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Cover image: The carved *waharoa* 'gateway' that stands as a *tohu maumahara* 'symbol of remembrance' at Rangiriri Pā, Waikato. It was erected in November 2012 to commemorate the 149th anniversary of the Battle of Rangiriri. Photograph supplied by Vincent O'Malley.

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CONTENTS

*Notes and News* ..... 337

*David Simmons, MBE (1930–2015)*  
Obituary by Richard A. Benton ..... 339

*Articles*

VINCENT O’MALLEY  
*A Tale of Two Rangatira: Rewi Maniapoto, Wiremu Tamihana and  
the Waikato War* ..... 341

MERATA KAWHARU  
*Indigenous Entrepreneurship: Cultural Coding and the  
Transformation of Ngāti Whātua in New Zealand*..... 359

MICHAEL REILLY  
*Narrative Features and Cultural Motifs in a Cautionary Tradition  
from Mangaia (Cook Islands)* ..... 383

PATRICK MOSER  
*The Endurance of Surfing in 19th-Century Hawai’i* ..... 411

*Shorter Communication*

JIM WILLIAMS  
*Seafood “Gardens”* ..... 433

Reviews

Evans, Jeff: <i>Heke-nuku-mai-nga-iwi Busby: Not Here by Chance.</i> GEOFFREY IRWIN .....	445
Kirch, Patrick Vinton: <i>Unearthing the Polynesian Past: Explorations and Adventures of an Island Archaeologist.</i> ALEXANDER BAER .....	446
Martinsson-Wallin, Helene: <i>Samoan Archaeology and Cultural Heritage: Monuments and People, Memory and History.</i> SETH QUINTUS .....	449
Metge, Joan: <i>Tauira: Māori Methods of Learning and Teaching.</i> KARYN PARINGATAI .....	451
<i>Publications Received</i> .....	453
<i>Minutes of the 125th Annual General Meeting</i> .....	454
<i>Index to Volume 125</i> .....	457
<i>Publications of the Polynesian Society</i> .....	459

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## NOTES AND NEWS

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This issue brings to a close the 125th year of *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, one of the oldest continuously published anthropological/historical periodicals in the world. The *Journal* was launched in 1892 as an initiative of the newly formed Polynesian Society. As Keith Sorrenson details in *Manifest Duty* (1992; Polynesian Society Memoir 49), this group of amateur scholars aimed to preserve the cultural traditions of Māori and other Pacific Island societies “in a permanent form” for future generations. In the intervening decades, the *Journal* has largely remained true to the goals and geographic breadth envisioned by the founders, while also becoming an increasingly professional publication venue.

Appropriately, in this final issue of the 125th volume our contributors look both to the past and to the future. Geographically the articles focus on Aotearoa New Zealand, which might have pleased the *Journal's* founders, but also include research on the Cook and Hawaiian Islands. As a group they nicely parallel, intersect and amplify one another. Vincent O'Malley and Merata Kawharu explore what it means to be a Māori *rangatira* ‘chief’ and/or leader, historically and in the contemporary world, with some striking parallels. Kawharu's analysis of modern-day Ngāti Whātua entrepreneurship also intersects with ideas explored in Jim Williams' article on Māori seafood cultivation—both looking at distinctive features of Māori resource management strategies, large and small, in the present and in traditional times. Michael Reilly takes up Mangaian (Cook Islands) oral traditions, considering them as a form of artistic expression (with some Māori parallels), and as narratives that communicate cultural ideals and valued behaviours, many which resonate with contemporary Cook Islanders. Paralleling O'Malley's article, Patrick Moser seeks to correct long-standing but faulty cultural-historical narratives; he uses 19th and early 20th-century newspapers (many which are Hawaiian language papers), to track the cultural importance and persistence of indigenous Hawaiian surfing into the early 20th century.

Several of the main article themes resonate with those of publications considered in the *Reviews* section. Reviewed works include: Jeff Evans' biography of master canoe builder Hector Busby (Te Rarawa), which highlights Busby's role in reviving traditional Māori voyaging; the remarkable memoir of prolific Pacific scholar Patrick Kirch; a volume by Helene Martinsson-Wallin on recent archaeological studies and heritage management in Samoa; and Joan Metge's thoughtful account of uniquely Māori approaches to teaching and learning.

This issue also sees the formal retirement of long-standing Honorary Editor Judith Huntsman. Judy has been involved in the Society for 41 years and served as Editor for an astonishing 20 years! Over the last five years she has shared her considerable knowledge and experience with me. During this time we also have worked to better situate the *Journal* for the competitive 21st century publishing environment, producing several thematic “Special Issues”, implementing the DOI (Digital Object Identifier) article tracking system (<https://www.doi.org>), and moving to higher quality print copies in support of better image reproduction and colour. As incoming Honorary Editor, I wish to thank Judy for her steady guidance and sage advice over the last few years.

Judy continues to serve the Polynesian Society as a member of Council and in 2016 she was nominated for the Nayacakalou Medal in recognition of her considerable contributions to Pacific scholarship and to the Tokelau community, as well as her outstanding service to the Society; the formal award will take place in 2017.

Melinda S. Allen, Editor

### *Article Contributors*

Merata Kawharu is an Associate Professor based in Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago in New Zealand. She was Director of the James Henare Māori Research Centre, at the University of Auckland, for nine years, until mid-2016. A graduate of University of Auckland and Oxford, she has authored or edited four books and published over 60 other works on Māori leadership, entrepreneurship, social and economic development, the Treaty of Waitangi, and community histories and world heritage.

Patrick Moser is Professor of French at Drury University. He is the editor of *Pacific Passages: An Anthology of Surf Writing* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2008). His current research focuses on how period newspaper reports are changing our understanding of surf history. Forthcoming publications include "On A Mission: Hiram Bingham and the Rhetoric of Urgency" in *The Critical Surf Studies Reader* (Duke University Press) and "The Hawaii Promotion Committee and the Revival of Surfing" (*Pacific Historical Review*).

Vincent O'Malley (BA (Hons), PhD) is a professional historian who has written and published extensively on the history of Māori and European relations in 19th-century New Zealand. He was the 2014 J.D. Stout Research Fellow at Victoria University of Wellington, where he worked on his new history of the Waikato War (*The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800–2000*), published by Bridget Williams Books in 2016. He is currently a partner in HistoryWorks, a Wellington-based research consultancy.

Michael Reilly is a Professor in Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago in New Zealand. A graduate in both Māori Studies and Pacific Islands History, he has authored or edited six books and published some 38 journal articles and book chapters on East Polynesia, particularly Aotearoa New Zealand and Mangaia in the Cook Islands. He is especially interested in understanding core cultural motifs found in traditional histories.

Jim Williams (Kai Tahu), BA(Hons) (Victoria), MA, PhD (Otago), is a Senior Lecturer at Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago in New Zealand. Jim's research interests centre on pre-contact Kai Tahu practices, especially with respect to oral history, the land and waterways, and tellurian natural resources. His PhD thesis argued a successful regime of pre-European sustainability practices in southern Aotearoa New Zealand. His publications focus (in the main) on Kai Tahu management of land and waterways, and a proposed research methodology for pre-contact topics. A particular strength is cross-cultural interviewing, the subject of an upcoming book.

DAVID ROY SIMMONS, MBE (1930–2015)

The passing of David Simmons was noted with sadness at the Polynesian Society's Annual General Meeting in May 2016. Dave was a member of the Council of the Society from 1979 to 2010, except for the years 1992–95, and he regularly attended the Annual General Meetings after that. His contributions and enthusiasm for the Society were greatly appreciated by Council members. He studied at the University of Auckland and Victoria University of Wellington, and also at the University of Paris, Sorbonne and the University of Rennes, before completing his Master of Arts degree in Anthropology at the University of Auckland in 1962.

While a student at the University of Auckland, Dave participated in excavations organised by the archaeologist Jack Golson. On one of these expeditions, at Kauri Point near Katikati in the Bay of Plenty in 1961, the team put on a party at the local *marae* (which relaxed the alcohol ban for the day), to thank the *tāngata whenua* for allowing them to dig there. Andrew Pawley, now a Professor Emeritus at the Australian National University, gave a speech of thanks and farewell at the event, and reports that the occasion was made especially memorable by Dave Simmons giving a spirited performance of a *haka* as a substitute for a *waiata* or song following Andrew's speech. Colleagues generally found Dave congenial and helpful, and full of enthusiasm for his work.

His MA thesis was the basis of his ground-breaking book, *The Great New Zealand Myth*, published by Reed in 1976. In this work Dave investigated the basis for the "received tradition" concerning the migration of the ancestors of the Māori from a Polynesian homeland to Aotearoa, and found it to have been based on a selective, incomplete and often inaccurate pastiche of material recorded by Māori elders or Pākehā scholars in the 19th century. He then set about investigating the 19th-century material rigorously to find out what the various traditions actually said, and how this might be better interpreted. This was a major work of scholarship which involved the meticulous scrutiny and documentation of numerous primary sources, making them available at a time when there were no computerised databases and such material was very difficult to locate. This work is still of immense value to those interested in reading the words of the ancestors, providing access to Māori genealogies and narratives that are still relevant and helpful to students of Māori history.

After completing his MA degree, Dave was appointed Keeper in Anthropology at the Otago Museum. While there he contributed to Henry Skinner's Otago Museum publication *The Māori Hei-tiki* (1966), and also published an article on "Perspectives in Māori carving" in the prestigious literary quarterly *Landfall*. In 1968 he became the Ethnologist at the Auckland



Institute and Museum, and ten years later was appointed Assistant Director of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, from which he retired in 1989. His contribution to the work of the Museum was marked by the award of the Auckland Museum Medal in August 2013. In 1985 he was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire for his services to ethnology and the Māori People. His scholarship had previously been recognised by the Polynesian Society, which presented him with the Elsdon Best Memorial Medal in 1978. It was probably during this time that he made his greatest contributions to Anthropology and Māori studies, although some of his later works appear to have been influenced by informants of questionable reliability.

*The Great New Zealand Myth* constitutes an enduring memorial to David Simmons as a scholar, and his friendship and kindness warms the memories of those of us who knew him. *Requiescat in pace*; may he rest in peace.

Richard A. Benton, President

# A TALE OF TWO *RANGATIRA*: REWI MANIAPOTO, WIREMU TAMIHANA AND THE WAIKATO WAR

VINCENT O'MALLEY

*HistoryWorks*

This is a tale of two *rangatira* or 'chiefs', Wiremu Tamihana and Rewi Maniapoto, of Ngāti Hauā and Ngāti Maniapoto respectively. And if a trend that runs deep in New Zealand historiography is in any way accepted as legitimate, it is also a tale of good versus evil, moderation versus extremism, peace advocate versus warmonger. Except that it is none of these things. If we are going to conceptualise the differences between these two great *rangatira* in European terms, a more accurate description might be idealist and realist. Considered within the context of Māori custom, however, both men operated within the accepted limits of chiefly behaviour, which placed a premium on *mana* 'power, authority, prestige' and actions and virtues that were seen as befitting *rangatira* of great standing. *Rangatira* "demonstrated or enhanced their mana through qualities such as bravery, boldness, hospitality, eloquence, integrity, and honourableness" (Ward 1997 [II]: 9). These were all qualities that both men possessed in abundance. But *rangatira* could and did perform different functions within their communities and that is also apparent in the life stories of these two men (Ballara 1991: 292).

## *RANGATIRA* IN MĀORI SOCIETY

*Rangatira* status was mainly determined by genealogical status and gender, with the first-born son of the incumbent senior chief often identified as the likely successor (Winiata 1967: 28). *Mana* was a key driver in Māori society and was not fixed but could wax and wane with the fortunes of the *rangatira*, deriving from both ascription and achievement (Durie 1994: 36-37). Since the chief's *mana* was the embodiment of the *mana* of the *hapū* 'genealogical descent group' both parties had a vested interest in protecting and enhancing the *rangatira*'s standing (Durie 1994: 39). First-born sons might be set aside in the event that others showed greater aptitude. All free-born members of the community held *mana*, although their authority and status differed greatly. Those who demonstrated acknowledged skills in particular endeavours, such as leading their *hapū* in fighting, might be acknowledged as the leader for these purposes alone, although the authority of *rangatira* was never absolute and decision-making was "a matter of discussion, compromise and consensus" that relied upon the voluntary consent of the community (Ballara 1998: 145). Persons with known abilities in oratory or diplomacy might be

designated to lead peace-making parties. Women were also called upon to perform this role (Ballara 2003: 158-60). Although most *rangatira* were men, at times women might also exercise leadership within their communities, and the tribal assemblies at which many decisions were made were often attended by both sexes (O'Malley 2012: 209). In the post-contact era, *mana* might be demonstrated in a variety of new ways: through association with the missionaries, for example, successful trading endeavours or as a result of government recognition (Durie 1994: 40). The "pursuit of *mana*" in these ways continued in a vastly different environment and context (Parsonson 1981: 142).

#### REWI MANIAPOTO AND WIREMU TAMIHANA

Rewi Maniapoto and Wiremu Tamihana were both leading *rangatira* within the Waikato-Maniapoto confederation of tribes that included Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hauā and other Waikato groups which came to take a leading role in the establishment of the Kīngitanga (the Māori King Movement). Tarapipipi Te Waharoa was born at Tamahere in the central Waikato in the early 19th century. The son of senior Ngāti Hauā *rangatira* (and famed military leader) Te Waharoa, as a young man Tarapipipi accompanied his father on a number of fights against other tribes during the height of the "musket wars" (Stokes 2002: 23). In 1835 a Church Missionary Society station was established close to Te Waharoa's own Matamata *pā* 'fortified village', near the present-day settlement of Waharoa. Although the mission station was subsequently abandoned, Tarapipipi forged a close personal relationship with the missionary Alfred Nesbit Brown and quickly learned to read and write (Stokes 2002: 28). Despite being the second-born son, Tarapipipi inherited his father's *mana* upon Te Waharoa's death in 1838 and soon demonstrated his talents as a peacemaker and leader (Stokes 1990: 516). In 1839 Tarapipipi was baptised by Brown at Tauranga, taking the name Wiremu Tamihana (aka William Thompson). The form of Christianity adopted by Wiremu Tamihana and other early adherents of the faith was a uniquely Māori one that incorporated the new religion into an existing framework of beliefs. In the process, Christianity was indigenised and given a distinctively Māori flavour (O'Malley 2012: 162).

Wiremu Tamihana's responsibilities as senior *rangatira* of Ngāti Hauā did not cease simply because of his new religion, and under his leadership the community pursued tribal success through trade and literacy rather than warfare. The new settlement at Peria that Wiremu Tamihana founded in the 1840s boasted a church, school, flour mill, post office, boarding facilities for up to 100 children, and extensive cultivations of wheat, maize, kūmara and potatoes (Firth 1890: 35-37). Wiremu Tamihana earned a reputation as one of the most progressive *rangatira* in the land. However, following the

introduction of a new constitution for the colony in 1852, which effectively granted the settlers self-government while denying Māori any role, Tamihana called for Māori to be admitted on equal terms with the Europeans or alternatively for their own parallel assembly to be established (Ward 1974: 98). In the mid-1850s Tamihana travelled to Auckland to discuss these ideas with the Governor but was denied a meeting with him as he watched numerous Pākehā allowed through. He returned home after his fruitless and frustrating mission, declaring “We are treated like dogs—I shall not go again” (O'Malley 2010a: 153). It was at this point that Wiremu Tamihana threw his weight behind the fledgling Kīngitanga Movement, providing crucial momentum and support. In February 1857 Wiremu Tamihana wrote to the other chiefs of Waikato, signalling Ngāti Hauā support for Pōtatau Te Wherowhero to be appointed King (Stokes 2002: 142). Pōtatau Te Wherowhero of Waikato *hapū* Ngāti Mahuta was widely acknowledged as one of the greatest *rangatira* in the land, and his *whakapapa* ‘genealogy’ was such that it connected him with many of the great founding ancestors from whom most tribes traced their descent (Jones 1968: 132).

Rewi Maniapoto of the Ngāti Maniapoto *hapū* Ngāti Paretekawa was also born in the early 19th century and accompanied his father, the *rangatira* Te Ngohi Kāwhia (also referred to as Kāwhia Te Ngohi), in battle during the inter-tribal wars of the 1830s. Like Wiremu Tamihana, he learned to read and write, gaining an early education at the Wesleyan mission station at Te Kōpua on the Waipā River (Henare 1990: 264). Rewi Maniapoto also oversaw a successful trade in agricultural produce from his settlement at Kihikihi through the two decades after 1840. But he did not clearly identify as a Christian or eschew the need to take up arms again if required. Instead, Rewi Maniapoto was prepared to carefully guard the interests of his people by whatever means necessary; and, like Wiremu Tamihana, by 1857 he had also come to the view that these were best advanced through the Kīngitanga. When a large gathering of the tribes was held at Paetai, in May 1857, to consider raising Pōtatau Te Wherowhero up as their King, Rewi Maniapoto and Wiremu Tamihana were as one in their support for this idea (O'Malley 2010a: 186).

#### THE KĪNGITANGA

When Pōtatau Te Wherowhero was installed as the first King in 1858, it was Rewi Maniapoto who raised the new flag at the Kīngitanga headquarters at Ngāruawāhia (Henare 1990: 264). Meanwhile, it was Wiremu Tamihana who, in placing a Bible on the head of Te Wherowhero, had bestowed on him the title of *Kingi* ‘King’, for which he himself came to be referred to among many Europeans as “the kingmaker” (Jones 1960: 220-26). Although

the Kīngitanga was seen as principally a mechanism for advancing Māori interests, many Pākehā viewed it as antagonistic to their own agenda and this way of thinking came to dominate official responses to the movement, over the voices of those who had argued in vain that it should be welcomed as a positive development (Ballara 1996: 8-9).

For opponents of the movement, the existence of supposed “moderate” and “extremist” factions within the Kīngitanga, headed by Wiremu Tamihana and Rewi Maniapoto respectively, highlighted the inherent danger of the movement, since it could be argued that, however well-meaning Wiremu Tamihana’s group were, there was no guarantee that their views would triumph over those said to be agitating for direct and violent action against the settlers. This view of the King Movement as deeply factionalised and divided has long dominated the way historians have described the Kīngitanga’s early years, allowing the otherwise obvious point that the movement’s supporters had more in common than divided them to become obscured. Moving beyond a crude binary approach that juxtaposes “good” Wiremu Tamihana against “bad” Rewi Maniapoto opens up opportunities to better understand both men on their own terms, helping to shed fresh light on what drove the Kīngitanga and its leading supporters in this period.

#### JOHN GORST AND THE ORIGINS OF THE STEREOTYPES

Let us begin with some understanding as to the origins of the older stereotypes. It starts with the decision of various Māori from the Waikato district to intervene in the first Taranaki War in 1860, prompting the Crown to label this as a direct challenge to its own authority and setting the platform for an eventual showdown in July 1863, when a full-scale invasion of Waikato was launched. The Taranaki War had begun in March 1860, when British troops fired on local Te Ātiawa, led by Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, who were attempting to block the forced survey of land at Waitara that the Crown insisted it had purchased despite strong opposition from many of the customary owners (Waitangi Tribunal 1996: 77-78). By June 1860 the first reinforcements for Waitara had arrived from the Waikato, amidst talk that the King’s flag was flying in Taranaki (Buddle 1860: 48)

The question of precisely which Waikato groups became involved in the Taranaki War and on what basis remains a matter of contention. The predominant viewpoint has it that Rewi Maniapoto and other “extremists”, mostly belonging to Ngāti Maniapoto, ignored all injunctions to the contrary from the King and other moderates such as Wiremu Tamihana, and immersed themselves in the conflict, whether out of pure hatred of the Pākehā or in hopes of provoking an even bigger confrontation. There have been multiple variations on this argument, many of which depict Ngāti Maniapoto as almost

fanatical in their obsession to become involved at Waitara. Perhaps the most influential commentator from this school was John Gorst, who had served as civil commissioner at Te Awamutu in the early 1860s before returning to England, where in 1864 he published his widely-cited work *The Maori King; or, The Story of Our Quarrel with the Natives of New Zealand* (Sorrenson 1990: 154-55). In it Gorst portrayed Ngāti Maniapoto not only as a large and powerful tribe, but also as “the most inveterate in hostility to the white race” (Gorst 1864: 24). He claimed that while many young men were animated solely by a fondness for adventure and mischief, “it was not so with Rewi Maniapoto, who having seen the war mania fairly progressing in Waikato, threw off all disguise, and went down in person to Taranaki, to pursue his design of involving the whole Maori people in a contest for supremacy with their European rivals” (Gorst 1864: 146).

In fact, Gorst went further than this, comparing and contrasting Ngāti Maniapoto and their most prominent *rangatira* with Ngāti Hauā and their leader. In this way, Gorst’s writings provided the genesis for some enduring stereotypes and myths. He wrote in 1862 that:

... though all disaffected, two very distinct phases of disaffection are exhibited, of which the Ngatimaniapoto and Ngatihaua tribes may be looked upon as the types. Between these tribes there is a strong and bitter rivalry. One cause of this is the personal emulation of Rewi Maniapoto and William Thompson, each of whom is desirous of being the head of this King Movement, and labours to increase his own influence, and undermine that of his rival. ... The Ngati Maniapoto are gone mad after soldiering and warlike demonstrations. They do not care for friendship with Europeans; they do not desire law and order, and they are afraid of the introduction of English Magistrates, lest they should prove too successful in the suppression of disorder, and in the control of individual liberty. The Ngatihaua, on the other hand, are labouring to perfect their own administrations of law, and to suppress misdeeds of every kind. They gladly accept our advice, and profess a desire for our friendship. Their opposition to Sir George Grey’s plans arises partly from temper, because they are mortified at having been so long overlooked, and from a distrust of the ability of English administration, and partly from losing their own independence, of which they have tasted the sweets. (Gorst 1862: 33-34)

Gorst gave as an example of this supposed division the drilled soldiers sent by the various tribes to mount guard over the Māori King at Ngāruawāhia, which had become the unofficial capital of the Kīngitanga after Pōtatau Te Wherowhero’s installation as the first King in 1858. The King’s guard was entirely an institution of Ngāti Maniapoto, Gorst claimed, and although Wiremu Tamihana did not oppose the idea, when the time came for Ngāti Hauā to furnish a contingent, he instead took down a group of men with

ploughs and proceeded to plant potatoes, insisting that this was the only soldiering his tribe could do (Gorst 1862: 34). According to Gorst, a law had not long ago been passed by the Kingite tribes banning magistrates and additional schoolmasters from their lands and, although it was a practical reality in respect of Ngāti Maniapoto, Wiremu Tamihana had confessed that he only agreed to such a rule through his frequent past disappointments at being unable to secure a teacher and minister for the school he had founded within his own village. Moreover, Tamihana, according to Gorst, had urged that they should agree to proposals for Waitara to be investigated, but Wiremu Kingi, who was said to be entirely under the sway of Rewi Maniapoto, had refused to contemplate such a course (Gorst 1862: 34).

Gorst added that “strong ill-feeling is growing up between the two parties: the evidence of it consists of tones, gestures and trifling remarks, which, though sufficient to produce belief in those who witness them, cannot be so put in writing as to produce the same belief in others”. He believed that both parties were making assiduous efforts to strengthen their positions, and although Rewi was in the ascendant at Ngāruawāhia, Tamihana was seeking to bolster his support at Tauranga and elsewhere in the east closer to Ngāti Hauā’s own lands. Gorst added that: “In the meanwhile, the one thing which keeps the two tribes from open rupture, is their joint fear of the Government; and as long as this lasts, they will outwardly hang together. It is for this reason that any attempt on our part to promote division would probably end in postponing it, and the only plan seems to be to wait and watch” (Gorst 1862: 34).

#### LATER HISTORIOGRAPHY

The depiction of Ngāti Maniapoto generally and Rewi Maniapoto in particular as extremists with an almost fanatical determination to fight the British runs deep in the historiography of the New Zealand Wars, all the way from John Featon to G.W. Rusden, James Cowan to Keith Sinclair and others (McDonald 1977: 5-8). And a corollary argument is that Ngāti Maniapoto, through their actions and gestures, provoked the Crown (whether justly or unjustly) into launching an invasion of the Waikato district in July 1863, and then escaped virtually scot-free from the subsequent confiscation of lands. Even fierce critics of the Government’s actions in the 1860s thus end up at least partly legitimising or justifying war and confiscation by reference to the supposed partial provocation of Ngāti Maniapoto and their leader.

Even otherwise sympathetic accounts of the Kīngitanga have sometimes followed this line. David McCan’s recent history of the Waikato *raupatu* ‘confiscation’ claim, for example, declares that:

Although it was generally [Ngāti] Maniapoto who threatened violence against Paakehaa in Taranaki, the impression was created that the three distinct entities of Raukawa, Maniapoto and Waikato were really all one people under the designation of 'Waikato tribes'. This association of Waikato with all disharmonious incidents was to be used as a justification for the invasion and confiscation of Waikato lands. (McCan 2001: 37)

Ron Crosby makes a similar comment in an even more recent work, writing of the "ultimate irony...that the lands of Ngāti Maniapoto...were left undisturbed during the confiscation process. This despite the fact that they had been the very Tainui hapū who had supported Wiremu Kingi in the fighting at Waitara, triggering the heavy-handed response of the invasion of Waikato" (Crosby 2015: 197).

On the issue of confiscation, it is entirely erroneous to claim that Ngāti Maniapoto had no lands taken from them (and equally wrong to describe them as a Tainui 'hapū'). In fact, Rewi Maniapoto's own settlement at Kihikihi, which had been sacked and looted by Imperial troops in February 1864, was later included within the area subject to confiscation under the New Zealand Settlements Act. In all, somewhere in the vicinity of 20,000 to 50,000 acres of Ngāti Maniapoto land was confiscated. That included every last acre of Ngāti Maniapoto land that British troops and their colonial allies managed to seize. If they could have conquered more territory then they would have taken more (Belich 1986: 200). As it was, the lands confiscated were among the tribe's most valuable and productive. In the 20th century Ngāti Maniapoto filed multiple petitions and appeals concerning their confiscated lands (O'Malley 2010b: 808-20). Once again the Gorst-generated myth does not tally with the reality on the ground. They did not escape confiscation but suffered alongside other Waikato tribes (and if the argument becomes one focussed on whether the *raupatu* inflicted on them was proportionate, then it ultimately legitimises the whole process of invasion and land seizures by suggesting that responsibility for these things can somehow be assigned among the respective tribes).

#### THE COUNTER-NARRATIVE

Beyond this straightforward question of fact lurks a bigger issue as to the prevalent depiction of Ngāti Maniapoto and their leading *rangatira* in the historiography of the wars. Here there is a counter-narrative that deserves serious consideration. Articulated most fully amongst historians perhaps only by Ann Parsonson, James Belich and Morehu McDonald (whose thesis charts and critiques the demonisation of the Ngāti Maniapoto *rangatira*), this view depicts Rewi Maniapoto as a realist rather than extremist and notes substantial



non-Maniapoto involvement in the Taranaki War. Belich, for example, states that, “The contemporary misnomers, ‘moderates’ and ‘extremists’ have stuck to the two major [Kīngitanga] parties, represented by Wiremu Tamehana (‘The Kingmaker’) and Rewi Maniapoto respectively. But all the Kingites were united in their opposition to the sale of land” (Belich 1986: 76).

The above point would appear obvious at first. But the way in which the Kīngitanga has been depicted, emphasising tribal differences and “factions”, has downplayed the extent to which it was driven by shared objectives and concerns. And as Parsonson has noted, exaggerated or alarmist accounts of divisions of opinion within the Kīngitanga were used by settler governments to dismiss the movement as dangerously unstable (Parsonson 1995: 94). Talking up internal ructions made it easier to argue that the regular reassurances of the Kīngitanga’s desire for peaceful co-existence with Pākehā could not be relied upon. What began as a politically-motivated justification for the invasion of Waikato has had a remarkably long appeal in the historiography of the New Zealand Wars.

A closer consideration of Rewi Maniapoto’s actions in the vital period between 1860 and 1863 invites a different understanding—one not in thrall to John Gorst’s alluring and enduring narrative. The depiction of Rewi as realist rather than extremist sees him as an astute reader of the contemporary political scene. As Belich (1986: 131) again put it, “At an early point in Grey’s governorship, Rewi had concluded that the British intended to invade Waikato in any circumstances short of a voluntary abandonment of the King Movement. It is possible that he was quite right.”

Given the public pronouncements of Governor Thomas Gore Browne (1855–61) it may not be unreasonable to conclude that Rewi had adopted this view of the Crown’s intentions at an even earlier date—perhaps from the time of Browne’s May 1861 statement that the Kīngitanga was “inconsistent with allegiance to the Queen, and in violation of the Treaty of Waitangi” (O’Malley 2010a: 370).

If Rewi is reimaged as realist rather than extremist, then perhaps Wiremu Tamihana might also need to be rethought as idealist rather than moderate, his belief that the Kīngitanga might be allowed to co-exist with the Crown being based more on a principled worldview than anything more concrete. Not that his view was entirely unrealistic. Some Europeans shared Tamihana’s conviction that some form of co-existence was possible, and their assessments found some sympathy within the Colonial Office, which was open to the possibility of declaring Waikato a self-governing “native district” under Section 71 of the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852. But the problem was that both Governor Browne and his successor George Grey (with the support of colonial ministers), proved more interested in demanding submission to the Crown than in reaching out for some kind of reconciliation (Ward 2008: 95).

Wiremu Tamihana's outlook was shaped in part by his Christian beliefs (hence the frequent biblical references in support of his actions). Importantly, he also operated on the basis of an apparent assumption that the Pākehā governors, officials and politicians he dealt with—nearly all of whom similarly professed to be Christians—shared those same ideals. As such, resolving contentious issues was simply a matter of appealing to common Christian convictions. That the Europeans he dealt with might not act in accordance with the Christian precepts they professed to share seems to have been beyond his comprehension. It was this that made Wiremu Tamihana an idealist. It also brought a great deal of anguish—in the wake of the Waikato War Tamihana described in a series of petitions the hurt, pain and confusion he had felt at being branded a warmonger by Pākehā when so much of his life had been devoted to the cause of peace (Stokes 2002: 455-91). “Am I a man of murder”, he asked in one, observing “I only fought for my body and my land; I had not any wish to fight” (Tamihana 1865: 3).

Yet Wiremu Tamihana was no fool, and his actions and beliefs were also governed by his standing as a senior *rangatira*. For great chiefs, maintenance of their own *mana* was dependent at least in part on acting honourably and with integrity. In return, they expected those they dealt with to behave likewise, and Tamihana's dealings with senior Crown figures (the Pākehā equivalent of *rangatira*) can be seen as reflecting this way of thinking. A great chief's word was their bond and Tamihana had every reason to believe the Pākehā politicians he dealt with when considered within this framework. His behaviour was consistent with the mark of a true *rangatira*, while also being in line with his long-established role as a peacemaker dating back to the 1830s. In speaking truth to power, Wiremu Tamihana was acting precisely as a great chief ought to have done.

Rewi Maniapoto's actions were also consistent with those of a *rangatira* seeking to protect his people. He was also a man of principles, guided by his understanding of appropriate chiefly behaviour, and in this sense these ideals shaped the nature of his interactions with others. But his outlook was different and so was his focus. Although he had long interacted with Anglican, Wesleyan and Catholic missionaries in the upper Waikato, Rewi adopted a more sceptical and less trusting worldview, one that equipped him to understand the realpolitik of Māori and settler relations in the mid-19th century far better than Wiremu Tamihana. As Morehu McDonald has argued:

Rewi was a *political realist*. He understood better than most of his contemporaries the uncompromising power and ambitions of European colonialism. Certainly the Maori King Movement had been inaugurated in 1858 as a defensive innovation to halt the advancing tide of European settlement, and was a focus for Maori nationalism and distrust of European

Government. However, its moderate and somewhat idealistic leaders preferred to adopt the traditional ‘taihoa’ (wait-and-see) policy which left them basically unprepared, politically, psychologically and militarily for the turn of events which led to the invasion of the Waikato in July 1863. What Rewi attempted to confer on Maori political leaders in this period was the realistic course of facing European aggression and preparing for the inevitability of war in defence of their homelands. (McDonald 1977: 10-11)

McDonald argues that Rewi Maniapoto’s skills as a military leader have if anything been overrated by most historians, who have conversely ignored or underplayed his political foresight and ability (McDonald 1977: 11). The *rangatira*’s political strategy, he argues, was a relatively straightforward one:

... preserve both Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto tribal lands from European encroachment by giving support, politically and militarily to the King Movement; and military assistance to their Taranaki allies. If Taranaki and Waikato survived European pressure, Ngati Maniapoto lands would also be secure. If, however, these two tribal ‘buffer zones’ were successfully invaded and occupied by Europeans, Ngati Maniapoto would find itself fighting on two fronts—a grave strategical error—without support from the defeated Waikato and Taranaki tribes. Survival of these two tribal territories meant survival for Ngati Maniapoto, while on the other hand, the defeat of the Waikato and Taranaki ‘buffer zones’ would also mean the ultimate defeat, politically and militarily, of Ngati Maniapoto. (McDonald 1977: 11-12)

Once he had become resigned to the inevitability of a showdown, McDonald adds, Rewi Maniapoto sought to unite all Māori in defence of a common homeland where they might all continue to live under their own laws and leaders. But old fears, rivalries and factionalism undermined the success of such an approach, and some older chiefs suspected Rewi was simply looking to boost his own *mana* or standing (McDonald 1977: 12).

Ngāti Maniapoto were “the colonists’ favourite bogeymen”, but even the Crown’s own contemporary records make it abundantly clear that they were far from the only Waikato tribe to become involved in the Taranaki War (Belich 1986: 145).<sup>1</sup> Besides Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Mahuta and other groups were liberally represented among the defenders of Waitara after June 1860. Indeed, Ngāti Hauā took a prominent role in the Mahoetahi battle fought on 6 November 1860, suffering very heavy losses in the engagement, including one of their most prominent *rangatira*, Te Wetini Taiporutu (Prickett 2005: 97-103). It was said that the Waitara dispute was given over to Wiremu Tamihana to settle in the wake of this battle in consideration of those of his tribe who had been killed (although it might also have reflected his acknowledged skills and experience as a peacemaker). In

fact, on the eve of the invasion of Waikato in 1863, one correspondent for the *Daily Southern Cross* newspaper attributed the Waikato tribes' ardent desire for peace to what had occurred at Taranaki some three years earlier. It was said that:

The disinclination to go to war with the troops which now exists throughout Waikato, is greatly owing to the losses the tribes of that district sustained during the Taranaki war three years ago. The Ngatihaua lost the greatest number, and are now the most peaceably inclined. One can scarcely find a village in the Waikato without a cripple in it; one has got his lower jaw shot away, and has since subsisted on spoon diet; a second is lame, and great numbers are disfigured more or less. Another reason of the aforesaid disinclination is that the Maoris consider that they have no quarrel with the Government, and they do not intend to make one; therefore Auckland people need have no fear whatever of attack by the Waikato Maoris, as these are all well employed cultivating their soil, the Ngatimaniapoto being the only disaffected tribe, and they being well convinced that they have no chance of success in an attack upon either the troops or the European villages near Auckland. In fact the Waikatos are more afraid of the Governor than Europeans are of the Maoris. ... Auckland was never more safe than it is at present from an attack by the Waikato Maoris.<sup>2</sup>

But if Rewi was preparing to defend his territory from attack, he was also willing to explore opportunities to peacefully resolve matters. Late in 1862, for example, Rewi personally invited Governor Grey to Waikato. Grey's subsequent dramatic and unscheduled visit on New Year's Day in 1863 might have finally convinced Rewi that the Kīngitanga would not be permitted to survive. It was during the course of this *hui* 'meeting or assembly' that Grey had declared that he would dig around the King until he fell of his own accord (Gorst 1864: 324). Rewi subsequently cited this statement in defence of his decision to expel Gorst from Te Awamutu in April.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE WAIKATO WAR

Later, in the run up to the invasion of Waikato in July 1863, Rewi Maniapoto stood accused not just of ordering the attack on British troops at Ōakura on 4 May that re-ignited the Taranaki War for the first time since the truce brokered by Wiremu Tamihana early in 1861, but also of plotting an imminent assault on Auckland. This alleged plan was said to have compelled the Crown to take pre-emptive action by moving troops into Waikato. There was just one problem with this scenario: Rewi Maniapoto was actually returning from a *tangi* or 'mourning ceremony' in Taupō when he received news from a messenger that British troops had crossed the Mangatāwhiri River, widely understood and acknowledged as the boundary between Kīngitanga and Crown-controlled

territories (O'Malley 2013: 46). If, as his accusers alleged, he was on the verge of laying waste to Auckland at this very time, then his preparations were baffling indeed. But in reality Rewi had no such intention. Believing that war was inevitable, and wishing to strike first before the British troops had completed their own preparations, Rewi had argued in favour of a pre-emptive strike against the British position at Te Ia, in the Waikato. But Wiremu Tamihana's argument that if a war must be fought then it should be a just and righteous one, and that this would be forfeited if the Kīngitanga struck first, carried the day. Following this *hui*, held at Ngāruawāhia probably in May or early June, Rewi had abided by the wishes of the majority and travelled south to Taupō, abandoning plans to attack the British troops who were beginning to assemble in ever greater numbers along the Waikato frontier. As Renata Kawepo and other Hawke's Bay chiefs who inquired into the causes of the Waikato War later told Isaac Featherston, "Rewi proposed then to fight, but it was disapproved by Matutaera, by Tamehana, by Te Paea, and the Chiefs of Waikato. In consequence of their strong opposition, Rewi desisted, and he came to Taupo to the *tangi* for (the death of) Te Heuheu".<sup>4</sup> Rewi was himself said to be planning to visit Hawke's Bay in the near future—hardly ideal preparation for an attack on Auckland.

Rewi Maniapoto would become the fall guy for a deliberate Crown war of conquest. It was much harder to tar Wiremu Tamihana with the same brush, though that did not stop some people from trying. A friendly warning to Tauranga missionary Alfred Brown to be on his guard was for these purposes twisted into a sinister statement of intent (Sewell 1864: 34). That was made even more challenging by the fact the letter was drafted two weeks after the war had already commenced and by Brown's forceful defence of Tamihana.

When the British troops found themselves short of provisions in the early stages of the war due to successful Māori assaults on their supply lines, Wiremu Tamihana sent their commander, Lieutenant-General Duncan Cameron, via the loyalist chief Wiremu Te Wheoro, goats, turkeys and other provisions, accompanied by a letter citing the old scriptural injunction that "when thine enemy hunger feed him, when he thirst give him drink" (Anon. 1863). Although perhaps intended as an act of Christian charity, Tamihana's gesture was also consistent with how a *rangatira* of great *mana* and standing might behave—that is, in an honourable and generous manner. In Wiremu Tamihana we see both the chiefly and Christian imperatives intertwined, making it difficult at times to disentangle these (even were that considered necessary or desirable).

As for Rewi Maniapoto, his actions during the Waikato War belied the image of a war-crazed "savage" previously advanced. Not only did he insist on fighting fairly and honourably throughout the war, but on multiple occasions

he also urged caution. When his own settlement of Kihikihi was torched and destroyed by British troops on 23 February 1864, Rewi and his followers watched the sad spectacle unfold from a hill across the river, resisting the temptation to try and prevent the sacking and deliberate destruction of their village. Meanwhile, during the course of the Ōrākau siege just over a month later, some of the Urewera chiefs, perhaps remembering the British actions at Rangiriri in November 1863 (when the *pā* had controversially been seized under a white flag), advocated hoisting a white flag of their own and firing on the troops as they advanced towards the *pā*. This suggestion was overruled by others (probably including Rewi Maniapoto) who declared that they “would not agree to such treachery, because this was not after the manner of chiefs” (Te Paerata 1888: 5).

Rewi Maniapoto had previously intervened to prevent one of his men from cutting out the heart of a dead young soldier who had fallen just outside the *pā*'s defences in the early attempts to storm it, even though it was customary to make a sacrificial offering of the first fallen in this way, reportedly insisting that “we are fighting under the religion of Christ” (Cowan 1983 [I]: 381). For all of the attempts on the part of the British to portray Rewi as a man of violent and savage temperament, he appears to have been more of a stickler for appropriate military etiquette than were some of the British commanders (whose actions in attacking Rangiaowhia in February 1864, even though the village was considered a place of sanctuary for women, children and the elderly, was denounced by the Kīngitanga as contrary to the accepted norms of warfare). As for the supposed divisions between the two chiefs, it bears remembering that Rewi Maniapoto was on his way to consult Wiremu Tamihana about the future conduct of the war when he was stopped by a Tūhoe party en route and persuaded, against his better judgement, to take a stand at Ōrākau (Cowan 1983 [I]: 367).

#### CONCLUSION

The perception that a hardcore element existed within the King Movement that posed a serious threat to the Crown and settlers was promoted to justify a deliberate war of conquest in 1863, and endures to some extent today. Observers then and since have identified this “extremist” faction as being headed by Rewi Maniapoto and backed by the solid support of many other Ngāti Maniapoto tribal members. The implication advanced by a number of contemporary observers and later historians has often been that it was through the actions of Ngāti Maniapoto and their leader that Waikato was invaded by British troops in 1863 and the district confiscated. That argument comes dangerously close to legitimising the Crown's actions at Waikato as having been at least in part provoked by Ngāti Maniapoto. But it is also a viewpoint

that fails to stack up on closer scrutiny. For one thing, the depiction of the Kīngitanga as a deeply divided movement loses sight of the fact that figures such as Rewi Maniapoto and Wiremu Tamihana had more in common than divided them. Moreover, at various times Rewi Maniapoto demonstrated a genuine interest in negotiating mutually agreeable terms with the Crown, even while making it clear that he was prepared to fight in defence of the Kīngitanga should this prove necessary. Ultimately, Wiremu Tamihana was also willing to take up arms in defence of the King Movement. For Wiremu Tamihana the war was both shocking (in its origins and conduct, such as the attack on Rangiaowhia), as well as being deeply depressing. For Rewi Maniapoto the conflict was at least not surprising, since he had long held that such an outcome would be inevitable so long as Waikato Māori refused to voluntarily disband the Kīngitanga. That was a realistic perspective. Rewi Maniapoto did not start the Waikato War. But (unlike Wiremu Tamihana), he did anticipate it.

Contrasting “moderate” Wiremu Tamihana with “extremist” Rewi Maniapoto creates a false binary. Both *rangatira* were staunch defenders of the Kīngitanga they helped create. Both were deeply principled men in their own way and both acted precisely as befitted their statuses as great chiefs. That John Gorst’s alternative view, juxtaposing “good” Wiremu Tamihana against “bad” Rewi Maniapoto, has been allowed to stand for so long flies in the face of this evidence. We should remember these two great *rangatira* on their own terms and in their own way.

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#### NOTES

1. See, for example, the various reports of “rebel” Māori killed or wounded and their tribal affiliations: *New Zealand Gazette*, 7 November 1860, No. 33, p. 190; *New Zealand Gazette*, 28 January 1861, No. 5, p. 23.
2. *Daily Southern Cross*, 6 July 1863.
3. Gorst to Bell, 1 April 1863. *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1863, E-1, pp. 13-14.
4. Renata Tamakihikurangi and others to Featherston, 19 October 1863. *AJHR*, 1863, E-11, p. 4.

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#### ABSTRACT

The depiction of Ngāti Maniapoto generally and Rewi Maniapoto in particular as extremists with an almost fanatical determination to fight the British runs deep in the historiography of the New Zealand Wars, all the way from John Featon to G. W. Rusden, James Cowan to Keith Sinclair and others. And a corollary argument is that Ngāti Maniapoto, through their actions and gestures, provoked the Crown (whether justly or unjustly) into launching an invasion of the Waikato district in July 1863, and

then escaped virtually scot-free from the subsequent confiscation of lands. Even fierce critics of the government's actions in the 1860s thus end up at least partly legitimising or justifying war and confiscation by reference to the supposed partial provocation of Ngāti Maniapoto and their leader. Their stance is often contrasted with that of Wiremu Tamihana, who is said to have been leader of the "moderate" Kīngitanga faction. This article argues that the differences between the two *rangatira* have been overstated. Wiremu Tamihana and Rewi Maniapoto had more in common than divided them. Furthermore, rather than conceptualising this in terms of "moderate" versus "extremist", the difference between the two *rangatira* might be better conceptualised as idealist versus realist. Considered within the context of Māori custom, moreover, both men operated within the accepted limits of chiefly behaviour, which was concerned above all with questions of *mana*.

*Keywords:* Rewi Maniapoto, Wiremu Tamihana, *rangatira*, Māori, Waikato War, chiefly behaviour

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# INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP: CULTURAL CODING AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF NGĀTI WHĀTUA IN NEW ZEALAND

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“What do you make of this, partner?”

The opening quote was the message of the Ngāti Whātua *hapū* or ‘kin community’ leader to the New Zealand Government as he and his team sat down with Crown representatives during the late 1990s–2000s to discuss and to settle the community’s outstanding Treaty of Waitangi claim.<sup>1</sup> The Ngāti Whātua claim concerned what was in essence the loss of their ancestral land that now encapsulates the Auckland urban sprawl. The area covered much of the central, northern and western parts of New Zealand’s largest city. Its significance is conveyed by ancient names of the wider area, including *Tamaki Makaurau* ‘Tamaki desired by hundreds’, *Tamaki Herenga Waka* ‘Tamaki the place where canoes are tied’, *Tamaki Kainga Ika me Ngā Wheua Katoa* ‘Tamaki where fish and bones are so succulent that they are all consumed’. Historically then, as these names indicate, it is clear that Tamaki had a great deal to offer. In addition to the Treaty claim, other major initiatives in Tamaki have taken shape over the past 20 years as Ngāti Whātua sought to re-establish their interests in the region. These have led towards major socio-economic transformation for the kin community. They have also required astute leadership and a re-kindling of a partnership with the Crown, despite the history that saw a total breakdown of this relationship. One enterprise in particular has involved entrepreneurial “edge”, including having considerable ingenuity, pushing boundaries and having some degree of risk-taking. There was much at stake, all of which hinged on reinvigorating the community’s identity in the eyes of its descendants and the wider public. Now, the small community’s transformation is starting to take shape. The Treaty claim has been settled. Cultural regeneration is occurring. Much is yet to be undertaken economically and culturally, but there is much to learn from the last 15 to 20 years.

This article traces this recent past. It focuses on one particular journey in the 1990s to acquire a large area of Auckland central business district land, formerly railway land. The community’s relatively sudden propulsion into major economic advancement that started with the purchase and development

of this land has been given much attention by mainstream media. Beyond the headlines and public commentary though are deeper issues concerning the opportunities taken or lost, and the outcomes that have arisen despite setbacks or constraints. I examine closely the leadership behind the Ngāti Whātua Railway Land initiative, the actions taken, the lessons learned and the implications that these events have had for the community's identity, place and future. While these things by themselves are worthy of telling, the story is also one from which broader theories of indigenous entrepreneurship can be considered.<sup>2</sup>

To situate the enterprise, I discuss current indigenous entrepreneurship literature, the place of Māori entrepreneurship within that broader context, and the gap or the opportunity to examine culture in entrepreneurship more specifically. I then turn to exploring the idea of “cultural coding for entrepreneurship” and what that means in the case study context. I briefly consider methodological approaches to the research for this article to help frame the discussion of events that then follows in the remainder of the article.

#### INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Māori entrepreneurial endeavour stems back some 20 or more generations ago to their ancestors who traversed the 3000-plus km expanse of the Pacific Ocean from Tahiti or Rarotonga to New Zealand (Tapsell 2014). Excursions also occurred between East Polynesia, New Zealand and South America. This entrepreneurial spirit continued as the first inhabitants to New Zealand explored and adapted to new lands (Anderson *et al.* 2015, Buck 1950, Firth 1972, Tapsell 2014, Walker 1990). It took on new forms generations later when they engaged in new international and domestic markets in the early decades of the 19th century with non-Māori settlers (Petrie 2006), through harvesting flax, providing *kauri* (*Agathis australis*) tree trunks as spars for ships, or running their own schooners or flour mills. In contemporary times, entrepreneurship is different again as Māori respond to and create new social or economic opportunities, either at home within community contexts, in cities away from customary territories or even internationally. Recipients of enterprises may be community-wide or they may derive from within smaller family contexts (Mahuika 1992). Yet despite the flourishing of entrepreneurship by Māori groups and individuals and their ancestral precedents, little theoretical development has occurred except in recent years. Those contributing theoretical insights include Frederick and Henry (2004), Henry (2007), Kawharu *et al.* (2012) and Tapsell and Woods (2008a, 2008b, 2010).

Māori entrepreneurship can be seen as a branch of indigenous entrepreneurship, where “indigenous” broadly relates to people who self-identify as

the first or original inhabitants. Although there is no one simple definition of indigenous people given the diversity and richness of experiences worldwide, the United Nations' broad understanding of indigenous people is helpful. The UN describes indigenous peoples as those who have "historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies, [a] strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources, distinct social, economic or political systems, distinct language, culture and beliefs, [and they often, but not always] form non-dominant groups of society" (United Nations n.d.). The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has a similar view: "Indigenous and tribal peoples have their own cultures, languages, customs and institutions, which distinguish them from other parts of the societies in which they find themselves." (ILO n.d.).

Entrepreneurship within indigenous contexts, an emerging field of inquiry, is equally difficult to define given the multiple experiences and interpretations of "being" indigenous, and the wide boundaries of investigation. Issues explored include, for example, purposes of indigenous entrepreneurship, which aim towards nation-building (Anderson and Giberson 2004) or self-development "by and for indigenous people" in response to histories of colonisation and/or deprivation where indigenous peoples are agents of change (Anderson *et al.* 2004a, 2004b, Dana 2007, Dana and Anderson 2007, Henry 2007, Hindle and Lansdowne 2005). Indigenous entrepreneurship is understood by some to operate at the intersection of social and economic entrepreneurship (Anderson *et al.* 2006, Tapsell and Woods 2008a). Henry (2007: 542) agrees, adding that for Māori, entrepreneurship is "underpinned by social objectives to improve wealth and well-being for the community, rather than just the individual". Kawharu (2014) and Robinson (2014) add to this general line of thinking in respect of Māori communities where economic aspirations in business enterprise function as means towards ends that are actually intrinsically about socio-cultural and economic well-being or enhancement. Other indigenous peoples appear to share similar integrated, socio-economic, including cultural, aspirations as well (Dana and Anderson 2007).

An opportunity for indigenous entrepreneurship more generally, and for Māori entrepreneurship theories in particular, is to explore the nuances of culture, which are currently not well understood (Kawharu *et al.* 2012, Lindsay 2005). In addressing this gap, Hindle and Lansdowne (2005) offer insights where, for example, "culture" is central to entrepreneurship via: the heritage positioning index, the autonomy-accountability network (where autonomy distinguishes one venture from another and where the venture must be accountable to multiple groups), and the twin skills inventory (where technical and cultural skills are both vital). These are important facets in the Ngāti Whātua innovation in respect of the mix of skills of the leaders, their

cultural values, and the leaders' accountability back to the kin community. Frederick and Henry (2004), Kawharu *et al.* (2012) and Tapsell and Woods (2008a, 2008b) discuss culture in entrepreneurship in two further important ways in New Zealand. One is to consider culture in its historical context as an important guide for current innovation. And the second is to view culture as expressed in complementary leadership roles, roles which work together towards the identification and realisation of innovation (Kawharu *et al.* 2012, Tapsell and Woods 2008a, 2008b).

Building on these insights, the idea of "cultural coding" can be used as a frame to identify and explain standout variables for entrepreneurial endeavour within Ngāti Whātua. As alluded to above, the first point is the primacy of history for coding why the entrepreneurship should take shape. Ngāti Whātua's story is about transformative events of recent times, but it is also a story deeply embedded in their past. As discussed further below, their history of virtually complete land loss over a 120-year period, a process which began in the 1840s and continued until 1951. Their resilience as a community in the face of this loss are central planks for guiding the kind of entrepreneurial outcomes that they sought. History uncovers an inter-related web of events and leadership, which in turn provide guiding markers to later generations for what was important, what should be done and how. Their past essentially describes how the community maintained their survival in the face of challenge, crisis or adversity or in the face of opportunity, and how in the process they maintained access to economic, political or social resources. The actions of Ngāti Whātua leaders over generations in post-European contact times centred on the desire to secure, or more accurately, resurrect their community's connection and title to ancestral land, land which was and is their source of cultural, economic and political well-being, status and identity (I.H. Kawharu 1975, 1989, M. Kawharu 2004, Waitangi Tribunal 1987). Put into context and into a contemporary view, their *whakapapa* 'genealogical past' covering these key motivations provides the basis or a "ground up" perspective that ensures that development or innovation fits their circumstances and values.

Related to these ideas, cultural coding for entrepreneurship also extends to values within the kinship system. Three were of particular importance to Ngāti Whātua: *mana*, *manaaki* and *kotahitanga*. *Mana*, interpreted to mean authority and strength, was evident when the Ngāti Whātua members and their strategic advisors voiced fervent perspectives to an intransigent, but ultimately changing, Crown position about land price and partnership. *Mana* applied to each of the key leaders involved in this story. Each were strong, powerful and persuasive advocates in their own unique ways in arguing or presenting a specifically Ngāti Whātua perspective to private sector agents

and commercial entities as well. But *mana* was also about the *hapū* regaining their foothold or presence in their ancestral landscape. And it was about their leaders leading initiatives with the outcomes of strengthening *hapū* identity and confidence in the eyes of the kin community, the wider Māori world, the civic community and wider New Zealand. The national-level perspective was an important one given the recent history of Ngāti Whātua and the nationally-significant Bastion Point protest, occupation and campaign, as will be discussed below.

*Manaaki*, meaning to care for or to consider others, is the complementary cultural value or counterpart to *mana*. While *mana* is concerned with rights or what can be gained, *manaaki* is essentially about duties or what can be given. *Manaaki* was a key cultural element that coded the kin community's entrepreneurial success. It applied to each of the leaders in terms of their respect for one another. It also applied to the leadership group as a team, in relation to the kin community. After all, it was the community, that is, the living and those yet to be born, for whom they were bothering to take risks, to go out on a limb, and to create something socially and economically visionary for inter-generational benefit. To put it simply, cultural coding for entrepreneurship within the Ngāti Whātua context was very clearly driven by the *mana/manaaki* dynamic.

*Kotahitanga*, or unity, I apply to the idea “*kotahitanga* of difference”, which principally refers to the complementary, but different, customary-based leadership values and roles that operated within the Ngāti Whātua innovation context. These included *rangatira* ‘chiefly leaders’ who are risk-alert, *potiki* ‘opportunity-seeking’ usually younger, leaders who may be risk-takers, *kaumātua* ‘elders’ who are often risk-adverse and *tohunga* ‘specialists’. One individual could embrace one or more of these values or roles. This paper essentially expands on earlier articles which have examined customary-based leadership in innovation and which focussed on two types—*potiki* and *rangatira* (Tapsell and Woods 2008b, 2010). A significant factor in this story is not only how four leadership values were important as reflective of cultural principles, but also how each worked together, hence *kotahitanga* of difference. Leaders within the core leadership team acknowledged the different styles and perspectives of each other. But more than that, these differences were seen as strengths. On the basis of acceptance of difference, multiple issues could be navigated from complementarily viewpoints. Additionally, opportunities to act were seen by some of the leaders that were not seen by other members of the leadership team. Opportunity recognition itself is a key plank in entrepreneurship studies and I return to this further below. For purposes of the current discussion, however, the team approach applied within Ngāti Whātua was essential as



they progressed their enterprise aspirations.

Other writers (e.g., Foley 2008a, Peredo 2001, Peredo and Chrisman 2006,) have noted the salience of team-based leadership in indigenous entrepreneurship elsewhere and it is worthwhile to elaborate upon this idea to further orientate discussions in the case study. Team-based leadership is an approach that could be described as a kind of collective entrepreneurship (Anderson *et al.* 2006: 60, Frederick and Henry 2004, Kawharu *et al.* 2012, Schumpeter 1949, Tapsell and Woods 2008a, 2008b) that is essentially based on strong networks within and beyond a community. Joseph Schumpeter, a leading thinker in early entrepreneurship studies, recognised that entrepreneurship might not only operate through individuals, but also through a collective approach. He explained that entrepreneurship need not be embodied in “[...] a single physical person [and] may be and often is filled co-operatively” (Schumpeter 1949: 256). The *kotahitanga* of difference theme effectively builds upon this broad idea. Related to team leadership is the importance of social networks for entrepreneurs (Davidsson and Honig 2003, Foley 2008b, Jenssen 2001) and cases such as that of Ngāti Whātua also demonstrate the reliance on these networks within a culturally-accountable or kin-accountable context.

Yet, while collective or team-based entrepreneurship and history may be important, Foley (2008b) and Anderson *et al.* (2006: 60) also remind us of the individuality of indigenous entrepreneurship, groups and communities. There is no homogenised indigenous entrepreneurial “way”, different from other forms of entrepreneurship. Some factors will be shared across cultures, others will not. Foley (2008b: 209-10) considered, for example, the almost total destructive effects of colonisation on social (and cultural) networks within Australian Aboriginal peoples and the consequent cultural, social and physical isolation of (many) entrepreneurs, who out of necessity, sought mentorship and support from non-indigenous peoples. In the cases Foley studied, the entrepreneurs did not have support or networks within their communities, which necessitated them to seek those things from outside in order to succeed. Their endeavours were also often geared towards personal or family-focussed goals rather than wider community advancement aspirations (Foley, 2008b). In contrast, in New Zealand and Hawaiian examples, community networks (and accountabilities) were present and important to entrepreneurs and yet colonisation also had devastating, but different, effects in those countries as well (Foley 2008b).

While there are vast differences between the three countries in experiences concerning their indigenous populations and the geographic spread and population concentration of the communities, a key point remains: history does impact on indigenous entrepreneurship, either negatively, positively or

both. History provides an important socio-economic contextual backdrop to more fully understand entrepreneurship within indigenous communities today. How history impacts or affects contemporary enterprise can be measured, in terms of for whom and for what purpose enterprises were created (e.g., for individual, family or community ends). In terms of accountability ties, they may or may not be important, depending on the historical trajectory of indigenous entrepreneurs and their communities of origin. Thus, to summarise so far, cultural coding for entrepreneurship entails essential features for Ngāti Whātua which includes history; the guiding cultural values *kotahitanga* of difference; the *mana/manaaki* dynamic; accountability networks and duties; and team leadership.

Three final elements of broader entrepreneurship thinking need to be mentioned as well because they are equally salient to Ngāti Whātua. The first borrows from economist Ludwig Lachmann, who described entrepreneurship as a continuous process of combining and recombining resources (Lachman 1978, 1986; see also discussions in Chiles *et al.* 2007, Kawharu *et al.* 2012, Tapsell and Woods 2010). Essentially, the resources in Ngāti Whātua were: (i) the people/leaders, skills and values, (ii) land, (iii) finance and (iv) related to the first point about people, strategic partnerships. The second point returns to Schumpeter who described innovation effectively as new combinations (see discussion in Chiles *et al.* 2007, Kawharu *et al.* 2012, Tapsell and Woods 2008a, 2008b, 2010). The resources within Ngāti Whātua were brought together in different and new ways to enable transformation. This meant dipping into the cultural *kete* ‘kit’ of expertise and experience, and from that basis seeking additional expertise from outside the community as required. The third idea concerns opportunity recognition, which is another major feature of entrepreneurship theories (Roberts and Woods 2005). The basic argument is that entrepreneurs identify opportunities or better ways from the norm to create and develop new value resulting in improved social and/or economic outcomes. An economic slant on this idea emphasises how individuals seize an opportunity to transform markets through innovation (Schumpeter 1934). A social entrepreneurship view of opportunity recognition is concerned with the construction, evaluation and pursuit of opportunities for social change (Chell 2007, Roberts and Woods 2005) and as innovation that aims to create or nurture social value rather than economic wealth (Austin *et al.* 2006).

## RESEARCH METHODS

Before discussing the details of the Railway Land story, I outline a few notes about this research and my place within it. Over the last 30 to 40 years, numerous academics have discussed the importance of locating researchers’

positions in the research process (Angrosino 2005, Davies 2008, Headland *et al.* 1990, O'Connor 2004, Smith 1999), and especially as it relates to a researcher's own culture (Kuwayama 2003, Ohnuki-Tierney 1984, Smith 1999). Identifying a researcher's position acknowledges not only connections between researcher(s) and participants, but also situates the perspective from which material is interpreted, including the degree to which reflexivity (Davies 2008) of the researcher within the research process is understood. In my case, because of my genealogical (*whakapapa*) connections to Ngāti Whātua and my engagement within *hapū* affairs over a number of years, I was privileged to access empirical data through the views of the key people involved in the innovation. I had also previously undertaken research for the Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei (community trust of Ōrākei) representative entities, which gave me further insights from a strategic operational level into the broader community aspirations as led by their elected leaders. In terms of specific connections, I had a close family connection to the community's late *kaumātua* 'elder', Hugh Kawharu, who led the Treaty claim and who was also a key member of the small group that oversaw the Railway Land venture. Many discussions between Hugh and myself outside the formal realms of tribal meetings took place over the years. This article is shaped by those discussions. The Railway Land story is also one told by two *kaumātua*, Te Puna Tumahai and Joe Hawke, and (now Judge) Chris McGuire, who were instrumental in Ngāti Whātua's growth, development and entrepreneurship. Also central to the narrative is Patrick Snedden, who had a leading role in progressing the Railway Land initiative, and who was also involved in the early stages of the Treaty claim. Each of their views emerged from *kōrero* or 'interviews' I have had with them since 2013, some 20 years after the Railway Land innovation began. In the case of Te Puna, we would also *kōrero* or talk about Ngāti Whātua matters outside the interview context, as for example at the Ōrākei *marae* complex 'ceremonial courtyard, meeting house and dining hall' during functions of one sort or another. These provided a wider, rounded perspective on *hapū* futures. In essence, the advantages of my background, the relationships already established and the confidence they had in me to treat their information appropriately are that I am able to offer a nuanced, "insider" (Headland *et al.* 1990) account of the innovation.

My perspective is not, however, so neatly positioned simply as an insider. I am, from genealogical and contracted working perspectives, also an outsider to the events, and a university researcher working on a Government-funded project. The insider/outsider dichotomy is not, therefore, completely helpful. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) and Smith (1999) describe another kind of positioning within an investigative space as "somewhere in between the two". That applies broadly to my circumstances. However, to elaborate further on

that positionality descriptor, my role may be more accurately explained as an “included researcher” (Fig. 1), which in a Māori research context is based on *whakapapa*-informed principles and practice. *Whakapapa* in principle refers to a researcher’s cultural and social identity, while *whakapapa* in practice begins with having privileged access to information because of insider connections and it then frames how the material is interpreted and located within a historical narrative of community identity. Key steps in the historical narrative developed through an “included researcher” enquiry can be summarised as:

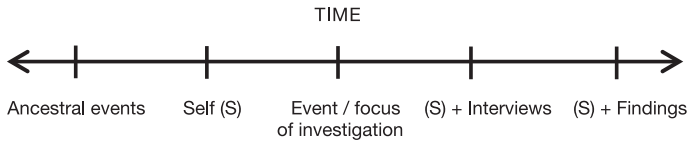


Figure 1. Historical narrative and “included researcher” location.

The “included researcher” position enables me to begin from a position of *manaaki* or inclusivity by virtue of my *hapū* membership, but also enables me to be one step removed and investigate from “outside of the action”.

#### ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN NGĀTI WHĀTUA

In turning to explore the innovation within Ngāti Whātua, their starting point in terms of guiding principles, as outlined so far, is their history. Theirs has centrally been about their plight in securing their place within their ancestral landscape and affirming these values in the eyes of their community as well as others external to them: central and local governments and Auckland citizens. These were issues when the first government was established in Auckland in 1840 following Ngāti Whātua’s invitation to the British to bring its government to their lands, and which have continued through to today.<sup>3</sup> Achieving such ends may seem relatively straight-forward. However, a different picture is revealed when the community’s key motivation over many decades has centred on confronting Crown and local government over land acquisition and loss. Ultimately, the community was reduced to owning a quarter acre [0.1 hectares]—a cemetery at that. Their living narrative has then been about responses to setbacks and, fundamentally, acquiring and then re-securing ancestral land.

The years leading up to the Railway Land venture and the Treaty claim were critical in terms of entrepreneurship building blocks. As a first step, the creation and nurturing of accountability links between individuals (the leaders) and their community needed to take place. This was a clear,

demarkated phase, totally unconnected to the specifics of the entrepreneurship in subsequent years, but entirely connected to the community. Essentially, leaders had to prove their worth to lead. In the process, the community was given the opportunity to accept, or to reject, this leadership. This was reciprocity in action and it was a central ingredient in creating the grounds for entrepreneurship to materialise in years to come.

Throughout the 1970s, three key people came to have roles within the Ngāti Whātua community in critical events that essentially set in train the way that Ngāti Whātua would organise themselves to confront challenges, both immediately in front of them and in the future. In 1978 the first board, called the Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei Māori Trust Board, constituted by Section 4 of the Orakei Block (Vesting and Use) Act 1978, was established.

Before this occurred, a series of activities and events unfolded that became foundational to shaping Ngāti Whātua's existence and status in the eyes of Aucklanders and wider New Zealand. Essentially the community was provoked into a defensive position, brought about by a Government plan to turn a pristine open headland area bordering the community and *marae* into a new housing "suburb" for the wealthy. The land in question was arguably one of the most valuable areas of real estate in the country, but to Ngāti Whātua its economic value was not what made it important. It was their ancestral land.

The "defensive position" took the form of a protest occupation of the land for 506 days until 25th May 1978, known as the Bastion Point occupation. This occupation was led by Joe Hawke and others. Joe exercised a pivotal role, also representing a growing broader Māori resistance to the engines of modern colonisation and brought attention to the injustices to Māori regarding land. The occupation was a climax of previous efforts to "right wrongs" in relation to land (<http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/bastion-point--the-untold-story-1999>, Waitangi Tribunal 1987). Through Joe's leadership, the community's plight was laid out.

The "land issue" that lay simmering beneath the frustrations in the 1970s was not only in relation to the pristine headland that was occupied, but also to the acquisition of wider lands, including their former village which had been nestled in the bay below until 1951. In that year the last of the remaining lands that lay under their village were acquired. Residents of remaining homes strongly refused to leave. Many were, however, forcibly removed and relocated to the hill nearby, next to the headland "occupation" area. State houses were built on this hill and community members moved into them, now as tenants in Crown-owned houses and on Crown land (Kawharu 1975, 1989, Waitangi Tribunal 1987). This eviction was one of the most poignant of moments recalled by Te Puna and Joe as they remembered as youth the despair of their *kaumātua* including *kuia* 'elder women' at having to leave their homes and

seeing their meeting house and homes burnt and destroyed. It is said amongst community members that someone from within the community deliberately burned the meeting house. That they were already being forced to leave was difficult enough, and the community did not want further insult to be added to the existing hurt by having outsiders take away their ancestral meeting house. Rather, it was thought, it was better to deal with the house themselves.

Also during the 1970s there were “offline” discussions, out of the public eye, between Ngāti Whātua elders, aided or driven by Hugh Kawharu on the one hand, and Government on the other hand. As reported elsewhere (e.g., Waitangi Tribunal 1987), several issues concerned the elders and Hugh, but the heart of these concerns was to restore tribal control over land and houses for Ngāti Whātua. They were similar arguments to those of Joe and others, but also different in specifics and in the solutions sought. In particular, Hugh and the elders sought “control” through a Trust entity that would bring the lands and houses into a unified administration under the customary authority of Ngāti Whātua. The land focus was restricted to a specific area, leaving aside, but also signalling to the Government, the issue of broader grievances relating to the wider area (including the former village that was destroyed, the *marae* and surrounding land) for a subsequent case, one that ultimately became the “Ōrākei claim” (Waitangi Tribunal 1987).

In the middle of the two channels of strong leadership was another—Te Puna Tumahai. He is closely related to Joe Hawke, but also worked closely with Hugh and the elders. He held a strategic middle ground, meaning that he could easily manoeuvre between family groups as a trusted relation. In time these connections and relationships provided a solid base of support, something that was essential in the field of tribal politics. When it came to holding a formal role as a trustee on the first elected Trust Board, the ground work in demonstrating accountability to the tribal community led towards Te Puna polling highest (Waitangi Tribunal 1987: 169). He was one of the longest serving members of the Trust Board and Deputy (to Hugh) for many years.

All three had different leadership approaches and were focussed on different, but also similar, issues. Joe, for example, was concerned to publically voice his concerns and raise the profile of issues, similar to other indigenous or minority movements around the world at the time. Hugh was concerned to find solutions, also according to customary protocols and *kaumātua* acceptance, and pressure the Government to accept them through negotiation and persuasion. And Te Puna was concerned to ensure respectful relationships were kept, support the new efforts for establishing a board, and support elders. Parallel pathways were undertaken within Ngāti Whātua, each opposing Government policy in the quest to resurrect the *mana* of Ngāti Whātua.

While the leadership positions were clearly demarcated, it was this precise “mix”—*kotahitanga* of difference—that was a critical success factor of the entrepreneurship in relation to the Railway Land deal in the 1990s. At one end of the spectrum there was the outspoken, edgy, risk-taking and boundary-pushing persona of Joe. It was a brave, fearless, leadership. At the other end of the spectrum was the moderate intellectual style of leadership of Hugh, and Te Puna maintained the important kin-connecting middle space, very similar to elder roles (Kawharu *et al.* 2013). The leadership styles were complementary, and they were borne out of resistance to the Crown and collaboration within the community. The difficult period of the 1970s essentially saw each of the key people demonstrate and develop their accountability to community members. By the 1990s, each undertook critical roles as trusted representatives for the community concerning the former railway lands.

#### THE EVENTS: THE RAILWAY LAND INITIATIVE

Hugh Kawharu (pers. comm.) described the Railway Land venture, which began with the purchase of 24.3 hectares of Auckland central business district land, as by far the most important commercial transaction that the *iwi* had been involved in since European contact, which began some 160 years ago. Te Puna agreed, saying it was “the singular major issue, economically, for the Board and for Ngāti Whātua, ever” (Tumahai, pers. comm, 1 November 2013).

The events are as follows. Around 1991, Joe saw that the Government was about to dispose of surplus railway land. He was quick to alert them about Ngāti Whātua’s interests in it. It helped too that he had a physical presence at the Railway Station. If the Government was going to be difficult, the theatrics of occupation were always an option. That is exactly what Joe did. He brought tutors and a training programme into the station. “We basically took over the Railway Station, we occupied the Railway Station. Others got the message. Everyone vacated. My issue was to occupy.” (pers. comm, 6 June 2015). The 1970s Takaparawhau (Bastion Point) occupation was only “yesterday” and Joe knew what it could achieve. The Government also knew and they backed down from their idea at the time to retain the land (and not allow Ngāti Whātua to purchase it). It was understandable that Joe would do what he did. The land was reclaimed, it was a former fishing ground and *waka* ‘canoes’ were pulled in ashore nearby. “It is the *moana* [sea] of Ngāti Whātua” as Joe said (pers. comm, 6 June 2015).

At the same time as this first positioning, Joe, Hugh, Chris and Pat got together to scope out the next move. The Government had its own momentum to conclude its surplus railway land policy soon and it was, therefore, an urgent issue to address. Millions of dollars were also needed. In early 1992 the Government agreed to sell a portion of the railway land to Ngāti Whātua for \$19 million. By the end of that year, a deed of option was entered into

and \$45.5 million was the then agreed price.<sup>4</sup> Chris explained that this price was more than market value and more than any other offer on the table, but Ngāti Whātua were prepared to pay for it because of the opportunities they saw, and also the cultural and historic significance of the area to them (pers. comm., 28 March 2014). It was a critical opportunity to re-establish their connection in the central part of Tamaki in the eyes of their community and Auckland. A Treaty of Waitangi claim was considered as an avenue to pursue regarding “loss” in relation to the area. A concern about that option, however, was that the Government was moving fast in dealing with its surplus railway land policy and a claim could take too long. There would be no guarantee either that a claim would result in the land title going to Ngāti Whātua. The risks were, therefore, too great. Ngāti Whātua saw the opportunity and realised that they needed to act immediately, even if they did not know exactly what the next steps would entail.

Considerable efforts and time passed before any final sale and purchase was entered into. Delays occurred because at the same time a casino application process was underway.<sup>5</sup> During this period of delay, the original Crown department with which Ngāti Whātua originally dealt became defunct and was replaced by another. Further delays occurred because the new department then tried to argue that there was no enforceable “deal”. There was even the argument that the land was now worth considerably more, almost double the originally agreed upon purchase price, and furthermore, it should be paid for. Ngāti Whātua were shocked at this turn of events. Shocked also given that Ngāti Whātua had originally generously offered much land to the first New Zealand Government in 1840, enabling Auckland to be built; this fact seemed to count for nothing. The issue was simply about the honour of the Crown against this long historical backdrop. And of course, Ngāti Whātua had been in this back-foot situation only a few years earlier.

Hugh and the Ngāti Whātua lawyer Chris McGuire then put considerable tactical pressure on the Government, through letters and phone calls to senior Government officials and ministers, seeking a return to the original purchase price agreement. They were also armed with other supporting views (for example, external legal advice). In August 1996, the Crown relented to Ngāti Whātua pressure and agreed to sell at the non-inflated price. This was some four years after the original agreement. Persistence and patience were paramount.

While political and strategic issues took up the bulk of the time to just get an agreement to purchase, the other major issue of finding financial support was still burning. Ngāti Whātua urgently needed to find \$45.5 million to now buy the land. They had very little money and limited assets. A business partner was needed and they also needed bank support. A major question was who would be interested in partnering with a Māori group who had no track record in business generally, let alone in land or property development specifically.



There were in fact many eager punters, or “tyre kickers” as Chris described them, but none had the credibility or commitment to follow through. One canvassed option involved partnering with a Hong Kong developer. The chair of the Ngāti Whātua Board at that time, respected elder Ruby Grey, argued that if the land would come back, she was prepared to wait 100 years. What she meant was that allowing the Hong Kong group to have the land virtually rent-free for 100 years was “ok” because the land would be secured by their development presence. Although the Hong Kong proposal fell through, it enabled Ngāti Whātua to fine-tune their ideas. Moreover, one hundred years would have been a very long time with no income from the land. Obtaining economic value from the land within a current lifetime became a central issue and the focus of the next step (Patrick Snedden, pers. comm, 15 April 2015).

Then came Magellan Ltd. After many discussions and negotiations both within the Ōrākei Māori Trust Board and between the Ngāti Whātua representatives and Magellan, Ngāti Whātua agreed to enter into a joint venture partnership with them. In essence this entailed spending money to improve the land, subdivide it and prepare the blocks for leasehold sale. Then, following the sales, Ngāti Whātua could be paid and they could then pay their bank. For its part, Magellan effectively enabled Ngāti Whātua to get the land (Chris McGuire, pers. comm., 28 March 2014). There were, however, major unknowns about who would be interested in buying the leasehold sections. Buying was slow. Stakes were high, risks were great because considerable money had already been spent in preparing the land for sale (for example, roads, street lighting, pavements and other landscaping) without knowing much about market interest. Ngāti Whātua also agreed to lend money to Magellan. Sections were bought, but not enough in the first critical stages. Difficulties were compounded by an “Asian crisis” which had resulted in their investment in New Zealand in property, such as for downtown office spaces and apartments, slowing considerably (Patrick Snedden, pers. comm., 15 April 2015). David Jones, a potential anchor tenant, also pulled out from investing. Then, as if things could not get worse, Magellan went into receivership (*The New Zealand Herald*, 2001). It was a major set-back as Ngāti Whātua lost millions of dollars on their bank loan and the money which had been loaned to Magellan. It was a major blow to a kin community which was on an economic precipice.

Once again, a significant challenge was how to confront these set-backs. Once again, the collective heads came together—as Chris described—“to problem solve”. Many ideas were canvassed. One was that they sell some of their land to recover the debt, but that was not supported as Hugh explained, “... given the kind of perspective we have on things—150 years—we don’t think that’s a very sensible way of thinking about our economic affairs.”<sup>6</sup> In

the end, it was decided that the debt would be “handled”, broadly measured against a long-term strategy of selling the leaseholds and recovering costs.

Despite this difficult first phase, a crucial fact was nevertheless the reality: Ngāti Whātua now had title to a significant land area. Eventually, all the leasehold titles were bought and the Ngāti Whātua Railway Land now has apartments, a convention centre, a health clinic, petrol stations, restaurants, many business blocks and other small businesses. In August 2011, the 15-year rent-free holiday which leaseholders had, came to an end. These businesses began paying the *hapū* ground rent annually, which now comprises a significant regular income. As Patrick described, the chance of Ngāti Whātua being able to re-infranchise itself within a generation is now very real (pers. comm., 15 April 2015). A lot of detail has been omitted, but the foregoing overview gives a sense of the challenges and outcomes. That Ngāti Whātua was able to pull off this major deal was, according to Te Puna and Hugh, not far short of a miracle. Patrick agreed (pers. comm., 15 April 2015) adding “That we pulled it off against all odds is phenomenal. There were big, big risks”. The *hapū* had no experience in such major economic dealings. They had limited expertise, and there was considerable cost (Kawharu 2004: 80). There was also the rather important detail that they hardly had any money, nowhere near what was needed. Their security was their assets, which mainly consisted of housing stock recently returned from the Government as settlement of the Ōrākei claim. How then could a relatively poor kin community with no commercial experience make it all happen? Tens of millions of dollars were needed on the financial front (i.e., economic resources), but also considerable business sense, strategic planning and the right kind of cultural resources. The latter were essentially the values of *mana/manaaki, kotahitanga* of difference, and accountability. It was important to have the right mix of these economic, social and cultural “resources”.

Returning to Lachmann (1978, 1986), who described entrepreneurship as a continuous process of combining and recombining resources, especially in new ways, we can use this general guide to consider the core resources of Ngāti Whātua and how they were combined and recombined to achieve their extraordinary outcome. These resources—people and their values—fundamentally provided the cultural coding, along with finance and land that underpinned their enterprise.

#### COMBINING AND RECOMBINING RESOURCES AND CULTURAL CODING

Hugh and Te Puna both explained that a chief strategic resource was the Trust Board’s lawyer, Chris McGuire. He was far more than a lawyer, as events would prove. He was centrally involved in negotiations and, where necessary, made vigorous representations to businesses, local or central

government officials as a key member of the Ngāti Whātua team. He proposed pathways, ideas and tactics, and initiated and led discussions with Magellen. He also provided protection to Ngāti Whātua by sounding out and then dealing with opportunists who were eager to enter into partnerships with Ngāti Whātua to make a few dollars but with little regard for anything else (Chris McGuire, pers. comm, 28 March 2014). Patrick Snedden's financial expertise was also critical. Together, these tactical skills were key strategic resources, a kind of modern-day *tohunga* or specialist skillset that were brought into the *hapū*, and combined with the *rangatira*, *potiki* and *kaumātua* leadership resources of Hugh, Joe and Te Puna, in entirely new ways that had not been seen before within the community. The leadership values celebrated a *kotahitanga* of difference. Imbedded within that was a commonality of purpose, and the value *manaaki*, which included the team's trust and respect of each other, cooperation, patience, and a focus on problem-solving. Openness and clear communication with the wider Trust Board, with whom all major issues were discussed, were also important. The Board were always briefed and supported the steps being taken. The basic principles were important to change the thinking of sceptics within the Board and to resolve any doubts. The Board guided the process and decisions, always by consensus, and following full discussion and debate. All of these things helped the leadership team to come to a position of strength or *mana* on an issue. They also built upon the underlying principle of *hapū* accountability or *manaaki*, where decisions were made with the community's future squarely in mind.

Securing the long-term, inter-generational future also was a central guiding philosophy. This vision meant securing land now for generations to come. The "future" planning had a very long-term horizon, some 150 years, much longer than most commercial businesses. It was something that Hugh was particularly keen to implement, especially in terms of what he and the collective leadership team could leave as an asset base for their descendants (*mokopuna*). In 150 years, everything on the land (i.e., buildings and infrastructure) would revert to Ngāti Whātua. Planning now for then and for intervening years, step by step, was important. This thinking gave a new level of meaning to *manaakitanga* considering people's needs inter-generationally, where profits of the Railway Land venture could be channelled into economic, social and cultural growth of the descendant community. Taken from these perspectives, the Railway Land venture was legacy-making.

While long-term, forward-thinking was central to the railway planning, history was also important as discussed at the beginning of this article. The "institutional" knowledge of *hapū* history, values and kinship dynamics, were carefully woven into the Railway Land plan as well. As Te Puna explained,

he had been involved since the beginning, not only since the 1970s when the Board began, but also before that, as a *hapū* member growing up within the Ngāti Whātua network of *whānau* ‘family’ on ancestral land. The recent and longer-term history provided important guides for what is important politically, economically and culturally. The ultimate low point of the community in the 1950s triggered an extraordinary response of resilience of the part of all three *hapū* members. Both Joe and Te Puna were young and lived in the old village. Hugh and his *mātua* (father, uncles and aunts) were also affected by those events as Hugh commented to me in the 2000s; they shaped his sole focus of acquiring and reacquiring as much land as possible within Tamaki, within whatever legal means was necessary. This was to ensure that the deep loss suffered by Ngāti Whātua in the mid-20th century, when they were forcibly removed from their land, would never be repeated. With a solid economic foundation, they would flourish.

The historical guides of the 1950s, the 1970s and the colonial period before that, acted as reference points for the *hapū* leaders. They described leadership actions that were carried out (the “people” dimension) and they described resources that were important (the “land” dimension). Both of these things helped to contextualise the Railway Land venture within this *whakapapa* or genealogy of Ngāti Whātua affairs. Knowledge of the community’s past was, therefore, vital in terms of understanding the cultural context and the relevance of history for shaping a path (Tumahai, pers. comm, 1 November 2013). History was also important from the point of view of the three Ngāti Whātua leaders themselves, who had first built trust with the *hapū* which then supported them in making key decisions on their behalf.

The “resources” that Lachmann refers to were principally, in Ngāti Whātua’s case, the people. The skills provided by each were knitted together, and recombined. Other resources were of course, the finance and land, without which there was no “deal”. It was the combination and recombination of all of these things within a team-led entrepreneurial context that created a template or matrix for success. There were plenty of difficulties and questions about matters of detail, but the ultimate goals of land title and income generation from it to then reinvest back into community socio-economic ends have been achieved.

\* \* \*

The entrepreneurship undertaken within Ngāti Whātua occurred during the 1990s, but it was grounded in historical and cultural value contexts stemming from many years prior. The seeds for successful entrepreneurship were also sown well before and independent of the innovation. In that

regard, demonstrating leadership and accountability within the community were essential. It began in the 1970s at a time when no one could have contemplated a venture of the complexity, scale and success of the Railway Land initiative.

Combined with the *hapū* leaders were individuals whose additional specialist skills contributed to the successes that unfolded. All worked together closely whilst celebrating their independent perspectives and approaches—*kotahitanga* of difference. They also operated according to the *mana* and *manaaki* dynamic, values that applied internally within the team, internally within the community, and externally with the Crown and private sector partners. Chris McGuire's description of "edges of leadership", that is, the risk-taking, novel, opportunity seeking and opportunity maximising stances taken by the leadership team, were strategic resources as well as being ultimate expressions of *mana*.

Particular questions facing the team were: how could the entrepreneurial venture: (a) address the historic loss of lands; (b) reconnect people and their ancestral lands; and (c) provide pathways for inter-generational cultural and economic transformation for the kin community. Their innovation brought together past, present and future foci, a kind of lived and living history.

At the beginning of this article, I began with an opening quote, "What do you make of this, partner?" While this was a rhetorical question Hugh put to a newspaper journalist about the Treaty claim, it was a sentiment that underpinned Ngāti Whātua's approach to both situations concerning the Treaty claim and the Railway Land development. It was about Ngāti Whātua presenting their case, again their *mana*, to the Crown, to then enable them to begin the process of acquiring the former railway land and leasing out sections.

In 2012 the Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei CEO, Tiwana Tibble, remarked, "I am reminded of Sir Hugh Kawharu's observation when it was suggested the *hapū* buy surplus Government-owned railway land for \$40 million. At that time he wryly commented the tribe didn't have 40c let alone \$40 million. And yet, here we are." (Kawharu 2001, Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei 2012: 7). The "here we are" is seen in the \$700+ million asset base built in large part from the Railway Land innovation and grown under Tiwana's administration.<sup>7</sup>

To emerge out of a history of deprivation and anguish into a state of wealth and growing cultural confidence took something special. In the words of Hugh, working tirelessly for your people is where things begin, and it is where they end: *Ko ngā kuri purepure o Tamaki, e kore e ngaro i te pō*; those wearing the spotted dog-skin cloak (leaders), are not lost in the night (never rest).

## NOTES

1. New Zealand's founding document, the Treaty of Waitangi, was between the British Crown, represented by Queen Victoria, and indigenous New Zealand Māori. It was signed in 1840 by *hapū* representatives and Britain's Crown representative, Captain William Hobson. The Queen remains New Zealand's formal Head of State, but governance today is through democratically elected members of parliament. The Queen's representative in New Zealand, the Governor General, is appointed on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. Herein the term "Crown" is used synonymously with the New Zealand "Government" and includes government departments (details on the New Zealand constitution can be found at <https://gg.govt.nz/role/constofnz.htm>). As with other claims throughout New Zealand, that of Ngāti Whātua related to grievances concerning the lack of protection of rights and values guaranteed to Māori by the Treaty (see Kawharu 1989, Orange 2012, <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/treaty-of-waitangi>).
2. This article will be adapted for a book (in 2017) on New Zealand Māori entrepreneurship case studies by the author and Paul Tapsell.
3. Auckland is "home" to several other *iwi* or tribal communities, all of whom have their own stories of association.
4. The early 1992 discussions for 13.8 hectares, including the Railway Station which was then costed at \$19 million, had crept up to \$22.5 million. The final land area was 24.3 hectares and was valued at the time of the agreement in December 1992 at \$45.5 million (Chris McGuire, personal files).
5. One of the applicants for a casino licence was a Māori-backed applicant, Auckland Casino Ltd., which was keen to establish a casino in the former Central Railway Station (American businessman, Donald Trump, was also interested in the venture and came to Auckland to meet the interested parties, and Ngāti Whātua).
6. Although Hugh spoke of this predicament to me directly, the quote came from a 2001 *The New Zealand Herald* article by Simon Collins.
7. Tiwana finished a 14-year tenure as CEO in August 2012. The Railway Land was valued at approximately half (*The New Zealand Herald* 2013).

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<http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/bastion-point---the-untold-story-1999>

#### ABSTRACT

Innovation and entrepreneurial endeavour by Māori communities is increasingly capturing the attention of academics and wider society, but like indigenous entrepreneurship studies more generally, Māori entrepreneurship is still a relatively new field of study. A gap or an opportunity in both cases is to critically examine the application of culture in entrepreneurship. Culture can of course mean many things to many people. Theoretical insights concerning culture in indigenous entrepreneurship will develop as case studies are investigated, and factors unique or different to each are understood. In this article, therefore, and in contributing towards theory development, I explore one particular innovation, modelled by a frame called cultural coding for entrepreneurship. Cultural coding identifies and examines essential features for the successes that unfolded within the Auckland-located kin community Ngāti Whātua as they pursued an extraordinary entrepreneurial endeavour: acquiring and then securing a large area of central business district land (the Railway Land, including the former central Auckland Railway Station) in New Zealand's largest city. Case study analysis is further aided by insights stemming from renowned economists Ludwig Lachman and Joseph Schumpeter concerning combining and recombining resources in new ways, and the related idea of "opportunity recognition". The resources were principally the people and their values, but they also included land and finance, without which there was no enterprise. This article stems from research undertaken within

the author's community from a researcher position that is located between the insider and outsider dichotomies, but which is more aligned to a nuanced Māori research positionality described in this research as a *whakapapa* or genealogically-informed "included researcher".

*Keywords:* Indigenous entrepreneurship, New Zealand Māori, cultural coding, "included researcher", Ngāti Whātua, Treaty of Waitangi.

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# NARRATIVE FEATURES AND CULTURAL MOTIFS IN A CAUTIONARY TRADITION FROM MANGAIA (COOK ISLANDS)

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In 1974 the Government of the Cook Islands initiated an ambitious project to record oral traditions told by cultural experts from the country's various islands. In June of that year the Government established the Cultural Development Division of the Ministry of Social Service whose officials began, almost immediately, to record traditions (Sissons 1999: 71-76).<sup>1</sup> A number of Mangaia's 'are *kōrero* 'experts in traditional knowledge' participated, producing between them some 65 oral traditions. Experts can be identified for 62 of these traditions, with the vast bulk of them coming from Tere'ēvangeria Aratangi and her brother, Iviiti 'Aerepō. Other participants included 'Akaiti Ponga, Ngātokorua or Ngā Kaokao, Ma'arona 'Okirua and Ravengenge Rakauraiti.<sup>2</sup> According to the lexicographer, Norio Shibata (1999: 104-5), three other experts contributed: Ave 'Ivaiti, Tangi'ānau Ūpoko and Tīriamai Naeiti. They may be the sources for the three anonymous traditions.

I was fortunate to meet one of the principal 'are *kōrero*, Tere'ēvangeria Aratangi, a few years before she passed away in 1992. Born in 1922 in Tamarua, a village well known for holding on to the older ways, Aratangi would have been a mature woman at the time of the recordings in 1974 and 1975. As she spoke to me in *te tara Mangaia* 'the Mangaian language' her voice rose and fell, her eyes lit up, her whole body animatedly caught up in the presentation of her narratives.<sup>3</sup> Despite talking to her through an interpreter I could not help but be impressed by her dynamic presentation. For me, she remains an exemplar of the 'are *kōrero*'s gift for storytelling.

Amongst the various traditions Aratangi provided officials was one entitled *Te Tua ia Kōtuku* 'The Story about Kōtuku' (Aratangi n.d.a). The title character is presented as a badly behaving father whose ill treatment of his daughter, Pataariri, brings about his death as a result of the intervention by a spirit being. In telling this story Aratangi intended to convey a moral message to her audience, articulating what were appropriate or inappropriate ways of behaving, and what sanctions might be imposed on erring community members. As an 'are *kōrero* she acted as the custodian of Mangaia's customary knowledge who utilised such didactic narratives to instruct each new generation on how they should behave as human people living within Mangaian society.

Other Mangaians I spoke to in 1988 referred respectfully to *'are kōrero* such as Aratangi, perhaps reflecting the pre-Christian status of this office as the especially favoured vessel of an *atua*, 'spirit being, spirit power'. For example, the *'are kōrero* Rautoa was described as being caressed by the spirit powers (*'e tangata miri atua*), especially his tribal spirit being, Tāne, who lived within him (*tei roto i a ia taua atua ra 'o Tāne*) (Hiroa 1971: 70). Their intimate connection to the sacred spirit world meant that people considered *'are kōrero* to be sources of knowledge and wisdom. They were sought out for advice, or as teachers for people's children in specialised subjects, including the art of war. They also acted as chiefly counsellors who spoke on behalf of the descent group's spirit beings (Aratangi n.d.b, Hiroa 1971: 148, Reilly 2001: 157-58). The equivalent Rarotonga Māori term *tumu kōrero* has been defined as "an historian or one who imparts or teaches tribal or historical knowledge; a tribal counsellor; one versed in all knowledge pertaining to tribal matters" (Savage 1980: 116). The *'are kōrero*'s spiritual authority would have allowed them to voice criticisms of inappropriate acts, especially by people of consequence. In doing so they ensured their descent group remained favoured by the spiritual world, an essential requirement in a society where physical well-being and prosperity depended on the spirit powers. Acting as a critical conscience for their community may have been the *'are kōrero*'s most important social role and responsibility.

These criticisms may well have been expressed indirectly through the medium of cautionary traditions such as this one about Kōtuku. The other known version of this work was recorded as a sermon in the mid-19th century by a Mangaian pastor who, like Aratangi, acted as a custodian of tribal historical knowledge. The details of his story demonstrate that the tradition had been passed down from the pre-Christian period (Reilly n.d.).

As custodians of knowledge the *'are kōrero* are skilled author-raconteurs whose artistry with words create anew older traditions in ways that entertain and inform a new generation of listeners. In doing so, the past is remembered as history for the present-day community. The stories of the ancestors are reworked to suit the particular cultural situation of the new audience. Words, episodes, even characters may change, although core elements persist through various reworkings, such as key sayings, songs, names and gestures associated with the ancestors being depicted (Denning 1996: 37, 41-42, 47-51, Huntsman 1981: 212-16, Junod 1927: 218-21, Radin 1915: 42-43, 47, Vansina 1985: 118-19, 161, 165-71). In recreating the past these raconteurs reflect the practices of any historian who fashions their narrative from "the fragments of the past" (White 1978: 106, 125; also see Vansina 1973: 99).

At the heart of this paper is Aratangi's own narrative of this cautionary story about the misbehaving Kōtuku. The discourse analyst, Barbara Johnstone

(2008: 71), observes: “Struggles over power and control are often struggles over whose words get used and whose do not and over who gets to speak and who does not.” All discourse is multi-voiced and it is critical that all the voices are heard and seen within any analysis of them. My own representation of them is not enough. As New Zealand historian, Judith Binney (2010: 81), reminds us: “In the oral form of telling history, the narrative *belongs* to the narrator” (emphasis in original). As an outsider historian my role is not to translate Aratangi’s words into my own but rather to juxtapose our voices, recognising the distinctive integrity of Mangaia’s own vernacular histories (Binney 2010: 83, 85).

To understand that indigenous form of history requires a detailed, particularistic analysis of it as discourse (Eisenhart and Johnstone 2008: 10; Johnstone 2008: 4, 269). Such a close textual analysis includes features of the language, such as style and imagery, as well as key cultural ideas that Aratangi is alluding to in her story. This approach reflects older philological practices whereby significant motifs are drawn from the analysis of a more or less randomly chosen text from a particular historical period (Auerbach 1968: 548). To help illuminate this examination of the Kōtuku story, I have looked to scholarship concerning Aotearoa New Zealand Māori who are *whanaunga*, ‘relations, connections’, to other East Polynesian peoples, including those of Mangaia, especially Agathe Thornton’s important studies of oral features in Māori traditions (Thornton 1985, 1987, 2004).

Like all the traditions recorded for this Government project the original tape recordings were transcribed as typescripts and ultimately deposited in the National Archives of the Cook Islands, presumably following the closure of the Cultural Development Division in 1980 by the new Thomas Davis led Government (Sissons 1999: 87).<sup>4</sup> The whereabouts of the tape recordings are unknown. The single-spaced typescript of the Kōtuku story runs for three quarters of a page, perhaps a little on the shorter side in comparison with her other recorded traditions.<sup>5</sup> Aratangi’s family recall her stories as being longer when told orally. It is hard to say whether or not she deliberately limited the length of her narratives for this official project, although her Kōtuku story is certainly more truncated than the 19th-century version of this tradition (Reilly n.d.: 19).

In this article I have modified the *tara Mangaia* transcript of Aratangi’s story by dividing it into segments for ease of analysis and by inserting additional punctuation, as well as marking long vowels with macrons (e.g., ā) and glottal stops with hamzahs (‘). The translation has been made a little more literal to bring out the story’s oral features. The following textual analysis utilises examples from the Kōtuku story, and other traditions retold by Aratangi, to illustrate her creativity and intellectual concerns as

an author-raconteur. The analysis first examines her ideas about the past, the nature of Mangaian knowledge and her motivations for participating in the Government recording project. It then explores particular features of Aratangi's oral narrative style, notably expansions, repetitions, images and gestures. The concluding section reflects on certain cultural ideals underlying the Kōtuku story, notably relationships between parents and children, leaders and followers, spirit beings and their worshippers, and the deeper significance for Mangaians of caring for and protecting the vulnerable in their community.

#### TEXT AND TRANSLATION

##### *Segment 1: Introduction of Characters and Task*

###### *Te Tua ia Kōtuku*

*'O teia tangata 'o Kōtuku, e no 'o ana aia i roto i te oire Tamarua, i te tuātau o te pō kerekere i A'ua'u 'Eua nei. 'O teia tangata 'o Kōtuku 'e tamā'ine 'akaungaunga tāna. Teia tāna 'anga'anga, e tiki vai, 'ei unu nō Kōtuku i te au rā katoatoa. Inārā teia te mea tangi i teia tamā'ine, ka 'aere rava aia i roto i te puna Kei'ā tiki ai i te vai 'ei unu nō Kōtuku. 'O teia tamā'ine teia tōna ingoa 'o Pataariri. 'Ua riro teia 'anga'anga tā Kōtuku i rave [--?] 'ei auē 'anga nō Pataariri i te pō ē te ao.*

###### The Story about Kōtuku

This man, Kōtuku, he lived in the village of Tamarua in the era of intense darkness in A'ua'u 'Eua. This man, Kōtuku, he sent his daughter on errands. This was her task, to fetch water, so that Kōtuku could drink every day. And yet the sad thing for this daughter was she had to walk to Kei'ā district to fetch the water for Kōtuku to drink. This daughter's name was Pataariri. This work that Kōtuku required came about with much weeping and crying night and day from Pataariri.

##### *Segment 2: Use of Specific Water Source*

*'O teia tangata 'o Kōtuku 'āre aia e unu i te vai nō tēta'i kauvai kē. Ka 'aere rāi i Kei'ā tiki ai tōna vai, ka kite aia ē nō tēta'i ngā'i kē teia vai. Me 'apai mai a Pataariri ka vāvā'i aia i te ururua vai. Ka 'oki 'aka'ou rāi teia tamā'ine ka tiki 'aka'ou i tēta'i vai.*

This man, Kōtuku, did not drink from just any stream. [When Pataariri] was going to Kei'ā to fetch his water he would know which location this water came from. If Pataariri were carrying back [such water] he would break apart the water container. That daughter would once more have to return to fetch water once more.

*Segment 3: Identification of Water Source*

*Teia te puna vai e tiki 'ua ana a Pataariri, 'o Mara. Tei Kei 'ā teia puna vai. 'O te apinga e tiki 'ia ana te vai i te tuātau ta 'ito i te 'enua o Mangaia 'e ururua. Ka 'aere Pataariri 'e 'ā ururua 'ua ka kave 'ia i te ka 'a.*

Mara was the spring of water that Pataariri fetched from. That spring was in Kei 'ā. The thing used for fetching water in the olden days in the island of Mangaia was the *ururua* container [water containers made from coconut shells]. Pataariri would walk, carrying only four *ururua* containers [tied up] with sinnet.

*Segment 4: Identification of Daughter Who Longs to Run Away*

*'O teia tamā 'ine 'o Pataariri nō roto aia i te kōpū o Te 'Akatauirā. 'O teia tamā 'ine 'o Pataariri e 'inangaro 'ua ana i te 'oro i te 'akaruke ia Kōtuku nō tōna matakū ra ia Kōtuku.*

This daughter, Pataariri, belonged to the Te 'Akatauirā clan. This daughter, Pataariri, longed to run away and to leave Kōtuku on account of her fear of Kōtuku.

*Segment 5: Coming of Drought to the Whole Island*

*'Ia tae i tēta 'i tuātau i muri mai 'ua marō te 'enua. 'Ua marō katoa te au kauvai. 'Āre 'e vai e 'aere 'aka 'ou ana i roto i te au kauvai takapini 'ua ake te 'enua.*

Afterwards, a time came when the land was dry. All the streams were dry. The water was no longer running in the streams around the island.

*Segment 6: Night-time Thirst*

*'Ia tae i tēta 'i pō, 'u[a] ara mai a Kōtuku nō tāna moe, 'ua kakī i te vai. 'Ua tū aia i runga, 'ua 'ā 'ā atu i te kāviri ururua. 'Āre rava 'e vai i toe i roto i reira. 'Ua tūoro atu aia ia Pataariri, " 'Ia 'aere viviki atu i roto i te Puna Kei 'ā 'ia 'akakī mai i te kāviri ururua i te vai." 'Ua rave mai a Pataariri i te ururua. 'Ua 'oro atu aia nā roto i te 'ina pōiri mā te auē. 'E pō pōiri 'oki taua pō rā.*

One night, Kōtuku woke up from his sleep, thirsty for water. He rose up and reached out for the bunch of *ururua* containers. No water remained



in them at that time. He called out to Pataariri, “Go quickly to the Kei‘ā district and fill up the bunch of *ururua* containers with water.” Pataariri took up the *ururua* containers. She ran away crying in the moonless night. That night was a dark night indeed.

*Segment 7: The Unavailing Search for Water and Threat of Death*

*‘Ia tae atu aia i Kei‘ā ‘ua pō ‘itirere tikāi aia i te kite ‘anga ē ‘ua marō te kauvai. ‘Āre rava ‘e vai. ‘Ua ‘aere atu aia i te kākaro ‘aere i te au kauvai i runga i A‘ua‘u ‘Enua. ‘Āre rava ‘e vai. ‘Ua marō katoatoa te ‘enua. ‘Ua tupu tikāi te matakū o teia tamā‘ine ia Kōtuku i reira. ‘Ua ‘okī atu aia i Tamarua. ‘Ia kite mai a Kōtuku ia Pataariri, ‘ua tūoro mai aia, e tāviviki mai teia tamā‘ine, ka mate aia i te kakī vai. Teia tā Pataariri i tūoro atu, “‘Āre ‘e vai, ‘ua marō te au kauvai i runga i te ‘enua.” Teia tā Kōtuku i tara atu i teia tamā‘ine, e tāviviki, e ‘aere, e kimi mai i tēta‘i vai, ‘ia unu aia. Me kore e rauka mai te vai, ka tā aia ia Pataariri, ka unu i tōna toto ‘ei vai. I reira, ‘ua ‘oro atu teia tamā‘ine i te kimi vai i roto i te au ana ē te au puta kō‘atu. ‘Āre rava ‘e vai. ‘Ia tae atu aia i roto i te ana i Taungakututu. ‘Āre rāi ‘e vai.*

She reached Kei‘ā and she was very surprised to discover that the stream was dry. There was definitely no water. She went away looking as she walked at the streams on A‘ua‘u ‘Enua. There was definitely no water. The land was completely dry. This daughter’s fear of Kōtuku then really grew. She returned to Tamarua. When Kōtuku saw Pataariri, he called out to this daughter to hurry up as he was dying of thirst. Patariri called out, “There is no water, the streams on the island are all dry.” This is what Kōtuku said to his daughter, make haste, go, search for some water for him to drink. If she could not obtain any water, he would kill Pataariri, and drink her blood as water. Then this daughter ran away to search for water in the caves and in the stone cavities. There was definitely no water. She arrived at the Taungakututu cave. There really was no water.

*Segment 8: The Encounter with Te Maru-o-Rongo and the Death of Kōtuku*

*‘Ua auē a Pataariri. ‘Ua kite atu aia i reira i tēta‘i tangata. ‘Ua matakū aia. Teia te tūoro mai a teia tangata, “‘Aua‘a e matakū e Pataariri, ‘o au teia ‘o te atua o te va‘ine, nāku i tamarō te au kauvai ‘ia mate a Kōtuku nō tāna au ākono ‘anga kino.” Teia tā teia tamā‘ine e pa‘u atu, “Ka mate au, ka unu a Kōtuku i tōku toto ‘ei vai nāna, me kore ‘e vai e rauka iāku.” Teia tā Te Maru-o-Rongo i tara atu iāia, “‘Aere mai, ka ‘apai au iā‘au i roto i te pā tīkoru ‘ia ora koe.” ‘Ua aru atu a Pataariri*

*ia Te Maru-o-Rongo i roto i te pā tīkoru, 'ua rauka tōna ora. 'O te tū tēnā i te tua o Kōtuku, 'ua mate aia i te kakī vai.*

*Tātāia e T. Aratangi, tumu kōrero.*

Pataariri cried. She saw a man there. She was afraid. This is what this man called out, “Do not be afraid, Pataariri, I am the spirit being of the woman, I have made the streams dry in order to kill Kōtuku for his wrong courses of action.” This is what this daughter replied, “I will die, Kōtuku will drink my blood as his water, if I don’t obtain water.” This is what Te Maru-o-Rongo said to her, “Come here, I will take you into the sanctuary so that you may live.” Pataariri followed Te Maru-o-Rongo into the sanctuary; her life was saved. That is the nature of Kōtuku’s story, he died of thirst.

Recorded by T. Aratangi, *tumu kōrero*.

#### IDEAS OF PAST AND MOTIVATIONS

In Segment 1 Aratangi refers to “*te tuātau o te pō kerekere*” ‘the era of intense darkness’. Reference to an era of darkness appears in some of her other narratives: “*te tuātau pōkerekere*” (Aratangi n.d.c, n.d.d), “*te tuātau tei karanga 'ia ē 'e pōkerekere*” ‘the era of which it was said, an intense darkness’ (Aratangi n.d.e). Christian Māngaians came to associate *pō* ‘night, dark’, a name of the ancient spirit underworld, with the abandoned world of the ‘*ētene*’ ‘heathens’. During the 19th century, *pō* also became the name for Christianity’s ‘hell’. In contrast, *ao* ‘day, light’, traditionally thought of as the human world, was linked to the new Christian order and became the name for ‘heaven’ (Buse with Taringa 1995: 62, 350-51, Reilly 2007: 52). One of Aratangi’s stories develops the darkness idea, contrasting it with that of light: “*‘āre tō tātou ui tupuna i kite ake i te mārama, tē rave ra rāi rātou i te au 'anga'anga pōiri*” ‘our ancestors did not know [or see] the light, they were still doing dark deeds’ (Aratangi n.d.c). For modern Cook Islanders the word *mārama* ‘light’ came to be associated with ‘enlightened’ and ‘civilised’, traits associated with conversion to Christianity. Those who did not, came to be thought of as *pōiri* ‘unenlightened, ignorant’, a state that applied to pre-Christian ancestors, as Aratangi’s stories demonstrate (Buse with Taringa 1995: 227, 353).

According to another Aratangi narrative, Christian Māngai was also a land where peace had settled (*‘ua no’o ‘au te ‘enua*), creating a highly desirable life, or as she puts it, “*te ora 'anga nūmero ta ‘i*” ‘the number one way of life’ (Aratangi n.d.e). By contrast, she points out that the ancestral world was one filled with the violence of war, where the different descent groups struggled for control of the agricultural lands and authority over the people. These

ancestors also worshipped a multiplicity of spirit beings in the form of various land and sea creatures. These were all elements that set her ancestors apart from her own Christian society and marked her ancestors as ‘*ētene*’ ‘heathens’ (Aratangi n.d.c, n.d.e). This division also appears in her language: she uses third person plural, *rātou* ‘they, them’, for the ancestors whereas she uses *tātou* (first person inclusive plural) or ‘we’ for later Christianity-practising generations such as her own, a usage that of course includes the official who is recording her stories.

Aratangi qualifies this stark binary view of the past in some narratives, revealing a more complex and respectful attitude towards her ancestors, appropriate to someone who was a well regarded *‘are kōrero* in her day. In one story she remarks: “*‘o tō tātou ui tupuna ‘e aronga mārama rātou nāringa rātou ‘e ‘ētene*” ‘our ancestors, they were a civilised people, notwithstanding they were heathens’ (Aratangi n.d.e). She goes further in another narrative describing Mangaia’s ancestors as “*‘e aronga kite rātou ē te karapē, noa [a]tu ē ‘e ‘ētene rātou*” ‘they were a knowledgeable and clever people even though they were heathens’ (Aratangi n.d.c). She was quick to criticise those who suggested the ancestors ate the slain bodies on the battlefield, calling this “*‘e tara ‘amo*” ‘a false story’ (Aratangi n.d.f.). She even expresses respect for the ancestors’ relationship to the numerous spirit beings of each descent group. She calls her ancestors a people who were faithful to these spiritual beings (‘*e aronga irinaki [...] i tō rātou atua*) (Aratangi n.d.g). Elsewhere, she speaks of her admiration for the ancestors’ devotion (specifically *‘e mea ‘akaperepere*) which prompted them to give up (*‘akaruke*) their indigenous spirit powers (*atua idoro*) to worship the new god of Christianity (Aratangi n.d.h).

The ancient knowledge (*kōrero pakari*) that Aratangi and the other *‘are kōrero* inherited from the ancestral generations covered several distinctive categories. She describes them as concerning the land, including famous places (*te au ngā ‘i rongonui*); the districts where people lived and worked (*nō te au puna*); the people themselves (*te iti tangata*), and the gospel (*te ‘ēvangeria*) (Aratangi n.d.d, n.d.h). These categories would have included information about the pieces of food-producing land belonging to each family, land boundaries, genealogies and stories about key family ancestors and their conversion to Christianity. For her, the coming of Christianity was a key event for the island, bringing one era to an end and starting another.

Aratangi believes that the new generation (*te uki ‘ōu*) of her day should learn about all these domains of knowledge so that they did not become fools (*‘ia kore rātou e nēneva*), unable to properly manage the land or care (*tiaki*) for the people, and at risk of losing their land to strangers (*tēta ‘i iti tangata kē*) (Aratangi n.d.h). Aratangi may have been referring here to an apparent decline in traditional knowledge amongst some younger Mangaian landholders in the 1960s who worried they might lose their lands to other families with a greater

access to historical information (Allen 1969: 53). For this generation it was important they learned about the things preserved (*tāporo*) by the ancestors. Not surprisingly, she thought highly of the Government's recording of such knowledge by her and other *'are kōrero* (Aratangi n.d.h):

*'Ua tu'era te 'anga'anga a te 'are kōrero tā teia kavamani i 'akatu. Nō reira e te au metua pakari, 'aere mai. [...] 'Aere mai 'ia kimi kapiti tātou i te au mea e tau nō te au uki i mua, 'ia kore rātou e nēneva, 'ia kore tō tātou 'enua e riro i tēta'i iti tangata kē. 'O teia tuātau [...] tuku i te au tara pakari i roto i te tamariki. 'Āpi'i i te tamariki i te au tuatua tupuna, te tuatua o tō tātou 'enua. 'Āpi'i i te au kōrero o tō tātou 'enua tikāi 'ia pakari tō rātou tūranga.*

The work of the *'are kōrero* has opened which this government initiated [literal translation]. Therefore, o wise elders, come here. [...] Come here, let us look together for the appropriate things of the past generations, so that they [the new generation] do not become fools, so that our land is not acquired by strangers. This time [...] put the old stories in the children. Teach the children about the ancestral stories, the story of our land. Teach the traditions of our own land so that their dwelling place is strong.

This emphasis on educating the young fitted well with the Henry-led Government's stress on enhancing the teaching of Cook Islands culture in schools from 1974 as part of building stronger national pride (Sissons 1999: 76-80). Appropriately for an *'are kōrero* Aratangi closes this appeal to elders by quoting an old saying (*tara pakari*) from Mangaia uttered by a father to his two children: "*Kākarō tika e a 'u ariki me ta 'uri tei runga i te a 'i kīkau*" 'Be careful, o my senior-born sons [*ariki*] in case the coconut leaves fall upon the fire' (Aratangi n.d.h). The father was Mautara, the priestly medium of Ngāti Vara, who was warning his warrior sons, Te Uanuku and Raumea, to take care in the battle of 'Arerā (Reilly 2003: 62). In this context Aratangi reminds other *'are kōrero* that they should protect knowledge by sharing it with the young lest it be lost with their own passing. Her use of this saying highlights the continuing transmission of such cultural knowledge down through the generations.<sup>6</sup>

#### NARRATIVE FEATURES

In the first half of Kōtuku's story (Segments 1 to 5) Aratangi uses expansion, a basic tool in any oral storyteller's kit, to introduce important themes, explain ethnographic details, or zigzag between time periods and content (Thornton 2004: 210, Vansina 1985: 53). In Segment 1 Aratangi introduces two of the three characters, Kōtuku and his daughter, Pataariri, but in-between

she inserts explanations of the kind of work Pataariri was made to do and her emotional responses to her father's demands. Such expansions alert the audience to major story themes at the outset, so that they are already aware of what the story will be about. In Segment 3 Aratangi explains the number and type of containers Pataariri had to carry the water in for her father, a detail of ancient Mangaian life that she must have thought her listeners would not be familiar with. In Segment 4 Aratangi zigzags back to the type of content found at the very beginning of the story: the listener is told some more about Pataariri's identity and her feelings towards her father. Such incremental addition of fresh details would have helped build up an atmosphere of expectation while reminding listeners of some major themes. Segment 5 anticipates the occurrence of a drought affecting all fresh water sources which is elaborated on in subsequent segments. This resembles the "appositional expansion" described in Māori oral narratives by Thornton (1985: 156-57) where a raconteur "immediately indicates the *whole* of the story by telling the beginning and end of it" (emphasis in original). By quickly indicating what is to follow both parties can then enjoy the unfolding of the details as the performance carries on (Thornton 1985: 158).

The longer and more dramatic second half of Aratangi's narrative (Segments 6 to 8) is presented in a more straight-forward fashion. In this the text resembles some Māori oral narratives which Thornton (1985: 149) describes as proceeding "very simply in a stringing-along, linear sequence representing events as they would follow each other in actual life. The movement is swift and terse". The concluding segment is filled with direct speech and dialogue, a feature typical of the "full oral narrative" (Thornton 1987: 63). The deployment of speeches in the last segment brings the story to a dramatic end, with Pataariri safely under the protection of the spirit being, Te Maru-o-Rongo. Kōtuku's fate is alluded to in the final sentence which abruptly, even tersely, concludes the story; such endings again are a feature of oral narratives (e.g., Thornton 1985: 168-69).

One of the more significant tools in an oral storyteller's kit is the repetition, or repetition with variations, of words, phrases, sentence structures and story elements, both to keep a story going and to build up the dramatic tension or "emotional energy" for both author-*raconteur* and audience (Finnegan 1988: 78, Ong 1982: 39-41, Thornton 2004: 206, Vansina 1985: 69,76). Aratangi utilises this particular technique a lot in her Kōtuku story. The opening sentences in Segments 1 and 2 begin: "*O teia tangata 'o Kōtuku*" 'This man, Kōtuku'. The second sentence in Segment 1 adds a little more detail, "*O teia tangata 'o Kōtuku 'e tamā 'ine*" 'This man, Kōtuku, has a daughter' which is then picked up in a further statement: "*O teia tamā 'ine teia tōna ingoa 'o Pataariri*" 'This daughter's name is Pataariri'. This identifying information again appears in Segment 4 in a slightly different and twice repeated form:

“*O teia tamā ‘ine ‘o Pataariri*” ‘This daughter is Pataariri’. A looser example of this type of repetition also appears in Segments 1 to 3 when Aratangi describes Pataariri walking to Kei‘ā to fetch water for Kōtuku.

With each segment Aratangi adds further snippets of explanatory information until the reader has the full picture as to why this particular water source and what the consequences were for Pataariri if she disobeyed. In all these cases, Aratangi is identifying the key characters or locations before inserting further details in each sentence. Utilising the same or similar forms of words for part of a statement provides a structuring device: the raconteur relies on the same foundations to which they can then add on a particular elaboration of detail, rather like a musical theme and variations. Such techniques allow Aratangi to slowly build up both a solid narrative structure and a sense of movement towards the story climax.

In between the identification sentences in Segments 1, 2 and 4 there are other repetitions that help link together further story elements. In Segment 1 Pataariri’s role is twice described as *‘anga ‘anga* or ‘work’. Both descriptions of her work are associated with emotional terms: *te mea tangi* ‘the sad thing’ and *auē ‘anga* ‘weeping and crying’ respectively. These draw attention both to her suffering and Kōtuku’s unfeeling exploitation. Emotion words describing Pataariri’s experiences recur throughout the narrative, especially *auē* ‘weep, cry, lament’ (Segments 6, 8) and *mataku* ‘afraid, fear’ (Segments 4, 7 and 8). Two other repetitions help explain Pataariri’s emotional responses. In Segments 1 to 3 Aratangi keeps mentioning the destination of Kei‘ā which Pataariri had to walk to from her home in Tamarua in order to fetch water. In Segment 6, when Pataariri had to set off at night for water, Aratangi repeatedly plays on the words *pō* ‘night’ and *pōiri* ‘dark’: *te ‘ina pōiri* ‘dark night without moon’, *‘E pō pōiri ‘oki taua pō rā* ‘That night was a dark night indeed’.

A Manganian audience would understand why Pataariri was so upset, as Kei‘ā and Tamarua are miles apart, at opposite ends of the island. In Pataariri’s day the journey would have been over rough single-file tracks. Traversing them in the dark, especially on a night without the moon, would be challenging and scary for anyone but particularly a young, lone woman. Manganians talk about the potentially dangerous nocturnal presence of spirit beings, such as *aitu* ‘ghostly lights’ and *tūpāpaku* ‘ghosts, spirits of the dead’, while solitary women also faced the potential risk of sexual violence (Clerk 1995: 162-66; various personal communications, including Teariki No‘oroa and Mataora Harry). In addition, on return journeys, as Segment 3 explains, Pataariri was also carrying a heavy load of four full *ururua* ‘containers for water made from coconut shells’: pairs of *ururua* would be attached by *ka ‘a* ‘sinnet made from coconut husk’ to either end of a long pole carried over the shoulder (Apeldoorn and Kareroa n.d.: Part III Chapter 5, Aratangi n.d.i, Gill 1876a: 132). That she had to keep going back to fetch water was

stressed in Segment 2 by the repetition of *'aka'ou* 'once more, again' in the last sentence: "*Ka 'oki 'aka'ou rāi teia tamā'ine ka tiki 'aka'ou i tēta'i vai*" 'That daughter would once more have to return to fetch water once more'. Put together these various repetitions of words and information clearly engage the audience's sympathy for Pataariri while at the same time heightening suspense as listeners wonder what is going to happen next.

What comes next is a major ecological crisis as a drought of epic proportions takes hold throughout the island. Segment 5 stresses the effect of the drought through a couple of kinds of repetition. First, Aratangi repeatedly refers to the dryness of everything: "[...] *'ua marō te 'enua. 'Ua marō katoa te au kauvai*" '[...] the land was dry. All the streams were dry'. She then backs this up with an explanatory expansion that no water was flowing in the streams anywhere on the island (*'Āre 'e vai e 'aere [...]* 'There was no water running [...]'). The dryness and lack of flowing water are further repeated three times in very similar words in Segment 7:

*'ua marō te kauvai. 'Āre rava 'e vai.*

the stream was dry. There was definitely no water.

*'Āre rava 'e vai. 'Ua marō katoatoa te 'enua.*

There was definitely no water. The land was completely dry.

*'Āre rava 'e vai. [...] 'Āre rāi 'e vai.*

There was definitely no water. [...] There really was no water.

There are variations in the repeated statements, such as the use of the particles *rava* 'definitely' and *rāi* 'really' in the last sample, or of *katoatoa* 'completely', itself a partial reduplication of *katoa* 'all'. For the listeners the multitude of repetitions, aided by the various post-verbal particles, must have underlined the grave and all pervasive nature of the situation. This is high drama indeed. Everyone in Mangaia can relate to the hazards of drought and its effects on water supplies not just for drinking but also maintaining their important agriculture crops: a complex irrigation system is required to ensure plentiful supplies of the staple food, *māmio*, the local name for *taro* (*Colocasia esculenta*). Without water all life is at risk. The stakes could not be higher.

Aratangi brings her audience, through these well chosen repetitions, to the existential brink which Segment 8 finally resolves through a series of speeches, each of which is introduced by a particular pattern of words:

*Teia te tūoro mai a teia tangata*

This is what this man called out

*Teia tā teia tamā'ine e pa'u atu*

This is what this daughter replied

*Teia tā Te Maru-o-Rongo i tara atu iāia*

This is what Te Maru-o-Rongo said to her.

These utterances, as with the other repetitions and repetitions with variations, possess a kind of chanted poetic quality which must have been especially appealing and enthralling in the context of an oral performance. Thornton (1987: 61) observes a similar style of presentation for Aotearoa New Zealand Māori narratives: “In an oral performance, the literal repetitions, with their insistent rhythms, must have risen to a great climax, like a dramatic piece of music.”

Aratangi had several other tools in her raconteur’s kit. One of these was an aptitude for creating a vivid image that engages an audience’s emotional attention as well as revealing something of her own attitudes and beliefs concerning Mangaia’s ancestral world. In Segment 7 Aratangi reports Kōtuku’s threats to Pataariri if she cannot find him any water to drink, ending with the chilling words that he would kill her and then drink her blood as water (*ka unu i tōna toto ‘ei vai*). Juxtaposing Pataariri’s blood with the water she has been repeatedly fetching and then repeatedly searching for in the drought reveals, in just a few words, the extent of Kōtuku’s cruelty towards his daughter. For a committed church woman such as Aratangi, as well as for her listeners, that phrase summed up their view of Mangaia’s pre-Christian world as one that was violent and devoid of proper human feelings.

Aratangi’s skill at creating succinct but powerful images appears in some of her other stories too, suggesting this practice is a distinctive feature of her storytelling technique. No doubt they help retain the attention of audiences, a necessary element in any oral performance. Two examples appear in a story she tells about the assassination of an important chief during preparations for a feast while the assembled men busily grated raw *māmio* (*Colocasia esculenta*), an ingredient in *poke*, a baked pudding (see Reilly 2009: 209-16). Of the slain Aratangi states: “*‘Ua āite te kōpapa tangata mai te māmio tei oro ‘ia ‘ei poke’*” “The bodies of men became like *māmio* grated as *poke*” (Reilly 2009: 213-14). This simile is startling and compelling. Aratangi compares the distinguished victims to pieces of food lying in a pile on the ground ready for cooking. Such language recalls New Zealand Māori song images of the battle-dead lying heaped up like harvested fish (McRae and Jacob 2011: 84-85, Ngata 1972: 24-25, 256-57, Ngata and Te Hurinui 1970: 404-5). The simile suggests Aratangi understands older cultural notions found throughout Polynesia. In Mangaia, as elsewhere, the defeat and death of persons of *mana* ‘spiritually ordained power, authority’ renders them *noa*, ‘without *mana*, common, ordinary, profane’, just like food.<sup>7</sup>



In the same story Aratangi uses another imaginative simile to describe a brooding emotional response on the part of one of the assassins, Raumea, after being twitted by an ally, Kanune, for only killing one person. Aratangi remarks “*‘ua riro rava teia ‘ei ivi māngāika i roto i te ngākau o Raumea*” ‘this became like a fishbone in the heart of Raumea’. She adds that he became ‘*akamā*’ ‘ashamed’ on hearing the remark. Although her story does not take the incident further, other versions explain that Raumea later on killed Kanune for his jibe (Reilly 2009: 213-15). Anyone in Aratangi’s audience would have related to the pain of swallowing a fishbone. Through such an ordinary experience her listeners are brought to understand the intensity of Raumea’s feelings of hurt and shame. If they knew their history they might well have thought a retaliatory killing likely in the circumstances. Once again Aratangi shows her modern audience how men of *mana* in pre-Christian Mangaia acted: taunts wrapped up as light-hearted or teasing statements were intended to diminish someone’s *mana* which they could only restore through an appropriate, often violent response. Such attitudes were reflected in other East Polynesian societies, as revealed in Aotearoa New Zealand Māori sayings about the painfully penetrating power of words (see examples in Riley 2013: 210, 248, 250, 258). Aratangi herself was critical of the violent responses to hurtful language (see Reilly 2009: 212-13).

Another effective simile appears in a story about the priestly medium, Mautara, who defeated his enemies and became the longest reigning *te Mangaia* ‘high chief’ in the island’s history (Aratangi n.d.j). Near the end Aratangi comments: “*‘O te tangata ‘okota’i ‘ua teia tei ‘akatau i tōna māro ‘iro’i i te tū o tēta’i ngaru ririnui i runga i A’ua’u ‘enua*” ‘This one man’s energetic vigour alone resembles a mighty wave that lands on [the coast of] A’ua’u [an ancient name for Mangaia]’. She then sang an extract from an old *pe’e* ‘chant’ referring to Kororāreka, a place on the island’s southwestern shoreline well known for its rough seas (Shibata 1999: 105). Aratangi draws on the familiar experience of powerful waves pounding the coastline to illustrate for her listeners the strength of mind and body that Mautara must have possessed to succeed as he did first in battle and then in government. Aratangi establishes the connection by deploying the synonyms *māro ‘iro’i* ‘strong, healthy, vigorous, energetic, hard working’ and *ririnui* ‘powerful, violent, strong, energetic, mighty, indefatigable’ (Buse with Taringa 1995: 231, 395, Savage 1980: 310, Shibata 1999: 130). The late Teariki No’oroa, a Mangaian practitioner of the performing arts, once contrasted *mana* with *ririnui*, the former representing spiritual power and the latter physical strength (Reilly 2003: 87, 102). In this context, *māro ‘iro’i* and *ririnui* should be understood as physical manifestations of Mautara’s *mana*.

One further tool in Aratangi’s storytelling kit is gesture. By this I mean passages in her narratives dominated by a character’s gestures or actions,

usually described in a precise sequence and often including various kinds of repetition and expansion. These passages create a strongly visual experience that catches up an audience, as if the actions are unfolding in front of them. Such experiences resemble the kind of intense physical and emotional participation observed in audiences at 19th-century Māori oral performances (Thornton 1985: 155-56). After introducing the severe drought in Segment 5, Aratangi commences Segment 6 by describing Kōtuku's actions one night:

*'u[a] ara mai a Kōtuku nō tāna moe, 'ua kakī i te vai.*

Kōtuku woke up from his sleep, thirsted for water.

*'Ua tū aia i runga, 'ua 'ā'ā atu i te kāviri ururua.*

He rose up, reached out for the bunch of *ururua* containers.

The translations for this passage and the other examples of gesture below are more literal, intended to give English-only readers a better sense of Aratangi's actual language. Each of the four related utterances in the above quotation are marked by the perfect verbal particle *'ua*, establishing a repetitive structure. The limited conjunctions and pronouns create a faster-paced sequence where the listener's attention is entirely focused on the character's actions. The audience becomes immersed in the performance.

A second example of gesture appears in a story about the assassination of Te Uanuku, the *mangaia* 'high chief' of the island (Reilly 2009: 224-27). The conspirators lured him into a competitive game of *tupe* 'pitching discs' which they played for three days, at which point Te Uanuku decided to go to an *'are va 'ine* 'women's house' to rest. Knowing he would be alone, the conspirators prepared to strike. One of them, Kikau, went and waited for Te Uanuku at the side of a stream.

*'Ia tae atu a Te Uanuku i te pae kauvai 'ua 'eke aia i raro i te kauvai. 'Ua tāipu mai aia i te vai i roto i tōna kapu rima. 'Ua unu aia nō tōna kakī vai. I taua taime rāi 'ua patia atu a Kikau i tāna taiki nā muri i tōna tua, pupū rava i mua i te ate o Te Uanuku. 'Ua mau mai a Te Uanuku i te taiki a Kikau, 'ua kiriti nō roto i aia, 'ua 'ati'ati 'e toru potonga. 'O tōna māro 'iro 'i openga rāi tēnā. 'Ua topa aia i raro, 'ua mate rava.*

When Te Uanuku reached the stream's edge he descended into the stream. He scooped out the water in the palm of his hand. He drank on account of his thirst. At that moment Kikau thrust his spear from behind into his back, definitely erupting in front of Te Uanuku's liver. Te Uanuku got hold of the spear of Kikau, pulled out from within himself, broken into three pieces. That was undoubtedly his last strength. He fell down, quite dead.

These gestures are retold in a rhythmic sequence mostly marked by the perfect particle. As in the previous example, some conjunctions and pronouns are left out, so that the narrative has a more dynamic pace and concentrates on Te Uanuku's actions. When the spear entered Te Uanuku, Aratangi chooses a characteristically vivid word to describe its exit from his body: *pupū* 'gush out (as water from underground spring), erupt (as pimple on skin)' (Savage 1980: 281, Shibata 1999: 233). When Te Uanuku courageously extracted the spear, Aratangi refers to his *māro 'iro 'i* which, as in the story of Mautara's victories, is implicitly linked to the *mana* of such great leaders. The swift, action-oriented narrative, told with such graphic words, leaves a deep impression, allowing the audience to visualise what is happening in very precise detail, almost as if they were at the stream witnessing the acts as they unfolded.

A third story relates how a woman forgot the *'ākono'anga* 'custom, procedure' performed on encountering a shark, Vari-mangō, considered a spirit being by her clan (Aratangi n.d.k). The following edited passage recounts the sequence of actions that followed on from this serious omission as the woman was pursued by the shark using inland water channels.

*'Ua 'oro 'ua aia mai roto mai i te tai e tae 'ua [a]tu i uta i te puna [...]. 'Ua kite atu aia i te mangō [...]. 'Ua topa teia metua va 'ine i raro. 'Ua pou tōna a 'o ē nō tōna mataku. 'Ua tū 'aka'ou aia i runga, 'ua 'oro. Ka 'oro rava 'oki aia i te tapere 'o Ka'au-uta [...]. 'Ua kite 'aka'ou aia i teia mangō. 'Ua topa katoa aia i raro. [...] 'Ua tū teia va 'ine i runga. 'Ua oro 'aka'ou rāi aia ma te tūoro atu i tāna tāne.*

She ran alone from the sea, just reaching the district inland [...]. She saw the shark [...]. This mother fell down. Her breath was exhausted on account of her fear. She stood up again, ran. She was certainly running to the sub-district, Ka'au-uta [...]. She again saw this shark. She fell down as well. This woman stood up. She certainly ran once more, calling out to her husband.

The story goes on to explain how the woman's husband observed what was happening, remembered the appropriate ritual and performed it, thereby saving his wife from the shark's retaliation. In concluding the story Aratangi describes the animal's *māro 'iro 'i*, a quality she consistently associates with anyone or anything possessing *mana*. In the transcript of this segment Aratangi includes additional expansions about place names which have been excluded to keep the quoted passage reasonably short. These expansions, along with the repetitions, both of sentence structure and of the actions (seeing the shark and falling down), highlight for listeners the distance and the duration of the woman's run, thereby contributing to the building up of suspense. The

identification of places in the full narrative would enhance the suspense and excitement for a knowledgeable Manganian audience familiar with the time it takes to get to such locations from the coast. The complete tradition also reminds locals of the importance of performing the appropriate rituals in respect of creatures of *mana* and of having a good memory in an oral world. In common with the other gestural examples this segment leaves out some conjunctions and pronouns, helping turn the listener's attention to the core actions of the fearful, fleeing woman.

In her analysis of Māori oral narratives Thornton (1985) describes their style as “in the main paratactic”, that is, the performers do not use conjunctions but rather string a series of statements one after the other. By so doing the narrators create a sequence of events in language that is “exciting through its simplicity and speed” (Thornton 1985: 173). Aratangi achieves even more compression, greater speed and excitement for the audience by adopting an asyndetic style in places, where not only conjunctions but even pronouns are left out. Not surprisingly, this style is used by other Manganian narrators of oral tradition, even when they are writing out stories on paper, as shown by the works of the 19th-century tribal historian, Mamae (e.g., Reilly 2015: 148-49).

#### RELATIONSHIPS AND PRINCIPLES OF CARE AND PROTECTION

This final section looks at the cultural ideals which lie beneath the particular details of the Kōtuku story. For an *‘are kōrero* like Aratangi this was almost certainly the most important layer of meaning to be discovered flowing through her story. The young, dutiful daughter, Pataariri, was expected to carry out errands as instructed by her father, Kōtuku. In this story, she had to fetch and carry his supplies of drinking water at any time of the day or night. Despite fearing her father's wrath if unsuccessful, she still carried out this task, even when the drought meant there was no water to be found. In earlier times, when Manganians accessed their drinking water supplies from the inland streams and ponds in each district, girls and young women were expected by their parents and elders to fetch the water for them (Aratangi n.d.i, Lamont 1994: 87). Behind this mundane daily practice lies an important cultural expectation concerning the authority an older and more senior person has over someone subordinate to them, such as a child.

In Segment 4 Aratangi explains that Pataariri is from the Te ‘Akatauirā clan. Although she says nothing about Kōtuku's own affiliations it seems reasonable to assume he belonged to that group too. In a 19th-century version of this tradition he is described as a chief (Gill 1876a: 141). Te ‘Akatauirā was a significant descent group in pre-Christian Mangania, being one of the *kōpū tangata* ‘clans’ from which the *ariki* ‘high priests’ were chosen to serve as mediums for the island's pre-eminent spirit being, Rongo. These mediums were extremely *tapu* when performing their priestly functions. Reflecting their

enormous ritual and social prestige they controlled large estates and often became key players in the chiefly politics of their day (see Reilly 2003). For Aratangi, Pataariri belongs to a prestigious clan. Other evidence indicates that Kōtuku had a high social status, as therefore did his daughter. Within the family he possessed the parent's authority over a child or young person: within the descent group, as a chief, he was used to telling subordinate people what to do.

The descriptions of Pataariri's extreme emotional upset and fear, along with the intervention of a spirit power which caused Kōtuku's death, suggest, however, that his words and actions did not reflect the kind of behaviour expected from a father. A survey of historical evidence for parent and child relationships in Mangaia helps establish more clearly what was considered appropriate or inappropriate behaviour.

According to the anthropologist, Te Rangi Hiroa, adult Mangaiaans showed a "great affection" for children. This fondness prompted many older relations to claim a child from its *metua* 'ānau 'birth parents' and raise it as a *tamaiti* 'āngai 'foster or feeding child' (Hiroa 1971: 97, see also Buse with Taringa 1995: 8, 248). Young or disabled children were especially well treated by parents. When able children got older they were expected to do various tasks. The missionary, William Wyatt Gill, who lived in Mangaia between 1852 and 1872, thought these older children could have "a very hard life". He went on to note (rather disapprovingly) that a feeding child if reprimanded by its birth parents would run away to the sympathetic arms of their *metua* 'āngai 'foster or feeding parent/s'. The birth parents had to visit with presents and "humbly entreat" the child to come back with them. Often the child opted to remain with their feeding parents (Gill 1979: 2, 4, Savage 1980: 27).

The first-born male or female child in a high status family had a particularly privileged situation. In pre-Christian times they were considered "especially sacred" and were treated as a "favoured child". They ate separately from the rest of the family and entered their parents' dwelling through a separate and sacred entrance. First-born sons were called 'chief' (in the saying quoted by Aratangi the medium, Mautara, calls his older sons by the honorific *ariki*), or, 'the land-owner'. Nor did such "pet" sons carry any burdens; that was the task of their fathers. Upon the father's death, the eldest son inherited the largest portion of land and had authority over his younger brothers. Even in Gill's day, a first-born son or daughter, when they married, often took over the house of their parents who moved to a smaller one nearby. The marriage of the first-born son or daughter was also marked by distinctive cultural practices, including presentations of vast amounts of *tapa* and food as well as the performance of the *maninitori*, which involved affines presenting themselves as an *ara tangata* 'path of people' to be walked over by the partner marrying-in to their descent group (Gill 1876a: 46, 59-63, 132, Hiroa 1971: 90-91).

Traditions provide further insights into the dynamics of Manganian parent and child relationships. In one the twin children, Piri-‘ere-‘ua and her brother, were frequently told off and thrashed by their mother. One night she cooked some fish she had caught, but would not wake the children to partake in the meal, despite her husband suggesting it. Deeply upset at this neglectful treatment the twins decided to run away. Discovering their absence the “sorrowing parents” searched everywhere until observing them far up in the sky in the Scorpius constellation (Gill 1876b: 42, 1885: 111-13). In another tradition Te Ora decided to save the life of her only surviving son, Mana‘une. Hidden in a refuge cave watched over by warriors and chiefs, the two escaped across the strife-torn island to the defended camp of their opponents where she sought out her nephew, Mautara, the powerful medium. She asked him to adopt her young adult son into his clan as a feeding child to which he agreed, thus saving Mana‘une’s life (Gill 1984: 193-7). In a third tradition, Temoakau and his son, ‘Uri-i-te-pito-kura, fled into hiding after their side was defeated in battle. Both men were skilled craftsmen and spent their time creating feather cloaks, headdresses and finely woven fishing nets, all objects of great value. Concerned to secure his son’s future, Temoakau developed a plan whereby his son was able to use the attraction of these abundant and valuable goods to secure protection from a wife of high status whose family belonged to the victorious ruling party (Gill 1984: 24-31).

Two accounts of father and daughter relationships give insights into this particular dyad. In one tradition, an older man called Mokotearo was, like Pataariri, struggling to carry a heavy load of coconuts. A young man, Tekaire, took up his load and carried it across the hilly divide in the centre of Mangaia to Mokotearo’s home. In recognition of this kind gesture, Mokotearo reciprocated with an even more generous response, by giving his “beloved daughter”, Tanuau, to the young man. He first told Tekaire that she was to become his wife, and then told her to accompany her new husband home which she did (Gill 1876a: 132-33). In about 1815 the teenage ‘Enuataurere, the eldest daughter of the warrior leader, Rako‘ia, drowned accidentally. As part of the formal mourning he organised a recital of songs in remembrance of her. Many years later, as an elderly man, he formally adopted Gill’s only daughter, Honor Jane, as a feeding child and named her ‘Enuataurere. Periodically, he would make the long walk from Tamarua to Kei‘ā to present food to her. On these occasions he would chant a song he had composed for his daughter’s commemorative recital (Gill 1979: 28, Rako‘ia n.d.):

*Ta‘u tama nei, e a‘a rāi ē!  
 ‘Uri mai koe i te ‘inangaro kimikimi,  
 Kie ‘akata‘ata‘a, e ta‘u ariki. [...]  
 Tei ‘ia ‘oki tō‘oku ‘inangaro,*

*Tei pau atu nā iā 'au. [...]*  
*E mānea metua i te tupu'anga i te tama ē! [...]*  
*Auē ē! 'Enuataurere! 'Enuataurere!*

My child, where are you really!  
 You turn from the longing that occupies the mind,  
 [I am] proud of you, o my chief. [...]  
 Where is my beloved [child]?  
 You are gone [from me]. [...]  
 Fortunate [is the] parent [who watches] the child's growing up! [...]  
 O alas! O 'Enuataurere! O 'Enuataurere!<sup>8</sup>

In the opening song lines Rako'ia stresses the intensity of his loss: Gill translates "*te 'inangaro kimikimi*" in line two as 'my wild grief'. Significantly, like Mautara, Rako'ia calls this child his *ariki* or chief, a mark of her respected position as his eldest daughter. While he longs for her to come back, he knows that she has already left him to travel to 'Avaiki, the land of the dead. In the last line the intensity of his grief is revealed by the repetition of his daughter's name. Perhaps for Rako'ia, Honor Jane (alias 'Enuataurere) gave his lost daughter a continuing presence in the land of the living, allowing him another chance to care for her and to see her grow up.

What does this varied historical evidence indicate about the kind of relationships that existed between a parent and their child in ancient Mangaia? Clearly, individual parents did treat their offspring harshly. Children responded by running away to seek solace elsewhere. This response parallels wider Polynesian practices whereby a person in harm's way removed themselves from the threat, often seeking out protection from more distant relations elsewhere (Reilly 2010: 133, Schrempf 1985: 30). As an aside, Gill's description of the process for asking a child to return to its birth parents suggests a strongly child-centred outlook operated in society generally. Certainly, it contrasts greatly with Gill's own attitudes. His remarks show he thought Mangaian children were often treated too indulgently by parents who ought to have used greater discipline on them (see Gill 1979: 4), an interesting reflection of the differences between Polynesian and European ideas of how to raise children. As a general rule older children and *māpū* 'young unmarried adults', like Pataariri, were expected to carry out the instructions of their parents. However, parents like Te Ora and Temoakauai cared a great deal for their offspring and went to enormous lengths to ensure their present and future well-being. In telling offspring what to do parents treated them with respect and consideration. While Mokotearo followed customary practice when choosing a husband for Tanuau there was no suggestion that she went with Tekaire unwillingly; as Gill observes, "Marriage never occurs by

force” (Gill 1979: 5). The weight of evidence suggests that Kōtuku’s abusive remarks and threats would not have been viewed as normal or appropriate parental behaviour.

This conclusion is further strengthened by evidence for the strong social valuing of principles of generosity, care and protection towards others. Polynesian chiefs always protected strangers who came to their islands although Gill, perhaps not surprisingly, thought matters greatly improved once Christianity had been embraced, when all visitors were welcomed, fed and looked after by everyone they met; as he puts it, “The generous man is the ideal good man yet” (Gill 1979: 12). Aotearoa New Zealand Māori describe this demonstration of liberality, hospitality and compassion as *atawhai tangata*, *manaakitanga* and *aroha ki te tangata* respectively, attributes they historically associated with people of *mana* (see Shirres 1997: 55). The evidence below indicates such precepts were also valued in Mangaian society.

The care and protection of vulnerable individuals frequently appears in Mangaia’s history. Gill records at least 21 such instances of which the following summary of cases is a sample, suggestive of the pervasiveness of this core cultural value. A warrior, Katia, saved several young people from death as human sacrifices. Gill, who got to know him as an older man, describes him as hiding a “tender heart under a most rugged exterior”. He saved two distant relatives by sending them off to their aunt, Tama-‘ū‘ā, and her chiefly husband, Matapa. To fool the rest of the escort party when they reached the scene he pretended he had been overpowered by the two youths. The other men would not have appreciated his gesture because those who brought in the sacrificial victim received rich rewards (Reilly 2009: 262-64). Nor were these other escorts relatives of the victims. Meanwhile Matapa stood fully armed before his house in order to prevent the boys being recaptured. Gill (1876a: 345) explains: “Matapa was bound to protect his wife’s relatives when on his own lands, or else forfeit his dignity as chief.” When the hue and cry had died down, Matapa escorted the boys back to their overjoyed parents who were hiding in a refuge cave on the other side of the island (Gill 1876a: 344-46). Other well known male protectors include the medium, Mautara, who saved several prominent men, including the two mediums, Te Vaki and Namu, as well as the young man of rank, Mana‘une (Gill 1984: 70-71, 156, 193-96). Mana‘une himself later extended his protection to a kinsman and famous artist, Rori, setting him up on his lands (Gill 1984: 233-35).

Tama-‘ū‘ā’s role in protecting male kin is not unique. A number of women obtained protection for family members with the support of male agents. Tanga obtained protection for her brother from two successive husbands, including Pa‘a. He was approached several times to hand over his brother-in-law but consistently refused to “put his wife in mourning”, even when asked by his close friend, Makitaka, the ruling *mangaia* (Gill 1876a: 324-27). Te



Tui got her father, medium of his clan's spirit being, to protect her husband, Namu, by placing him within the *pā tīkoru*, the curtain of thick white *tapa* 'barkcloth' forming the spirit power's sacred space in the medium's house. This act is more remarkable since Namu's descent group was particularly loathed by Te Tui's people (Gill 1984: 152-53, Hiroa 1971: 173). The image of the *pā tīkoru* as a protective sanctuary is picked up in Segment 8 of Kōtuku's story, showing how these older ideas were sustained by generations of 'are *kōrero*. Later on, Te Tui saved two female relations by obtaining her husband's agreement to protect them. Namu guarded the women at his home, steadfastly refusing any requests to hand them over, even when asked by Mautara who shortly before had secured Namu's own life. He told them Te Tui had threatened to kill herself if he surrendered her relations (Gill 1984: 189-91). Te Kō wanted to save two refugee relations who had been caught stealing food. She asked her son, the *mangaia*, Te Uanuku, to go and save them from a threatening crowd which he did (Gill 1984: 202-3).

Not all gestures of protection ended happily. Mautara attempted to protect two distant relations but they were slain by warriors from a hostile descent group (Gill 1984: 116-18). Katia set free a captive boy only to see others find and catch him again (Gill 1876a: 40). The medium, Mā'ue'ue, tried to protect a brother-in-law only for his son to betray him. Mā'ue'ue cursed his son and drove him from his lands, a response some thought a little extreme (Gill 1876a: 42-43). The leader, Metuatīpoki, surrendered a person he was sheltering when requested by the party hunting for a sacrificial victim (Gill 1885: 106). When the leader, Va'angaru, gave up one of his junior wives to such a group his own mother soundly criticised him in public: "*E pā kikau ng[a ']aeng[a ']ae koe, e ta'u ariki*" 'You are a tattered screen of coconut leaves, o my chief', meaning he resembled a dilapidated roof of coconut leaves unable to provide shelter from the elements. Conversely, those men and women who sheltered others were complimented as "*Te 'are rau maru*" 'the house of sheltering leaves' (Gill 1885: 229-30, Reilly 2009: 235).

The principles of care and protection were widely valued in Mangaian society, although some failed to follow them in practice. Those who chose to shelter others did so despite much pressure from friends and influential leaders to give the protected persons up, an indication of the protectors' commitment to this cultural principle. Te Tui's suicide threat was a courageous tactic: if she had killed herself then the resulting scandal would have affected the reputations of those requesting her brother's surrender; little wonder they backed away from pursuing the request. The diligence with which husbands protected their wife's relations reveals the nature of their marriages: these women were equal partners, respected by their men. The example of Mā'ue'ue's failure underscores just how emotionally invested leaders were

in protecting others. The ethic of protection extended even to one's enemies, although this did not prevent others trying to kill such protected individuals; for example, clan members even invaded their medium's *pā tikoru* in an unsuccessful attempt to catch and kill Namu (Gill 1984: 153-54). Giving others food, shelter and even their lives back were all acts of Gill's ideal generous person. In this light, Kōtuku can be seen as a morally bad leader who failed to behave according to these cultural precepts.

In Segment 8 of the Kōtuku story, Pataariri is saved from death by the intervention of a spirit being, Te Maru-o-Rongo. That being not only saved her but brought about the death of Kōtuku himself for *tāna au ākono 'anga kino* 'his wrong courses of action'. The word *ākono 'anga* is similar in meaning to the New Zealand Māori key word, *tikanga*, and means 'customs, usual procedure, way of doing things' (Buse with Taringa 1995: 55). As Aratangi's other story about the shark Vari-mangō demonstrates, following the right procedure was an absolute imperative. Not to do so risked a response from the spirit powers in order to set matters to rights.

Spiritual beings, including the spirits of dead relations, intervened in the affairs of people in order to protect the living, especially the vulnerable. The spirits of the dead (the *tūpāpaku*), although normally well disposed towards their living relatives, could become "vindictive" if a pet child was being ill-treated by someone in the family (Gill 1876b: 157, 1979: 20; Shibata 1999: 349). In one tradition, a thief tricked a young woman, 'Ina, into giving up all her family's treasured goods. When her parents discovered what happened 'Ina's mother and then her father angrily beat her across the back with coconut tree branches. Their daughter all of a sudden became possessed by a *manu* 'spirit messenger' and began chanting in a strange voice that her skin was intensely sacred (*kiri taputapu*) and that only the spirit being, Tinirau, could hit her. Her parents stopped thrashing her. 'Ina then ran away and eventually became Tinirau's wife (Gill 1876b: 88-93, 268). The pattern of parental abuse followed by escape resembles the Piri-'ere-'ua tradition: marriage to a powerful being, like Tinirau, is another classic protective response.

The depth of this divine form of intervention in human lives is demonstrated by its persistence in today's society. A *tūpāpaku* may return to punish a wrong-doer, including causing their death, when the victim is someone who had a close relationship to the deceased during their lifetime. For example, if someone mistreats a family member, like a spouse, a deceased relation who was close to the victim in life, may return to the wrong-doer in their sleep, and even cause them uncomfortable physical sensations, in an effort to make them stop their inappropriate behaviour. Sometimes a victim may become possessed by a spirit in order to change a wrong-doer's behaviour

(Apeldoorn and Kareroa n.d.: Part I Chapter 4, Clerk 1995: 168, various personal communications).

The protective relationship between spiritual beings and people reveals the intimate ties that bind these two dimensions of the universe together. Gill describes Mangaia's human domain as being simply a "gross copy" of the corresponding spiritual world (Gill 1876b: 54). There was a constant traffic of spiritual beings and humans between Mangaia and 'Avaiki. For example, a man named Eneene, with the assistance of his spirit being, Tumatarauua, brought his wife back from 'Avaiki (Gill 1876b: 221-24). All of human culture was acquired from the various spirit powers, as when the culture hero, Māui, travelled down to 'Avaiki and returned to the district of Kei'ā with the secrets of firemaking (Gill 1876b: 51-58). This important conceptualisation of the universe appears elsewhere in Polynesia. Māori Marsden (1992: 134) describes the universe "as a two-world system in which the material proceeds from the spiritual, and the spiritual (which is the higher order) interpenetrates the material physical world". In this world, people and what they do comes "under the influence of the spiritual powers" (Shirres 1997: 26, 34).

\* \* \*

Arguably for Aratangi, the interventionist role of spiritual beings in protecting vulnerable people was the most important lesson she wished others to take from her story about Kōtuku. Awareness of the influence of such spirit powers affected people's behaviour in the physical world. The abuser could never be certain that their actions might not result in reciprocal harm to themselves. The spirit beings in effect acted as a kind of supernatural police force or moral governor of Mangaian society. Those who possessed *mana* over others in the human world were answerable to the spirit powers from whom that authority came. Any failure to act as a person of rank should do, that is, with generosity, liberality and kindness towards others, might result in that person's demise.

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## NOTES

1. One of the transcripts of the recorded traditions is stamped as being received by the Cultural Development Division in June 1975.
2. Aratangi contributed 29 traditions (four with a second *'are kōrero*), *'Aerepō* 26, *'Akaiti Ponga* six (two with Aratangi), *Ngātokorua* three (one with Aratangi), *'Okirua* one, *Rakauruaiti* one (jointly with Aratangi).
3. These comments are based on notes of the conversation with her at her home in Ivirua, Mangaia, on 28 April 1988, assisted by Īana A'ita'u who translated for us, as well as conversations in the village of Oneroa with *'Atingākau Tangatakino*, 26 April 1988, and *Pōkino Āperahama*, 2 May 1988. Additional information came from Shibata (1999: 104-5, 313). I also benefitted from a later conversation with her son, *Pāpā Aratangi*, 12 December 1995, in Rarotonga.
4. Some typescripts of traditions were subjected to minimal corrections, mainly to capitalise names and to separate words that had been run together by the typist.
5. The page length of Aratangi's typescripts vary: less than three quarters of a page (4), three quarters of a page (10), one page (6), more than a page (9). Other typescript traditions: less than three quarters of page (8), three quarters of a page (7), one page (11), less than two pages (8), two or more pages (6).
6. This same proverb appears in a manuscript written by Mamae (c. 1810–1889), a pastor well versed in tribal knowledge, which was later transcribed by colonial official and lexicographer, Stephen Savage (1875–1941), before being microfilmed in Rarotonga by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (see Reilly 2003). It seems unlikely that Aratangi was familiar with these documents. This is an excellent example of how oral traditions were transmitted and drawn on by different generations of *'are kōrero* in Mangaia.
7. Instructive insights about Manganian ideas of *mana* can be found in the story of their local culture hero, *Ngaru* (see Reilly 2015: 178-79).
8. Elements in the Manganian text are changed slightly from the published text to reflect the manuscript copy, see lines 3, 6 and 7. Parts of the translations follow marginal notes, probably by Gill: *Kie 'akata 'ta 'a* 'Proud of you', *Tei 'ia* 'Where'. Readers interested in looking at the original can see it in full at Auckland Council Libraries, Manuscripts Online, GNZMS 45.

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- n.d.c. *Te Umu Tangata Mua i runga ia A'ua'u 'Enea*. Mangaian Kōrero Series. Cultural Development Division, Ministry of Social Services, National Archives of the Cook Islands, Rarotonga.
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## ABSTRACT

A cautionary narrative taken from a 20th-century collection of Cook Islands oral traditions recounts the mistreatment of a daughter, Pataariri, by her chiefly father, Kōtuku, and his consequential death caused by a spirit power putting matters to rights. This paper highlights narrative features such as repetition, expansion, images and gestures, as well as the cultural valuing of the protection of vulnerable people by those in authority. Failure to look after others could result in spiritual interventions that admonished or even killed the perpetrators, a cultural form of policing behaviours that still operates today.

*Keywords:* Kōtuku, Pataariri, oral traditions, narrative features, protection of vulnerable people, Mangaian *‘are korero*, Cook Islands

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# THE ENDURANCE OF SURFING IN 19TH-CENTURY HAWAI‘I

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The traditional narrative of 19th-century surf history argues for a rapid decline in the practice of riding waves as a result of dramatic social changes in the Hawaiian Islands. The overthrow of the traditional *kapu* ‘taboo’ system in 1819, the arrival of Christian missionaries in 1820, the subsequent onslaught of Western diseases, political systems and consumer values—all reportedly pushed surfing to the brink of extinction by the late 1890s. Further, the narrative credits a revival of the sport in the early 20th century due largely to Island *haole* (non-Hawaiians, especially those of European origin) and newly-arrived Americans with a flair for publicity and marketing (Finney and Houston 1996: 57-60). The growing availability of online searchable databases for newspapers in Hawaiian and English, however, allows us to solidify an alternative view of surfing that reinforces the sport’s endurance in 19th-century Hawai‘i and its continued practice by Native Hawaiians. In the past several years new evidence has been uncovered—principally in the Hawaiian newspaper archives—that shows more surf activity by Native Hawaiians than previously known (Clark 2011: 33, Walker 2011: 26-31). Although the record remains sporadic—and much more research needs to be done in the rich archives of newspaper databases, especially in Hawaiian-language papers—we have enough material to indicate a pattern of practice consistent with the idea that surfing continued as a cultural tradition in the outlying regions of the Islands, while it remained actively suppressed by *haole* around the capital of Honolulu on O‘ahu. The newspaper articles, supplemented by travel books of the period and a reconsideration of the primary sources used by a previous generation of surf historians, counter the idea that Native Hawaiians abandoned their national pastime and help explain how the argument that surfing nearly died out gained so much traction over the past two centuries.

## EARLY ACCOUNTS OF NATIVE HAWAIIAN SURFING

It is important to note that conflicting evidence about the state of surfing in 19th-century Hawai‘i has been a part of primary sources since at least the 1840s. Missionary Hiram Bingham (1847: 215) announced that “heathen sports” (like surfing) “nearly disappeared” among Native Hawaiians because of the efforts of the missionaries. Echoing Bingham, writer George



Washington Bates (1854: 298) stated: “Of the numerous national games and amusements formerly practiced by the Hawaiians, surf-bathing is about the only one which has not become extinct. Lahaina, Maui is the only place on the group where it is maintained with any degree of enthusiasm, and even there it is rapidly passing out of existence”. Visiting the Islands several years before Bates, British travel writer Samuel S. Hill provided compelling evidence to the contrary. He was hiking north from the famous Captain Cook monument at Kealakekua Bay on the Big Island (formally Hawai‘i Island) to the seat of government in Kailua. Passing a couple of empty thatched huts around noon near the small village of Keauhou, he met several Native Hawaiian women who told him that “all the men, women, and children of the place, save themselves, were sporting with their surf-boards in the water” (1856: 196). It is Hill himself who makes the initial observation during his trip that serves as a basis for an alternative reading of surf history:

This [surfing] is truly a famous and animating diversion, but, for what reason I know not, now discouraged by the missionaries, and no longer played with the same spirit among the islanders wherever the Europeans are mingled among them. But as we are now so far removed from the seats of innovation upon former customs, the occasion may be favourable to describe, as the opportunity we then had was of witnessing this sport. (Hill 1856: 195)

Hill’s comment that surfing was “no longer played with the same spirit among the islanders wherever the Europeans are mingled among them” makes a critical historical point: while surfing had declined in the areas populated by *haole*, outlying areas like Keauhou were keeping the cultural traditions alive (Moser 2011: 195-204; see also entries in Moser 2008). His mention of the “seats of innovation upon former customs” is a reference to Island capitals—principally Honolulu on O‘ahu—where the missionaries had established a strong base of Christianity that came to influence governmental policies and general social behaviour, including the practice of surfing. The lack of *haole* in the village of Keauhou on the Kona coast of the Big Island allowed Native Hawaiians to practice their traditions without the threat of missionary disapproval or even legal punishment—the penal code of the period forbade, under penalty of a fine up to ten dollars, all “worldly business, amusements and recreation” on the Sabbath (*The Penal Code of the Hawaiian Kingdom* 1869: 80).

#### NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS

A review of reports from 19th-century newspapers reinforces surfing’s continued practice in the Islands’ outlying regions and corrects much misinformation about the state of the sport in Hawai‘i. The various accounts

can be grouped into three general categories: (i) missionary writings that inveigh against the sport, (ii) reports of Hawaiian royalty surfing and (iii) descriptions of surfing exhibitions.

*“Surfing is Wrong”*

The first category of articles that supports the endurance of surfing is declamations against the sport published in missionary-run newspapers. One of the goals of these newspapers, which began appearing in Hawai‘i in 1834, was “to point out existing evils, their character, seat, extent and consequences, their causes and the remedy” (Mookini 1974: iv). No surprise, then, that references to surfing—long condemned by the missionaries as one of the Islands’ “existing evils”—appear as a topic of discussion early on (Dibble 1909: 101-2). Many of the articles I reference in this category were first brought to light by John R.K. Clark’s indispensable *Hawaiian Surfing: Traditions from the Past* (2011). I have relied heavily on his research and the Hawaiian translations by Keao NeSmith which appear in Clark’s book. One article in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* on 4 February 1835, for example, laments that the people of the town of Lā‘ie, on the north shore of O‘ahu, prefer to go surfing rather than to church: “*O na kamaaina ka nui o ko lakou makemake i ka hee nalu; aole makemake lakou ma ka pule*” (Clark 2011: 17). Another article from 31 January 1838 in the same newspaper castigates surfers as “lazy” (*no ka molowa*) and “indifferent” (*no ka palaka*); the writer labels surfing and similar activities as “these vices” (*keia mau hewa*) (Clark 2011: 17). Later that same year a report describes the death of a surfer at Lahaina, Maui; the writer adds that surfing is “the root of lasciviousness” (*ka mole no ia no ka lealea*) and asks: “is it not possible to quit surfing?” (*aole anei e hiki ke haalele aku i ka heenalua*) (Clark 2011: 17-18). Four years later in the missionary paper *Ka Nonanona*, one writer simply states that “surfing is wrong” (*he hewa ka heenalua*). “When the waves break at Ka‘ea in ‘Ōhikilolo” [on the west side of O‘ahu], the writer adds, “many people flock here to surf. They stay until the time for gardening has passed” (Clark 2011: 18). The locations of these missionary complaints—the smaller towns of Lā‘ie and ‘Ōhikilolo on O‘ahu Island, along with Lahaina, on Maui—support the idea that surfing was still a popular recreation in the outlying regions.<sup>1</sup> Needless to say, the presence of such denunciations indicates the continued practice of surfing by entire communities.

These articles appeared in the 1830s and early 1840s, a time when missionary influence was still fairly strong. There are brief indications, however, that this battle continued into successive decades. In April of 1862, the missionary paper *Ka Hoku Loa* listed surfing among those activities that were forbidden on the Sabbath (p. 39).<sup>2</sup> On 13 April 1876, the missionary

paper *Ka Lahui Hawaii* described surfing and bowling, along with other games, as laziness (*molowa*) and wasting time (*apa*) (p. 1). These comments alert us to the religious community’s continued disapproval of surfing and the ongoing Native Hawaiian resistance to their edicts as they continued to enjoy riding waves.<sup>3</sup> The latter article may have been in response to the increased visibility of surfing during King David Kalākaua’s reign (1874–1891), a time when the monarch encouraged exhibitions of the sport along with other traditional Hawaiian cultural activities.

*“Riding in a Slide and Returning to the Curl”*

The second category of articles that helps track the history of surfing is the topical reports of Hawaiians riding waves, particularly Hawaiian royalty. These reports begin in the 1860s, which might appear rather late (some 30 years after the newspapers began). But as Esther K. Mookini writes in her 1974 book, *The Hawaiian Newspapers*, the first independent newspaper did not appear in the Islands until 1861: *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (pp. vi-vii). Most reports of Hawaiian royals surfing appeared in *Kuokoa* because the paper—although established and edited by Henry Martyn Whitney, the son of missionaries—prided itself, as its name implies, on remaining fiercely independent from political or religious influences. Since the missionaries did not approve of surfing, they were not likely to mention its practice by Hawaiian royalty in their own newspapers. It is telling that the first editor of the missionary paper *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, Reuben Tinker, resigned his post after four years (in 1838) because he was “dissatisfied with what he considered the despotic policy of the Prudential Committee of the American Board, especially in regard to the rigid censorship of everything written by the missionaries for publication” (Mookini 1974: v). We know that the American Board, the Boston-based organisation that sponsored the missionaries, used its publications as effective organs of propaganda to raise money and to assert progress in its foreign missions (Andrew 1976: 122). The severe control exercised by the Board back in New England would have precluded any encouraging references to surfing in its newspapers.

*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* was not hampered by such restrictions. Their edition on 24 March 1866 provides a short update on the recreational activities of the future king of Hawai‘i, William Charles Lunalilo (who reigned 1873–1874): “News from the Royal Court. The Prince W. C. Lunalilo is still enjoying himself in Waikīkī, spending a lot of time relaxing and surfing in the waves of Kawehewehe [*i ka heenalu mau i na nalu o ka wehewehe*], riding in a slide and returning to the curl” (Clark 2011: 13). Later that same year, on 12 November, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* published “A Kind Request”: “Last Saturday, His Highness ... W.C. Lunalilo, made a request to his military leaders to visit

his home thatched with coconut fronds at Āpuakēhau to pass the time and to relax watching the surfers on the slippery waves at Kāhala” (Clark 2011: 126). This second occasion would also have been at Waikīkī, the traditional surfing playground of Hawaiian royalty. It is worth noting that Waikīkī—although only three miles outside of the main centre of Honolulu—remained distinct from Honolulu in character and tradition in the latter part of the 19th century and so is considered part of what I have termed “outlying regions.” With its royal Hawaiian homesteads and agricultural usage—from taro fields and fish ponds to the rice fields and duck pounds that predominated by the end of the 19th century—Waikīkī was “like a quiet cemetery,” according to George S. Kanahele, “compared to the din of Honolulu’s yelping dogs, rattling carts, saluting canon and carousing drunks” (1995: 119). The area offered a rustic refuge for health and leisure in the shadow of Honolulu, and the terms used by *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in the two newspaper announcements describing Lunalilo’s experience—“enjoying himself” (*ka luana ana*), “relaxing” (*walea*), “to pass the time and to relax” (*nanea malie*)—are consistent with those used by Native Hawaiian writers like Samuel M. Kamakau (1991) whose surfing legends and histories appeared in *Kuokoa* around this same time.<sup>4</sup> One of the reasons why surfing endured in the 19th century at places like Waikīkī was because Hawaiians derived such an immense amount of pleasure from it, especially during a period when the Native Hawaiian population was in a free-fall due to the rampages of venereal disease and other epidemics. The missionaries listed the population at over 130,000 in 1831; in 1853 that figure was just over 71,000; by 1872 it had fallen to less than 52,000.<sup>5</sup> Given the often grim circumstances of daily life in the Islands—Kanahele’s simile of Waikīkī as a cemetery was not arbitrary—one has to imagine that surfing provided a much-needed balm for the physical and mental health of Native Hawaiians. Travel writer Samuel S. Hill described such a scenario for King Kamehameha III:

The healthful diversion [of surfing] is still the favourite of the few remaining national exercises of the natives throughout the group. I was informed by the missionaries and by others, in proof of its popularity, and of the constancy with which it must have been practised for ages, that many of the natives spend whole days enjoying themselves in this manner in the water. I was informed also, that Kamehameha III, then the reigning king, was known thus to divert himself even from sunrise to sunset, taking his meals of poi during the day without ever coming to shore. This was not, however, at the seat of innovation, and of the present government, but at or near Lahaina, in Mawhee [Maui], which his majesty made the place of his sojourn when disposed to quit the scenes which continually reminded him of the decrease of nationality among his subjects, and the loss of independence, of his race. (Hill 1956: 202-3)

According to Hill’s sources (“the missionaries” and “others”), surfing helped the king cope with the tragedy of his people dying off and the growing dependence of his kingdom on Western ideals. The cultural tradition of riding waves, practiced not “at the seat of innovation” in Honolulu but in the outlying region of Lahaina, remained a soothing palliative for the monarch. This was true for his people as well. One particularly heartening aspect of Hill’s narrative is that despite the poverty and disease he witnessed among the local populations, ravaged by epidemics of measles, influenza and dysentery, the villagers of Keauhou still moved *en masse* to the ocean with their surfboards when a new swell hit (p. 111). We can imagine that surfing persisted through these tragedies because it helped the Islanders endure them—a cultural tradition that gave them and their king comfort, joy and probably strength under the most dire of circumstances.

Surfing had ever been a favourite activity of Hawaiian royalty, who excelled at the sport from time immemorial (Finney and Houston 1996: 27). The heirs of this tradition, though dwindling in number in the 19th century, maintained their prowess. On 15 February 1868, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* reported on “the Honorable P. Nahā‘olelua, Governor of Maui, Moloka‘i and Lāna‘i.” “He is in good health,” the article announced, “perhaps from riding the waves of ‘Uo [at Lahaina, Maui]. The surf was rising, and therefore he was delayed in his arrival into town [Honolulu]” (Clark 2011: 13-14).

Continuing into the 1880s, a now-famous newspaper article from 20 July 1885 in the *Santa Cruz Daily Surf* described a surf session by three royal princes who were attending St. Matthews Military Academy in San Mateo: “The young Hawaiian princes were in the water, enjoying it hugely and giving interesting exhibitions of surf-board swimming as practiced in their native islands” (p. 2). The three brothers—David Kawānanakoa, Edward Keli‘iahonui and Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole—had been named by King Kalākaua as successive heirs to the throne. As in earlier times, newspaper reports of Hawaiian royals surfing are sporadic, and certainly not front-page news, but they follow a pattern corroborated by visitor accounts such as those of Samuel S. Hill which report that members of the royal family continued to uphold the tradition of surfing throughout the 19th century (Clark 2011; 12-14, Walker 2011: 5, 30). As in decades past, the royals did not typically surf alone: they commanded large retinues of people—friends, family, retainers—who were undoubtedly in the water with them. When Hiram Bingham first arrived on the island of Hawai‘i in April of 1820, for example, he noted “a great number of the natives—men, women, and children, from the highest to the lowest rank, including the king [Liholiho] and his mother [Keōpūolani], were amusing themselves in the water”—some of them “floating on surfboards” (Bingham 1847: 85-86). Surfing has traditionally been a communal sport

in Hawai‘i, part of a cultural legacy that reached back to the great fertility rituals of the annual *Makahiki* (harvest festival) celebrations where entire communities surfed and enjoyed the waves together (Beckwith 1932: 94-95).

“*The Novel Spectacle of Surf-riding*”

The third category of articles that verify the continuity of surfing references surf exhibitions that were staged for travellers. Although these exhibitions had likely occurred throughout the 19th century as increasing numbers of travellers made their way to the Islands, King David Kalākaua’s official support of surfing and other traditional cultural practices seems to have encouraged their display, with most of the exhibitions recorded in the newspapers occurring during his reign (1874–1891). As a 24-year-old “Colonel”, Kalākaua had arranged a surf exhibition for two English visitors, Sophia Cracroft and Lady Jane Franklin, while they visited Kailua, Hawai‘i (Korn 1958: 69-73). Once he became king, Kalākaua supported surfing by sanctioning exhibitions at Waikīkī and Lahaina on Kamehameha Day on 11 June 1877. The event near Waikīkī coincided with the official opening of Kapi‘olani Park, an outdoor space named in honour of Kalākaua’s wife. The *Hawaiian Gazette* wrote on 13 June 1877:

A large crowd went down to the beach to witness the ancient sport of surf-riding, but the Committee of Arrangements, however efficient in other respects, had failed to provide a high surf, consequently this part of the programme fell through, and all that was seen was three or four score of juvenile aboriginals splashing about in the blue waters. (Image 2)<sup>6</sup>

Although the waves at Waikīkī did not arrive as planned (still a problem for surf contests today), the “three or four score” mentioned in the article inform us that from 60 to 80 Native Hawaiian children were adept enough at the sport to vie for the \$20.00 in prize money (as reported in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* for 9 June 1877: Image 2). The exhibition fared better at Lahaina where three surfers each earned \$5.00 for their efforts (as reported in *Ka Lahui Hawaii* for 21 June 1877, p. 1).

Surfing disappears from Kamehameha Day celebrations after 1877. Although the lack of waves seems to have stifled enthusiasm for surfing that particular year, a report from *The Saturday Press* five years later indicates that cultural causes (rather than natural ones) prevented the sport from reappearing on the programme:

We believe that a year ago [in 1881] a few surf swimmers ventured to “ride the waves,” but they received little encouragement from the *haole*, who, though he is not imposing in numbers is very apt to make himself “numerous” on a

race day. When we think what proportion of the sports on Kamehameha day falls to the lot of the descendants of Kamehameha we are very much inclined to look upon the whole affair as a joke. If the native subjects are to have a holiday at all, one that is to be recognized by the Government and observed by the residents of the Kingdom, why should it not have Kamehameha Day to itself? a day on which the great *luau* [feast] of the year may be given and when the spear throwing, surf riding, swinging and all the athletic games, now unhappily suffered to decline, when the *meles* [songs], the vocal contests, the rival improvisatori and the races—Hawaiian riders on Hawaiian stock—may make the Park jubilant the whole day long. (17 June 1882: 2)

Here the presence of resident *haole* exerted a markedly negative influence on the practice of surfing, even into the 1880s, which undoubtedly reinforced for Native Hawaiians the need to hold their surf sessions in places (or at times) where “the Europeans”, as Hill had called them, were not “mingled among them”. It is worth noting how much control Honolulu *haole*, and the capital in general, exercised over the kind of information that appeared in print. Of the more than 60 newspapers that Mookini (1974) records in *The Hawaiian Newspapers* between their beginning in 1834 and 1893 (the general time period considered in this article), only three of them were published outside of Honolulu. All three came from Maui, the first one in 1834 and the next two in 1881; each of these appears to have lasted less than a year (Mookini 1974: 14, 20, 24). Honolulu held such a monopoly over information that a writer for Thrum’s *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1877* could insist that the press of Hawai‘i and that of Honolulu amounted to the same thing (p. 24).<sup>7</sup> These circumstances necessarily limited the amount and the content of news coming from outlying regions where surfing was perhaps most practiced in the local Hawaiian communities.

Evidence of Native Hawaiians surfing in outlying regions appears most often when distinguished visitors arrived in the Islands. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported on 5 June 1875 that during Admiral John J. Almy’s visit to Governor John M. Kapena on Maui, he “and his officers were most agreeably entertained for half-an-hour, by witnessing the novel spectacle of surf-riding, in which wonderful dexterity was exhibited by a dozen or more of the natives” (Image 3). Kalākaua awarded Almy the insignia of the Order of Kamehameha I during his visit in appreciation of the Admiral having transported the King and his retinue to and from the Islands during Kalākaua’s trip to Washington D.C. the year before.<sup>8</sup> The same newspaper reported a couple of *lū‘au* ‘feasts’ taking place at Waikīkī on 9 April 1886 and 6 June 1887: the first for distinguished visitors from San Francisco and New York (Image 3) and the second for “Grand Master E.C. Atkinson and the visiting masons” (Image 2). The first article describes “a canoe and surf-riding party

and dinner at Mr. [George] Macfarlane's sea-side residence". The second article indicates the *lū'au* occurred at the king's summer residence where the visitors "witnessed surf-riding". Although oftentimes the term "surf-riding" was also used in this era to describe riding waves in canoes, an article on 6 June 1887 from *The Daily Herald* mentioned that "surf bathing" (i.e., board surfing) was included in the festivities (Image 3). The three exhibitions, though rather far apart in time, are consistent with the King's continued support of surfing as a means to celebrate traditional Native Hawaiian culture.

A number of travel books published during the late 1800s reinforce the status of surfing as a growing exhibition sport for visitors. The majority of these exhibitions took place at Hilo, Hawai'i—again, far away from what Hill (1856: 195) termed "the seat of innovation" in Honolulu. One explanation of why Hilo attracted the majority of surfing press is simply a matter of tourism: Kīlauea—home to the goddess Pele and the most active of the Hawaiian volcanoes—attracted a continuous stream of visitors throughout the 19th century and became a "must see" on every traveller's itinerary. As localities like Hilo developed travel accommodations, an economy of surf exhibitions arose to entertain visitors and provided a welcome opportunity for Native Hawaiians to earn compensation for their aquatic talents (though it is not clear what that compensation was). A similar pattern of increased tourism holds true for the revival of surfing in canoes and on boards in Waikīkī early in the 20th century (Clark 2011: 69, Timmons 1989: 26).

Two travel writers, American Charles Nordhoff and Englishwoman Isabella Bird, wrote well-known accounts of surf exhibitions at Hilo in 1873 (Bird 1875: 106-9). Nordhoff mentioned that Hilo "was one of the very few places on these islands where you can see a truly royal sport" and was told that "few of the younger generation are capable of it" (Nordhoff 1874: 51-52). Three years later a Congregational minister from Boston, George Chaney, also visited Hilo with his family and provided a lengthy description of the sport. Arriving more than 40 years after his religious forbearers, Chaney's enthusiasm for the sport highlights a generational shift in views about surfing on the continental U.S. that superseded the half-century old biases held fast by many Island *haole* who were descendants of those early missionaries. Chaney wrote that when the visiting Governor of O'ahu, John Dominis (husband of future Queen Lili'uokalani), told them about "an exhibition of surf-bathing", they "were all eager to attend" (Chaney 1888: 175). They lined the shore near the mouth of the Wailuku River in Hilo, along with another group of American visitors from San Francisco, officers of the British ship *Myrmidon*, a handful of the local merchants and a large crowd of Hawaiians. Chaney noted "about a dozen men" wearing *malo* 'loincloths', "carrying each of them a long board" (p. 175). He went on to describe the exhibition:



See that man on his surf-board coming in on the perilous edge of the wave. He is actually standing upright on the tottering chip beneath him. With arms outstretched and body held in perfect poise he comes, fearless of fall, because equally ready for every issue of his venture. The water seems to confess him as its master, and carries him with a proud docility like a well-broken horse. The crowd watches him with breathless interest. Some of them know the difficulty of that ride. Nearer, nearer, he comes, riding the surf from the beginning to the end of the course, and then leaping, with the grace and freedom of a circus-rider, into the deep, and swimming, amid the plaudits of the spectators, to the shore. (Chaney 1888: 175)

The presence of the Governor of O‘ahu (brother-in-law to the King), the large number of spectators and a growing number of surfers (from Nordhoff’s “three or four” to a dozen here) give the sense of an established exhibition that Hilo had groomed for visits from important Island visitors and the steady influx of world travellers.

And the visitors kept coming. In 1878 former Chief Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, John Dean Caton, wrote an extended account of a surf session he witnessed at Hilo with a group of other visitors. He described the action of three surfers who took turns riding waves—rising from a prone position to their knees and finally to their feet—and puzzled over the physics that allowed a surfer to shoot sideways along the face of a wave while also moving in towards the shore (Caton 1880: 242-45). The following year, Victorian travel writer Constance Gordon Cumming saw exhibitions on successive days at Hilo. On the second day, 21 October 1879, the wind dropped, and so the surfers had an easier time riding into shore standing on their boards. “To-day they were able to indulge in gymnastics,” she wrote, “treating their surf-boards as circus-riders treat their horses, kneeling or standing and attitudinising, while the swift steed rushes onward” (Cumming 1883: 100-4). The inflated prose of both Chaney and Cumming, which attempts to capture surfing’s excitement and novelty, is an indication of the sport’s continued interest for both visitors and Native Hawaiians. Although Cumming’s description seems to represent the surfers’ evident joy, the “attitudinising” she observes might be a precursor to the antics of the Waikīkī beachboys in the 20th century; their playful headstands, tandems and other acrobatics on the boards were part of their performance for hotel visitors (Timmons 1989: 60).

In 1881 Honolulu resident Thomas G. Thrum dedicated a short section of his *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1882* to the topic of “surf bathing”:

Among the various sports and pastimes of the ancient Hawaiians, but few now remain to them, the principal one of which—enjoyed equally, we might say, by spectator and participant—is that of surf-bathing, or more properly speaking,

surf-riding. There are a few localities on each of the islands where this sport can be practiced when the weather allows and the surf is at the right height; but of the different locations known to us, Hilo seems to hold the palm. (p. 52)

Here Thrum reinforces views about the popularity of the sport at Hilo and offers a useful counter-narrative to the more typical view that surfing was dying out (detailed below) by mentioning its endurance at various locations on all of the islands. Thrum in fact was one of the few *haole* who actively supported surfing, through his role as publisher and managing editor of *The Saturday Press*, where he reported on the negative influence of the Honolulu *haole* in suppressing surfing at the annual Kamehameha Day celebrations in 1882.<sup>9</sup>

As the final decade of the 19th century began, reports of surfing exhibitions at Hilo were still finding their way into newspapers. *The Hawaiian Gazette* mentioned in its “Hilo News Letter” for 21 January 1890 that two weeks beforehand “there was some fine surf-board riding at Hilo by the natives. It is seldom we have such a treat” (Image 5). The *Daily Bulletin* reported on 25 January 1890:

During the high surf of last week, several of our native men gave an exhibition of their skill, in riding the wild surf horse. They started from the point off Waianuenu street and made a landing on the sands near Richardson’s store. They did fairly well; but the present generation have not the skill and daring of the old timers. Even it is rare to see a first-class surfboard. (Image 3)

On 25 July of the same year, *The Daily Bulletin* reported again from Hilo:

The surf bathing last Wednesday morning was witnessed by a few of the townspeople. The surf was not as high as it might be for riding, but some good waves came in, and some very expert riding was done. Why could not this sport be renewed? A little interest on the part of the people here might induce the younger natives to take up the bathing with as much vigor as in olden times. (Image 3)

These reports echo the enthusiasm for surfing but also its apparent decline in Hilo, both in the number and quality of the surfers (and their surfboards). The articles form part of the conflicting evidence found throughout the 19th century about a sport that seemed ever on the decline and yet remained strong enough to support surfers capable of “some very expert riding.”

Before looking in detail at the reports of surfing’s demise, and how these came to be the dominant narrative of Hawaiian surf history of the 19th century, it is worthwhile to consider a particular case of surfing in the outlying regions. On the private island of Ni‘ihau, noted chemist and bibliographer Henry

Carrington Bolton photographed a group of six men with their surfboards in 1890. The men formed part of an exhibition organised by the owners of the island, the Sinclair family of New Zealand ranchers who had purchased Ni‘ihau in 1864. The Sinclairs not only remained outside of Honolulu *haole*-centrism with regards to surfing but they actually practiced the sport themselves. Bolton wrote that a few days after witnessing the exhibition, “on another beach, I was initiated in the mysteries of surf-riding by my host, who is himself quite expert” (Bolton 1891: 24). According to Ruth M. Tabrah’s book *Ni‘ihau: The Last Hawaiian Island*, the small island maintained an annual *Makahiki*-like (‘harvest’) festival of surf-riding for the islanders (Tabrah 1987: 114). Tabrah also indicates that visitors to the island in the 1860s and 1870s enjoyed surf-riding with the Sinclair family (p. 114). Bolton’s (1891: 24-25) description of the event for *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* and his photographs, along with Tabrah’s account, offer further examples of how surfing remained active in outlying areas of the archipelago.<sup>10</sup>

It is probable that one of the surfers who entertained Bolton also visited San Francisco, California in 1894 to give surfing exhibitions at the Midwinter Fair in Golden Gate Park. The newspaper *Ka Makaainana* reported on 8 January 1894 that a local surfer from Ni‘ihau, named Kapahee, was traveling with his wife, his child and his surfboard to San Francisco aboard the *S.S. Australia* (p. 8). *The Hawaiian Star* had reported on 20 December 1893 that another surfer, James Apu from Kaua‘i Island, would also be travelling to the Midwinter Fair:

Apu will give surf-riding exhibitions at the Cliff House on his arrival at San Francisco, and the board, which he will use is now to be seen at T. W. Hobron’s office. This one has been made to order of redwood, which Apu says is preferable to koa [an endemic Hawaiian hardwood, *Acacia koa*], being so much lighter. It will be painted black, that color being most obnoxious to sharks. This surf-board is twelve feet long and when performing Apu stands erect on it and goes through a variety of wonderful feats in balancing, etc. (Image 3)

The fair ran from 27 January to 5 July 1894 and must have been a bracing experience for Apu and Kapahee who were accustomed to the warmer waters of Hawai‘i. The material of the surfboard (redwood) indicates an early continental U.S. influence on Hawaiian surfing (the wood would have come from the Pacific Northwest) and testifies to surfing’s vitality: Apu’s exhibition was not simply a novelty from the past, which could have been performed on a more traditional *koa* board; his custom-made board is an indication that the sport was still evolving. Apu’s alternative material became the standard for surfboards in the early 20th century because of its strength, low cost and light weight.

Where did those in charge of selecting Native Hawaiian representatives for the Midwinter Fair find their expert surfers? As might be expected, in the outlying regions of Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau. How many surfers besides James Apu might there have been on Kaua‘i at this time? It is hard to say. Esther K. Mookini lists no newspapers on Kaua‘i in the 19th century, so perhaps it is no surprise that we have no reports from a place—according to *Thrum’s Hawaiian Annual for 1882*—where the people “held the credit of excelling in all the sports of the islands” (p. 52). The 1890 census registered 871 Native Hawaiians, “half-castes” and Polynesians (the groups most likely to have surfers among them) living in Līhu‘e out of a total population of 2,792 (approximately thirty percent of the city) (Thrum 1891: 11-12). If we apply that percentage to the population of the entire island—11,859 (a conservative estimate since Native Hawaiians probably constituted a larger percentage of the population outside of the main city)—that leaves almost 2,700 Native Hawaiians, “half-castes” and Polynesians outside of Līhu‘e among whom to find a possible surf population. It is not likely that James Apu, selected as one of the top Native Hawaiian surfers in the Islands, was riding waves in solitude over on Kaua‘i.

Apu and Kapahee may have continued to give surf exhibitions in California after the Midwinter Fair. Reports appear on 30 July 1893 in *The San Diego Union* about “native Hawaiian island surf riders” giving exhibitions “of swimming and surf riding at Pacific Beach” (p. 5).<sup>11</sup> Similar announcements appear in the same paper that summer on 6 August (p. 5) and 20 August (p. 5). Another on 29 September 1893 advertises a “Labor Day Picnic” that includes “a splendid exhibition illustrating the difficult feat of surf-riding by George McCollough. This is an exciting scene rarely witnessed outside of the Sandwich islands” (p. 5). It is unclear who McCollough was, but as late as 23 November 1893 *The Hawaiian Star* reported that “Native Hawaiians are at La Jolla, California, where Hamilton Johnson has a hotel, giving surf-riding shows” (Image 5). Fourteen years later Hawaiian surfers George Freeth and Kenneth Winter arrived in southern California and performed similar exhibitions in Venice and Redondo Beach (*The Hawaiian Star, Second Edition* for 2 August 1907, p. 6).

As surfing spread beyond the Hawaiian Islands, the exhibitions continued in Hilo. On 17 May 1893, *The Daily Bulletin* described a surf session in honour of the wife of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount, who had arrived in the Islands to investigate the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy. In many ways the article encapsulates the contradictory perspectives that are so prevalent on the state of Hawaiian surfing in the 19th century:

The surf riding both with the surf board and with the canoe, though dangerous to novices and only capable of being performed safely by experts, was a fitting

close to some of our old Hawaiian sports, which are rarely seen now-a-days and only given for the benefit of distinguished persons. (Image 2)

Note that in the same sentence there is a mention of both “expert” surf riders performing in exhibitions and the idea that the sport is “rarely seen now-a-days.” The “experts” are evidence that surfing *was* in fact still practiced, although probably not in places where the *haole* population was likely to see it outside of official gatherings. We can follow the lead of James H. Blount, who wrote a scathing report condemning the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, by correcting the commonly-accepted idea that Native Hawaiians abandoned their national sport and depended upon a group of Honolulu *haole*—some of whom were involved in the overthrow—to save the sport from extinction.

*“We Cannot but Mourn its Decline”*

Nathaniel B. Emerson is a good example of the strong influence that Honolulu *haole* exerted on Native Hawaiian traditions like surfing and how their particularly narrow perspective resulted in misinformation about the state of the sport in the 19th century. Emerson’s “Retiring President’s Address before the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society”, presented in the August 1892 issue of *The Friend*, attempted to explain—to borrow his title—the “Causes of Decline of Ancient Hawaiian Sports”. Here is what he said about surfing:

The sport of surf-riding possessed a grand fascination, and for a time it seemed as if it had the vitality to hold its own as a national pastime. There are those living, perhaps some present, who remember the time when almost the entire population of a village would at certain hours resort to the sea-side to indulge in, or to witness, this magnificent accomplishment. We cannot but mourn its decline.

But this too has felt the touch of the new civilization, and to-day it is hard to find a surf-board outside of our museums and private collections.

Perhaps it should be added in further explanation, that as the zest of this sport was enhanced by the fact that both sexes engaged in it, when this practice was found to be discountenanced by the new morality, it was felt that the interest in it had largely departed—and this game too went the way of its fellows. (Emerson 1892: 59)

Emerson’s passive constructions at the end of the quotation deflect responsibility for the sport’s decline away from the early missionaries: when the practice of co-ed surfing “*was found* to be discountenanced by the new morality”, “it *was felt* that the interest had largely departed”. By omitting any human subjects in the sentences, Emerson is trying hard not to assign direct responsibility for these changes to the early missionaries. Toward the

end of his talk he makes reference to the “death and retirement of Hawaii’s ancient sports” and concludes that the early missionaries “exercised no direct or appreciable influence in the matter whatever” (p. 60). Given Emerson’s direct connection to the missionaries—he was born at Waialua on the north shore of O’ahu, the son of Reverend John S. Emerson—it is difficult to read his argument as anything other than a latter-day defence of missionary ideals (see Laderman 2014: 8-10 for a similar reading of Emerson).

Beyond Emerson’s historical (rhetorical) revisionism, his apology encompasses a slight of hand that reaffirms colonial practices while obfuscating his own generation’s complicity in the ongoing political and cultural demise of Hawaiians. Although he was an eminent scholar of Hawaiian mythology and the *hula*, Emerson’s vision of surfing was certainly clouded by his religious and political views of traditional Hawaiian society. Both his role as co-author of the anti-monarchist Bayonet Constitution of 1887 and his membership in the Hawaiian League (which overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy less than six months after his retirement Address) render his words—“We cannot but mourn its decline”—more than a touch insincere (Daws 1968: 243, Williams 2012: 30). His rhetoric follows the general pattern elucidated by Houston Wood in his *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai’i* (1999: 37-52). Wood captures the dual movement of non-indigenous residents—a population that eventually refers to itself as *kama’āina* (a term originally referring to indigenous Hawaiians but adopted and transformed by more recent immigrants to mean ‘island-born’)—who describe a cultural practice like surfing as “fascinating” or a “magnificent accomplishment” (as Emerson does), while lodging the artefacts of that practice into museums (as Emerson recounts in his Address) where their symbolic power—of national heritage, of culture, of empowerment—can be muted and manipulated. Wood (1999: 45) writes, “Such anti-conquest rhetoric places Hawaiian culture in a distant past while mystifying Euro-American responsibility for the violent changes associated with that past. The rhetoric also positions *kama’āina* as enlightened moderns who sometimes kindly serve as curators for exotic Native artifacts that the Natives themselves cannot properly take care of.”

Given the broader historical context surrounding Emerson’s 1892 address, namely the planning and execution of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, we can emphasise Isaiah Helekunihi Walker’s argument that posits surfing as a symbolic threat to the “new civilization” that Emerson (and his forebearers) were attempting to implant in the Islands through religious and political means. Insisting on surfing’s demise, by relegating surfboards to museums and private collections, was another way of insisting on the demise of all things Hawaiian—the Government in the person of Queen Lili’uokalani, the cultural traditions, the land and eventually Native Hawaiians themselves.<sup>12</sup>

Emerson’s influence resonates so much in surf histories because the passage from his Address, cited above, appears prominently in Chapter Four of Ben Finney and James D. Houston’s seminal work, *Surfing: A History of the Ancient Hawaiian Sport*.<sup>13</sup> The authors use Emerson’s phrase, “the touch of the new civilization”, as the basis for a title chapter in which they summarise the radical changes that affected Hawai‘i and surfing during the 19th century, from disease and depopulation to the abandonment of the sacred *kapu* system in 1819 and subsequent arrival of Christian missionaries and Western ideals that steadily overwhelmed the Native Hawaiian population. Finney and Houston’s history has long been the starting point for any serious study of surfing, but given that the original research behind their history is more than 50 years old, it is useful to now add critical context to sources that Finney and Houston either did not treat in depth or to which—like the newspaper databases—they did not have access.

While Finney and Houston’s study provides a rich historical overview of surfing’s origins and development across the centuries, “The Touch of Civilization” assumes an overall tone that I would argue is strongly influenced by Emerson because Emerson’s argument about the demise of surfing fit well into the framework of Finney’s original Master’s thesis (the basis for his and Houston’s book): “Hawaiian Surfing, A Study of Cultural Change” (1959). Finney highlighted research that emphasised cultural change—like Emerson’s Address and various quotations in the chapter from missionaries and others whose views were biased by their religious and political agendas.<sup>14</sup> Finney’s research certainly captures the monumental changes that happened in Hawai‘i after Western contact, but we also have to consider regions that harboured cultural continuity, and the surf zone was one of them.

Emerson’s tale of surfing’s demise helps Finney and Houston set the stage for “The Revival” of the sport which they detail in Chapter Five of their history. After citing Emerson at the end of Chapter Four, the authors write, “From somewhere, a spark remained to smolder. . . . Nearly one hundred years after the abandonment of the *kapu* system—when what little that remained of the old world was almost unrecognizable—new, fresh elements in a changed Hawai‘i fanned the spark and brought surfing back to life” (p. 57). Here again we see the emphasis on cultural change while the authors downplay the notion of cultural continuity.

From where did that spark come? Finney and Houston did not identify a source. But newspaper accounts and related texts tell us that “somewhere” is Ni‘ihau and Kaua‘i, Hilo and Lahaina, and even Waikīkī when certain influential *haole* probably were not looking. “Somewhere” is James Apu and Kapahee—and Kaika, Kawika and Keahi (the surfers Bolton photographed on Ni‘ihau)—and others of Hawaiian ancestry who kept the traditions alive

and passed them on to a new generation of *haole* who decided that surfing could help them populate the new American Territory of Hawai‘i with white Americans (Thrum 1910: 142-46).

\* \* \*

The conflicting reports of surfing’s endurance and demise in the 19th century compel us to look more closely at the primary sources of information and to pull from as many resources as possible to piece together an accurate picture of how surfing fared during a time of monumental change in Hawai‘i. The newspaper accounts offer scattered but important support for the endurance of surfing in the Islands; more work with this key resource promises to illuminate the state of surfing even more. At the same time a reconsideration of the primary sources on surf history—the missionaries, the travellers and respected scholars like Emerson—demonstrates that much of their authority is often compromised by their religious, political and economic agendas.

Ultimately it is not a question of how many Native Hawaiian surfers were left to ride waves—thirty percent or ten percent or even one percent of the population—but that surfing remained an important enough cultural tradition for Native Hawaiians that they continued to grab their boards and to paddle into waves. Clark’s compendium of Hawaiian *kanikau* ‘mourning chants’ from Hawaiian newspapers—a popular genre that deserves its own study—shows how surfing remained deeply ingrained in Native Hawaiian thinking. So important were favoured surfing spots enjoyed by the deceased that they made their way into the poetic *kanikau* tributes to lost friends and relatives (Clark 2011: 6-7, 33). Hawaiians kept surfing alive in their hearts, in their stories, in their traditions and with their bodies and boards. Nineteenth-century newspapers and travel accounts show this to be the case and help us to recuperate Native Hawaiian agency and give the credit for sustaining surfing where credit is due: not to 20th-century *haole* who were decidedly good at marketing the sport, but to the Hawaiians who inspired them and freely passed along the knowledge and art of their enduring national pastime.

#### NOTES

1. The reference to “outlying regions” throughout this paper represents my general dichotomy between the capital of Honolulu and all areas in the Islands outside of Honolulu—even well-known ports like Hilo and the former capitals Kailua, Hawai‘i and Lahaina, Maui. Drawing from Hill’s (1856: 195) comment that surfing was “no longer played with the same spirit among the islanders wherever the Europeans are mingled among them”, I base this somewhat arbitrary geographical distinction on the preponderance of “Europeans” (or we might say



- haole*) in Honolulu throughout the 19th century. According to Thrum’s Annual for 1875, for example, the 1872 *haole* population of Honolulu (including categories of Hawaii-Born To Foreign Parents, Americans, Britons, Germans, French and Portuguese) represented more than 60% of the entire Island *haole* population (1,879 out of 3,064). By the time of the 1890 census (recorded in Thrum’s Annual for 1893), Honolulu still had the largest *haole* population in the Islands—more than double the amount of the next largest city (Hilo): 6,702 compared to 2,844. The basic logic is that the more *haole* living in a particular area—especially those strongly aligned with missionary ideals—the less surfing there would probably be since the sport represented an indigenous cultural practice that the missionaries and their influential descendants actively disapproved of and tried to abolish. The geographical distinction also considers the dominant economic and political influence that Honolulu played in the Islands during this same period; for the particular purposes of this article, the hegemonic role of Honolulu is evidenced by the lack of any sustained media (i.e., newspapers) outside of this capital.
2. Hawaiian-language newspapers not referenced in Clark 2011 can be found at <http://www.papakilodatabase.com/main/main.php> and searched by key word, newspaper title, or date.
  3. For an account of surfing as 19th-century Hawaiian resistance see Walker (2011: 29).
  4. In his *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old*, Kamakau (1991: 45-49) describes the surfing exploits of Kelea-nui-noho-ana-‘api-‘api: “Surfing was her greatest pleasure” (*O ka heenalu hoi kana puni*); “When Kelea heard the word ‘surfing,’ desire rose in her, for surfing had been her favorite pastime” (*A lohe keia i ka hua heenalu, makemake loa iho la keia, no ka mea, o kana puni no hoi ia o ka heenalu*); “the kama‘aina said [about Waikīkī]: ‘This is a place of enjoyment’” (*O kahi walea o keia wahi*); and “Joyful at the thought of surfing” (*Olioli keia i ka heenalu*). The Hawaiian text derives from the original story published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* on 19 August 1865.
  5. For population figures see <https://eh.net/encyclopedia/economic-history-of-hawaii>
  6. English-language newspapers can be found at <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov> and searched by state, year and key word. The site often categorises an individual newspaper page as “Image” when page numbers are not listed, so I use this reference for consistency when citing English-language newspapers found on this site.
  7. See Thrum’s Annuals at <http://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/hawaiiithrums>
  8. See Almy’s obituary at <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9B01E7DC173CE433A25754C1A9639C94649ED7CF>
  9. Thrum also published a key resource for surfing’s link to traditional Hawaiian rites and rituals in his *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* for 1896: 106-113.
  10. Two of Bolton’s photographs can be found in DeLaVega (2011: 27-28).
  11. The *San Diego Union* articles were accessed through Readex’s “America’s Historical Newspapers” in the Houghton Library at Harvard University.

12. I am indebted to Walker's (2011) *Waves of Resistance* for ideas on the symbolic power of surfing in Hawaiian culture and especially his reading of how surfing and colonialism connect to Wood's "kama'āina anti-conquest" (see especially p. 61 *et passim*).
13. Finney and Houston's book was originally published in 1966 under the title *Surfing: The Sport of Hawaiian Kings* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company).
14. For a study of missionary rhetoric and religious bias, see my article: "On a mission: Hiram Bingham and the rhetoric of urgency", in Dexter Zavala Hough-Snee and Alexander Sotelo Eastman (eds), *The Critical Surf Studies Reader*, (forthcoming from Duke University Press).

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ABSTRACT

Conflicting reports of surfing's near-demise in 19th-century Hawai'i compel us to re-evaluate historical sources of information and look to recently-available newspaper databases to understand how surfing fared during a century of monumental change. I argue that while surfing remained suppressed by influential *haole* (non-Hawaiians, especially those of European origin) around the capital of Honolulu, areas outside of the capital, both on O'ahu and on other Hawaiian islands, kept the cultural traditions alive. A review of primary sources indicates that the story of surfing's demise was perpetuated by *haole* who had vested interests in furthering specific religious, economic and political agendas in the Hawaiian Islands and who were deeply committed to the colonial process. Three categories of newspaper articles in particular—missionary declamations against surfing, topical reports of Hawaiians riding waves, and reports of surf exhibitions staged for travellers—provide collective evidence that Native Hawaiians did not in fact abandon surfing but continued to practice their national pastime.

*Keywords:* surfing, Hawaiian Islands, 19th-century surfing, surf history

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## SHORTER COMMUNICATION

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### SEAFOOD “GARDENS”

JIM WILLIAMS  
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*Ana tai timu, ana tai pari.*

All good things happen in the fullness of time.

*Māra mataitai* (seafood gardens) have been a feature of the Māori economy for hundreds of years but are very much under-represented in the literature, although the ubiquity of shells in middens, especially *pipi* (*Paphies australis*), *tuatua* (*Paphies subtriangulata*) and *tuaki* or cockles (*Austrovenus stutchburyi*), attests to their importance over the centuries. However, it has often been assumed that they were just harvested where they occurred, without detailed management regimes. Some have been rather doubtful of applying the term “gardens” to seafood but, as will be seen, these resources were certainly cultivated. Of late, the term has also been used in North America (see Thornton *et al.* 2015, Williams 2006). The issue of nomenclature has been complicated by cross-cultural attitudes to indigenous efforts at resource management. Shepard Krech III (1999) in his controversial book, *The Ecological Indian*, examined a range of traditional Native American harvests and argued for no evidence of an ethic of sustainability. However, in response, Michael Harkin and David Rich Lewis arranged a symposium to examine Krech’s findings and in their 2007 book, which summarises the symposium, they state that Krech’s ethic view was rather wanting, merely reflecting the dominant, traditional, academic paradigm.

#### SEEDING

Garven *et al.* (1997: 24) report that seeding of shellfish beds was a feature of shellfish husbandry: “Shellfish beds were seeded with superior strains taken and transplanted from other areas, and established beds were both enhanced and depleted by biological methods.” Ngāi Tahu *kaumātua* ‘elder’ Rakihihia Tau, in his evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal, provides some examples:

Toheroa have been seeded at South Brighton/Karorokaroro (Pegasus Bay). These root stocks came from Kahuraki point (North of Westport) and Waikawa (Picton); similarly, *tuatua* in Pegasus Bay; cockles in Ihutai (Heathcote Estuary) ex Otepoti (Otago Harbour) and Kaikoura; scallop beds outside the North East bays of Akaroa. (Wai 27a [Ngāi Tahu Claim] 1988: 9-10)

In an interview in 1999 Tau expanded, explaining that with the permission of the local people, and in return for some other species, seed stocks were gathered in the form of gravid *toheroa* (*Paphies ventricosa*). *Pōhā*<sup>1</sup> used to transport these “root stocks” were dropped in the inter-tidal zone and pricked with holes to allow a slow release of spat on each incoming tide. The pattern of holes would identify the *whānau* ‘family groups’ who had transported it, warning others not to interfere. Unquestioning adherence to the rules of society was the guarantee that such investments were safe. From time to time some of the growing stock suffered from soft-shell disease. Tau advised that at such times a whelk was brought in from Lyttleton Harbour to cull those with the disease. They could only bore through the shells of the infected *toheroa*.

While cultural extensions, such as the pattern of holes, have a purpose of their own, we must not lose sight of the fact that they had to be consistent with the primary objective: in this case, protection of the spat while permitting their gradual escape into the surrounding waters. The cultural function of recording ownership and discouraging potential interference, could have more easily been carried out in other ways (e.g., “labelling” the *pōhā* with a bunch of feathers, as was done to record the contents of those going into storage) but the primary consideration was for holes to allow spat to escape. Therefore, it was a small matter to arrange them in a pattern that was at once practical, aesthetically pleasing and culturally helpful.

#### HABITAT ENHANCEMENT

In 1994, during a *hui* ‘community gathering’ at Ōtākou Marae, *kaumātua* Tatane Wesley (known as Tat) noticed some outsiders down on the cockle beds, dragging five gallon plastic buckets of harvested cockles across the growing cockles, breaking many shells. He went down to remonstrate with them and on his return began to let off steam about “foragers”. It was at this time that he outlined the proper way to harvest *tuaki* (*Austrovenus stutchburyi* or cockles) and how to optimise their growth. One of the important things to do, he said, was to remove rocks and stones from the beds as they take up space that *tuaki* could grow in. He likened this to working the soil in a vegetable garden. He used the phrase “weed the garden” to describe the removal of undesirable material and species from the cockle beds. Tat was adamant that harvesting the largest *tuaki*, after the breeding season had ended, helped the overall size of the crop as it allowed the next tier to develop. This is contrary to the usual philosophy of harvesting the sub-adults, rather than the primary breeding stock. A similar philosophy existed in Canterbury. The late Rik Tau explained in 1999 that if stones were encountered on a sandbank they were removed and thrown towards the shore as, if they were thrown seawards, the tides would bring them back.

It is little wonder that seafood gathering areas were termed *māra* ‘gardens’. As Thornton *et al.* (2015:189) argue, marine resources are also “cultivated” in the American Northwest. However, it is difficult to accept “cultivation” as an appropriate term for fish—enhancement or management seem more apposite. “Gardening” is preferred for sedentary seafood such as shellfish (Williams 2006). Williams then offers “mariculture” (2006: 11) for those who cannot accept “gardening”. She draws attention to the way that archaeologists have for many years resisted the notion that clam gathering areas had been enhanced by human agency.

### TĀIKĪ

*Taua* ‘aunt’ Pauline Wai Dargazis (1936-1998), scion of the Rūrū *whānau* ‘family’ of Koukourarata, explained and demonstrated to Matiu Payne over a period of years, the age-old practice of constructing *tāikī* (specifically small, enclosed seafood gardens, near settlements). Payne passed on the techniques and associated *tikanga* ‘correct practices, methods’ to members of a *hui* at Tūtehuarewa Marae on 14th and 16th October 2001, where we actually constructed some *tāikī*. A brief outline is also provided by Payne (2001) in the booklet published for that *hui*, which relates how the shellfish, *tio* (*Ostrea lutaria*), *kuku* (*Perna canaliculus*), *pāua* (*Haliotis* spp.) and *tuaki*, have all been farmed in *tāikī*, for many generations, at Koukourarata, as well as at a number of other locations throughout Te Wāi Pounamu (South Island). Due to confidentiality, the full details cannot be provided but fundamentally, *tāikī* were rock enclosures with internal rocks to support a roof. They were located close to the normal low tide level, seeded, filled with seaweed to discourage crabs, and covered as protection against excessively rough seas. Recently, a series of new measures have been included in order to disguise *tāikī*, as societal controls no longer protect a garden against predation by others, especially folk who are not members of the local community. This is an important example of age-old values being continued, with adjustments to the exigencies of the new times.

### DIET

There is little firm evidence to support detailed traditional knowledge of nutritional values, yet the balance in the diet, and particularly the use of *tuatua* as a food of last resort, strongly suggest an innate understanding of dietary needs. The material discussed below shows the importance of carbohydrates and fats<sup>2</sup> in the human diet and the basis for the well-known and necessary “balanced diet”. Pre-European Māori appear to have had an intuitive understanding of dietary requirements. Eating patterns, as indicated by dietary preferences (allowing for some “taste” items), seem to be largely



consistent with nutritional needs in that most provide a key dietary element. “[It has been shown that] if the body lacks some chemical, the individual will tend (in an imperfect way) to develop a specific appetite or partial hunger for that food element” (Maslow 1954: 81). Johns (1990: 17) comments: “humans develop specific appetites related to nutritional deficiencies such as salt, iron and vitamins.” *Te reo Māori* ‘Māori language’ recognises this, as in the idiom (when translated to English), “I’m hungry for a feed of (for example) oysters (or ice cream) etc.”. Folk who are simply hungry are likely to say “I’m hungry for a *kai*” (*kai* meaning ‘food’). This is of interest for two reasons. It illustrates that during most seasons there were dietary choices and, in addition, that the people innately knew which foods were vital at the time. Strategies for husbandry of those items could then be set in place and followed. The Ngāi Tahu environmental attitude was closely linked to economic benefit, and may well have originated from economic concerns. However, I argue that by the time of European contact, the environment had become a primary determinant of Ngāi Tahu behaviour, linked to, but independent of, purely economic considerations.

#### NUTRITIONAL BALANCE

Vlieg provides two tables: “Proximate composition of shellfish (g/100g wet weight)” (1988: 47) and “Calculated gross energy of the edible part of shellfish” (1988: 50), from which data for the five shellfish with highest gross energy have been extracted and conflated in Table 1, below.

Table 1. Approximate composition of shellfish with highest gross energy.

Species	Protein	Fat	Carbohydrate	kcal	kJoule
<i>Tuatua</i>	16.7	2.2	6.2	110	460
Bluff Oyster	12.9	3.0	3.1	103	429
<i>Pāua</i>	20.8	1.0	0.9	99	415
Rock Lobster <sup>3</sup>	21.9	0.8	0.7	97	408
<i>Kina</i>	10.8	5.4	0.6	94	394

With the exception of *tuatua*, all are favoured traditional Māori foods and even today are still preferred. But of special interest is the fact that *tuatua* have the highest energy levels of all (even more than finfish). To claim a relationship

between dietary preference and nutritional value, the enigma of the *tuatua* must first be resolved. Perhaps the key lies in its relatively high carbohydrate level which, in line with Speth and Spielmann's (1983) assertion, would be invaluable in facilitating the conversion of excess protein into energy at times of plant carbohydrate shortage.

*Tuatua* does feature prominently in many archaeological sites, but somewhat enigmatically and sporadically over time. Anderson (1983), who recognises three periods of food intake, says that during "The Early (Moa Hunting) Period: ... Shellfish account for no more than 5-10 percent of the total [intake of animal food]" (1983: 16). During the "Middle Period": fishing became the major activity and "it provided 31 per cent of the food represented in the late (14th-century) occupation level at Pounaweia and 89 per cent of that at 14th century Purakaunui" (Anderson 1983: 26). By "The Late Period" further adaptations had taken place and shellfish became relatively unimportant. Even at Pounaweia, where fishing was for a long period the major contributor to the diet, dense layers of *tuatua* shell tend to be interspersed with layers having few *tuatua*. This could mean that *tuatua* were only available in some years, or were eaten when preferred foods were not available. Shortages of *tuatua* appear unlikely and the latter hypothesis is preferred. It is supported by Leach *et al.* (2001: 22-23) and confirmed by Te Mahana Walsh of Kāti Huirapa who said "the old people only ate *tuatua* when there was nothing else. They didn't really like it" (pers. comm., 1994). This may be a South Island preference as in many parts of the North Island *tuatua* are harvested in bulk.

It may be argued, as Carson does in the case of *umu tī* 'Cordyline oven' in island Polynesia, that "use only in times of famine still constitutes a food restriction" (2002: 346), but when the major determinant is taste the argument does not hold up. Rather, the avoidance of *tuatua* except in times of hardship demonstrates a range of choices that allowed taste preferences to be indulged at most times.

Underlying this issue is the question as to what such a preference might be based on. According to Vlieg, "The principal carbohydrate in fish (glucose) is not very sweet, and flavour appears mainly due to the presence of non-protein nitrogenous compounds" (1988: 6).

#### KARENGO

*Karengo* (*Porphyra columbina*), an edible seaweed closely related to Japanese nori and Welsh laver, only grows on certain types of intertidal rocks, none of which occur naturally south of the Clutha River mouth. Yet, I was told that there is a *karengo* colony on a large cluster of uniformly sized boulders in a small bay some way south of the Matura. As the sea current is south

to north, the boulders and the algae could only have been brought in from many miles away.<sup>4</sup> This suggestion is supported by the uniform size of the boulders: each is about as large as a strong man could carry to and from a canoe (Anon., pers. comm.<sup>5</sup>, 1999). The conjunction of the boulders and the *karengo* at a locality many miles from where either naturally occurs, is strongly suggestive of the human agency claimed by my informant.

#### ALLOCATION

As will be seen, access to resources and management of them was highly organised in a manner that spread responsibilities as widely as possible.

#### Wakawaka and Mahika/Mahinga Kai

*Wakawaka* was a system of ensuring that the widest possible range of tribal members shared in a resource. Ngāi Tahu *kaumātua* Taare Tikao said: “*Ka tika tonu a ia hapu ki tona wahi mahinga a ia hapu ki tona whenua mahinga e kore e pokanoa tetahi hapu ki runga ki to tetahi hapu whenua mahi ai. He ritenga nui rawa ki te Maori ki te pokanoa tetahi tangata hapu ranei ki te mahi noa atu*” (n.d.: 1). This translates as each *hapū* ‘subtribe’ kept strictly to their own food harvesting area and a *hapū* would not wander at will, which was a very important rule. In other words, they would never go to another’s area, the words “*ritenga nui rawa*” stressing that this was an absolutely inviolable rule. Also, it was critical to the management of resources, since not only was it a means of ensuring that everyone had a share in the harvest, it also clearly assigned responsibility in a way that no other could interfere with.

Anderson (1998) interprets the Canterbury and Murihiku usages of the word *wakawaka* as indicating different practices in the division of resources in each region. This tends to confirm the two distinct cultural areas suggested in Williams (2004). In Canterbury, *wakawaka* are said to have been “major divisions of land and sea, each of which could encompass numerous mahinga kai” (Anderson 1998: 112); he terms this “The *wakawaka* model”. By contrast, in the south, *wakawaka* were usually divisions of a single resource, that is of a single *mahika kai* site. This he terms “The *mahinga kai* model” (*mahinga* being a linguistic variant of *mahika*; see Williams 2010: 149). Minor refinements to these models are suggested below.

There were also *wakawaka/mahika kai* reserved for people in transit. A good example was at Hereora in Christchurch, where the cabbage trees still grow at Burnside High School. The trees were a landmark in the swamp, and thus easily found by travellers who did not need to ask permission to take resources at such a spot (Wai 27b [Ngāi Tahu Claim] 1988: 35). This is not to say that there were no restrictions whatsoever, for just like the guest’s responsibility to the host, it was incumbent on the occasional user to only

take what was actually needed. The usual ethic of “waste not want not” would apply, even to those who were placed outside fully regulated society. Presumably there were still further (and perhaps ultimate) sanctions which could be imposed, as in the case of the well-known ancestors Moko and Tuhuru, both of whom were banished for transgressions against the people.

Within our social order, authority by the Arikitanga or leading Rangatira [chief] existed over all wakawaka. This was essential for the protection of our people, our networking system through our whakapapa [geneology] for the uses of mahinga kai and the siting of our kainga nohoanga [temporary dwelling place]. The Town Planning examples I have given locally, applied throughout the whole of our Tribal rohe [territory]. (Tau to Waitangi Tribunal, in Wai 27a [Ngāi Tahu Claim] 1988: 34)

In describing *wakawaka* in his testimony (No. 39) to the 1879-81 Smith/Nairn Commission into South Island land sales (p. 78), the prominent 19th-century leader Rawiri Te Maire drew a diagram which has been copied as Figure 1, below. Conceptually, this diagram explains the *wakawaka* system very simply. However, Figure 2 shows a more specific application of the concept.

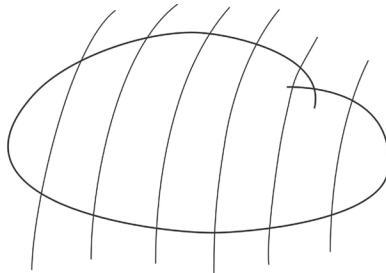


Figure 1. Visualisation of *wakawaka* by prominent 19th-century leader Rawiri Te Maire.

Figure 2 shows a series of *wakawaka* in the Canterbury area (Anonymous n.d.). Two charts have been deliberately conflated to make the figure ambiguous, due to the sensitive nature of the information contained in them. The oral explanations to the Tribunal, by Rakiihia Tau and Peter Ruka Korako, amplified the system denoted on the map. Nevertheless, the principles of what may be regarded as “traditional Māori surveying”, triangulation using stars and prominent landmarks, are clearly evident. Manakau (or Manukau, in the

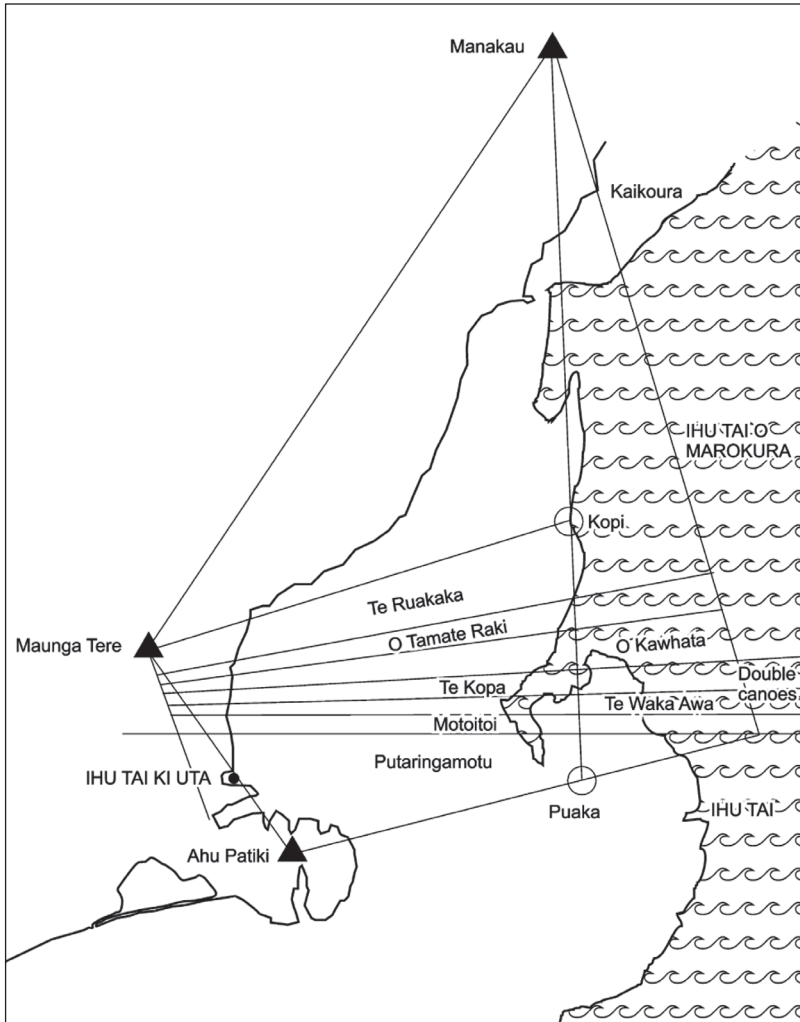


Figure 2. *Wakawaka* in Canterbury.

Seaward Kaikouras), Maunga Tere (Mount Gray) and Ahu Patiki (Mt. Herbert) are the most prominent peaks in the region and they provide fixed reference points. Kōpī (Venus when seen in the morning) and Puaka (Rigel in Orion) are stars and provide drift points at sea, each of which can be easily located on the fringe of the south to north current, *Te Tainui o Waitaha*, which is deflected easterly by Banks Peninsula (Peter Ruka Korako to Waitangi Tribunal, in Wai 27b [Ngāi Tahu Claim] 1988: 90-91). Clearly, reference to stars would be at a quite specific time. The *wakawaka* are, from north to south: *Te Ruakākā*, *O Tamateraki*, *Okawhata*, *Te Kopa*, *Te Waka Awa*, *Motoitōi*, *Pūtaringamotu* and *Ihu Tai*. The *whānau* of each *wakawaka*, as well as having their own resource base, had particular responsibilities. Some were given the task of maintaining the currency of off-shore fishing skill, others were charged with responsibility for the quality of shellfish species, yet another cared for “the secret paths and trails through the swamps [of the present Christchurch area]. By moving one log a trail could be changed leading people into traps” (Wai 27b [Ngāi Tahu Claim] 1988: 35).

*Wakawaka* for different foods might overlap, so that different groups might harvest each of the resources of any given area as territories were not necessarily either discrete or contiguous.

The same *wakawaka* system was practised inland for the gathering of *kauru* [cabbage tree stem], *kiore* [Polynesian rat], etc. These foods would be collected by the various *whānau* groups or collective groups. It is important to note that not all people would gather [each of] the various foods. Our people specialised in certain food gathering skills. (Wai 27b [Ngāi Tahu Claim] 1988: 34)

The point he is making is that with each *whānau* having a different focus, responsibilities might overlap in the sense that in one area, boundaries for *kāuru* need not be the same as for *kiore*. Each notional map would be overlaid upon another. Their seasons differed and so whilst *whānau* “A” would give consideration to factors related to *kāuru*, when they were in the area (spring, or early summer, every four to five years), *whānau* “O” would give consideration to factors related to *kiore*, every year, in late autumn. Importantly, each would be aware that another group also had rights in the area and that their own actions must not interfere with the interests of the other. *Weka* (*Gallirallus australis*, woodhen), not under such strict control, would be the subject of attention from other groups in late winter, and the *weka* hunters would be mindful of the interests of both “A” and “O”. Peter Ruka Korako provided an explanation to the Waitangi Tribunal: “The sub groups would divide into work units, and they would seasonally hunt around the season’s clock, catching, collecting, preparing and bartering as a commercially viable Tribal entity as

a local franchise holder would” (Wai 27b [Ngāi Tahu Claim] 1988: 87). He goes on to say, “The social order thus served to reaffirm *whakapapa* ties as well as re-establishing order and settling disputes” (p. 89).

The system was facilitated by each type of preserve having its own classificatory name. The lists compiled by H.K. Taiaroa in 1879/80 show the terms: *koutu aruhe*; *para kāuru*; *mara mahetau*, *taewa*, or *pora*; *matatiki*,<sup>16</sup> *pā*, *re*, or *rauiri tuna*; *tapua weka*; *werohangā* or *taheretanga manu*. These are, respectively: fern-root “digs”; cabbage tree groves; cultivations; eel springs, weirs, swamps or preserves; *weka* runs; bird spearing or snaring groves. Each term refers to the fact that rights gained through *whakapapa* are involved, each being effectively a “preserve” with the different terms reflecting the different nature of each type of preserve. *Koutu aruhe* and *mara* are quite localised, though not as localised as a *rauiri tuna* ‘eel springs’ which would be a very specific location on a stream, whereas the garden could shift around at the locality. There is no term given for *harakeke* ‘flax’ cultivations. A *tapua weka* would be rather more extensive, though not as large as a *para kāuru*, which might cover many acres. These preserves often had their own names, rather like contemporary farm names (e.g., in Taiaroa’s List 11, page 4: “E Mahinga tuna Ko te Whakahoki a Paroro”). Such a sophisticated classification system reflects the importance of a *tikanga* for every resource.

\* \* \*

It may be difficult to accept “gardening” as the most appropriate term for such practices but with clear elements of species enhancement and habitat improvement it certainly constituted a type of horticulture, rather than just a “catch as catch can” strategy. Allocation between extended family groups fits neatly within the overall Ngāi Tahu system of controls on resource access, emphasising that there was no suggestion of “catch as catch can” foraging but a regimented allocation method, suited to the management of the resource. This is backed up by the regime of practises that were employed.

#### NOTES

1. Bags made from the hollowed leaves of bull kelp (*Durvillea antarctica*).
2. Speth and Spielmann (1983: 13) say that carbohydrate is much more efficient than fat for converting excess protein to energy.
3. Lobster, while not shellfish, are included because of similarity in gathering.
4. Professor Helen Leach has quite correctly queried whether the rocks may have reached their present location as a form of ballast (pers. comm., 2000). However, the remote site, together with a difficult approach for a vessel of any size, suggests that it is an unlikely place for ballast to be dumped other than deliberately.

5. To preserve confidentiality of this prized resource the informant has asked that both he and the precise location remain anonymous.
6. A *matatiki* is an underwater spring somewhere in the course of a stream. It is usually a source of somewhat warmer water, and eels are inclined to congregate at such places. This contrasts with a *puna* which is the actual source of a stream, that is, the spot where the flow emerges from underground.

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### *Oral Informants*

- Anon., Ngāi Tahu, *kaumātua* ‘elder’
- Payne, Matiu, Ngāi Tahu
- Tau, H. Rakihiia, Ngāi Tahu, *kaumātua*
- Walsh, Te Mahana, Ngāi Tahu, *kaumātua*
- Wesley, T.A.T., Ngāi Tahu, *kaumātua*

### ABSTRACT

This article reviews seafood gardening by Ngāi Tahu, including seeding, habitat enhancement, species improvement and marine storage. It is argued that a regime of management practises certainly justifies the term “gardening”, as has been argued for similar practises elsewhere (in particular, the American Pacific coast).

*Keywords:* Māori resource management, *māra mataitai*, seafood gardens, *taikī*

### CITATION AND AUTHOR CONTACT DETAILS

Williams,<sup>1</sup> Jim 2016. Seafood “Gardens”. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 125(4): 433-444. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15286/jps.125.4.433-444>

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## REVIEWS

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EVANS, Jeff: *Heke-nuku-mai-nga-iwi Busby: Not Here by Chance*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2015. 264 pp., glossary, illus., index, plates. NZ\$45.00 (softcover).

GEOFFREY IRWIN  
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In 1992 the *waka* ‘canoe’ *Te Aurere* departed from northern New Zealand on 29 September and, after a voyage which met some difficulties en route, sighted Rarotonga on 22 October. Significantly, this was the first ocean voyage by a traditionally-inspired *waka* from Aotearoa back to a Polynesian homeland for several centuries. It came about as the vision of Hector Busby, who was aware that his ancestor, Tūmoana, had sailed to New Zealand around AD 1100–1300 and later returned to his homeland. It was a very big idea and an inspirational achievement.

Jeff Evans has written several books about canoes and navigation and in this book he describes the life and achievements of Hector Busby—a remarkable businessman, leader, master *waka* builder, traditional navigator and respected Te Rarawa tribal elder. It concerns the revival of traditional navigating skills by *iwi*, and a major theme is identity for Māori in the 21st century—“knowing who we are and where we come from”.

The story is simply told. Hec was born in 1932 at Pukepoto, between Kaitaia and Ahipara, and the book gives a rich account of childhood in a large family living on a farm, attendance at Pukepoto Native School, and early exposure to stories of *tīpuna* ‘ancestors’ and family history. He left school at 15, was married at 18 to Kathleen, and they raised eight sons and two daughters. After various early jobs he became foreman of bridge-building company and at 26 he had his own company, was running a business and leading a team. His construction know-how and access to heavy machinery increasingly involved him in community projects.

In his 30’s he made time to engage with Māori cultural activities and he had roles in various organisations, including Waitangi Commemoration Committee, Te Tai Tokerau District Māori Council, New Zealand Māori Council and Ngāti Kahu Trust Board. He married a second time to Hilda. Also at this time Hec became involved with *waka*. *Ngātokimatawhaorua*, originally built for the 1940 Treaty of Waitangi celebrations and stored soon afterwards, was restored for the Queen’s visit in 1974 and Hec became its overseer and caretaker. Later on, in 1983, it transported Prince Charles and Lady Diana.

The Polynesian Voyaging Society, founded in Hawai‘i in 1973, planned a “Voyage of Rediscovery” to visit many Polynesian islands including New Zealand in 1985. Their young expert navigator Nainoa Thompson visited Hec at Aurere in Doubtless Bay several times in 1983 and 1984 to study the night sky. Hec became interested in migration traditions and concerned about “non-believers” who disparaged the navigating skills of the ancestors. With the visit of *Hōkūle‘a* in 1985, Hec was

hooked. He sailed on *Hōkūle‘a* and blessed her with a *karakia* ‘prayer’ before she left Hawai‘i, and he met the great Satawal navigator, Mau Piailug. Stanley Conrad, one of Hec’s team, sailed the leg of the voyage to New Zealand and Hec arranged to host *Hōkūle‘a* when the canoe arrived. From this time on he foresaw a successful voyaging programme as a potential rallying point for his people.

What followed has been described as a renaissance of *waka*, beginning with a gathering of *waka taua* ‘war canoes’ at the 1990 sesquicentennial of the Treaty of Waitangi and followed by the building of *Te Aurere* for the 1992 Festival of Pacific Arts in Rarotonga. Help was given by the Polynesian Voyaging Society who attended the launching.

The book goes on to describe several major voyages, often in company with canoes from other Polynesian islands. Eventually *Te Aurere* sailed to Hawai‘i and Rapa Nui, to complete the Polynesian Triangle, to many islands in-between, and also to Norfolk and New Caledonia. Over the years Hec helped build strong and inclusive teams, trained people for leadership roles, and became proficient at non-instrument navigation. He established widespread inter-island cultural connections and personal friendships, and added a strong spiritual dimension to the enterprise. In 2011 a satellite campus of the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua was set up at *Aurere* to continue the legacy, with a focus on carving, *waka*-building, sailing skills and navigation.

The book sometimes describes conditions at sea and matters of navigation, but does not go into the detail of canoe technology or wayfinding; the emphasis is on events and people instead. The book ends with lists of Hec’s many awards and honours, and the names of the *waka* he built and the crews of each of *Te Aurere*’s international voyages.

KIRCH, Patrick Vinton: *Unearthing the Polynesian Past: Explorations and Adventures of an Island Archaeologist*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2015. 379 pp., appendix, biblio., glossary, illus., index, notes. US\$45.00 (cloth).

ALEXANDER BAER  
*Pacific Legacy, Inc.*

Since his first excavations as a teenager in the 1960s, Patrick Kirch has tirelessly investigated the history of people and cultures throughout the Pacific. In *Unearthing the Polynesian Past*, Kirch tells the story of his life, exploring his own research alongside developments in the field of archaeology at large. Both memoir and historiography, this work serves as an in-depth account of the personalities, expeditions and finds that have shaped our current understanding of Polynesia. Following his recent efforts to make archaeological research more accessible, as with the award-winning *A Shark Going Inland is My Chief* (2012) and *Kua‘aina Kahiko* (2014), this book employs narrative prose, weaving tales of his time on numerous islands with the research questions that brought him there. While by no means his most “academic” endeavour, Kirch offers readers an inside glimpse into how the development of important archaeological insights arise from a combination of arduous fieldwork and high adventure.

*Unearthing the Polynesian Past* is divided into 24 chapters, chronologically ordered to follow Kirch's early life and exploits at Honolulu's Bernice P. Bishop Museum through his current research as an Emeritus Professor at the University of California, Berkeley. Beyond simply recounting a number of years, each chapter discusses a discrete project, from conception through its impact on the field. Colourful anecdotes frame these projects, often using recalled conversation to illuminate why particular islands or research questions presented important avenues for study. In addition to their narrative utility, these scenes personalise some of the seminal figures in Polynesian research (Emory, Mead, Green, Kondo and Yen, among others), and more importantly, the people living on the islands whose history this work describes. Through the accounts of months spent in small villages, readers gain a sense of the individuals whose daily hospitality and assistance made this research possible.

Beginning with his early mentorship in the Bishop Museum by malacologist Yoshio Kondo, Kirch shows a remarkable memory for detail that carries throughout the book (he credits Kondo for encouraging him to keep a running journal). These details enliven each chapter, carrying the reader from the valleys of Moloka'i across a dozen Pacific islands before returning, near the end, to the research projects in Hawai'i that have dominated the past 20 years of Kirch's career. As with much archaeological work, the most interesting aspects of the narrative arise when new realisations are spurred by unexpected discoveries. This book is at its best when Kirch is describing how a seemingly mundane excavation unit or casual stroll along a riverbank reveals the unknown settlement practices of Lapita people 3000 years earlier. Highlights include chapters on Futuna (Chapter 6), in which the cultural implications of wet and dry dichotomies first arise, Mangaia (Chapter 17), where new evidence points to humans as the drivers behind massive ecological change, and Mo'orea/Maui (Chapters 20 and 21), where a new methodology reveals the rapid rate of increasing social complexity. Unfortunately, some of the other chapters blend together, with the abundance of people, places and various modes of travel overwhelming the narrative arc and tales of research conducted.

While *Unearthing the Polynesian Past* is directed more towards a lay audience than practitioners of Oceanic archaeology, its account of the era, culture and individuals responsible for much of our formative knowledge make it critical reading for scholars of the region. Critiquing postmodernism, Kirch notes that archaeology, like any other science, is partially a social construct, reflecting contemporary ideas and biases. By following Kirch from the early 1960s through to today, we are introduced to the characters and prevailing theories that have shaped our understanding of Pacific peoples. While we need not become the dreaded "Foo-bird" (p. 329), whose self-criticism and self-reflection colourfully lead it to the point of irrelevance, exploring our discipline's past remains important. Indeed, the very format and style of this book demonstrate an edge of post-processual influence virtually unthinkable in a Kirch work from the 1980s. Understanding how theoretical and methodological approaches have changed allows us to revisit older ideas and assess them in context.

In addition to charting shifts in both personal and disciplinary thinking, this work also provides a road map for where Pacific archaeology is headed. Kirch wistfully regrets that we no longer live in a time in which a single researcher can identify an

island of interest and “do” the archaeology, but acknowledges that many of the changes to the field are critical and productive. The first broad change, and one that is poised to continue expanding, is the role of indigenous archaeologists. Where archaeology has long been the domain of white men, a more diverse and representative group of scholars is now authoring the narratives of their own communities. As Kirch notes, this not only encourages greater engagement with descendant groups, but changes the questions being asked.

Much as increasing diversity is shifting our approach to the past, the inclusion of researchers from outside our discipline is similarly introducing new ways of thinking. As shown by the success of the Hawai‘i Biocomplexity Project (Chapter 21), interdisciplinary teams bring a variety of skills and approaches that generate knowledge in far greater depth than could be accomplished with archaeology alone. This will be critical moving forward, and instead of including researchers from other fields as an afterthought, we must be active in building projects that are interdisciplinary from the outset. Beyond the Biocomplexity Project, Kirch has actively pursued this goal, and while the awards given to *Anahulu* (1992) with anthropologist Marshall Sahlins serve as a success story, the relative dismissal of the highly interdisciplinary *Hawaiki* (2001) with Roger Green still stings. Despite the uneven reception of these works, the integration of thinking from outside of traditional archaeology remains crucial.

*Unearthing the Polynesian Past* provides readers with an insider’s view of how our knowledge about the Pacific was generated. It takes academics and laypeople alike through the overwhelming insights Kirch has made, sharing the humorous and exciting tales of a life lived in the adventure of archaeology. In reflecting on the long arc of his career, he notes the “unsettling finality” (p. 340) of writing one’s memoirs, as though it represents a point after which no more can be contributed. With the volume of material left in his lab to analyse and publish, there is little doubt that there is still much to be accomplished.

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MARTINSSON-WALLIN, HELENE.: *Samoan Archaeology and Cultural Heritage: Monuments and People, Memory and History*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2016. x + 186 pp., appendices, biblio., figs. £34.00 (softcover).

SETH QUINTUS

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Syntheses of Samoan archaeology have been rare, and even rarer are books that examine the development of cultural heritage legislation and policy in the archipelago. This book seeks to address both from the perspective of the islands of the Independent Nation of Samoa (formerly Western Samoa). The book itself can be separated into three themes: a presentation and discussion of data gathered through work conducted by Martinsson-Wallin and colleagues; a discussion of cultural heritage management and indigenous perspectives on archaeology in the Independent Nation of Samoa; and a synthesis of past archaeology and interpretations of cultural change in Samoa. These themes are intertwined through the book, with several anecdotes presented at the same time as the archaeological data. While this may be frustrating to some readers, as it can interrupt the flow of the book, the organisation will give a sense of realism to those who have worked in the archipelago and have experienced the interconnectedness of politics, contemporary cultural practices and the archaeological record.

The presentation of data in Chapters 2–4 was generally clear. Each chapter is consistently organised, first giving an overview of previous work, then introducing new data, and then summarising and interpreting that data in the context of the aforementioned earlier work. Much of the data presented has been published before and deals with excavations of the Pulemelei area specifically and the Letolo Plantation more generally. However, some new data is included and the presentation of old data goes beyond what is possible in individual journal articles. The data are interesting and certainly add to our understanding of Samoan settlement patterns and dynamics of land use. Of particular note is the use of technology for mapping and analysing monumental architecture (pp. 54–60). Since mapping and heritage preservation were primary aims of the field work, such methods provided innovative ways to visualise the data. These visualisations, in my experience, create tools that can enhance heritage interest and education in the archipelago. From a research perspective, the analysis and discussion of the Letolo settlement system builds upon and modifies previous research. Most notably, the correspondence analysis reported both in this book and elsewhere might be a useful technique in other parts of the archipelago for disentangling aggregate level (e.g., *nu‘u* ‘village’ or *pitonu‘u* ‘subvillage’) spatial patterns.

At times, though, these chapters read like field notes, and grammatical mistakes and spelling errors can still be found with some frequency. The data could have been presented in a more systematic fashion using tables and tools, such as the Munsell colour chart, for comparison. As it stands now, it can be difficult to gauge relationships between stratigraphic layers and different features. Finally, data on radiocarbon dates are limited in the main text, though an appendix is included that provides calibrated dates and general notes on context (Appendix II). Unfortunately, citation to a calibration curve is not included and all of the dated charcoal was unidentified.

Chapter 5 is the most unique portion of the book, as it provides a discussion of Samoan cultural heritage management from the perspective of archaeologists and non-archaeologists. As such, it is a beneficial addition to discussion of the complexity of heritage negotiation in the Pacific, a topic which Martinsson-Wallin is uniquely suited to address. She draws attention to major changes in heritage management in the country, while at the same time identifying areas where additional attention should be directed. Of note, her experience working at Pulemelei is an interesting case study in the politics of contemporary archaeological practice and economic development. Martinsson-Wallin should be commended on her undertakings, not only in aiding the development of courses in archaeology at the National University of Samoa, but also her continued interest in promoting the preservation of cultural resources within the country. The formation of a “prehistory” room in the Museum of Samoa, which Martinsson-Wallin helped facilitate, is a tremendous step in the right direction.

Chapter 6 places the results of the investigations presented in Chapters 2–4 in a more regional context. In a sentence that can describe the aims of the chapter, Martinsson-Wallin suggests that “human agency and understanding of human relationships and values must be included as important nodes within research strategies”. To this goal, she presents her vision of the Samoan past. Her arguments that monumental architecture, such as large habitation mounds, was a symbolic manifestation of chiefly power used to legitimise the social position of elites are consistent with previous interpretations. What might be new is her suggestion that these monuments were constructed in times of uncertainty (p. 139). While previous researchers have argued that monumental architecture, or cultural elaborations to be more accurate, developed in variable or uncertain environments, my reading is that Martinsson-Wallin is referring to socio-political uncertainty. Unfortunately, she provides no supporting data for this suggestion.

Martinsson-Wall also mentions the lack of large habitation mounds in American Samoa. There are certainly mounds, especially on the Tafuna Plain of Tutuila, but these might not be comparable to those of the western islands. In any case, I would disagree with Martinsson-Wallin’s suggestion that their absence or near absence relates to a lack of a certain level of political complexity. Status architecture indicative of social inequality and political ranking is well known in American Samoa, notably labour-intensive terracing, agricultural infrastructure and star mounds. In fact, the lack of habitation mounds similar to those on ‘Upolu and Savai’i probably relates more to differences in the environment between the western and eastern islands of the archipelago.

In closing, the results presented in the book are, for the most part, consistent with previous interpretations of Samoan prehistory, with some use of innovative methods of data collection (e.g., Ground Penetrating Radar) and analysis (e.g., correspondence analysis). The book would have benefited from closer editing, as some typological, stylistic and grammatical errors remain. I hope this does not take away from the impact this case study should have on the practice of archaeology in the region. More specifically, the most laudable aspect of this book is the discussion of heritage management and the potential importance of archaeology to the people of the region. The work of Martinsson-Wallin and colleagues should serve as a useful example of how to integrate the motivations and desires of local communities into Pacific Island archaeological research.

METGE, Joan: *Tauira: Māori Methods of Learning and Teaching*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2015. 320 pp., bib., index. NZ\$45.00 (soft cover).

KARYN PARINGATAI  
*University of Otago*

*He tamaiti akona ki te kāinga, tūngia ki te marae, tau ana* ‘A child educated at home, will stand with confidence on the *marae* and conduct themselves properly’. In her new book, *Tauira: Māori Methods of Learning and Teaching*, Joan Metge highlights the continuing relevance of this age-old proverbial saying: the education of a Māori child is the responsibility of all members of that child’s *whānau* ‘family’ and community and that this process begins in the home. Using interviews conducted with participants who were born in the 1920s–1930s and had grown up in rural Māori communities, *Tauira* provides insight into a uniquely Māori way of educating children as it existed prior to the urban drift of the Māori population. It is obvious from the outset that the intention of this book is to privilege the voices of the *kai-whakauru*, a term used by Metge to identify the participants in this research. This term shows that the people who were interviewed are embedded in the research and are not bystanders. Each of the ten chapters are filled with excerpts of their interviews in which they describe recollections of their childhoods, providing snapshots of moments in time of a life different to the one many of us live in now.

Daily household chores, planting, harvesting and gathering of food supplies, attending church services, *tangihanga* ‘funerals’ and *hui* ‘meetings’, and looking after siblings—learning was part of living. Every task had a lesson to be learned and every course of action a reason. In Chapter Two this type of “informal” education is described as a mixture of work and play, learning by observing and following in suit with all educative practices being immersed in *mātauranga Māori* ‘Māori knowledge’. This is the true strength of this book. Not only are we exposed to first-hand accounts of Māori pedagogical approaches to learning and teaching in practice, but also to the vast amount of *tikanga* ‘customs’ embedded within the quotes themselves. The practical and cultural education of a child was tasked to the whole *whānau* and community, including siblings and peer groups, and not just the parents. Chapter Three describes this not as an abdication of responsibility but a sharing of responsibility. However, it was the grandparents to whom the most admiration was afforded amongst the *kai-whakauru* interviewed. They were clearly regarded as the more important repositories of knowledge within their homes and the best people to learn from.

In a society governed by maintaining a balance between spiritual and terrestrial matters, Chapter Four highlights the importance of making sure that the religious education of the child is also attended to. There was clearly a penetrating influence of Western forms of religion during the upbringings of the *kai-whakauru* that underpinned how the community operated. Māori spiritual belief in terms of *tapu* ‘set-apart’, *noa* ‘mundane’, and *kaitiaki* ‘guardians’ as explanations of supernatural occurrences, do not feature until further in the chapter. However, Māori belief in the supernatural was in no way overshadowed by Western religious practices because often the two processes went hand-in-hand.

Education is a lifelong process. Chapter Five shows that there are still lessons to be learned well into adolescence and adulthood. Competency in practical matters



was well developed by this time amongst the *kai-whakauru* but it was a deeper, more complete understanding of *mātauranga Māori* and the *tikanga* that underpinned action that still needed attention. However, by this time many of them had left home or their community and were being influenced by other spheres of society. Although a very short chapter, the message is clear: it is never too late to delve into the mysteries of *te ao Māori* ‘the Māori world’. This idea is continued in Chapter Six, which highlights that there were certain bodies of knowledge that only adults who displayed maturity and mental capacity could be taught. *Whaikōrero* ‘speech making’, *karanga* ‘calling’, *whakapapa* ‘genealogy’ and the ability to use these forms of expression to weave people together could only be done by those who had been trained, tested and reprimanded when necessary for any faults, a process children could not be subjected to. *Kai-whakauru* described the privilege felt at being chosen to participate in such learning environments and receive training from renowned tribal experts, whilst others lamented opportunities lost by not participating to their fullest potential.

No book on Māori methods of learning and teaching would be complete without some discussion of the *whare wānanga* ‘institutions of specialised knowledge’. Chapter Seven does not recount traditional aspects of the *whare wānanga* but instead includes the individual experiences of the *kai-whakauru* with regards to selection and participation in learning in these institutions. Most of this chapter is Maori Marsden’s recollection of *Te Wānanga o Tai Tokerau*, which is rich in pedagogical detail.

For as long as memory recalls, storytelling has been an important pedagogical tool used by adults to teach children. Often these stories contain a multitude of teachings and when retold time and again, different messages are made more prominent and brought to the fore. In an era where technology is doing the storytelling for us, Chapter Eight reminds us that the power of voice, combined with the physical expression of performance, create suspense-filled dramas woven by expert storytellers that cannot be recreated by digital media.

While not intended as a publication focussed on the formal school system, this was an inevitable topic and was discussed by a number of the *kai-whakauru*. Fittingly, this discussion is left to Chapter Nine, the final content chapter. However, in keeping with the style of the previous chapters, this particular one focused on *whānau* and community attitudes towards state schooling, which were on the whole, positive. To conclude Metge shows just how different the two learning environments were, summarising the educational practices and principles that could be described as typically Māori, which were presented in the first seven chapters of her book.

The majority of the *kai-whakauru* who participated in this research are no longer with us. Metge does justice to their involvement in her academic career by using their words verbatim to form the basis of this book. She subtly weaves together their interview excerpts with just enough explanatory detail to create a comprehensive narrative that transports us back in time to 1940s rural Māori life. Although it lacks substantial theoretical pedagogical analysis, this is perhaps also its strength, making it easily readable by all. *Tauira: Māori Methods of Learning and Teaching* is a poignant and timely reminder of the need for the education of a child to be multi-faceted, a multi-pronged approach and the shared responsibility of the whole *whānau* and community, and not just that of the school they attend. When a child is educated in this way, they have the skills necessary to participate fully in their community and in a way befitting those who have invested time in them—*He tamaiti akona ki te kāinga, tūngia ki te marae, tau ana.*

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED\*

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March to November 2016

- Bennett, Judith and Angela Wanhalla (eds): *Mothers' Darlings of the South Pacific. The Children of Indigenous Women and U.S. Servicemen, World War II*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2016. 379 pp., appendices, biblio., illus., index, notes. NZ\$45.00 (softcover)
- Camus, Guigone: *Tabiteuea Kiribat*. Geneva: Fondation Culturelle Musée Barbier-Muelle, 2014. 183 pp., appendix, biblio., illus. 20€ (softcover)
- Coote, Jeremy (ed.): *Cook-Voyage Collections of 'Artificial Curiosities' in Britain and Ireland, 1771–2015*. Oxford: Museum Ethnographers Group, MEG Occasional Paper, No. 5, 2015. 300 pp., biblio., illus., notes. £17.50 (softcover)
- Ellis, Ngarino: *A Whakapapa of Tradition: 100 Years of Ngāti Porou Carving, 1830–1930*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2016. 312 pp., appendix, biblio., glossary, illus., notes. NZ\$69.99 (hardback)
- Levine, Stephen: *Pacific Ways, Government and Politics in the Pacific Islands*. 2nd edition. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2016. 416 pp., biblio., illus., notes. NZ\$40.00 (softcover)
- MacCarthy, Michelle: *Making the Modern Primitive: Cultural Tourism in the Trobriand Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016. 304 pp., biblio, illus. \$US68.00
- Speedy, Karin: *Georges Baudoux's Jean M'Barai the Trepang Fisherman*. Sydney: UTS ePress, 2015. 146 pp., biblio., illus. A\$24.95
- Wassmann, Jürg (ed.): *The Gently Bowing Person: An Ideal Among the Yupno in Papua New Guinea*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter. 321 pp., biblio., illus., index. 45€ (softcover)

\* The inclusion of a publication in this list neither assumes nor precludes its subsequent review.

MINUTES OF THE 125th ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING  
OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY (INC.), 25 MAY 2016,  
DEPARTMENT OF MĀORI STUDIES,  
UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND.

*Present:* Dr Richard Benton in the chair and 8 members.

*Apologies:* E. Cochrane, B. Davies, R. Hooper, H. Macdonald, J. Metge, S. Mallon, M. Reilly.

Benton/Carter: "That the apologies be sustained." Agreed.

*Minutes of 2015 AGM:* Carter/Allen: "That the Minutes be received as a true account of the meeting." Carried.

*Presentation and Adoption of the Council's Report*

The Hon. President presented and spoke to the Council's Annual Report.

- ONLINE availability has increased. The Society relies heavily on the Institutional Subscriptions and the increase due to online availability is welcome. Payment from online providers helps with income revenue and helps avoid subscriptions increases this year, which in this environment would be unwise. Annual dues and subscriptions cover production and postage of the *JPS* and the Society's running expenses. Although member dues and subscription payments do not cover other expenses, income from other sources (e.g., royalties on publications) help cover these.
- The Society's website and *Facebook* page are maintained by designated Council members (Hamish MacDonald, Simon Bickler and Ben Davies) who post *Journal* contents and information regarding membership, submission of manuscripts, etc. Contents and information regarding membership are also sent to several appropriate newsletters and websites. The availability of the *Journal* online also is publicity.
- The Society and its members benefit from the support of the University of Auckland that allows the Society to keep costs down. Specifically, the Department of Māori Studies provides the Society with its office and storage space, as well as access to office equipment; likewise, the Anthropology Department provides for the Hon. Editor and the *JPS*. These arrangements are not only economical but also very convenient and congenial.

Benton/Huntsman: "That the Report of Council be received. Carried

*Presentation and Adoption of Annual Accounts*

Annual accounts have been completed for 2015 and were presented for information by the Hon. Treasurer Rangimarie Rawiri.

The Reviewers report was attached to the Annual Accounts and the Treasurer noted:

- The Accounts are prepared on a cash basis—i.e., people who have not paid do not receive the Journal.
- The Income derived from royalties and copyright fees has enabled us to maintain the membership fees at the current level.
- The decline in full membership has been off set in an increase by growing online subscriptions and dues.
- Council will continue to monitor the effect of online access to the JPS on subscription income and the extent to which payments from online providers helps compensates for any income decline.

Rawiri/Carter: “That the 2015 Accounts be accepted.” Carried

#### *Honoraria*

Benton/Goldsmith: “That the honoraria for the year 2016 be at the same rate as 2015, and that they be paid.” Carried.

#### *Presentation and Adoption of the Editor’s Report*

- Over the last year Melinda Allen and Judith Huntsman have continued as Co-Editors, supported by the editorial team, including Lyn Carter and Ethan Cochrane as Book Review Editors, and Dorothy Brown as Assistant Editor. Arrangements with Hamish Macdonald, Production Editor and manager of the Polynesian Society’s website, continue to be extremely satisfactory. Ben Davies has continued as webmaster, managing our *Facebook* page and assisting Hamish with the web site as appropriate. We thank our fellow officers and the Council for their support throughout the year. The many referees who have given generously of their time and provided valuable feedback to the authors are crucial partners in maintaining the quality of the *Journal*; we extend our deep gratitude to them on behalf of the Officers and Council.
- We continue to actively solicit “special issues” on particular themes with guest editors. In December we had a virtual “special issue” (that is, it was fortuitous rather than solicited) on Oceanic voyaging canoes, which has elicited considerable interest on our Facebook page. We remind members that special issues can be individually purchased by friends and colleagues outside the *Society* for only \$15 each.
- Finally, this year has seen a significant increase in *Facebook* audience. Facebook manager Ben Davies reports that we now have 818 “likes” (compared to 186 last year). Our most recent post, directing readers to the article by Kuramitsu, attracted 690 views. In February we trialled an advertisement for the one-off purchase of our December 2015 issue on Polynesian Voyaging. This post alone attracted nearly 3500 views, our highest yet, and was shared by 28 people. We also attracted nearly new 50 followers immediately after this offer. As usual, most of our Facebook friends are in New Zealand; however, we’ve seen growth from Honolulu and Salt Lake City, both cities with large Polynesian populations.

Huntsman/Sheppard: “That the Hon. Editors Report be adopted.” Carried.

*Election of Officers*

Having been duly nominated and seconded, the following were elected to hold office until the year 2017 AGM:

President: Richard Benton  
Hon. Secretary: Rangimarie Rawiri  
Hon. Treasurer: Rangimarie Rawiri  
Hon. Editor: Melinda Allen

*Election of Council Members*

The following, whose nominations were duly nominated and seconded, were elected as Members of the Council for two years: M Goldsmith, J Huntsman, S Mallon, P Sheppard

*Election of Reviewers:*

Rawiri/Allen: "That Tane & Assocs., Chartered Accountants be the elected Reviewers." Carried.

*General Business*

The President Dr Richard Benton expressed his condolences for the family of Ann Chowning and David Simmonds, who both passed away this year and acknowledged the work they had both been involved with. He thanked the Council and members for their support during the year, and recognised Judith Huntsman's 41 years of support and service to the Polynesian Society, of which 20 were as Honorary Editor of the *Journal*, and for her long serving membership on Council. Judy will be retiring from the position of co-Editor following publication of the upcoming special issue 125(2), with Melinda Allen taking on the full role.

There being no more business, the President thanked members for their attendance and declared the 2016 AGM meeting closed at 6:00pm

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## INDEX TO VOLUME 125

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- Annual General Meeting: 2016 Minutes, 454-56.
- Baer, Alexander. *Ceremonial Architecture and the Spatial Proscription of Community: Location Versus Form and Function in Kaupō, Maui, Hawaiian Islands*, 289-305, figs; *Unearthing the Polynesian Past: Explorations and Adventures of an Island Archaeologist*, by Patrick Vinton Kirch, 446-48.
- Benton, Richard. *Obituary: David Simmons, MBE (1930–2015)*, 339-40.
- Brooking, Tom. *At the Margin of Empire: John Webster and Hokianga, 1841-1900*, by Jennifer Ashton, 59-61.
- Bryant-Tokalau, Jenny. *Oceanian Journeys and Sojourns: Home Thoughts Abroad*, ed. Judith A. Bennett, 61-65.
- Cochrane, Ethan E. *Abundance and Resilience, Farming and Foraging in Ancient Kauai 'i*, eds Julie S. Field and Michael W. Graves, 67-69.
- Cook Islands: oral traditions, narrative features and protection of vulnerable people [Mangaia], 383-410.
- Daley, Caroline. *Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Maori, and the Question of the Body*, by Tony Ballantyne, 187-88.
- East Polynesia: ceremonial architecture [development and variability], 203-331.
- Erueti, Andrew. *Te Mātāpunenga: A Compendium of References to the Concepts and Institutions of Māori Customary Law*, by Richard Benton, Alex Frame and Paul Meredith, 65-67.
- Fiji: ghosts, little people and Christianity, 11-32.
- Flexner, James L. and Mark D. McCoy. *After the Missionaries: Historical Archaeology and Traditional Religious Sites in the Hawaiian Islands*, 307-31, figs.
- Gibbs, Philip. *Grave Business in Enga*, 115-32, figs.
- Hawaiian Islands: ceremonial architecture (*heiau*) and social complexity [Kaupō, Maui], 289-305; religious sites (*heiau*) and historical archaeology [Hawai'i Island and Moloka'i], 307-31; surfing (19th-century), 411-32.
- Howard, Alan. *see* Rensel, Jan.
- Irwin, Geoffrey. *Heke-nuku-mai-nga-iwi Busby: Not Here by Chance*, by Jeff Evans, 445-46.
- Jacka, Jerry K. *Development Conflicts and Changing Mortuary Practices in a New Guinea Mining Area*, 133-47, figs.
- Kahn, Jennifer G. *The Functionality of Feasting at Late Prehistoric Residential and Ceremonial Sites in the Society Islands*, 203-38, figs.
- Kawharu, Merata. *Indigenous Entrepreneurship: Cultural Coding and the Transformation of Ngāti Whātua in New Zealand*, 359-82, fig.
- Kuramitsu, Minako. *Lā'ei Sāmoa: From Public Servants' Uniform to National Attire? 33-57*, figs.
- Levine, Hal and James Urry. *Obituary: Martha Ann Chowning (1929-2016)*, 7-10.
- Lilomaiaava-Doktor, Saili. *Changing Morphology of Graves and Burials in Samoa*, 171-86, figs.

- Māori: seafood gardening [management practises], 433-44; cultural coding and indigenous entrepreneurship [Ngāti Whātua], 359-82; Rewi Maniapoto, Wiremu Tamihana and the Waikato War, 341-57.
- Maric, Tamara. *From the Valley to the Shore: A Hypothesis of the Spatial Evolution of Ceremonial Centres on Tahiti and Ra'iatea*, *Society Islands*, 239-62, figs.
- McCoy, Mark D. *see* Flexner, James L.
- McDowell, Tiopira. *Ko Te Whenua te Utu – Land is the Price: Essays on Maori History, Land and Politics*, by M.P.K. Sorrenson, 75-77.
- Meleisea, Malama. *see* Schoeffel, Penelope.
- Meleisea, Malama and Penelope Schoeffel. *The Work of the Dead in Samoa*, 149-70, figs.
- Molle, Guillaume. *Exploring Religious Practices on the Polynesian Atolls: A Comprehensive Architectural Approach Towards the Marae Complex in the Tuamotu Islands*, 263-88, figs.
- Moser, Patrick. *The Endurance of Surfing in 19th-Century Hawai'i*, 411-32.
- O'Malley, Vincent. *A Tale of Two Rangatira: Rewi Maniapoto, Wiremu Tamihana and the Waikato War*, 341-57.
- Obituary: Martha Ann Chowning (1929-2016), 7-10; David Simmons (1930-2015), 339-40.
- Oceania: burial practices, 89-186.
- Papua New Guinea: Enga [death, graves and burial practices], 115-32; Porgera, Western Enga Province [space, death and development], 133-47.
- Paringatai, Karyn. *Tauira: Māori Methods of Learning and Teaching*, by Joan Metge, 451-52.
- Quintus, Seth. *Samoan Archaeology and Cultural Heritage: Monuments and People, Memory and History*, by Helene Martinsson-Wallin, 449-50.
- Reilly, Michael. *Narrative Features and Cultural Motifs in a Cautionary Tradition from Mangaia (Cook Islands)*, 383-410.
- Rensel, Jan and Alan Howard. *The Culture of Graves on Rotuma*, 93-114, figs.
- Rotuma: graves, death and burial practices, 93-114.
- Samoa: public servants' dress code and national identity, 33-57; graves, burials and re-interments, 149-70; burial practices and location, 171-86.
- Schoeffel, Penelope. *see* Meleisea, Malama.
- Schoeffel, Penelope and Malama Meleisea. *Introduction to "Grave Matters in Oceania"*, 89-92.
- Society Islands: ceremonial architecture, feasting and identity [‘Opunohu Valley, Mo‘orea], 203-38; ceremonial architecture, settlement patterns and chiefdoms [Tahiti and Ra'iatea], 239-62.
- Summerhayes, Glenn. *The Lapita Cultural Complex in Time and Space: Expansion Routes, Chronologies and Typologies*, eds Christophe Sand, Scarlett Chui and Nicholas Hogg, 72-75.
- Thoda-Aroa, Hilke. *Niue 1774–1974. 200 Years of Contact and Change*, by Margaret Pointer, 69-72.
- Tomlinson, Matt. *Little People, Ghosts and the Anthropology of the Good*, 11-32.
- Tuamotu Islands: religious architecture and rituals, 263-88.
- Urry, James. *see* Levine, Hal.
- Warbrick, Paerau. *Outcasts of the Gods: The Struggle over Slavery in Māori New Zealand*, by Hazel Petrie, 189-91.
- Williams, Jim. *Seafood "Gardens"*, 433-44, figs.

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## PUBLICATIONS OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

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The publications listed below are available to members of the Polynesian Society (at a 20 percent discount, plus postage and packing), and to non-members (at the prices listed, plus postage and packing) from the Society's office: Department of Māori Studies, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92012, Auckland. All prices are in NZ\$.

Some Memoirs are also available from: The University Press of Hawai'i, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822, U.S.A., who handle North American and other overseas sales to non-members. The prices given here do not apply to such sales.

### MĀORI TEXTS

1. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 1). New Edition of 1958 edition, 2004. xxxviii + 464 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2004. Price \$69.99 (hardback).
2. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 2). New Edition of 1961 edition. xxxviii + 425 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2005. Price \$69.99 (hardback).
3. NGATA, A.T. and Pei TE HURINUI, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 3). New Edition of 1970 edition. xlii + 660 pp., audio CD, genealogies. 2006. Price \$69.99 (hardback).
4. NGATA, A.T. and Hirini Moko MEAD, *Ngā Mōteatea* (Part 4). New Edition of 1991 edition with English translation. xviii + 380 pp., two audio CDs, genealogies. 2007. Price \$69.99 (hardback).

### MEMOIR SERIES

14. OLDMAN, W.O., *The Oldman Collection of Maori Artifacts*. New Edition with introductory essay by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson, and finder list. 192pp., including 104 plates. 2004. Price \$30.
15. OLDMAN, W.O., *The Oldman Collection of Polynesian Artifacts*. New Edition with introductory essay by Roger Neich and Janet Davidson, and finder list. 268pp., including 138 plates. 2004. Price \$35.
37. DE BRES, Pieter H., *Religion in Atene: Religious Associations and the Urban Maori*. 95pp. 1971. Price \$4.10.
38. MEAD, S.M., Lawrence BIRKS, Helen BIRKS, and Elizabeth SHAW, *The Lapita Pottery Style of Fiji and Its Associations*. 98pp. 1975. Price \$7.00.
39. FINNEY, Ben R. (comp.), *Pacific Navigation and Voyaging*. 148pp. 1975. Price \$8.00.



41. McLEAN, Mervyn., *An Annotated Bibliography of Oceanic Music and Dance*. 252pp. 1977, with 74pp. 1981 Supplement. Price \$12.30.
43. BLUST, Robert, *The Proto-Oceanic Palatals*. 183+x pp. 1978. Price \$12.00.
45. HOOPER, Antony and Judith HUNTSMAN (eds), *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*. 226+viii pp. 1985. Price \$35.00.
47. SIIKALA, Jukka. *'Akatokamanāva. Myth, History and Society in the South Cook Islands*. 153+xi pp. 1991. Price \$29.95.
49. SORRENSEN, M. P. K., *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society Over 100 Years*. 160pp. 1992. Price \$32.50.
50. BROWN, DOROTHY (comp.), *Centennial Index 1892-1991*. 279pp. 1993. Price \$30.00.
51. TE ARIKI TARA 'ARE, *History and Traditions of Rarotonga*. Translated by S.Percy Smith. Edited by Richard Walter and Rangī Moeka'a. 216pp., genealogies and song texts. 2000. Price \$70.00.
52. REILLY, Michael P.J., *War and Succession in Mangaia—from Mamae's Texts*. 112pp., genealogies and maps. 2003. Price \$20.00.
53. BIGGS, Bruce Grandison, *Kimihia te Mea Ngaro: Seek That Which is Lost*. 80pp. figs. 2006. Price \$30.00.
54. REILLY, Michael P.J., *Ancestral Voices from Mangaia: A History of the Ancient Gods and Chiefs*. xiv + 330 pp., maps, drawings, genealogies, index. 2009. Price \$40.00.
55. TE HURINUI, Pei, *King Pōtatau: An Account of the Life of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero the First Māori King*. 303 + xiv pp., figs, genealogies, indexes, maps. 2010. (Available to members of the Society only at \$40.00.)
56. McRAE, Jane, *Ngā Mōteatea: An Introduction / He Kupu Arataki*. Māori translation by Hēni Jacobs. 158 pp., biblio., figs, notes, song texts. 2011. (Available to members of the Society only at \$28.00.)

#### MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

- TOKELAU DICTIONARY*. lii + 503 pp. Price: \$35.00.
- INCEST PROHIBITIONS IN MICRONESIA AND POLYNESIA: Special Issue*, June 1976. 155pp. Price \$12.00.
- FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF THE ARTS OF OCEANIA: from Special Issue*, June 1981. 70pp. Price \$4.00.
- BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE PACIFIC: Special Issue*, March 1994. 108pp. Price \$12.50.

- KIE HINGOA 'NAMED MATS', 'IE TŌGA 'FINE MATS' AND OTHER TREASURED TEXTILES OF SAMOA & TONGA: *Special Issue*, June 1999. 120pp. (Out of Print).
- ESSAYS ON HEAD-HUNTING IN THE WESTERN SOLOMON ISLANDS: *Special Issue*, March 2000. 144pp. Price \$15.00.
- POSTCOLONIAL DILEMMAS: REAPPRAISING JUSTICE AND IDENTITY IN NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA: *Special Issue*, September 2003. 124 pp. Price \$15.00.
- POLYNESIAN ART: HISTORIES AND MEANINGS IN CULTURAL CONTEXT: *Special Issue*, June 2007. 192 pp. Price \$30.00.
- COLONIAL GRIEVANCES, JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION: *Special Issue*, June 2012. 116 pp. Price \$15.00.
- TABUA AND TAPUA: WHALE TEETH IN FIJI AND TONGA. *Special Issue*, June 2013. 127 pp. Price \$15.00.
- EXTRAORDINARY POLYNESIAN WOMEN: WRITING THEIR STORIES. *Special Issue*, June 2014. 230 pp. Price \$15.00.
- ON PACIFIC VOYAGING CANOES. *Special Issue*, December 2015. 136 pp. Price \$15.00.

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#### BACK ISSUES OF THE JOURNAL AVAILABLE

THE SOCIETY holds copies of most issues from Volume 76 (1967) onwards. Some copies of issues from earlier volumes are available, or become available from time to time. Orders and inquiries should be directed to the Assistant Secretary, Polynesian Society, af-jps@auckland.ac.nz, Department of Māori Studies, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand.

Prices per issue are as follows (exclusive of the *Special Issues* above):  
 Vol. 120 (2011) and earlier: \$2.00 plus postage and packing  
 Vol. 121 (2012) onwards: \$15.00 plus postage and packing

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