti Rua, Tokomaru Bay. He had attended the Te Rau College for theological students at Gisborne from 1889 to 1894, passing his examination with honours. Pahewa was raised at Tokomaru Bay where his father was the local vicar for over forty years from 1863 to 1906.

Pahewa became experienced and well known in the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region for portraiture as well as topographical landscape and seascape views. Pahewa's topographical landscape and seascape photos became more public and wellknown to a wider New Zealand audience through publication in the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*. These types of photos created memories of Te Whānau-a-Apanui people interacting with the land, the sea and new technologies of the twentieth century as fishermen, whalers, horticulturalists and agriculturalists who were productive, hard working members of whānau, hapū and iwi. Pahewa's photos have made Te Whānau-a-Apanui people, landscape and seascape visible to the rest of New Zealand and the world in newspapers, in books and now online in electronic databases.

Early twentieth century photos in remote, rural New Zealand were not produced without considerable effort. He captured images of the time while traversing the district by horse, carrying out his busy role as Anglican Clergyman of the region, photographer, community administrator, writer, husband and father, gardener and cook. Pahewa made conscious decisions to photograph and write about Te Whānau-

[210] Soon after his ordination on 10th March 1895.

[211] Roka Bristowe was a younger sister of Hiria Bristowe, Roka Paora's great-grandmother. Hiria married Paora Mātenga and had Wiremu Tiaki Paora.

a-Apanui people, their landscapes and seascapes, using modern photographic technology and public media. The work involved packing his camera equipment safely onto horses, setting it up in remote locations, capturing images, keeping the film in good condition during his travels, developing the photographs at his home in Te Kaha, crafting text to add to selected photographs and sending the material to Auckland to the editor of the supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*. All together, this work required an intellectual demeanour as well as a physical, adventurous spirit. The next section uses a selection of Pahewa whaling photos to illuminate a case study of the Waihīrere Shore Whaling Station at Te Kaha as a close-up example of a Te Whānau-a-Apanui communal shore whaling station in the early 1900s.

A Twentieth Century Community Whaling Station - Waihīrere

Shore whaling stations were in sheltered coves. The Te Kaha whaling station was at a cove called Waihīrere on the west side of the current Te Kaha Resort.

Photograph 6: Waihīrere, Te Kaha - A Wide View

(Source: from the Whakatāne District Museum & Gallery Collection)

Photograph 7: Waihīrere, Te Kaha – A Close Up of Boats and Crews

(Source: 3-1 from the Whakatāne District Museum & Gallery Collection)

Here, twelve men (two whaling crews) pose with two of the Te Kaha whaling boats and equipment. Three harpoons are clearly displayed. The harpoons and lances were stowed in the front hull of the whaleboat. Haukino Paora remembers each boat usually carrying two harpoons and three lances. The harpoon fastened the whale to the boat. It was about "nine feet long with a wooden handle joined to an iron spearhead equipped with a vicious barb operating on a swivel so that it will go in all right, but it won't come out" (Annabell, 1962:19). Haukino Paora (Annabell, 1962) also explained that his harpoon was attached to about 120 yards of strong rope stowed in a box amidship (in the middle of the boat). The whaleboat and its crew could be towed for miles. An iron lance was used to kill the whale once it had quietened down. Another piece of important equipment was a wooden drogue that was often hitched to the whale line to slow and tire a harpooned whale. A boat blubber spade was then used to cut a hole in the whale's lip or flukes through which a towing line was tied to the whale to tow it back to the shore station.

The two leaders on the whaleboat were the Hetimana (Headsman) and the Potitiu (Boatsteerer). The Hetimana commanded the boat from the helm and steered the boat

on its approach to the whale. The Potitiu rowed the oar closest to the bow of the boat under the direction of the Hetimana and then fastened the harpoon to the whale. When the boat was fast to the whale, the two men changed positions, the Potitiu moved to the long steering oar at the helm and the Hetimana to the bow (at front) to lance and kill the whale. The men needed to have sure footwork and balance in a whaleboat on the sea full of men, oars and equipment (Gurney, 2002).

Te Tane (1957) remembered the Māori loanwords for the names of each of the positions on the whaleboat. Table 14 records the Māori loanword(s), the English origin word(s) and the role of each position on the whaleboat.

Table 14: Māori and English Names of Positions on the Whaleboat
Sources: Tūkākī, 1957; Whaling City Rowing website, 2014.

Māori Name Of Position On Whaleboat	English Name Of Position On Whaleboat	Role Of Position
He Potitiu or Te Tangata Wero	Boatsteerer	Directed by Headsman Harpooner
He Pou	Bowman	Raised & lowered mast
He Mitipua	Midship Oarsman	Most inexperienced
He Tapuhoe or He Tapura	Tub Oarsman	Looked after the whale line
He Awheroa	Stroke or Aft Oarsman	Helped to coil whale line
Hetimana or Te Mete	Headsman	Chief, killed whale with lance

In front of the Potitiu rowed the Pou (Bowman) who was normally the most experienced hand on the boat. If the whaleboat had a mast and sail, it was the Pou's job to help raise and lower the mast. In front of the Pou rowed the Mitipua (Midship oarsman) who was usually the most inexperienced hand on the boat. In front of the Mitipua rowed the Tapuhoe (Tub oarsman) who sat next to the tub containing the whale line. The whale line was fastened to the whale by the harpoon. The Tapuhoe made sure that the whale line did not become entangled or too dangerously hot. In front of the Tapuhoe rowed the Awheroa (the Aft Oarsman or Stroke) who also coiled the whale line as it was hauled inboard. The Tapuhoe also secured the mast and acted as bailer.

When the Hetimana was at the bow of the boat ready to kill the whale, he used an iron lance head shaped like a laurel leaf and fitted into a socketed wooden handle (Gurney, 2002:81). Once the whale was harpooned it would often take off at high speed as explained earlier by Laidlaw Pirini and other kaumātua of Te Kaha. When the whales died the job of towing them back to the shore stations was hard work. Other boats, often from other hapū settlements, supported the main whaleboat by helping to tow the whale back to shore or take extra food and clothes for the crew if they had had a long, wet pursuit. It was common for women to work these support boats. For particularly large whales that had towed a whaling boat for several miles, three or four whaleboats and sometimes the Walker's launch would have to work together to get the whale back to the Waihīrere Shore Station at Te Kaha. Once they got close to land, the whales would be towed up to the tidal zone at high tide and the whalers would wait for low tide to begin processing the whales.

The next photo shows the size of a Te Kaha whaling boat alongside a whale lying in the tidal zone.

Photograph 8: Waihīrere, Te Kaha – Processing a Whale in the Tidal Zone

(Source: 68-3 from the Whakatāne District Museum & Gallery Collection)

Photograph 9: Waihīrere, Te Kaha – Shore View of Processing in the Tidal Zone

(Source: 68-1 from the Whakatāne District Musuem & Gallery Collection)

Photographs 8 and 9 show that the processing work in the tidal zone required groups of people to co-operate to cut and pull large pieces of blubber from the carcass of the dead whale.

Photograph 10: Waihīrere, Te Kaha - Whale Blubber Ready to be Tried Out

(Source: F66-2 from the Whakatāne District Museum & Gallery Collection)

Here in photograph 10, men are carrying large pieces of blubber to a whaling boat on shore. It is then being cut up into smaller pieces in preparation for boiling down or trying out in the trypots. Parekura Hei told Roka (Paora in Moorfield, 1992:14), "Kātahi ka tapahia kia āhua paku iho ngā kiko ka kuhu ki rō tarai-pāta" [Then the blubber is cut into quite small pieces and put into the trypots].

Photograph 11: Waihīrere, Te Kaha – Trying Out

(Source: F65-1 from the Whakatāne District Museum & Gallery Collection)

Photograph 11 shows the trying-out part of the process where this group is rendering or boiling down the whale blubber into oil. In the background two men are using strainers to scoop any rubbish out of the oil before it is placed in a barrel. Pieces of whale blubber or other materials in the oil could cause it to spoil, before it arrived at the market and so it was essential that the casked product was as pure as possible.

Kāho (Wooden casks or barrels) were primarily used to store the whale oil in and had to be watertight, so as to minimise wastage. Kāho also had to be strong enough to withstand the rigours of being loaded onto ships and surviving the sea voyage to Auckland. Coopers were one of the most important people in coastal communities and whaling stations because cask making was a specialist job. A variety of supplies ranging from nails to tobacco, sugar, other foodstuffs and alcohol arrived at coastal ports and settlements in kāho. Different sized kāho had different names. The smaller kāho had a capacity of 36 gallons and the bigger ones were 54, 72 or 108 gallons in size (Kilby 1977:23). Stirling remembers the trypots and special storage kāho being supplied by Auckland merchants (Stirling and Salmond, 1980:99).

Some equipment and technologies were given old, customary names and others were given new, loanword names. The oars of the whaleboat retained the old name hoe for paddles of canoes whereas the whaleboat was given the loanword name poti, the lance was called a raati, the trypot a tarai-pāta, and the casks were kāho. The whaling loanwords of boat positions also survived until the twentieth century when retired kaumātua whalers remembered their whaling days and passed down the knowledge and history that they had embraced during their busy lifetimes.

Conclusion

This chapter explored a selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and core elements of post-contact commercial whaling knowledge, language and history that has been passed down. Roka's assertion in 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' (Paora in Moorfield, 1992) that her Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors used loanwords[212] to name the whales that they hunted signals a break-away or a shift from our tribe's early traditions of whales as discussed in the previous chapter. The loanwords used in tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui illustrate the impact of commercial whaling on our ancestors and the ways in which they adapted te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

The arrival of the whalers and the whaling industry introduced a new language corpus using loanwords to describe not only whales but also the industry. Although this linguistic evolution highlights the integration of the whalers in Te Whānau-a-Apanui socialisation, this chapter has shown that after one hundred years of contact with Europeans, Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors continued to speak Māori "to talk about things that the language traditionally had no names for, or the need to talk about" (Moorfield and Ka'ai, 2009:34).

[212] Māori words borrowed from English where the English words have been adapted to the "sound system" and "orthography" (Moorfield and Ka'ai, 2009:1) of the Māori language. "Loanword and borrowing … are the terms preferred in the literature on this subject" (Moorfield and Ka'ai, 2009:1). Other words used to describe this process are 'transliteration' and 'denizen'. 'Borrowing' is commonly used to describe the process of adapting words from one language into another. Duval (1995) uses the word 'gainword' rather than 'loanword'.

An examination of a selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui has helped me to explain Roka's assertion that Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors used whaling loanwords to name the whales they hunted especially the raiti wēra, the pāmu wēra and the hamupēke wēra. By the early 1900s they were also using an extensive range of whaling loanwords to describe the equipment and processes used for community whaling. Although the whaling loanwords represent significant cultural change, this chapter has highlighted that Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors were able to retain some customary practices at sea and onshore that supported their community whaling approach.

This chapter has outlined the social, political and economic impact that whaling had on Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui have highlighted how early whalers integrated with Te Whānau-a-Apanui through strategic and political marriages. These enabled early whalers access to land and harbours to undertake whaling. The tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui also dispel assumptions that whalers colonised Māori and if anything show how Te Whānau-a-Apanui were aware of the economic and political advantages whaling brought to their communities.

Short narratives such as the Pao, *'Koi ana e Koro'* and Peti te Hā's prayer are two examples of how intergenerational transmission of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui continued during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries up until the 1970's and then passed down to descendants in written form. Hariata Tūrei is to be acknowledged for her part in the preservation and revitalisation of this pao considering the sensitive nature of its words and the names it preserved.

Tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in relation to whaling have been shared by kaumātua at whānau and hapū wānanga. Roka has written notes from a Wānanga where Kaumātua Tama Gage and Peti Delamare spoke about their ancestress, Nikorima or Peti te Hā, and how she would pray to God to look after her husband Sam Delamare. From Te Rae-o-Whitianga, she would stand with her hands clasped praying for her husband's safety at sea using the only English words she knew "by God Sam".

Whakataukī, kōrero tahito, waiata and whakapapa guided my research into deep sea whaling and its impact on Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Even though many whalers and their whaling ships had left New Zealand by the 1850s, and there had been a decline in whale numbers, Te Whānau-a-Apanui hapū continued to be involved in whaling. They retained whaling skills, knowledge and technology, and continued to hunt whales from their shore whaling stations. Archival records further highlight how profits from whaling activities contributed to the collective wellbeing of the hapū.

Roka's whale narrative demonstrates her application of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui through cross referencing with Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars and incorporating their "voices" in her work. The use of canon Pahewa's photographs also amplify her extensive knowledge and understanding to extend tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. These tukunga iho further enhance an understanding of the relationships formed by Te Whānau-a-Apanui with whalers and the contributions of their stories make to unpacking te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui for future generations.

This chapter also portrays how shore based whaling required the co-operation of large groups of people in mostly remote coastal landscapes and seascapes like the Te Whānau-a-Apanui region. Based on my examination of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whaling, it is clear that Te Whānau-a-Apanui hapū welcomed and adapted to the processes and technologies of commercial whaling during the nineteenth century. Hapū communities worked together for the benefit of the hapū. It was a different approach to the way in which European whaling enterprises worked where international investors put money into whalers or shore stations and paid their individual employees based on agreed rates for the jobs that they did. Kaumātua asserted that whalers had taught their ancestors to hunt whales and emphasised that "when [the French whalers] left the Maoris carried on … and got whale catching down to a pretty fine art" (Annabell, 1962:19). Pahewa's photographs capture Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors as hapū members working together to process whales. These photographs supported Haukino Paora and Wi Hei's (1962:19) kōrero that their experiences of whaling was organised "as a largely co-operative enterprise". Many of the proceeds went towards large community projects like the building of churches and meeting houses. Our ancestor's memories and Pahewa's photographs capture the

adventures and hard work of shore whaling and pass down the post-contact tradition of community whaling.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

> In terms of cultural revitalisation waka are well suited to act as vehicles enabling the re-establishment of conceptual frameworks that have been suppressed, intentionally dismantled or purposely destroyed. Waka make possible opportunities for re-engagement at multiple levels. They provide a means for individuals to reconnect to a familiar cultural matrix and add their voice to a collective reawakening as their world is brought back to health (Roake, 2014:34)

As I journey on the last leg of this thesis with Roka, I use the analogy of the waka tangata to focus my conclusions about Roka Pahewa Paora as a twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholar who has made important contributions to tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that assert distinctive features of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. The waka tangata has been chosen as the waka analogy for this concluding chapter because of its role as an enabler of cultural revival as explained by Roake (2014) in the above quote. The waka tangata also enables me to write about Roka as a vessel of culture who encouraged her students and the community to connect with te reo Māori and more specifically, te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, to ensure that our intellectual traditions continue to be renewed and extended into the future.

In Chapter one, Roka's words "ēnei tukunga iho ā tātou" as well as her writings, research and archive in a wider mātauranga Māori context assisted me to frame my research, structure this thesis and develop a tukunga iho conceptual framework that I could apply to my study. The framing of this study involved focusing on the tuku and iho aspects of mātauranga Māori where I drew inspiration to select and use overarching Māori terms such as tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui to interpret and discuss how my ancestors engaged in a tukunga iho process. In this process of embracing and renewing the writings, research and teachings of my ancestors, I too have engaged, with Roka, in extending tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

This thesis focuses on three aspects of tukunga iho. The first aspect is the act of preserving or what I have chosen to call in this thesis, embracing, earlier tukunga iho

o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Throughout this thesis I refer to Roka's writings and archive as tangible examples of tukunga iho that she embraced and chapter three specifically explores the breadth of Roka's embrace of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Chapters six, seven and eight illustrate the depth of Roka's embrace of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki and whales. The second aspect of a tukunga iho involves the revitalisation of core elements of earlier tukunga iho by either renewing or extending them. *Marumaru*, *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* (Richards and Paora, 2004), 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā Ki te Hī Moki' (Paora, 1971) and 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' (Paora in Moorfield, 1992) are specific examples of Roka's contributions that I focus on in this thesis. The third aspect of a tukunga iho process acknowledges the importance of passing down the newly created or adapted tukunga iho to inform and inspire others, especially the next generations. A wide range of genres of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui are highlighted and analysed in this thesis to show how twenty-first century meanings can be drawn from the scholarship of our ancestors.

In Chapter two, the aukaha of the waka hourua have been used as analogies to explain my methodology and methods used in this thesis. The genealogical and intellectual connections between Roka and I are the foundations for the methods that I have used. Consideration of my memories, the guidance of kaumātua and close readings of Roka's writings and archive have been the primary drivers and inspiration for my research and writing. A wide range of published and unpublished Māori scholarship from libraries, national archives and national databases have also assisted me to make connections with tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui and my interpretations of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

Chapter three introduces readers to an extensive and eclectic selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that Roka embraced and either renewed or extended as a writer, researcher, translator and teacher. On one level I use these tukunga iho as lenses into Te Whānau-a-Apanui's ancestral past, our geography and our genealogy. I explore ways of analysing how a selection of twentieth century tukunga iho such as whakapapa, whakataukī, waiata, kōrero tahito, manuscript books, photographs and letters can inform descendants and researchers about our tribe, Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

On another level this chapter provides an insight into the breadth and depth of Roka's journey of learning about te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui and what propelled her to produce Māori language resources for her students and the community. The main point of this layer of analysis is that Roka extended tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui by asserting simple but innovative ways to pass down core elements of Te Whānau-a-Apanui knowledge, language and history that had been shaped by her generation and relevant to her students, their whānau, their hapū and their iwi.

Part Two of this thesis explores a selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki to examine how Roka not only renewed but also extended earlier tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' (Paora, 1971). The tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about moki range from the written oral traditions of our Hawaiki ancestors to twenty-first century publications and compositions. My primary interest is in analysing the ways in which twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars asserted te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui to not only continue core elements of knowledge, language and history but also adapt to new experiences and change. In Chapter Four, I discuss Roka's key role in archiving the earliest written record of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki that I have read. The two versions of 'Ko te Putake Mai o te Maori' are significant contributions to te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui as oral tradition texts that maintain ancestral knowledge, language and history. Core elements of this narrative provide insights into atua, tipuna, moana, whenua, whetū, te reo and the kaupapa of the sacred moki. It is an example of our ancestors orality and storytelling abilities to weave knowledge of the past into messages and warnings for the living. An examination of these important texts provide a platform for understanding how Roka (Paora, 1971) and Gage (2005 & 2015) embraced, renewed and extended tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui in their writings and compositions.

In Chapter Five, I continue my examination of twentieth century tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about the moki that have been embraced, renewed and passed down by generations of tribal scholars. I trace how the core elements of 'Ko te Putake Mai o Te Maori' and the kaupapa of the moki are applied by a selection of our twentieth century tribal scholars who published their writings about the moki. This

chapter builds on the work of Manihera Waititi I, Moana Waititi, Hirini Waititi, Manihera II and Dorothy Waititi, Winston Waititi, Clifford Whiting and Paratene Matchitt. The narratives focus on place names as devices for not only recording tribal history but also revitalising and reclaiming knowledge, language and history that had been changed in earlier post-contact times. The revitalisation and reclamation efforts of Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholars during the 1960s and 1970s ensured that there was a platform for the people to go back to using the names, Whangaparāoa and Tihirau instead of Cape Runaway or Tikirau. Today, local people seldom use Cape Runaway to call their home and their school, Te Kura Mana Māori o Whangaparāoa, carries the name. School buildings also carry the names of key ancestors such as Poumātangatanga and Ruamoengārara, and the school children assert their identity as descendants of these ancestors and alert audiences to the moki stars and the Tauira mai tawhiti canoe by speaking, singing and writing about them. Most importantly, they still learn to fish for the sacred moki. These are living legacies of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui that our twentieth century scholars would be proud of today.

Chapter six is more focused on the details of Roka's narrative 'Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki' as tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. It contains knowledge, language and history about preparing for the moki season and fishing for moki at Whangaparāoa in the context of 1950s and 1960s Te Whānau-a-Apanui experiences and issues of education, urbanisation and intergenerational transmission. Therefore, Roka follows John R Waititi's storytelling approach to renew and extend the moki oral tradition. It speaks of continuity as well as change. My research journey and interpretations are my own contributions to a Te Whānau-a-Apanui tukunga iho process in relation to the moki. The material is not new. Rather, I have renewed and extended Roka's narrative and earlier tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui by researching and writing about the assertions that Roka makes in respect to core elements and themes drawn from my analysis in Chapters four and five such as atua, tīpuna, moana, whenua, whetū, te reo, aronga, kaupapa and tikanga. For example, I have gained invaluable insights into the astronomical knowledge of my ancestors and understand why my ancestors incorporated Rēhua, Autahi, Tautoru mā and Whānui as important stars in their journey to Aotearoa as well as their settlement history. The significance of these stars to the traditional moki fishing season and the 15 June

calendar date is examined. This research brought back memories of Roka as a star gazer. In the future I plan to share my reclaimed knowledge and appreciation for the night sky.

Part Three of this thesis explores a selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales to examine how Roka not only renewed but also extended on earlier tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about pre-contact whale traditions as well as post-contact whaling traditions. The tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales range from the written oral traditions of our Hawaiki ancestors to the contemporary publications and compositions of twenty-first century tribal scholars. Chapter seven explores a way of examining Roka's message in 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' that Te Whānau-a-Apanui had a knowledge base and a tradition of whales in pre-contact times. This chapter asserts that we can gain invaluable insights from our ancestral past by embracing and analysing tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui about whales such as whakapapa, whakairo (carvings) and complementary narratives about Paikea and Ngāē and Tutununui. At a recent tangihanga (funeral) that I attended we sang *Uia mai koia* in our carved meeting house, Tūkākī, where the carvings commemorate our whale traditions. For this thesis, my memories of Roka's passion for singing about Paikea and proudly speaking about our carved meeting house, Tūkākī, guided my selection of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. This thesis also draws attention to connections between and across a wide range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, kōrero and taonga, literary and non-literary, and the messages they convey about te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. This chapter builds on the work of Māori scholars such as Ngarino Ellis (2016), Paki Harrison (Walker, 2008), (Lionel Grant (Grant & Skinner, 2007), Robert Jahnke (2006) and Hirini Mead (1986) who challenge us to interpret carvings within the unique social and cultural contexts that they were created. Tribal scholars who passed down their kōrero tuku iho in the Native Land Courts or their manuscript books are also acknowledged as key informants of our tribal values and history closely associated with these carvings. Discussions about the meanings of carvings continue today especially in the continued maintenance of whare whakairo and the development of twenty first century school curriculum.

Chapter eight explores a way of examining Roka's message in 'He Kōrero Mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui' that her ancestors used loanwords to name the whales that they hunted. This chapter looks at how loanwords represent a break away from the pre-contact traditions of whales in our ancestor's collective memories of whaling. It is clear to me that Roka was propelled to write about this topic because her generation were still talking proudly of and asking questions about their ancestor's abilities and successes to hunt whales commercially. For me, although hunting whales was an obvious break away from earlier whale traditions, I appreciated the way Roka's article acknowledged our earlier history and traditions of whales. Roka's act of writing in the Māori language and writing about loanwords illustrates how my ancestors continued to value our Māori language while also accepting and adapting to change. Therefore we have a record of the adaptability of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui. A close reading of Roka's writing and archive also shows that our ancestors made considerable efforts to apply whānau, hapū and iwi values to the way they engaged in commercial whaling. I follow Roka's lead to research a range of oral and written sources that tell us that our ancestors enjoyed the adventures of whaling as whānau and hapū. Family whakapapa and financial records also provide an insight into how Te Whānau-a-Apanui ancestors applied whānau, hapū and iwi values to the new economy and modernisation. A community approach to whaling and the investment of the proceeds in large modern community buildings such as meeting houses, churches, halls and schools, ensured that the collective benefited. Other infrastructure such as roads and a telephone line were also shared benefits.

Finally, I encourage others to engage in a tukunga iho process where they not only embrace, renew and/or expand the collective and innovative tukunga iho of their ancestors but also pass down their contributions to descendants and others who are interested. I now return to the waiata *Marumaru* that I acknowledged at the very beginning of this thesis. I use *Marumaru* to emphasise it as an example of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. It is inclusive because it includes ancestors and important places of every Te Whānau-a-Apanui hapū. It is collective because it is about the iwi, Te Whānau-a-Apanui. It is also innovative by its simplicity and relevance to not only the students of Te Whānau-a-Apanui schools but also to the

community and future generations. *Marumaru* preserves core elements of Te Whānau-a-Apanui whakapapa and it is to be sung, inspiring descendants to embrace and pass down these core elements of knowledge and history about our poupou, our tīpuna whakahirahira, our ancestors. *Marumaru* also reflects and represents Roka's preferred teaching approach and pedagogy that drew people – children, adults and hapū scholars - to marae to wānanga and engage with te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui by exploring our tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui. *Marumaru* also provided a framework for me to research the poupou and to write, with Roka, *He Tīpuna Whakahirahira* as explained in Chapter one.

In conclusion, I acknowledge Roka not only as a twentieth century Te Whānau-a-Apanui scholar and repository of our tribal history but also a hard-working twentieth century mother, aunty, wife, sister and especially a nana. For me, Roka was an example and role model of someone who was educated and employed for more than forty years in a Pākehā schooling system. She also had a strong farming background and knew how to help my grandfather milk cows, chase sheep and manage stock. But Roka had also been influenced by the love and discipline of her pākeke and kaumātua. With that, as well as a passion and determination to reverse the decline of te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui, Roka embraced, renewed, extended and passed down a wide range of tukunga iho a Te Whānau-a-Apanui, always acknowledging those before her, encouraging those who have followed and asserting te reo o Te Whānau-a-Apanui – distinctive features of Te Whānau-a-Apanui knowledge, language, history and identity.

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Motuaruhe Block (1910) 1 Te Kaha 109-119 (1TKA109-119)
Puketauhinu (1881) 2 Opotiki 37-55 (2 OPO 37-55)
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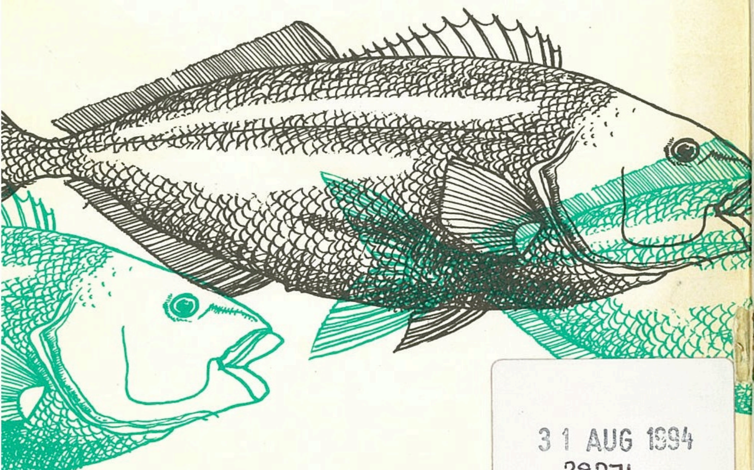
Appendix One – A Map of Whangaparāoa

This map was created on Google Earth. Placenames were taken from a hand written map by Roka Paora.

Appendix Two – Ka Haere a Hata Mā ki te Hī Moki (Paora, 1971)

Te Hi Moki
TE WHAREKURA Nº18



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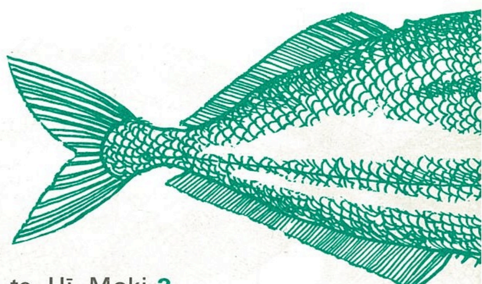
TE HĪ MOKI



TE WHAREKURA 18

Ka Haere a Hata mā ki te Hī Moki **3**
Ka Pai te Kai Hikareti **24**
Te Riri o Tāne-mahuta **30**
He Kupu Hou, Rerekē rānei **38**

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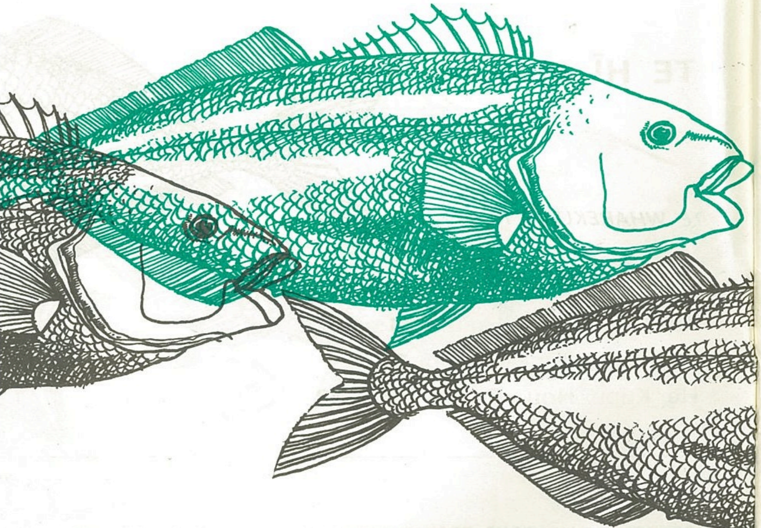

KA HAERE A HATA MĀ KI TE HĪ MOKI

nā Roka Paora
o Te Whānau-a-Apanui

Ko te Hātarei tēnei rā, te toru tekau mā tahi o Mei. He rā tino pai tēnei. Tino marino te moana.

KO HATA. Tamahae, Mārama, e Pani, ka haere tātau ki te ruku kuku i Toka-a-kuku.

KO MĀRAMA. Hei aha ngā kuku, Pāpā?

KO HATA. Hei mōunu, Mārama. Kua tata ki te wā hī moki, nō reira me whakareri ngā kuku i te wā e marino ana te moana. He pai hoki kāore he kura āpōpō, ka wātea kōrua ko Tamahae ki te kōwhiti i ngā kuku. Tamahae, tīkina he pēke me ō tātau *diving glasses*. E Pani, mauria mai he kai mā tātau ki tātahi—he parāoa, he tī hoki ki rō *flask*.

He mahi pai tēnei ki te whānau a Hata. Kāore i roa ka reri katoa rātau. Ka eke a Tamahae rāua ko Hata ki runga i te tarakihana. Ko Pani rāua ko Mārama kei roto i te poti kei runga i te *trailer*. Tekau mā rima meneti e rere atu ana i te awa poti o Hata mā, ka tae ki Toka-a-kuku. He toka nui a Toka-a-kuku. He tokomaha ngā tāngata i reira e ruku kuku ana hei mōunu hī moki. Ko Pani i te pupuri i te poti. Ko Mārama, ko Hata, ko Tamahae i te ruku. He toa rātau ki te ruku. Kāore i roa ka kī ngā pēke e rua. Kāore hoki i roa ka kī ngā pēke a ētahi atu o ngā tāngata. Nā te whiti o te rā ka mahana noa ngā tāngata. Ka hoki mai a Hata mā ki te awa poti.

KO HATA. E Pani, haere kōrua ko Mārama ki te tahu ahi hei tunutunu kuku. Tamahae, pēketia mai te tarakihana hei tō atu i te poti ki uta.

Ka kā te ahi. Ka ūhia te ahi ki te tini, ka whakatakotoria ngā kuku ki runga i te tini. Ka inu tī a Hata mā i a rātau e tatari ana kia maoa ngā kuku. Ka maoa ngā kuku, kātahi a Hata rātau ko tōna whānau ka kai.

KO HATA. Te mōmona hoki o ngā kuku nei! Ka reka hoki!

KO PANI. Āe! Moumou hei mōunu.

KO HATA. E Pani, kaua e kōrero pēnā! He reka anō rā te moki. He kai kuku tonu tā tātau nei mahi. Ēngari te moki, nō ngā marama anake o Hune me Hūrae tēnei kai.

Ka mutu te kai a te whānau, kua whakakaotia ngā taputapu. Ko Tamahae kei te whakakao i ngā anga kuku me ngā para, ka uta ki runga i te ahi. Kua akona e Hata a Tamahae mā ki te kohikohi i ngā para o tātahi kia waiho mā ai mō ngā tāngata haere ki tātahi.

Ko te Rātapu tēnei rā, te tahi o Hune. Kei te noho te whānau a Hata i waho; kei te kōwhiti kuku.

KO TAMAHAE. Mārama, tīkina atu tā tātau waerehe ki konei. He pai tonu te whakarongo ki ngā *pop songs* i a tātau e kōwhiti kuku ana.

KO MĀRAMA. Āe, Tamahae. He pai ake tēnā mahi i te kōwhiti kuku.

KO PANI. Mauria mai hoki ngā *plastic bags* me ngā *rubber bands* kei roto i te kāpata hei paepae i ngā kuku.

KO HATA. Ka pai hoki tā tātau mahi! Te mahana hoki!

Kāore a Tamahae e kōrero. Kāore ia e tino pīrangi ana ki tēnei mahi, ki te kōwhiti kuku. Kotahi hāora pea rātau e kōwhiti ana, ka oti ngā pēke e rua. E iwa ngā *plastic bags* i kī i te kuku.

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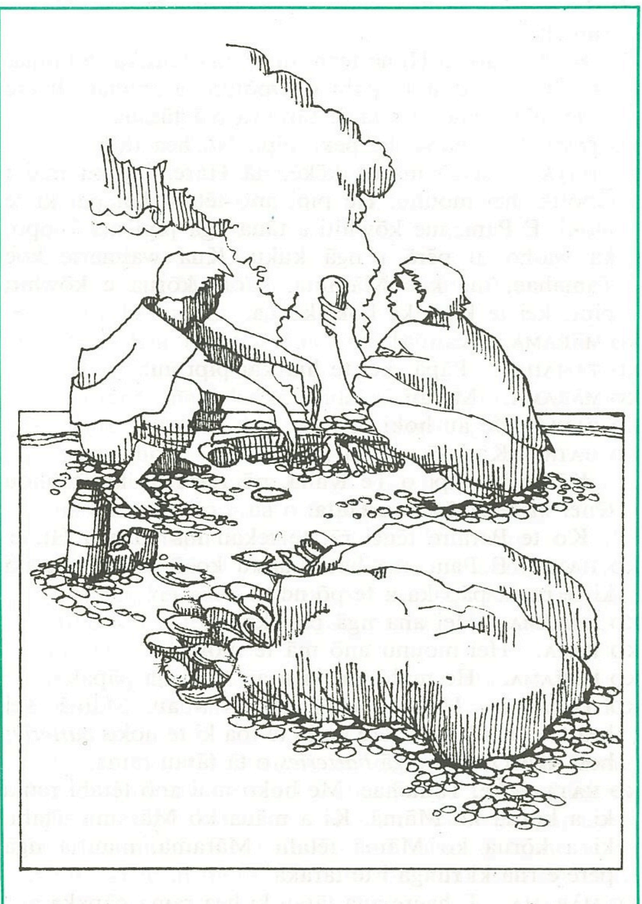

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KO HATA. Purua ngā kuku nei ki roto i te *deep freeze*, Tamahae.

Ko te waru o Hune tēnei rā. Rima karaka te tāima.

KO HATA. Kua tū te pahi o Ōpōtiki. Tamahae, haere ki te mātaki he aha tā te taraiwa mā tātau.

KO TAMAHAE. Pāpā, he pēke pipi. Nō hea rā?

KO HATA. Nā tō matua kēkē, nā Hare, i tuku mai i Ōpōtiki hei mōunu. He pipi anō tētahi kai pai ki te moki. E Pani, me kōwhiti e tāua ngā pipi nei āpōpō, ka waiho ai pērā i ngā kuku. Kua waimarie koe Tamahae, me koe Mārama, kāore kōrua e kōwhiti pipi; kei te kura kē hoki kōrua.

KO MĀRAMA. Kaitoa!

KO TAMAHAE. Pāpā, kei te hia kai pipi au.

KO MĀRAMA. Me au.

KO PANI. Me au hoki.

KO HATA. Kāti rā, tīkina he kōhua.

Kāore he pipi o Te Kaha, nō reira he kai tauhou tēnei ki te whānau a Hata.

Ko te Paraire tēnei rā, te tekau mā toru o Hune.

KO HATA. E Pani, me haere tātau ko ā tāua tamariki ki te rama pāpaka a te pō nei.

KO MĀRAMA. Hei aha ngā pāpaka?

KO HATA. Hei mōunu anō mā te moki.

KO MĀRAMA. He mahi pai ki a au te rama pāpaka.

KO TAMAHAE. He pai anō hoki ki a au. Māmā, kei hea te rama? Me haere au ki te toa ki te hoko *batteries* hou. Kua *flat* kē ngā *batteries* o tā tātau rama.

KO HATA. Āe, Tamahae. Me hoko mai anō tētahi rama ki a kōrua ko Māmā. Ki a māua ko Mārama tētahi, ki a kōrua ko Māmā tētahi. Mārama, mauria ngā pēre e rua ki runga i te taraka.

KO MĀRAMA. E haere ana tātau ki hea rama pāpaka ai?

KO HATA. Ki Hāmama.

KO MĀRAMA. Ka pai hoki! He pai ki a au te haere ki Hāmama.

KO PANI. Me moata te hapa kia horoia ai ngā pereti i mua i te haerenga.

I te whitu karaka i te pō ka haere te whānau nei mā runga i tō rātau taraka ki te rama pāpaka i Hāmama. He pō pai tēnei mō te rama pāpaka. Kua waia kē te whānau a Hata ki tēnei mahi. Kei te pari haere mai te tai.

KO TAMAHAE. Māmā, anei tā tāua rama. Māu e rama, māku e hopu ngā pāpaka.

KO PANI. Kia tūpato, Tamahae. Kaua e pōnānā, kei taka koe ki roto i te wai.

Ko tēnei mahi ko te rama pāpaka ehara i te mahi ngāwari. Tuatahi, kia mahana tonu ngā kākahu, he makariri hoki. Tuarua, kia pai tonu te takahi haere kei tūtuki ngā waewae ki ngā toka, ka hinga. Tuatoru, kaua e hopua ko mua o te pāpaka, kei ngaua ō ringaringa; me hopu ko muri, ā, kia tere tonu te maka ki roto i te pēre. Tuawhā, kaua e hāparangi, e turituri rānei, kei mataku hoki ngā pāpaka. Ko te pāpaka te tino kai a te moki, ēngari he pai tonu te kuku, te pipi me te kōura.

Ka kī ngā pēre e rua, ka hoki a Hata mā ki te kāinga. Ka tukua ngā pāpaka ki rō wai māori kia matemate ai.

Ko te Hātarei tēnei rā, te tekau mā whā o Hune. Kei te whakareri a Hata i tana poti, i te penehīni me ngā taputapu katoa mō te haere ki Whangaparāoa ki te hī moki. Ko te tekau mā rima o Hune te rā tīmata ki te hī moki, nō reira me whakareri ngā mea katoa.

Kātahi tonu a Tamahae ka hoki mai i te kāinga o Rewi.

KO TAMAHAE. Pāpā!

KO HATA. He aha, Tamahae?

KO TAMAHAE. Kei te pīrangi haere au ki te hī moki i Whangaparāoa. Kāore anō koe kia mau i a au ki te hī moki.

KO HATA. E tama! Ehara tērā mahi mā te tamariki. Kia āhua pakeke koe ka haere ai tāua.

KO TAMAHAE. Kua tekau mā rima kē ōku tau. Kei te haere a Rewi rāua ko tōna pāpā ko Rua. Haere ai kōrua ko Rua ia tau, ia tau. E mauria ana e Rua a Rewi. Tekau mā whā noa iho ōna tau.

Kua rongo atu a Pani i ngā kōrero a Tamahae.

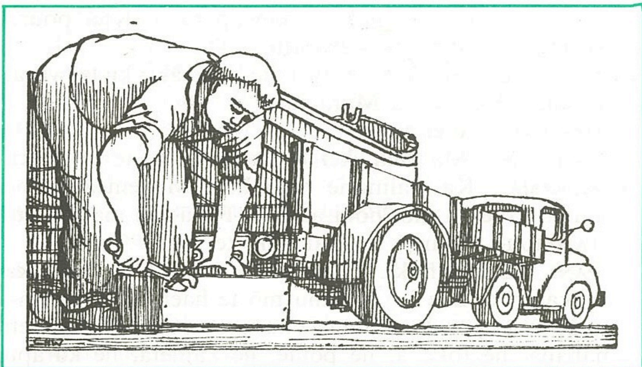
KO PANI. E Hata! Kei te tika tā Tamahae. Me ako ia ināianei ki tēnei momo mahi. Koroua rawa ake koe, kua waia a Tamahae ki te haere ki te hī moki. E rua tau noa iho kei muri ka haere tā tāua tama ki te mahi i Ākarana. Kāore tēnei mahi e mahia ana i te tāone, nō reira mauria i te wā e hihiri ana te tamaiti nei.

KO HATA. Ēngari he tika hoki tēnā kōrero. Ki a au nei, kei te kura tuatahi tonu a Tamahae. Āe, e tama, ka mauria koe e au. Kei te tika tā Māmā. Koroua rawa ake au, kua mōhio koe ki te haere ki Whangaparāoa.

KO TAMAHAE. Tēnā koe, Pāpā! Mehemea koe he wahine ka kihia koe e ahau. E oma ana au ki te whakaatu ki a Rewi kei te haere au.

KO HATA. Taihoa! Me āwhina koe i a au ki te whakareri i ā tāua taputapu. Kia mutu tā tāua mahi kātahi koe ka haere ai. Tēnā, me āta tirotiro koe mehemea kei roto katoa ā tāua taputapu i te pouaka nā.

KO TAMAHAE. Āe Papa! Anei ngā taputapu o te pouaka nei. E whā ngā aho, e rua tekau ngā pīhuka, tekau



ngā *swivels*, tekau ngā *sinkers*, e rua ngā miro mā, e rua ngā *scalers*.

KO HATA. Tīkina ngā oka e rua, he harakeke, he tuaina hoki, ka kuhu ai ki roto i te pouaka nā. Ka mutu tēnā, ka titiro ai ki roto i tēnei pouaka.

KO TAMAHAE. He aha kei roto i tēnei pouaka?

KO HATA. Ko ngā taputapu mō te mīhini o te poti.

KO TAMAHAE. E rua ngā *spark plugs*, he *spanner*, he *screwdriver*, he pounamu hinu, he *starting cord*.

KO HATA. Ka pai! Tēnā, hikia ngā pouaka nā ki roto i te poti. Tīkina kia whā ngā pēke kuku, kia rua ngā pēke pipi kei te *deep freeze*, ka kuhu ai ki roto i te pēre kia ngāwari ai. Haria mai hoki ngā pāpaka. Kua māro katoa ngā kuku me ngā pipi i roto i te *freezer*.

Ka whakamauria e Hata te *trailer* ki te taraka, ka pēketia ki roto i te whare motokā. Ko te taraka kei waho, ko te *trailer* o te poti kei roto i te whare motokā.

KO PANI. E Hata, Tamahae, haere mai ki te hapa!

KO TAMAHAE. Kua kore au e tae ki te whakaatu ki a

Rewi e haere ana au ki Whangaparāoa. Kua pōuri.

KO HATA. E tama, me waea atu.

KO TAMAHAE. Āe! Kāore au i mahara ake ki te waea. Hei aha! Kei hea a Mārama?

KO MĀRAMA. Anei ahau.

KO TAMAHAE. Mārama, kei te haere au ki te hī moki.

KO MĀRAMA. Ka waimarie hoki koe. Mehemea au he tamaiti tāne ka inoi hoki au ki a Pāpā kia mauria au.

KO TAMAHAE. Māmā, ka pai hoki te hapa.

KO PANI. E tika hoki, Tamahae! Ka mutu tō hapa ka whakareri ai koe i ō kākahu mō te haere ki Whangaparāoa; he poraka mahana, he tarau roa, he hingareti mahana, he tōkena, he pōtae, he kāmeta, he karapu mahana, he hū hoki. Mārama, mā tāua e horoi ngā pereti kia wātea ai a Tamahae ki te whakareri i ōna kākahu.

KO HATA. E Pani! Kua reri ōku kaka?

KO PANI. Āe. Kua reri anō hoki ā kōrua kai.

KO HATA. I tunua e koe he *bacon and egg pie*?

KO PANI. Ae, haere mai kia kite i tā kōrua pouaka kai.

KO HATA. Ka pai hoki, e Pani! Mō te ata noa ka mahi ai he tī ki rō *flask*.

I te pai o ngā kai a Pani mā Hata rāua ko Tamahae, ka kihia e Hata a Pani.

KO HATA. E Pani! Kei hea taku wēhike?

KO PANI. Tō aha?

KO HATA. Taku pounamu wēhike.

KO PANI. Kei roto i te kāpata. E mauria ana e koe tō pounamu?

KO HATA. Āe. Hei whakamahana i a au.

KO PANI. Me ātu inu koe. Mōhio tonu koe ka nui ana tō inu wēhike ka pōrangi koe. Tētahi, kei tahuri i a koe te taraka ka mate a Tamahae.

KO HATA. E Pani!

Ko te tekau mā rima o Hune tēnei rā. Whā karaka i te ata te tāima.

KO HATA. E Pani! E oho!

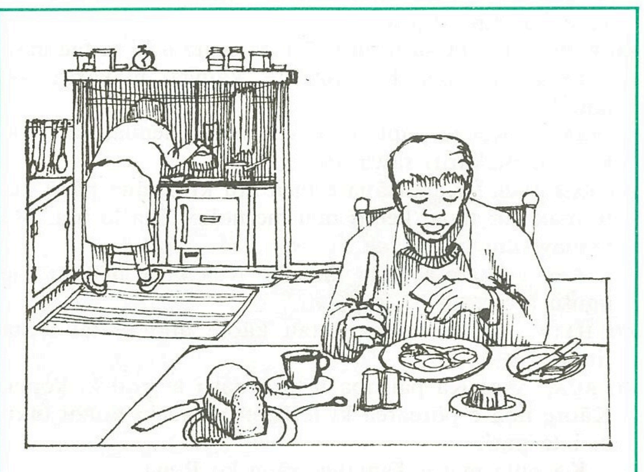
KO PANI. He aha tēnā, e Hata? Mōhio tonu koe kāore au e pai kia whakaohotia au i tēnei hāora o te ata. E moe!

KO HATA. Kua haruru kē te mīhini. Kua maranga kē a Tamahae.

KO PANI. Inei! Kei te koa rā a Tamahae, nō reira ka moata ia.

Kāore he hiko o Te Kaha. He mīhini tā te whānau a Hata hei huri hiko.

KO PANI. E maranga ana au ināianei ki te mahi parakuihi mā kōrua ko Tamahae. He aha tāu e takoto nā,



e Hata? Maranga! Mehemea ko au tēnā e haere ana ki Whangaparāoa kua maranga noa atu au.

KO TAMAHAE. Mōrena Māmā! Tō moata hoki!

KO PANI. Ki te mahue mā kōrua ko Pāpā e mahi he parakuihi, ka paruparu katoa te kīhini.

Toru tekau meneti pāhi i te rima karaka te tāima. Kua wehe atu a Hata rāua ko Tamahae.

KO TAMAHAE. Kua oho kē a Rewi mā. Arā tō rātau raiti e kā mai rā!

Kua tū te taraka i waho i te kāinga o Rewi mā. Kua tae kē mai a Rewi rāua ko Rua ki te rori me ā rāua taputapu.

Kotahi hāora e haere atu ana i Te Kaha, ka tae ki Whangaparāoa. Nō te toru tekau meneti pāhi i te ono karaka ka tae a Hata mā. Kei te āhua pōuri tonu. Ka heke a Hata rāua ko Rua, ka noho tonu a Tamahae rāua ko Rewi.

KO REWI. Ko tātau tonu ngā mea tuatahi ki te tae mai.

KO TAMAHAE. Kātahi hoki te kāinga makariri ko tēnei!

KO REWI. Kei te pupuhi tonu te hau whenua, nā reira ka tino makariri rawa atu.

KO TAMAHAE. Kaua tāua e mea atu ki ō tāua pāpā kei te makariri tāua, kei kī mai me noho tāua ki uta. Me manawanui tonu tāua.

Kei te haere a Hata rāua ko Rua ki te mātaki i te ngutu awa.

KO HATA. He waimarie tātau kāore anō te tai i āta timu.

KO RUA. Āe! Ka pai noa te pei mai i te poti ki konei. Kāore noa e pōrearea ki te haere rawa ki tātahi tuku ai i te poti.

Ka puta mai a Tamahae rāua ko Rewi.

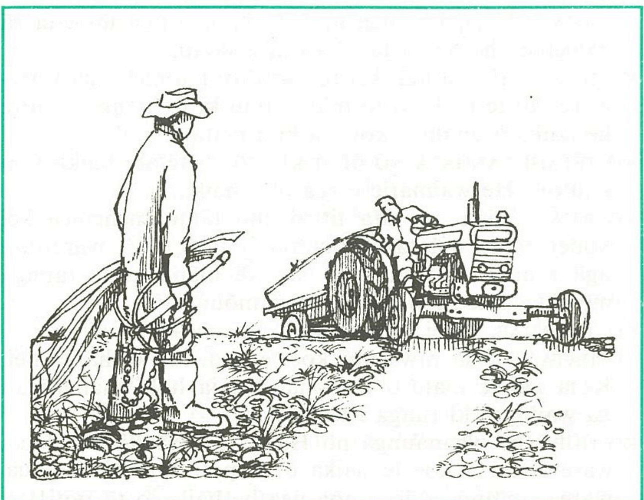
KO TAMAHAE. Pāpā, ehara tēnei i te moana—ko te awa kē.

KO HATA. Āe, e tama, ko te ngutu tēnei o te awa o Whangaparāoa. Nā te āhua timu tonu o te tai ka pai noa te tuku atu i te poti i konei, ka rere atu ai ki te moana.

KO RUA. Kāore tātau e taumaha ki te pei atu i te poti ki tātahi.

KO REWI. Kāti tonu, Tamahae. Ko te taumaha o te poti o tō pāpā!

Kua taetae mai ētahi atu tāngata ki te ngutu awa. Kei te mihi a Hata rāua ko Rua ki ngā tāngata nei. Nō Whangaparāoa ētahi, nō Ngāti Porou, nō Ōpōtiki, nō Raukōkore, nō Te Kaha hoki. E ono ngā motokā,



e whā ngā taraka, e rua ngā tarakihana i reira. Kua tino mārama ināianei.

KO TAMAHAE. Te tokomaha hoki o ngā tāngata! Ākuanei kāore he rūma i ngā taunga moki mō ngā poti katoa.

KO HATA. Haere mai, e hoa mā. Ko tātau kei mua, nō reira me whakawātea tātau i tō tātau poti, kia wātea ai te huarahi mō ētahi atu.

KO RUA. E Rewi, haria ō tātau kākahu maroke ki roto i te taraka.

Ka peia te poti ki te awa, ka peke atu a Rewi raua ko Tamahae ki te pupuri i te poti; ko Hata rāua ko Rua i te whakahoki i te *trailer* ki te taraka.

KO RUA. E Hata, kei hea te haika o te poti?

KO HATA. Aue, taukiri e! Kua wareware atu kei te kāinga.

KO RUA. Tēnā, karanga atu ki tētahi o ngā tāngata rā mehemea he haika tā rātau ki a tātau.

KO HATA. E hoa mā, kei te raruraru mātau! Kua wareware atu te haika o tō mātau poti ki te kāinga. Kāore he haika a tētahi o koutou ki a mātau?

KO TĒTAHI TANGATA NŌ ŌPŌTIKI. Anei tētahi haika ki a koutou. He waimarie e rua aku haika.

KO RUA. Tēnā, me āta titiro anō tātau mehemea kei konei katoa ā tātau taputapu. I tērā tau i wareware ngā mōunu ki uta. Kua tau kē māua ki te taunga moki ka kitea i wareware ngā mōunu.

KO TAMAHAE. Kei konei katoa ngā mea.

KO HATA. Tēnā rawa atu koe, e hoa, mō te haika nei. Koia nei te mate o te pōnānā. Kia hoki mai mātau ka waiho ai ki runga i tō taraka.

KO HURI (he whanaunga nō Hata). E Hata, i tērā tau i wareware i a koe te haika o tō poti, i tēnei tau kua wareware anō. Kāore noa pea he haika o tō poti!

KO HATA. Ka pōhēhē tonu te tangata kāore aku haika.

Ko Hata i te kei o te poti, ko Rua i te ihu, ko Tamahae rāua ko Rewi i waenganui. Kua haruru te mīhini o te poti.

KO RUA. Ka pai hoki tō mīhini, e Hata! Kāore e roa ka tae tātau ki te taunga.

KO HATA. Āe! Nāku i tuku ki Ōpōtiki ki te tangata mahi mīhini kia mahia mai.

KO TAMAHAE. Tino rerekē tēnei awa poti i tō tātau awa poti i Te Kaha.

KO REWI. Te teitei o te maunga nei! He aha te ingoa o tēnei maunga?

KO HATA. Ko Tihirau.

Nā te haruru o te mīhini kāore noa a Hata mā i kōrero, ā, ka tae te poti ki te taunga moki tuatahi.

KO TAMAHAE. Kei hea ngā tohu o tēnei taunga ika?

KO RUA. Arā!

KO REWI. He aha te ingoa o te taunga nei?

KO HATA. Ko Pakaru.

Ka āta kitea ngā tohu, ka tukua te haika e Rua.

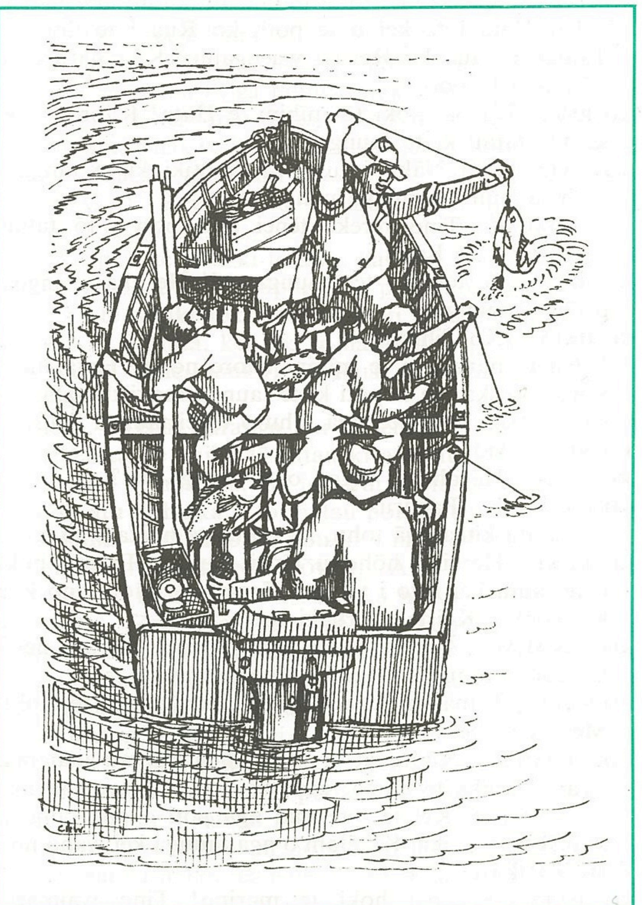
KO REWI. He tino hōhonu tēnei taunga. Te roa hoki o te taura kei roto i te wai! Tamahae, kāore anō koe kia kōrero. Kei te hia ruaki koe?

KO TAMAHAE. Āe! Nā taku kainga hēki i te ata nei i hia ruaki ai au. Ka ruaki a Tamahae.

KO HATA. Tamahae, ka pai tēnā hei tāruru mō te moki. Me moe koe.

KO TAMAHAE. Kāore au e moe. Kua pai au ināianei. Waru karaka te tāima; kua whiti te rā. Kua tau ngā aho ki raro. Kei te rere mai ngā poti o gna tāngata ki ngā taunga ika. Ko ētahi o ngā taunga kei waho noa atu i Paka u.

KO HATA. Ka pai hoki te marino! Tino waimarie



tātau. Kātahi anō te tau i pai ai te moana i te rā tuatahi. Tamahae, e Rewi, kei te mōhio anō kōrua ki ngā kōrero ake o te moki?

KO REWI. Āe, nā tō mātau māhita ako i te reo Māori, nā Mr Te Moana, i kōrero mai ki a mātau.

KO TAMAHAE. Pāpā, ko tēhea puke a Puketapu?

KO HATA. Arā, ko tērā!

KO TAMAHAE. I wehe atu te tipuna nei a Ruamoengārara i taua puke mā runga i ana taniwha, ko Tūtehihi, ko Tūtewawa, ko Tūtakawerangi.

KO REWI. I hoki ia ki Hawaiki ki te tiki i tō tātau tipuna, i a Pou, ā, nā Pou i tono ki a Rehua kia hōmai te ika nei, te moki.

KO TAMAHAE. He aha rā i meatia ai mō te tekau mā rima o Hune ka tīmata ai te hī moki?

KO HATA. Kāore tonu au e mōhio. Kei te mōhio koe, e Rua?

KO RUA. E kīia ana koianei te rā e puta ai te whetū ko Whānui te ingoa. I te tekau mā rima o Hune ka puta taua whetū, ka mōhio ngā tāngata kua tae mai te moki ki Whangaparāoa.

KO TAMAHAE. Pāpā, kei te kūmea taku aho!

KO HATA. Kia mau, Tamahae! Hutia ake!

KO REWI. He aha tēnā e kanapa mai nā ki tō tātau poti? Me te mea nei he taniwha!

KO RUA. He makō!

KO REWI. Ka wehi hoki! Mataku ana ki te titiro atu. Kia tūpato, Tamahae, kei peke mai te makō nā ka ngaua tō ringa!

Kua tae ake te ika a Tamahae ēngari kua tae anō te mangō ki taua ika, kua ngaua. Ko te māhunga anake i mau ake i a Tamahae; kua riro kē i te makō te nuinga o tana ika.

KO TAMAHAE. Moumou taku ika! Mehemea he pū tā tātau, ka pūhia e au te makō rā.

KO RUA. Hei aha, Tamahae! Kua mōhio tātau he moki kei konei.

He nui te mangō ki tēnei moana.

KO HATA. Titiro, e hika mā, e rua rawa ēnei moki!

KO RUA. Anei anō tētahi!

KO REWI. Kāore anō ngā moki nei i kai mai ki taku nei mōunu.

KO TAMAHAE. Me ruaki koe pēnei i a au nei, hei tāruru.

KO REWI. Kāore kē au e mate ana i runga poti.

KO TAMAHAE. Kāti rā, me hoatu tētahi wāhi o tā tātau *bacon and egg pie*! Kua mau anō i a Pāpā tētahi moki. Te nunui hoki o ngā ika nei!

KO REWI. Kātahi anō ngā ika nei ka ngau mai. E koe! Tēnā anō! Titiro, Tamahae!

KO TAMAHAE. E tama, he pōrae kē tēnā! Mā te puihi kē tēnā momo ika.

KO HATA. Hei aha, e Rewi! Kia manawanui. Kei te mōhio anō kōrua ki ngā ture o te moki?

KO TAMAHAE. I kīia mai e Mr Te Moana ki a mātau, e whā ngā ture o te moki. Tuatahi, kaua e haua ki te rākau; tuarua, kaua e kai otatia; tuatoru, kaua e tunutunutia i tātahi; tuawhā, me hoatu te ika tuatahi ki a Pou.

KO REWI. Kua mau i a au tētahi ika!

KO TAMAHAE. Kua mau anō hoki i a au tētahi!

He moki ngā ika a Tamahae rāua ko Rewi. Kua tino ngahau ngā tokorua nei.

KO RUA. E Hata! Me neke atu tātau ki tētahi atu taunga.

KO REWI. Taihoa Pāpā! Me kore e mau mai i a au ētahi atu moki.

KO TAMAHAE. Arā! Kua mau anō i a Pāpā tētahi ika. Anei anō tētahi moki kua mau i a au!

KO HATA. E Rua, kia āhua roa ake ka neke atu ai tātau ki waho.

KO REWI. Kei hea a Ōtamaroa? I kī mai a Mr Te Moana he tauranga ika anō tērā.

KO TAMAHAE. Me Tuapapa, me Kokohura.

KO RUA. E hoa mā, kaore anō au i kite i a Mr Te Moana e hī moki ana, ēngari he tino mōhio ia ki ngā taunga moki.

KO HATA. He tika hoki!

KO TAMAHAE. Kei roto ngā kōrero mō ngā taunga moki o konei i tētahi pukapuka kei te wharekura, ko te *Treasury of Maori Folklore* te ingoa.

KO REWI. Kei roto i taua pukapuka ngā kōrero a te Māori mō nga ika, mō te tohora, mō te mangō, mō te moki me ētahi atu kai moana.

KO TAMAHAE. Nā tētahi tangata, nā John R. Waititi o Te Whānau-a-Apanui i tuhi ngā kōrero o te moki, nāna anō hoki i whakaae kia tuhia aua kōrero ki roto i te *Treasury of Maori Folklore*.

KO HATA. Kei te mōhio māua ko Rua ki tēnā tangata.

KO RUA. Āe! He tino tangata ia nō tēnei rohe.

KO TAMAHAE. I kī mai anō a Mr Te Moana he tino tangata ia.

KO HATA. E Rua, he mōhio ake ā rāua tama i a tāua ki ngā kōrero o te moki.

KO RUA. Kāore anō hoki tō tāua nei whakatipuranga i whakaakotia ki ēnei kōrero. He pai tonu nō tēnei mahi, nō te hī moki, i hihiri ai tāua ki tēnei mahi. Kāore noa tāua i āro ki ngā kōrero o neherā mō tēnei ika.

KO REWI. Pāpā, titiro ki taku aho! Kāore e mau i a

au te pupuri.

KO RUA. He mangō, e Rewi! Tapahia tō aho, kei takeke ki ā mātau aho.

Ka tapahia e Rewi te aho, ka tīkina atu e ia he aho anō, kua poto rawa hoki tana aho.

KO TAMAHAE. Ahakoa he pai te hī moki, mataku ana ngā mangō nei. Te nunui o ētahi!

KO REWI. He aha te tāima?

KO TAMAHAE. Kei a Pāpā te wati.

KO HATA. Tekau karaka te tāima.

KO REWI. E kai ana au, Tamahae. Kei te matekai koe?

KO TAMAHAE. Kaua e kōrero kai mai ki a au! Kia hoki tātau ki uta kātahi ano au ka kai.

KO RUA. E Hata! E hutia ana e au te haika. Ka haere tātau ki waho.

KO TAMAHAE. Kua mau mai anō i a au tētahi ika.

Kāore a Rua e āro ake ki te ika a Tamahae. Kua hutia ake e ia te haika. Kua haruru te mīhini. Kua rere rātau ki tētahi taunga ika kei waho atu. Kotahi hāora a Hata mā i te taunga ika nei ka hutia ake anō te haika, ka hoki rātau ki uta.

Toru karaka i te ahiahi te tāima. Kua hokihoki mai ngā poti ki uta. Kei te timu te tai. Kāore ngā poti e uru mai mā te ngutu awa. Kua tīkina e ngā tāngata o Whangaparāoa ā rātau tarakihana hei tōtō i ngā poti ki uta. Kua tīkina e ngā tāngata hī ika ā rātau *trailers* kia māmā ai te tō i ngā poti ki uta.

KO HATA. E Rua, ka haere tāua ki te tiki i tā tāua *trailer*. Tamahae, mā kōrua ko Rewi e pupuri tō tātau poti.

KO TAMAHAE. E Rewi, ka pai kē tēnei mahi. E hoki mai ana anō au a tērā tau.

KO REWI. He mahi tino pai tēnei. He maha tonu ā tātau ika. Pēhea rā ētahi atu o ngā poti? E haere ana au ki te mātaki.

KO TAMAHAE. Kaua e haere! E noho tāua ki konei. Kāore e mau i a au te pupuri te poti.

Kua tae katoa ngā poti, kua whakamaua ngā *trailers* ki ngā waka, kua heria ngā pēke ika ki te awa kia unahitia. Kāore tēnei ika e tuakina ana.

KO HATA. Anei, e hoa mā, he inu hei whakamahana.

Kāore i roa ka pau te pounamu wēhike a Hata; ēngari he pounamu atu a ētahi o ngā tāne.

KO REWI. Tamahae, ākuanei hoki rawa ake tātau, kua haurangi kē ō tāua pāpā.

KO TAMAHAE. Āe, he tere haurangi noa tōku pāpā.

Kua mutu te unahi i ngā ika. E toru tekau ngā ika a Hata mā. Kua haere katoa ngā tāngata ki te kai mā rātau.

KO TAMAHAE. Kātahi anō au ka kai. Ka pau katoa i a au ā tātau kai, i taku matekai.

Ono karaka te tāima. Kua wehe mai te waka o Hata mā i Whangaparāoa.

KO TAMAHAE. He aha tātau i tū ai?

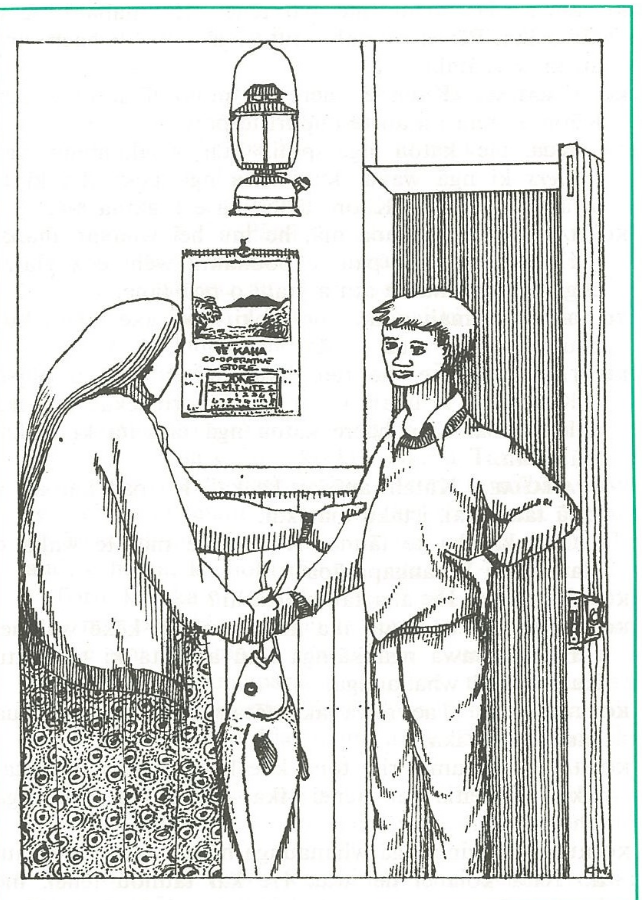
KO HATA. Ki te hoatu ika mā tō matua kēkē wahine.

E rima rawa ngā kāinga i tū a Hata ki te hoatu ika mā ngā whanaunga.

KO TAMAHAE. Tae rawa ake tātau ki te kāinga, kua pau ā tātau ika.

KO HATA. E tama, rite tonu koe ki tō tipuna te mata-piko. Pēneitia ai tēnei ika—hoatu ai mā ngā whanaunga.

KO RUA. Koianei ngā whanaunga hōmai mea mā tātau, nō reira koianei hei utu. He kai tauhou tēnei, me hoatu mā te tangata.



Waru karaka te tāima. Kua tae a Hata rāua ko Tamahae ki te kāinga. Kua puta mai a Pani rāua ko Mārama.

KO MĀRAMA. Pēhea tā kōrua haere, Pāpā?

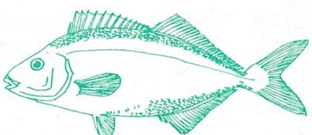
KO HATA. Tino pai!

KO PANI. Me te mea nei, kei te āhua piapia koe, e Hata.

KO HATA. Koianei tonu ngā mahi ina hoki mai i te hī moki.

KO PANI. Kāti rā, whakairia ā kōrua ika. Mō te ata ka tuku ai i tētahi ki Kawerau mā tō tuahine me āna tamariki, ā, me tuku tētahi ki Ākarana mā tērā o ō tuāhine, ā, ko tētahi ki Te Kao mā ō tīpuna.

He roa tonu a Tamahae rāua ko Hata e whakairi ana i ā rāua ika, e whakahokihoki ana i ā rāua taputapu, kātahi anō rāua ka haere ki te kaukau, ki te kai, ki te kōrero hoki ki a Pani rāua ko Mārama mō te hī moki i Whangaparōoa.



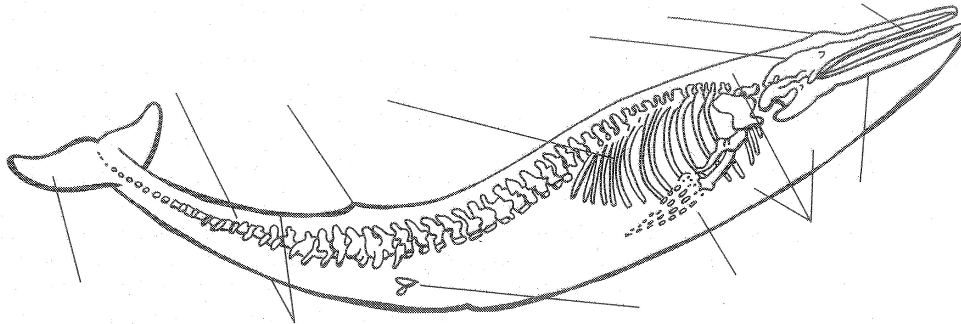
Ko ngā whakaahua nā Clifford Whiting

Appendix Three – He Kōrero mō te Mahi Wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui (Paora in Moorfield, 1992)

Hei mahi pānui, tuhituhi hoki

Te mahi tuhituhi 1

Pānuihia ngā kōrero e pā ana ki ngā tinana o ngā wēra me ngā pāpahu. Tāpirihia ngā ingoa o ngā wāhanga o te tohorā kua tohungia.



Ko te anga me te tinana o te tohorā.

He kōrero mō te mahi wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui

Nā Roka Paora o Te Whānau-a-Apanui ēnei kōrero i tuhi i te tau 1979, engari, **kaua e pānuihia ngā kōrero nei i nāianei**. Tirohia ko ngā mahi māu e whai ake ana i ngā kōrero a Roka i te tuatahi.

Tēnā koutou te hunga māna ēnei kōrero, arā, te mahi wēra i mua. Ahakoa kua ngaro katoa ngā tīpuna mahi wēra i mua kei te kōrero tonu mātou o tōku whakatipuranga mō aua mahi i mahia i te wā e rima tau noa ana mātou. Nō reira, ka tuhia ēnei kōrero me ngā pakiwaitara mā koutou, kia mau ai i ō koutou hinengaro, te toa o ngā tīpuna ki tēnei mahi ki te patu wēra.

He maha ngā ingoa mō te wēra. He tohorā ki ētahi, he parāoa ki ētahi, he pakakē ki ētahi. Tērā pea kei ō koutou mātua ētahi atu ingoa mō te ika nei. Mō ēnei kōrero ka karangatia he wēra. Anei tētahi wāhanga o tētahi oriori e whakahua ana ki te pakakē.

'Pō! Pō! E tangi ana tama ki te kai māna
Waiho, me tiki ake i te Pou-a-hao-kai
Hei ā mai te pakakē ki uta rā
Hei waiū mō tama!'

Tirohia kei te pukapuka *Nga Moteatea 2* te whārangi 153 mō te whakapākehātanga o te oriori nei.

Ki te Pākehā he kararehe te wēra, engari, ki a tāua ki te Māori, he ika. He maha ngā

momo wēra. Anei ngā ingoa Pākehā me ngā ingoa Māori e whai ake nei. Koia nei ngā ingoa a ō mātou tīpuna:

- Ko te *right whale* he raiti wēra
- Ko te *sperm whale* he pāmu wēra
- Ko te *humpback whale* he hamupēke
- Ko te *killer whale* he kera wēra
- Ko te *pilot whale* he paraki pīhi
- Ko te *porpoise* he pāpahu.

Ko te wēra tāne ka karangatia he 'pūru'. Ko te wahine he kau. Ko te punua he 'kāwhe'. Ko te ingoa Pākehā mō te kau me te kāwhe he *cow and calf*, ā, ki ō mātou tīpuna ka kī he 'kau ana kāwhe'. Mā koutou e āta titiro ki ngā ingoa Māori mō ngā momo wēra nei, me whakamāori noa. Nā konei mātou i mōhio ai kāore te Māori i whaiwhai wēra i mua i te taenga mai o te Pākehā. I mōhio katoa te Māori ki ngā ingoa o ngā ika i hīa e ia, engari, kāore āna ingoa mō ngā momo wēra, nō te mea kāore ia i whaiwhai wēra i ngā rā o mua, arā, i mua i te taenga mai o te Pākehā.

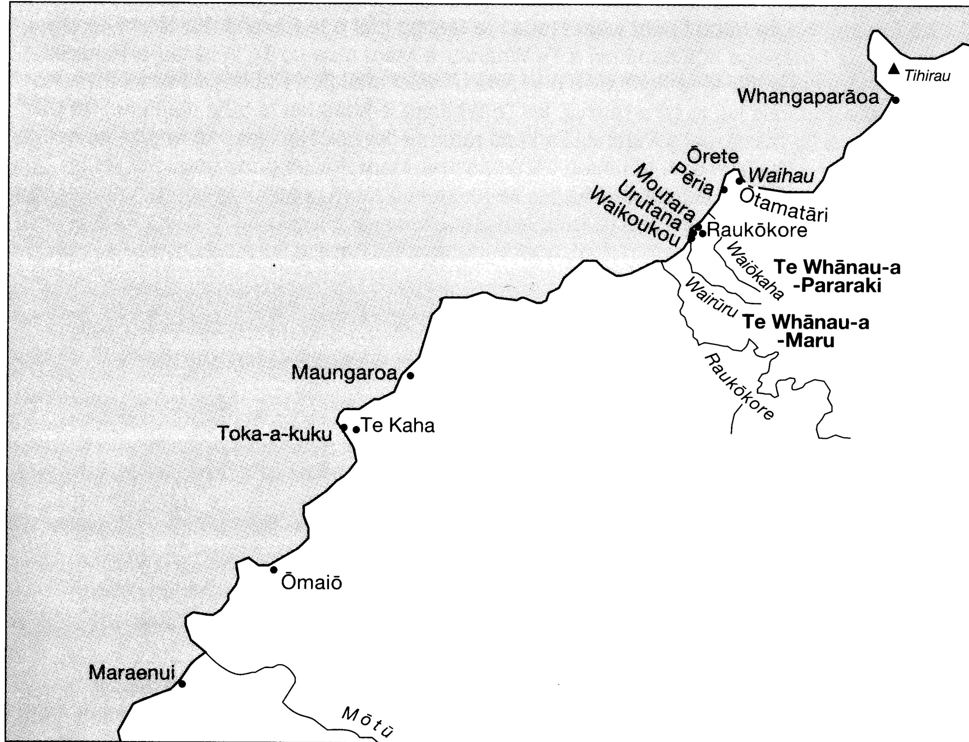
Me titiro tātou i nāianei ki ngā nekeneke a te ika nei. Ko te ika nei he tino kaitā, e hia tōne kē te taumaha. I te marama o Hepetema ka tīmata te haere a te wēra ki te tonga, kei reira hoki te nui o te kai. Kei te mahara tonu au ki aua wā. Ka taha ana ngā wēra i Te Kaha e hia kē. He pai ki te titiro atu e paute mai ana i te moana. Ko ngā kau me ngā kāwhe ka whakauru mai ki ngā whanga, ki te whakatā. I konei ka whakapakari te kau i tana kāwhe. Whakamīharo ana ki te titiro atu. Ka noho te kau me te kāwhe ki ngā whanga paute ai, kātahi ka tukia ake e te kātua tana punua ki waho i te wai. He taumaha tonu te kāwhe, e rua tōne te taumaha. Ko te kātua e whā tekau tōne neke atu rānei te taumaha. Nō reira, he paipai noa te tuki ake a te kau i tana punua ki runga noa ake i te wai. Ka tau ana ki roto i te wai ka whakamīharo te hunga kei te titiro atu. Ka paratī te wai, ka hukahuka, ā, ka tatari anō ngā kaimātakitaki kia tukia ake anō te kāwhe. He roa tonu e tatari ana ka puta ake anō. Kotahi rangi, e rua rānei e pēnei ana ka neke atu te kātua me tana punua ki ētahi atu whanga, kātahi ka rere tika atu ki Tihirau ka huri ki te rāwhiti, ki te tonga rānō. Kia hoki mai ngā kararehe nei i te tonga kāore e peka mai ana ki Te Kaha. Me waimarie noa ka kitea e haere ana ki te raki i te tīmatanga o te hōtoke. I ēnei rā kua kore te wēra e taha pēnei. E ai ki ngā kōrero kua patua te nuinga e ngā iwi nunui o te ao. He waimarie tōku whakatipuranga i kite i ngā haerenga a te wēra i ngā wai o Te Kaha.

Me huri aku kōrero i nāianei ki ngā pakiwaitara mō te wēra. I te ūnga mai o Tainui waka ki Whangaparāoa ka noho rīriri ngā tāngata. Ka whakaaro a Hoturoa he pai kē atu me hari e ia a Tainui me ētahi o ngā tāngata. Ka mahue mai ko ēnei o ngā tāngata, ko Ruamoengārara, ko Taikehu, ko Māhia, ko Kōkā-tangi-ki-raukawa me ngā wāhine, me ngā tamariki. Ka whakaaro te iwi i mahue mai nei me hoki tētahi o rātou ki Hawaiki ki te tiki i tō rātou pāpā i a Pou. Ka hoki ko Ruamoengārara mā runga i ana taniwha, ko Tūtehihi, ko Tūtewawa, ko Tūtakawerangi. Ka haere mai a Pou ki Whangaparāoa. I a ia e hāereere ana i te ākau ka kitea e ia tētahi wēra, i pae mai ki uta. Ka herea e ia te waero ki te taura, ka whakamaua atu ki tētahi rātā. He tohu tēnei nā Pou, nāna te wēra nei. Ka puta mai a Taikehu ka mea atu ki a Pou, 'Nāku rā te wēra nā.'

Ka whakahoki a Pou, 'E, kāo, nāku tonu taku wēra, inā tonu taku taura e here nā i te waero.'

Ka mea atu a Taikehu, 'Hurihia tō ika.' Ka hurihia e Pou te ika rā, kāore kē he kauae raro. Mōhio tonu atu a Pou kua raru ia. I tana pōuri, ehara i a ia te wēra rā, ka paheke atu ia ki tētahi atu kāinga noho ai, ki Maraenui. Nā Te Whānau-a-Apanui tēnei pakiwaitara.

Te mapi 1 Ko te rohe o Te Whānau-a-Apanui



Nā Ngāti Awa, takiwā o Whakatāne, tēnei pakiwaitara. Tērā tētahi tohunga ko Te Tahi-o-te-rangi te ingoa. He tino mataku ngā tāngata o Whakatāne i te tohunga nei, nā āna mahi mākutu. Ka hui ngā tāngata ka whakaritea me hari a Te Tahi ki Whakaari ka waiho atu ai i reira mā te mokemoke e patu. Haere ai ngā tāngata o Whakatāne ki Whakaari ki te hopu tītī ia tau, ia tau. Ka inoi atu te iwi nei ki a Te Tahi kia haere tahi rātou, māna e karakia kia nui ai te tītī. Ka whakaae te tohunga. Nō te taenga ki Whakaari ka uru atu a Te Tahi ki te taha o te rōpū e haere ana ki te taha tawhiti o Whakaari. Ka mahi te rōpū nei, ka hiamoe te tohunga, ka mea atu ki ōna hoa, 'Kei te hiamoe au, ka hoki koutou ka whakaoho mai i a au.' Moe ana te koroua nei ka hoki te rōpū ki tō rātou waka, hoe tika atu ana ki Whakatāne. Ka oho a Te Tahi, ka karanga, ka karanga, kāore he whakautu mai. Mōhio tonu atu ia kua whakarērea ia e tana iwi. Kātahi ia ka karanga ki ngā taniwha o te moana, ka karakia. Ka puta mai tētahi wēra, ko te tino rangatira tonu o ngā wēra katoa, ko Tūtara-kauika. Ka kauhoe atu te koroua nei ki te wēra rā, ahu tika tonu atu ki te ngutuawa o te awa o Whakatāne. I te tere o te haere a Tūtara-kauika ka mahue mai ngā waka o ngā tāngata i tinihanga rā i a Te Tahi. Tae rawa atu rātou ki Whakatāne e noho mai ana te tohunga rā i mua o te whare. Ka whakamā rātou i tā rātou mahi kino ki a Te Tahi.

Mā ō koutou māhita e kōrero atu ētahi o ngā pakiwaitara mō te wēra. He maha tonu. Ko ēnei kōrero e whai ake nei nā ētahi o ngā kaumātua o Te Whānau-a-Apanui kei te ora tonu. Ko Eruera Stirling, ko Parekura Hei, ko Pareraututu Parata. Ko Eruera Stirling nō Raukōkore, engari, kei Ākarana e noho ana i nāianei. Ko Te Whānau-a-Maru tōna hapū.

Ka pātai au ki a Eruera, 'I patu wēra anō a Te Whānau-a-Maru i mua i te taenga mai o te Pākehā?'

Ko Eruera, 'Kāore rātou i patu wēra i mua i te taenga mai o te Pākehā. Ko tētahi kōrero e mōhio ana au, i pakanga ngā hapū nei a Te Whānau-a-Maru rāua ko Te Whānau-a-Pararaki mō tētahi wēra i pae mai ki te ngutuawa o te awa o Waiōkaha. (Kei Raukōkore tēnei awa. Ko Te Whānau-a-Pararaki kei te taha rāwhiti, ko Te Whānau-a-Maru kei te taha hauāuru.) Ka pae mai te wēra nei ka haere mai a Pararaki ka kī nā rātou te ika nei. Nā, i pae kē mai te ika nei ki te taha hauāuru o Waiōkaha, ki te taha o Te Whānau-a-Maru. Ka rongo te hapū nei kei te haere mai a Pararaki ki te tiki mai i te ika nei ka haere ki ō rātou pakeke. Pakanga tonu atu ngā hapū nei ki a rāua, mō te wēra noa te take. Nā konei au i kī ai kāore ō tāua tīpuna i whaiwhai wēra i mua i te taenga mai o te Pākehā. Tētahi, kāore ā tātou waiata e whakahua ana ki te wēra. Nō te taenga kētanga mai o te Pākehā kātahi ngā kuia rā ka tito waiata mō ā rātou whaiāipo Pākehā.'

Anei ētahi kōrero mō te mahi wēra i waenga i Te Whānau-a-Maru me Te Whānau-a-Pararaki. Nāku i tango mai ēnei kōrero i te pukapuka o te whitu tekau tau o te kura o Raukōkore.

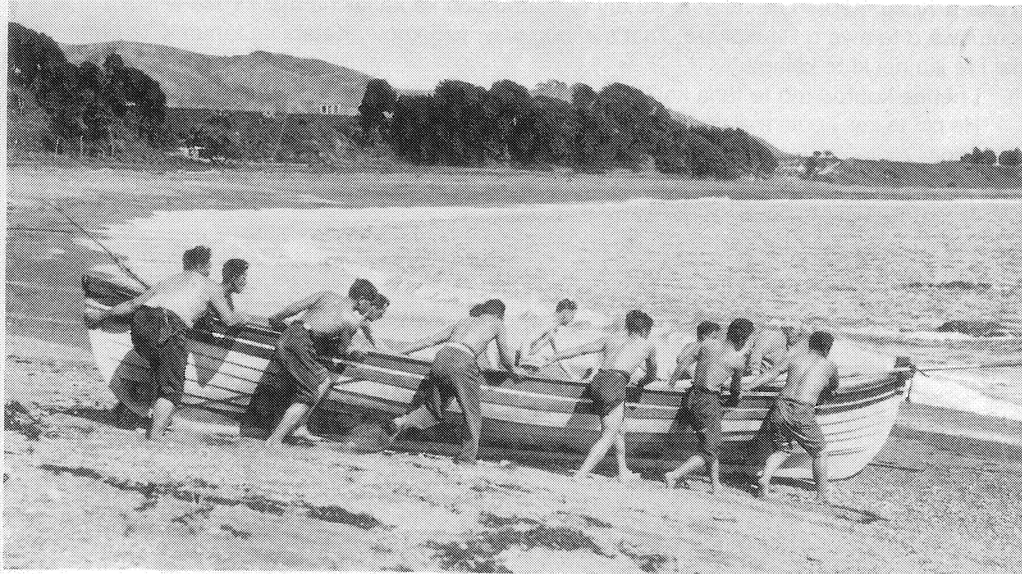
> He mahi wēra tētahi o ngā mahi o tēnei takiwā i mua. Ko ētahi o ngā poti whaiwhai wēra o Te Whānau-a-Maru ko *Te Aparangi*, ko *Horowai*, ko *Hāriata*, ko *Kiri-o-te-wai*. Ka kitea atu ana he wēra i te taumata i Urutana ka rere atu ngā poti mai i te pā i Moutara. Ka mate te wēra ka tōia ki Waikoukou, ka tahuna i reira. Ko ngā poti o Pararaki ko *Te Aparangi* anō, ko *Tauira*, ko *Te Kamupene*. Ko ō rātou awapoti ko Wairūrū, ko Awarahi, ko Pēria. Ko tō rātau taumata ko Pukeahunoa. Ka mau he wēra ka tōia mai ki Ōtamatāri, i reira ka tahuna.

I tuhia ngā kōrero e whai ake nei ki roto i te *Historical Review*. Ko ēnei kōrero nā tētahi Pākehā, ko Secombe tōna ingoa. Ko ia tētahi o ngā Pākehā tuatahi i noho i Raukōkore, ā, i kite ia i ngā Māori o tērā takiwā e patu wēra ana.

> He tino mahi tēnei a ngā Māori i a mātou ko taku whānau e noho ana i konei. Ahakoa rā ko Te Kaha anō te wāhi tino mahi i tēnei mahi i te patu wēra engari i kite au i ngā poti whaiwhai wēra o tēnei takiwā. Ka hoki mai ngā wēra i te tonga ka huri mai i Whangaparāoa ki te whanga o Waihau. I kite au i ngā poti e ono i rere atu mai i Raukōkore. Tokoono ngā tāngata i runga i ia poti; tokowhā ngā kaihoe, kotahi te kaitia, kotahi te tangata hei patu i te wēra. Ka tae atu ngā poti, ka patua tētahi o ngā kāwhe. Ka huri mai te kau ka wāwāhia ngā poti e rima. Tokorua ngā tāngata i ora, e rua tekau mā waru i mate. Nā te poti tuaono i tiki atu ngā tokorua kāore rā i mate. Koia nei rā te āhua o tēnei mahi o te patu wēra. (Kāore au i rongo i ēnei kōrero mō te matenga o ēnei tāngata i te patu wēra. He parekura tonu. Mehemea i pēnei te tokomaha o te tangata i mate kua whakatūria kē e te iwi he kōhatu whakamaharatanga ki ēnei tāngata. Kāore he kōhatu whakamaharatanga i Raukōkore. Hei aha, waiho ki tā Secombe. I kite ia, ā, kāore anō au kia whānau i taua wā. Anei te whakaotinga o āna kōrero mō te patu wēra i Raukōkore.)
>
> I tētahi rangi ka rere atu ngā poti e toru ki te patu i ngā wēra e rua. Ka mate ngā wēra nei ka tīmata ngā poti ki te tō mai ki Raukōkore. Nā te taumaha o ngā ika nei ka ū mai ngā poti ki Ōrete ki te wāhi e noho ana a Secombe me tana whānau. I te pupuhi te hauāuru nā reira i taumaha rawa ai ngā wēra. Ko tētahi o ngā wēra nei he pūru e toru tekau mēte te roa. Ka ū mai ngā wēra ki uta ka puta katoa mai ngā tāngata kia kite. Kāore he reo irirangi i aua wā, engari nā ngā wēra tonu nei i whakaatu ki ngā mea o tawhiti kei hea rāua e takoto ana. Kua puta ō rāua kakara. He pēnei hoki te ika nei, he piro, he haunga, ka rongo katoa ngā

tāngata ki tōna haunga, engari he reka ki te kai. Ka mutu te tahu i ngā hinu o ngā wēra nei ka tōia ngā toenga ki te moana. Ka ngaro atu ngā anga me ngā haunga ki te moana.

Ka mutu ngā kōrero i konei mō te mahi wēra i Te Whānau-a-Maru me Te Whānau-a-Pararaki.



He poti hei whaiwhai wēra e tōia ana e ngā tāngata o Maungaroa ki te moana. I tāia ēnei whakaahua i roto i te *Weekly News* i te tau 1933.

Nā, i tētahi rangi i haere au ki tētahi hui a tō mātou whānau. I reira taku matua kēkē wahine, a Pareraututu Parata. Kātahi au ka pātai ki a ia, 'Pēhea ngā mahi wēra i te wā i a koe e tamariki ana?'

Anei tana whakahoki, 'I te mahi au i te poutāpeta o Te Kaha, ā, i te whakawhaiāipo māua ko Pā i taua wā. (Ko Pā te ingoa o tana tāne.) I tētahi rangi ka kite atu au i te poti e whai ana i tētahi wēra i waho tonu atu i te poutāpeta. Kāore au i mōhio i runga taku whaiāipo i taua poti. Kātahi ka puta ake te wēra i raro iho tonu i te poti, ka makaia te poti ki waho i te wai. Tau ana ki raro ka pakaru. Ka hoe atu he poti ki te kohikohi i ngā tāngata. Nō te taenga mai ki uta ka āta titiro atu au ki ngā tāngata, ehara, ka kite atu au i taku *darling*. Ka aroha atu au ka heke atu ki te mau koti mahana ki taku *darling*. Ka mutu ngā kōrero a taku matua kēkē i konei nō te mea i puta mai ētahi atu tāngata ki te kōrero ki a ia. Engari, i rongo au i tētahi kōrero mō tāna tāne, mō Pā. Kātahi tonu rātou ko ōna hoa ka utua mō tētahi mahi i oti i a rātou. Ka haere rātou ki te toa ki te hoko kākahu hou, he hū mahi hou, he tarau tāngari hou, he kākahu roto hou, he hāte hou. Ka hau te rongo kua puta he wēra. Haere tonu atu te hunga nei ki te poti whaiwhai wēra me ō rātou kākahu hou ka peke atu ki runga i te poti. Nā, ka pakaru rā te poti i te wēra rā ka kaukau haere noa rātou me te tango i ō rātou kākahu hou, ngā hū mahi hou, ngā hāte hou, me ngā tarau tāngari hou. Ngaro tonu atu ngā kākahu hou nei ki te moana. Tērā pea ka pātai koutou, 'He aha rātou i kore ai i mau i ētahi atu kākahu, arā, i ētahi kākahu tawhito?' Kāore he moni i aua wā, kotahi tonu te tarau tāngari, te hāte, te pea hū.'

I tētahi rangi anō ka haere au kia kite i tētahi o aku mātua kēkē tāne, i a Parekura Hei. E pāinaina ana te kaumātua nei i te tatau o te whare motokā o tana kāinga. Ka puta ā māua kōrero mō te patu wēra. Ka pātai atu au, '*Uncle*, i haere anō koe ki te patu wēra?'

'Āe.'

'Pēhea ki a koe, tēnā mahi?'

'He mahi tino pai. Ka hikihiki katoa te puku.'

'He aha tēnā mea, 'Ka hikihiki te puku?''

'*Exciting*. *Good feeling*. He mahi tino pai rā te whaiwhai, te patu wēra hoki. Ko te mahi kino he pārete mai ki uta. He taumaha hoki te ika nei. I tētahi rangi i patua e mātou tētahi wēra i Toka-ā-Kuku. Kāore i rāti tikatia. Kātahi tō mātou poti ka kahakina mai i Toka-ā-Kuku ki te ngutuawa o te awa o Raukōkore. *That's a long way, you know*. Kātahi ka tahuri ki te pārete mai i te ika nei ki te kāinga.'

'I pēhea koutou mō te taha kai?'

'He nui te kai. I puta mai ngā poti ki te mau kai mai mā mātou. I puta mai he poti i Te Paripari, kāore noa i mate kai. He nui tonu ngā poti i puta mai ki te mau kai mai, ko ngā tāne, ko ngā wāhine. I ū mai mātou ki Maungaroa, he tawhiti rawa a Te Kaha, ka tahuna te wēra nei ki reira.'

E kōrero ana a Whakarau mō te mahi wēra. He haeana rāti kei tōna ringa katau.

'Ko wai ētahi o ngā poti whaiwhai wēra o konei?'

'He maha tonu. Ko te *Ākinihi*, ko te *Greyhound*, ko te *Raiona*. He maha anō hoki ngā tāngata toa ki te patu wēra, ā, i haere i runga i ngā poti kua whakahuatia ake nei. Ko Wī Hei, ko Haukino Paora, ko Tare Tiopira, ko Whakarau, ko Te Herewini, ko Paerau, ko Rāpata Kīngi, ko Te Hāmana, ko Te Harawira me te nui noa.'

'He aha te poti nei a te *Greyhound* i karangatia ai ko te *Greyhound*?'

'He tere ki te hoe, he pēnei tonu i te *Greyhound*, he tere ki te oma.'

'He aha ngā mahi a ngā tāngata i te wā e puta ana he wēra?'

'He mahinga kai tāku, arā i kō atu rā. He kānga, he rīwai me ērā atu kai. Kāti, ahakoa kei te parau i te mahinga arā kē ngā whatu kei te moana. He mahi kānga te mahi a te nuinga o ngā tāngata. Rongo ana au i te kaikaranga e hū mai ana ka tangohia e au ngā tīni me te kara o taku hōiho kia wawe ai te tae ki ngā poti i tātahi.'

'Noho tonu ai te kaikaranga ki te wāhi kotahi mai i te ata ki te ahiahi?'

'Āe. I te pā o Toka-ā-Kuku taua wāhi. Ko tētahi tangata i tēnei rā, he tangata kē āpōpō, ā, pēnei tonu te mahi ia rā, ia rā. Ka puta he wēra ka whakatūria he haki, kātahi ka karanga.'

'Pēhea te karanga?'

'Ū-ū-ū-ū-ī-ī-ī. Ka rongo mai ngā tāngata e mahi ana i ngā māra kai ka hū atu ki ngā mea o tawhiti atu.'

Kua kitea tētahi tohorā e ngā kaititiro i runga i Maungaroa. Kua tahuna te ahi hei tohu ki ngā tāngata whaiwhai wēra.

'Haere ai koe mā runga i te poti kotahi?'

'E kāo. Peke tonu atu ai au ki runga i te poti kei te wātea, ahakoa nō wai te poti. Ko te mea nui kē kia tae ki te patu i te wēra. Ka pōuri katoa te tangata mehemea ka mahue mai ia ki uta. Ki te mau mai he wēra kātahi ka tino mamae rawa atu, engari, ki te hoki mai ngā poti kāore he wēra ka pai noa te whīra.'

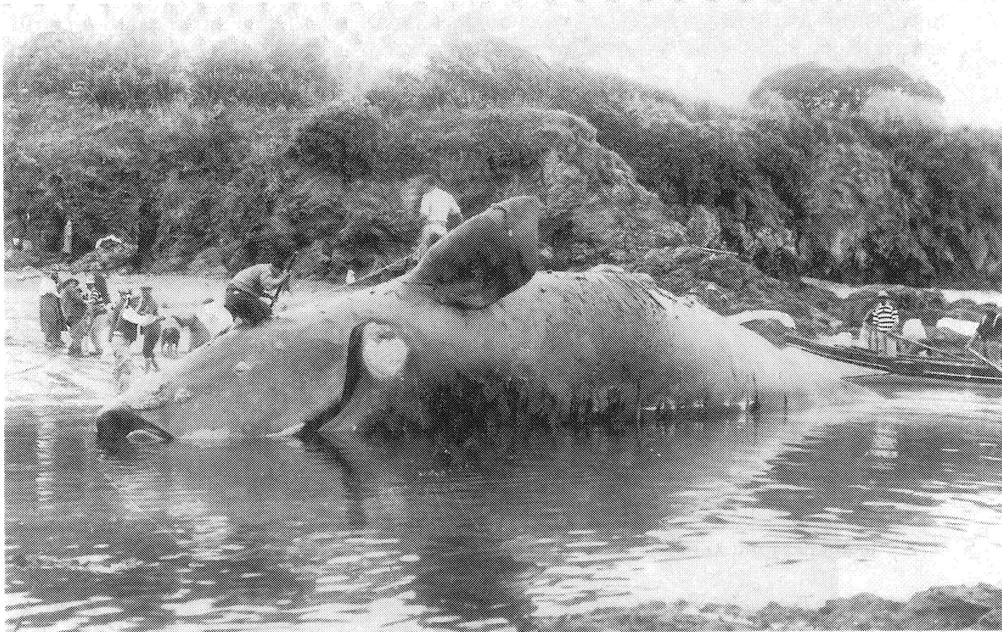
Kei te kei o te poti a Whakarau e tia ana.

'I hea te wāhi tahu i ngā wēra?'

'I raro tonu mai i te hōtēra o Te Kaha.'

'Pēhea ai te tahu wēra?'

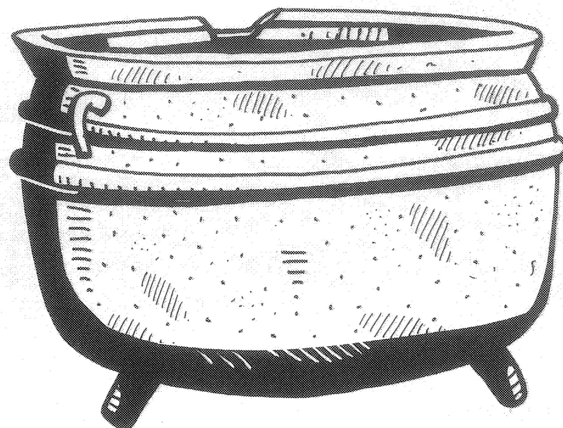
'Kia timu te tai ka tapatapahia te wēra mā ngā naihi roroa nei ngā kakau. He tangata tū ai ki runga i te wēra, ā, ko ētahi ki raro hei kukume iho i te mīti. Kātahi ka tapahia kia āhua paku iho ngā kiko ka kuhu ki rō tarai-pāta.'



He tohorā e tapatapahia ana.

'He aha te tarai-pāta?'

'He kōhua rino, he nunui, kotahi mēte pea te whānui, kotahi mēte te hōhonu. Ka tahuna he ahi ki raro i ngā tarai-pāta nei, kia roa tonu kia rewa ai ngā hinu o te wēra.'



He tarai-pāta.

'Pēhea te roa e tahu ana i te wēra kotahi.'
'He roa tonu, tata tonu pea ki te kotahi wiki.'
'I rongo au he mahi haunga tēnei.'
'Āe, he haunga rawa atu. Mau pēke mārō ai ētahi kia mutu te tahu i te wēra ka pai noa te tahu atu ki te ahi. Ka mau ana te haunga ki runga i ngā kākahu he uaua te makere mai.'
'I ahatia ngā hinu?'
'I kuhua ki rō kāho, kātahi ka hokona ki te Pākehā.'
'He nui te moni i riro mai i ngā hinu?'
'Āe, he nui rā i aua wā. Mehemea he wēra nui ka riro mai e ono rau ki te whitu rau pāuna. Nā, he nui tērā moni i aua rā.'
'I riro i a wai ngā moni?'
'I haere katoa hei painga mō te iwi, arā, hei mahi whare nui, whare karakia me ngā mahi e hiahiatia ana e ngā tāngata mō te painga o te katoa.'
'Nā, ka mutu te tapatapahi i te wēra i ahatia te anga?'
'I tōia ki te moana ka waiho atu ki reira.'
'Nōnahea i mutu ai tēnei mahi ki Te Kaha nei?'
'Kāore au e tino mōhio. Nō te tau 1924 pea. Kua tīmata haere hoki te mahi ahuwhenua i taua wā, ā, kua āhua kore haere e nui ngā wēra.'
'Tēnā rawa atu koe, *Uncle*, mō ō kōrero.'
'Kei te pai.'
'E noho rā ki te pāinaina i te rā.'
'Āe, haere rā.'
Ka mutu i konei ngā kōrero mō te mahi wēra i tēnei takiwā o te motu. Noho mai rā i ō koutou kāinga. Mā Te Atua koutou e āwhina i ā koutou mahi.

Hei mahi pānui, tuhituhi hoki

Te mahi tuhituhi 2

A Tirohia ngā whakaahua, me ngā kōrero kei raro i ia whakaahua, i te taha o ngā kōrero a Roka Paora. **Kaua e pānuihia ngā kōrero a Roka i tēnei wā.** Ki ōu nā whakaaro, he aha te kaupapa o ngā kōrero a Roka? Tuhia tāu whakautu ki tēnei pātai. He aha ngā tino kupu mō ia whakaahua, mō ia whakaahua? Tuhia kia toru ngā tino kupu mō ia whakaahua.

E Me pānui koe i ngā kōrero i nāianei, engari, kaua e āta pānuihia. Kia tere kē te pānui kia kite ai koe mehemea e tika ana, e hē ana rānei tō whakautu ki te pātai tuatahi kei runga ake nei.

I Kua tae mai te wā i nāianei kia āta tirohia e koe ngā kōrero a Roka mō te mahi wēra i Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Kei muri iho nei tētahi whakatakotoranga o ngā kaupapa o ngā kōrero a Roka. Ko tāu mahi he āta pānui i āna kōrero, ka tuhi ai i ngā kupu whakarāpopototanga mō aua kaupapa ki roto i ngā pouaka. Tīmatatia i te taha mauī ka huri ai ki te taha katau.