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Cover image: Upper blades of the ceremonial paddles ‘ao from Rapa Nui (Easter Island) represent stylised depictions of a human face with a feather crown: (left) ‘ao 22845 in the Ethnology Museum, Vienna; (right) ‘ao E129749 in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington. Drawings by Paul Horley.

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RAPANUI PADDLES AND THE BOUNTIFUL SEA

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ABSTRACT: Rapanui paddles used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are unusual in that they are composite; their pararaha 'blades' are of a very particular shape that has no parallels on other Polynesian islands. Museum collections contain at least ten paddle blades collected in the late nineteenth century, all of them featuring a longitudinal upright that ends in a rounded bulge. The back side of the blade can be flat, slightly concave or carved with a longitudinal groove. Iconographic analysis of pararaha 21.1D from Museo de La Merced revealed that unusual shapes on both sides of the paddle blade represent stylised depictions of male and female genitalia. Although the back of the paddle, shaped like komari 'female genitalia', may be of later development, the prominent phallic upright on the front side of the blade is characteristic of all known pararaha. This iconographic identification suggests that Rapanui paddles, documented since the La Pérouse expedition of 1786, might have been considered to possess special magical powers relating to "fertilisation" of ocean waters during routine paddling, thus ensuring bountiful produce from the sea. The power of the paddle may have been enhanced by inlaid bones or teeth, two examples of which are known among the surviving pararaha and detailed here.

Keywords: canoe paddle, paddle blade, pararaha, fertility cult, iconography, Rapa Nui, Easter Island

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Rapa Nui (Easter Island) is famous for its monumental architecture and monolithic statues known as *moai ma'ea*. The geographical location of the island, thousands of kilometres away from the nearest populated islands of Oceania and the shores of South America, suggests that the initial Polynesian discovery most likely constituted the single settlement event. From that time the island's society developed in isolation. When the Polynesians arrived, the island was densely forested (Flenley 1993: 44 fig. 50). The main tall tree was a palm, *Paschalococos disperta* (Dransfield *et al*. 1984), but other species of the original woody vegetation have been identified in the past few decades (Orliac 1998). The palm forests diminished progressively due

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to human activity (Mieth and Bork 2010) and/or climatic change (Orliac and Orliac 2008a: 26; Roman *et al.* 2021: 13 fig. 8) until the island's forests were completely gone. Reports of the early European visitors to the island (Roggeveen, González and Haedo, Cook and La Pérouse) are unanimous in their descriptions of a steppe landscape devoid of tall trees. This scarcity of wood had a marked influence on Rapanui fishing vessels, as remarked by Roggeveen in 1722:

> Finally, as to their seagoing craft, they are of poor and flimsy construction; for their canoes are fitted together of a number of small boards and light frames, which they skilfully lace together with very fine laid twine made from the above-mentioned vegetable product *Piet*. But as they lack the knowledge, and especially the material, for caulking the great number of seams of their canoes, and making them tight, they consequently leak a great deal; on account of which they are necessitated to spend half their time in baling [*sic*]. Their canoes are about ten feet long, not counting the high and pointed stem and stern pieces. Their width is such that, with their legs packed close together, they can just sit in them so as to paddle ahead. (Corney 1908: 19)

Two launches (lifeboats) of the 1770 Spanish expedition circumnavigated the island; they saw

> two little canoes … with two men in each, making for the *Santa Rosalia*'s launch; so we waited for them in order that they might join our party. … These canoes are constructed of five extremely narrow boards (on account of there being no thick timber in the country) about a *cuarta* in width [one-quarter of a *vara* or yard]; they are consequently so crank that they are provided with an outrigger to prevent them from capsizing; and I think that these are the only ones in the whole of the island. They are fitted together with wooden pegs in place of nails. (Corney 1908: 121)

Although in the late period of the island's history canoes were scarce, it was not always so. Canoe motifs are abundant in the corpus of Rapanui rock art (Lee 1992: 104–11). A few are crossed with a diagonal segment (Van Tilburg *et al.* 2019: 270), conveying the notion of a paddle. The first European depiction of Rapanui paddlers appears in Johann Reinhold Forster's manuscript dating to the Cook expedition of 1774 (Van Tilburg 1994: 51 fig. 34). Two paddles are shown schematically, with flat blades ending with a straight segment—however, the line representing the paddle shaft continues up to the end of the blade. Forster mentioned that these paddles were in fact composite: "each of the men [in a canoe] had a paddle made of more than one piece [of wood], which sufficiently proves the want of wood on this isle" (in Von Saher 1999: 43). Another example of the flat

paddle blade was documented by Louis Choris (Guiot 2018: 32 fig. 3; see also Chauvet 1935: pl. 11 fig. 18), who visited the island in 1816 on Otto von Kotzebue's expedition. The same image shows a paddle with an elliptic lower blade and round upper blade decorated with a face, labelled as a Rapanui object. Although ceremonial paddles made on the island have faces carved or painted on their blades, the paddle shape is different. This suggests that Choris's drawings of paddles might have been made from memory—or alternatively, the flat paddle might have come as a trophy from a passing ship. Either way, the evidence for flat-bottomed Rapanui paddles should be considered with caution.

A more detailed drawing of a running Rapanui canoe was produced by Blondela and later engraved by Masquelier (Fig. 1b, a). These images date back to the La Pérouse expedition of 1786. The engraving shows a woman holding a paddle with an uncommon blade—it is composed of several planks set at angles to each other, expanding radially in star-like fashion (Fig. 1c). This shape looks completely out of place, resembling more an oversized confectioner's whisk than a paddle. The original sketch (Fig. 1d) shows this paddle blade more realistically, with a single upright projecting perpendicularly to its blade. What was its purpose?

Two complete paddles (Fig. 2a) of the same unusual shape were collected in 1886 by the USS *Mohican* expedition and deposited to the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, inventory no. E129746. The description of these objects is as follows:

> *Ancient scull oars*—Called Mata Kao. Angular float of peculiar shape and unique design attached to a long handle. Used for steering and sculling very large canoes. Very old and highly prized by the islanders as the only specimen of the scull-oar used by their ancestors. (Thomson 1891: 538)

The images from La Pérouse expedition confirm that these paddles were in use on the island in 1786; a watercolour produced by John Linton Palmer in the 1850s depicts a Rapanui man sitting on outrigger canoe (*vaka ʻama*) holding a two-piece paddle (Guiot 2018: 34 fig. 4; see also Van Tilburg 1996: 29 image 41). Although this paddle is drawn schematically, the shape of its blade matches well the ethnological specimens collected by Thomson. Thus, one can speak of a tradition of using composite paddles on Rapa Nui, witnessed by the European visitors from the late eighteenth century and continuing past the first half of the nineteenth century, possibly even extending into the missionary era that started with the arrival of Brother Eugène Eyraud in 1864. Some of the old paddles survived by the late 1880s; they were eventually collected and deposited in several museums worldwide.

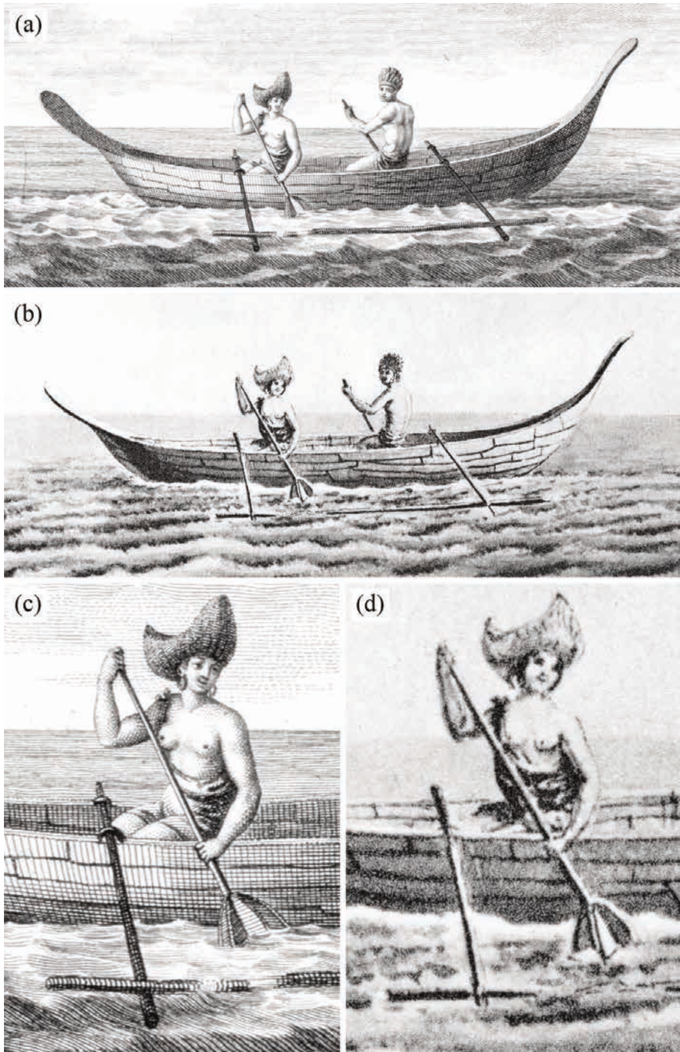

Figure 1. Rapanui outrigger canoe navigated by two paddlers: (a, c) engraving by Masquelier, *Atlas du Voyage de La Pérouse* (Milet-Mureau 1797: pl. 61), showing a woman using a paddle with multiple uprights; (b, d) sketch by Blondela (Chauvet 1935: pl. 11 fig. 19) showing a paddle with a single upright, reconcilable with the shape of a *pararaha* 'paddle blade'.

Before continuing with the discussion, it seems worthwhile to present a brief overview of terminology. Paddles, oars and sculls are used for propelling watercraft. All are composed of a shaft (the long, thin cylindrical part) and a blade (the wide flat part) and look very similar; the difference in names reflects the way in which these objects are used. A paddle is a tool held by the paddler in one or both hands; it is not connected to canoe's hull in any way. Rapanui people navigating a canoe (Fig. 1) use paddles, paddling on opposite sides of the vessel to compensate for forces directed sideways, thus running the canoe straight ahead. Oars differ from paddles in that they are physically joined to gunwales by oarlocks. An oarsman moves the tip of the oar shaft, located inside the boat, causing the oar to pivot around the oarlock joint. The oars are set in pairs on the two sides of the hull; the oarsmen perform sweep rowing by coordinated motion of the oars. For a very narrow watercraft, two oars set on both sides of the hull can be operated simultaneously by a single person—in this case they are called sculls, and the person is called a sculler.

Thomson's identification of Rapanui objects as scull oars was perhaps prompted in part by their similar size, suggesting that these rowing implements represented a pair. However, scull oars require oarlocks—a feature that should be reflected somehow in their construction. In contrast, the shafts of the objects collected by Thomson are thoroughly smooth; they do not have any structural detail—or marked localised traces of erosion—that would permit establishment of a point at which their shafts were mounted on a gunwale. Therefore, they are neither oars nor sculls—they are paddles. The remarkable point about these paddles (the old Rapanui term is *matakao*, the modern word *hoe*; Cea Egaña 1979–1981: 89) concerns their composite nature. The blade is a separate object called *pararaha*—meaning 'flat' in Rapanui (Englert 1948: 483); the term is general, so that *pararaha rima* ('flat' + 'hand') stands for 'palm of the hand'—joined to a shaft called *kukuru* ('shaft', Englert 1948: 464) with lashings. No other Polynesian society used composite paddles (Esen-Baur and Forment 1990: 304).

The shape of the paddle blade is very peculiar (Fig. 3). It is (almost) flat on one side, which will be referred further as the "back side". The opposite "front side" of the blade has a long vertical upright running along its central axis, which terminates in a bulge that can either be flat (Fig. 3a, b) or descend towards the main surface of the blade (Fig. 2a). Métraux (1940: 209) recorded the name for this feature: *ponga kekepu* 'turtle's snout'. The term is likely descriptive, although neither the front nor side view of the paddle blade evokes an animal snout. As published specimens—for example, Thomson's plate 59 (Fig. 2a)—show paddles standing on the floor with their blades pointing upwards, these surface formations resemble a stylised depiction of a human face. Indeed, large ceremonial paddles (*'ao*) and smaller dance

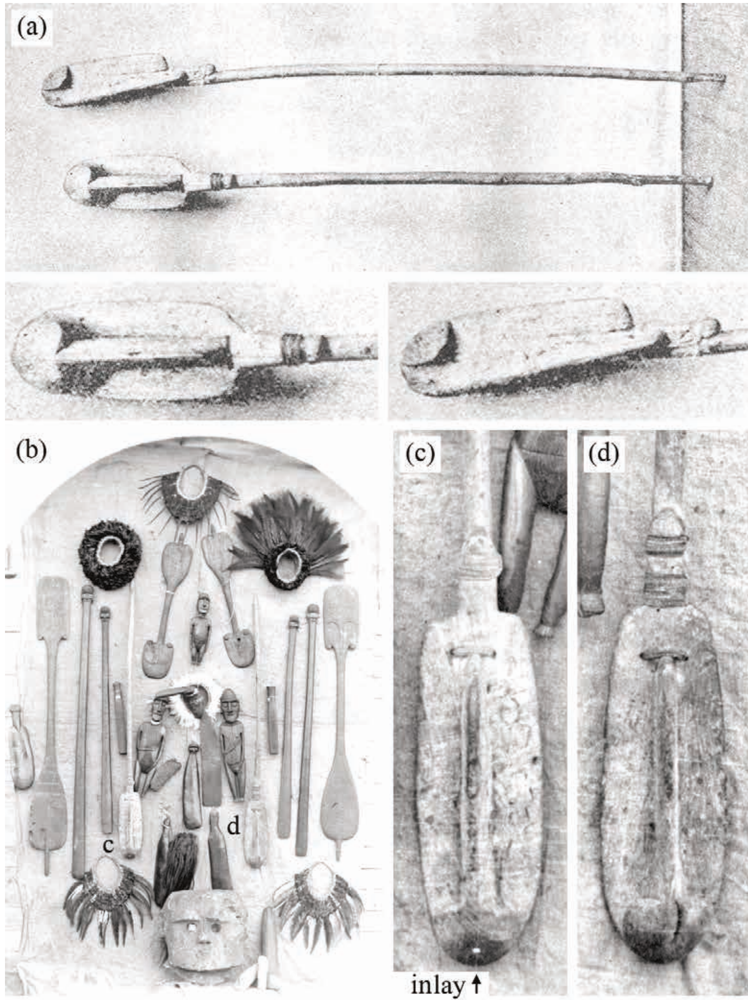

Figure 2. Composite Rapanui paddles documented in the late nineteenth century: (a) two complete paddles E129746 acquired in 1886 with close-ups of their blades (Thomson 1891: pl. 59); (b) Salmon's collection of Rapanui objects photographed by W. Safford of the USS *Mohican* (image NAA 04951300 courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution); (c, d) close-ups from the latter image, showing the blades of two paddles later acquired by J.L. Young.

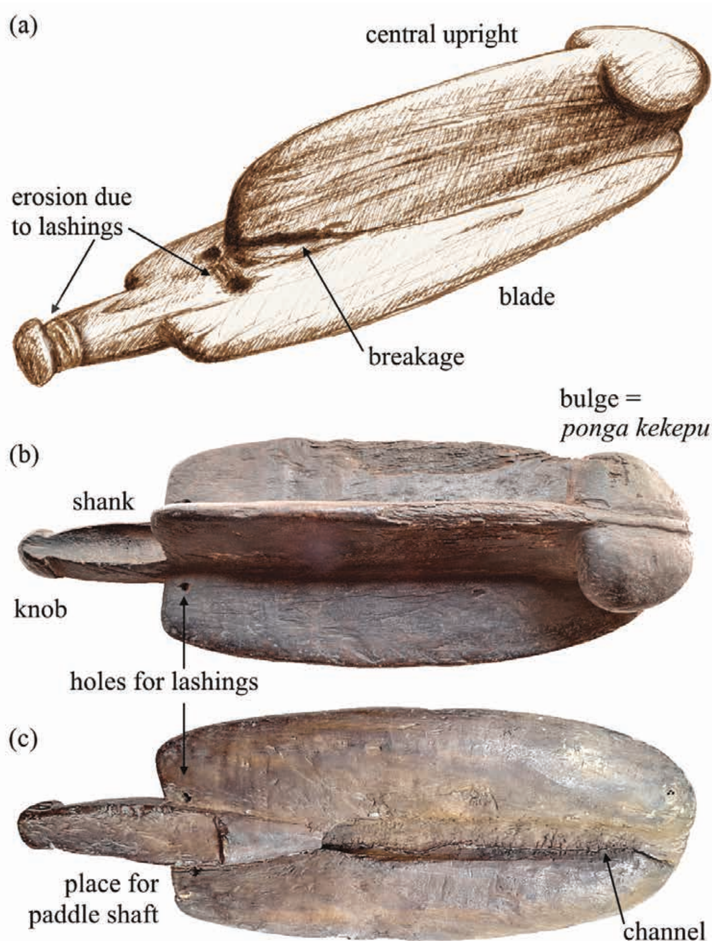

Figure 3. The principal structural features of the paddle blade: (a) the Berlin pararaha VI 4919 (after Ayres and Ayres 1995: 149 pl. 46); (b, c) front and back views of the La Merced pararaha 21.1D (images courtesy of Museo de La Merced; photographs by José Miguel Ramírez-Aliaga) showing that the principal structural elements of the paddle blade represent stylised depictions of male and female genitalia.

paddles (*rapa*) feature stylised human faces on their upper blades (Fig. 4). The ʻao are larger, offering sufficient space for carving of the eyes, nose and mouth. On rapa, the face is reduced to a rounded M-shaped ridge that represents the eyebrows and nose; hemispherical bulges stand for ear spools. The rounded upper part of the blade evokes a feather headdress; some elaborate ʻao show individual feathers, delineated with incised grooves or marked with a pigment. Therefore, it is understandable that carvings on a pararaha blade might have been interpreted as a human face, with an upright representing its nose and the bulge seen as a schematic depiction of the eyebrows and forehead.

Pararaha do not appear in Rapanui petroglyphs (in contrast to the ʻao ceremonial paddles), but they are known from three-dimensional stone carvings. These specimens were discovered by Thor Heyerdahl, who, during his stay on Rapa Nui leading the excavations of the Norwegian

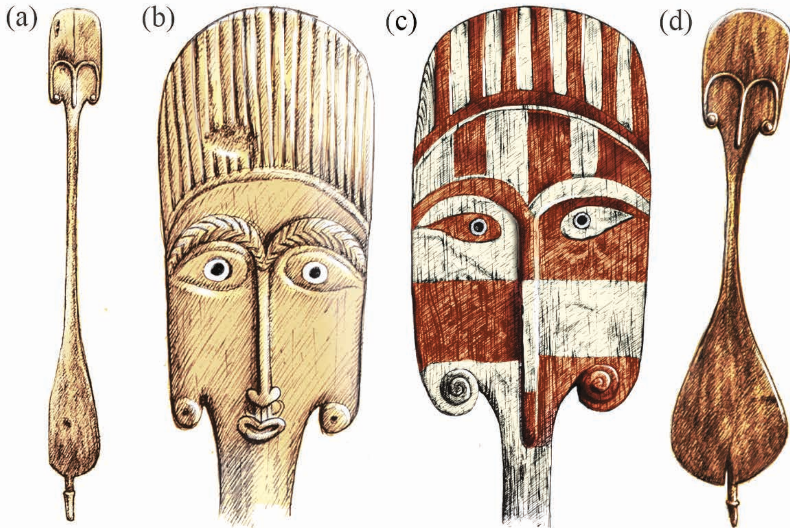

Figure 4. ʻAo and rapa ceremonial paddles represent stylised depictions of a human with face, a feather crown, and a phallic appendage at the bottom blade: (a) ʻao ETH AC 1248 in the Museum of Natural History, Toulouse (after Orliac and Orliac 2008b: 65); (b) ʻao 22845 in the Ethnology Museum, Vienna (after Heyerdahl 1975: pl. 55b); (c) ʻao E129749 in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington (after Thomson 1891: pl. 52); (d) rapa in the J.-P. Meyer collection (after Orliac and Orliac 2008b: 61).

Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific in 1955–1956, began to receive offers from Rapanui people to show him treasure troves kept in secret family caves along the coast. The treasures turned out to be a variety of small aberrant stone sculptures carved out of vesicular lava boulders. In form they were very similar to museum specimens collected in the nineteenth century and labelled by their collectors as "house gods". These stones were usually placed outside the entrance to the low, thatched, canoe-shaped sleeping huts in the fashion of that time. Thor Heyerdahl decided to collect as many such stone sculptures as he could. He called them "cave stones" and believed that they could give researchers insights into the variety of motifs present in ancient Rapanui art, although he accepted that many, or even most, of these stones were carved during late proto-historic or even historic times. There are 934 such stone sculptures registered today in the Kon-Tiki Museum collection. Recent testimony from members of the Rapanui community indicates that the majority of these stones were carved during Heyerdahl's stay on the island, although observations made in some of the caves when first entered indicated that they had been untouched for a considerable time (Heyerdahl 1975: 124–25, 130, 142). In any case, these stone sculptures frequently represent copies of well-documented rock art or sculptures from Rapa Nui's pre- and proto-history and as such they may provide important information about Rapanui art and culture. The cave stone sculptures continue to attract attention due to the size and completeness of the collection, which permits in-depth iconographic studies and cross-comparisons with other artistic media used by the Rapanui. Some of these stone sculptures are currently on loan to other museum collections; they are also frequently displayed at temporary exhibitions dedicated to Rapanui culture.

A small number of Heyerdahl's (1975: pl. 272d–f) "cave stones" represent pararaha and have surface formations resembling stylised faces. The 3D model of artefact K-T 1530 (Fig. 5) was made with Agisoft PhotoScan and rendered with CNR-ISTI Visual Computing Lab's MeshLab (Cignoni *et al*. 2008) using ambient occlusion and radiance scaling filters. Through this approach, the texture of the object is removed but its overall shape and surface relief details are emphasised, permitting direct and convenient study of the object's geometry (Horley *et al*. 2019). We are pleased to publish the 3D model of K-T 1530 embedded in Figure 5 for this online version of the article, to familiarise the readers with the peculiar shape of Rapanui paddle blades. As one can see from Figure 5 and the 3D model, the ponga kekepu bulge is divided into two parts, each carved as a hollowed "hemisphere". The upright extends quite deeply into this formation, resembling a nose set between overhanging eyebrows. The lashing holes are neither shown nor even hinted at with simple indentations. The shank is asymmetrical and looks rather like a handle. The overall shape of the object is markedly oval, with a different aspect ratio in

comparison to that observed in real-life pararaha (Fig. 2c, d). Curiously, the back side of the carving is slightly sunken, with a shallow spoon-like shape.

Another stone sculpture collected by Heyerdahl, K-T 1531, was photographically documented (Fig. 6), illustrating the vesicular structure of its reddish-brown rock. The side flanges of the paddle blade are carefully bevelled and polished; the central upright is thin and continues up into the

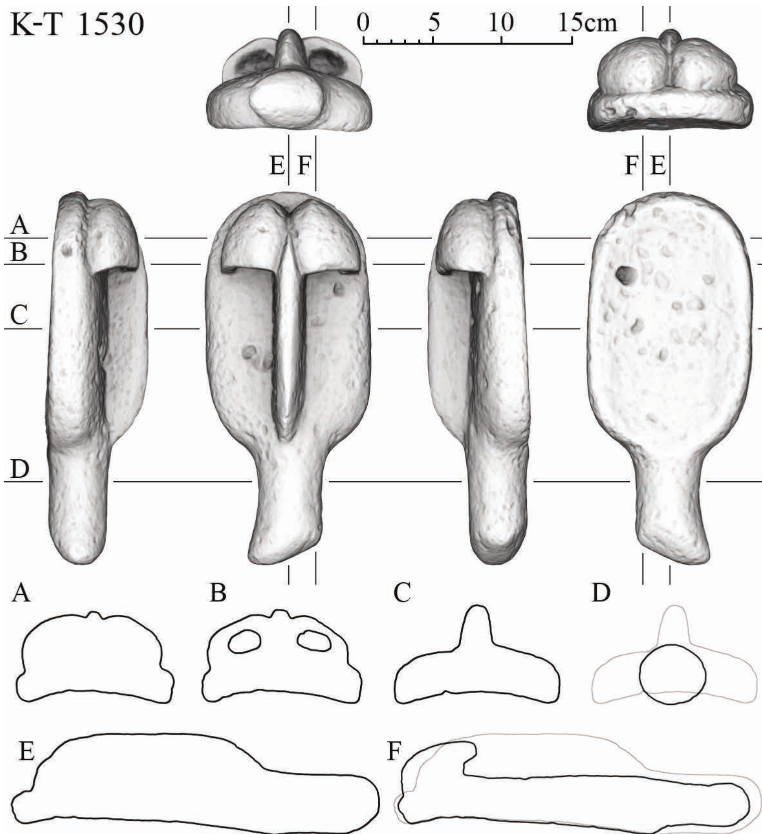

Figure 5. Principal orthographic views and cross-sections of pararaha cave stone K-T 1530 rendered for a 3D model obtained through photogrammetric reconstruction (images courtesy of the Kon-Tiki Museum). The 3D interactive model can be click activated when this PDF article is downloaded to your computer.

middle of the ponga kekepu, which is notably bipartite. The interiors of these parts are concave; the rock here is slightly darker in tone, which may either represent accumulated dirt or be a consequence of rock colour change if sunken parts were made by abrasive drilling. The back side of the paddle is carefully polished; similar to K-T 1530, its sunken surface resembles that of a shallow spoon. Both objects evoke stylised faces; perhaps because of

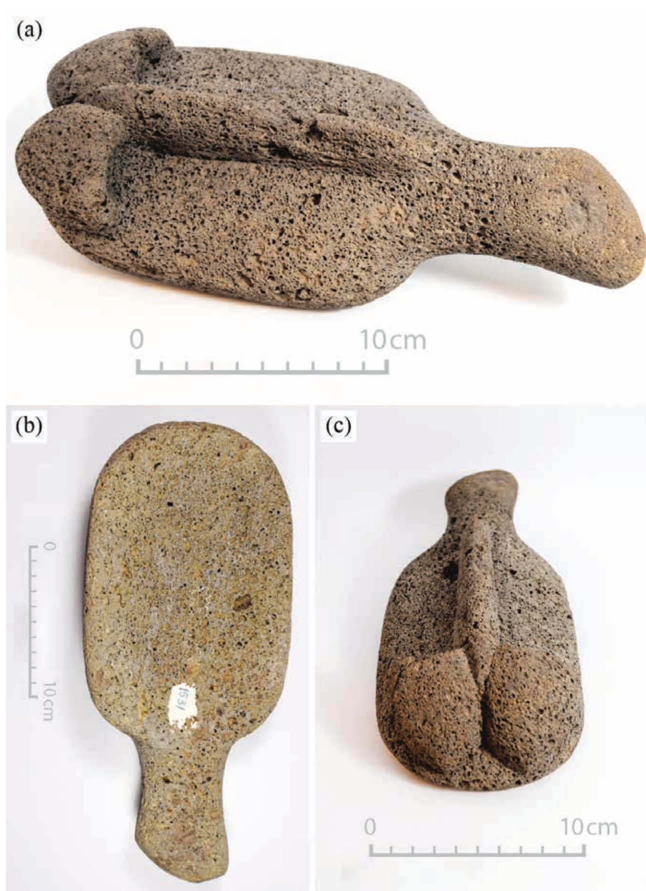

Figure 6. Pararaha cave stone K-T 1531 showing the porous nature of the volcanic rock from which it was carved. The stone was polished, producing a smoother surface in the areas with fewer pores (images courtesy of the Kon-Tiki Museum; photographs by Reidar Solsvik).

this, Heyerdahl was of opinion that these stone specimens represented "an unidentified object, probably a charm identical to wooden specimens brought from Easter Island in the last century [by Thomson] and mistaken for blades of skull oars" (Heyerdahl 1975: pl. 272).

Thus, when at least some of these artefacts were produced, the exact shape and proportions of paddle blades were seemingly in part forgotten. The absence of models within the sculptors' reach means that by a certain time—most likely the close of the nineteenth century—there were no specimens of ancient paddles left on the island.

At least ten authentic wooden pararaha are known from museum collections worldwide:

* Ethnological Museum, Dahlem, Berlin (Ayres and Ayres 1995: 148):
(i) VI 4919, collected by Geiseler in 1882. Blade size: 53 × 15 × 9.8 cm (Fig. 3a).
(ii) VI 4893, collected by Schlubach in 1882. Blade size: 49 × 13.5 × 8.5 cm.
(iii) VI 4894, collected by Schlubach in 1882. Blade size: 51 × 13.5 × 7.7 cm.

* Smithsonian Institution, Washington (Thomson 1891: 538):
(iv, v) E129746, two complete paddles collected by Thomson in 1886 (Fig. 2a). The online collection database of the Smithsonian Institution mentions that these paddles are about 6 feet (2 m) long, measured together with their shafts.

* Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu (Métraux 1940: 209):
(vi–viii) B3631, three (complete?) paddles proceeding from Young's collection and deposited to the Museum in 1920 (Fig. 2c, d; Fig. 7). One of the blades measures 55.2 × 13.3 cm with a shank 10.6 × 5.2 cm in size. The heights of the uprights on the three specimens are given as 9.3 cm for one and 7.2 cm for the other two, without specifying which object has which. One paddle blade is peculiar in that its ponga kekepu has been inlaid with a tooth or a piece of bone.

* Museo de La Merced, Santiago (Ramírez-Aliaga 2008: 45):
(ix) 21.1D, deposited to the Museum in 1870. Blade size: 39.7 × 14.5 × 9 cm (Fig. 3b, c; Fig. 8).
(x) 21.2D, deposited to the Museum in 1870. Blade size: 44.3 × 12 × 11.5 cm (Fig. 11).

The study of the archival material yielded more data about pararaha collection events. The crew of the USS *Mohican* took a considerable number of photographs on Rapa Nui, including several images of ethnographic collections belonging to Alexander Paea Salmon, then manager of the island's

sheep ranch, who helped Thomson with the acquisition of ethnological specimens for the Smithsonian Institution. One of these photographs shows an assortment of wooden and stone objects including two tablets with Rapanui script—now preserved in the Smithsonian Institution (Fig. 2b). The latter photograph was published for the first time by Harry O. Sandberg with the following caption:

> Easter Island Antiquities. Photograph by Prof. W.E. Safford. Idols carved of hardwood with obsidian and shell eyes; ceremonial paddles; ceremonial scepters or clubs; small clubs for beating bark of paper mulberry to make "tapa" or bark cloth; feature [*sic*, feather] headdresses. (Sandberg 1912: 909)

William Safford is credited for a large number of photographs produced during the USS *Mohican* expedition of 1886 (Horley 2009: 12). Among these objects, one can distinguish two paddles (marked "c" and "d" in the photograph). It is logical to assume that these are the same paddles deposited to the Smithsonian Institution, especially because Thomson (1891: 538) explicitly says that they were "the only specimen[s] of the scull-oar[s]". A more careful look on close-up panels reveals that pararaha lashings differ from those observed on the Smithsonian paddles (Fig. 2a). Moreover, the ratio of total paddle length to blade length produces the values of 3.42 and 3.15 for the paddles marked "c" and "d", while the same ratios for the paddles shown in Fig. 2a are 3.73 and 3.96, correspondingly. In other words, the shafts of the Smithsonian paddles are considerably longer. Therefore, the paddles pictured in Fig. 2b are apparently not the ones collected by Thomson—and hence he saw more paddles than he acquired. Remarkably, paddle "c" features a white spot in its bulge, which corresponds to the location of an inlaid bone or tooth documented by Métraux (1940: 209 fig. 19). The second paddle with a crack splitting its ponga kekepu matches the paddle documented in the photograph taken on Tahiti by the Spitz Photographic Studio (Fig. 7). This is one of several images depicting items from the ethnographic collection of James Lyle Young (Anna Petersen, pers. comm., 2021), who acquired some of his objects through a reliable agent on Rapa Nui, most likely Alexander Paea Salmon (Fischer 1997: 459). Thus, although Young's collection was deposited in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in 1920, both paddles were photographically documented by Safford on Rapa Nui back in 1886, confirming that these objects are old and authentic. The photograph taken on Tahiti must be dated after December 1888, when Salmon returned from Rapa Nui (Fischer 1997: 71), most likely bringing with him his ethnological collection. Four ceremonial paddles (two large ʻao B3686 and two late rapa B3632 of somewhat simplified design) appearing in the same photograph (Fig. 7) can also be seen in Safford's photograph, establishing slightly earlier provenance for these objects as well.

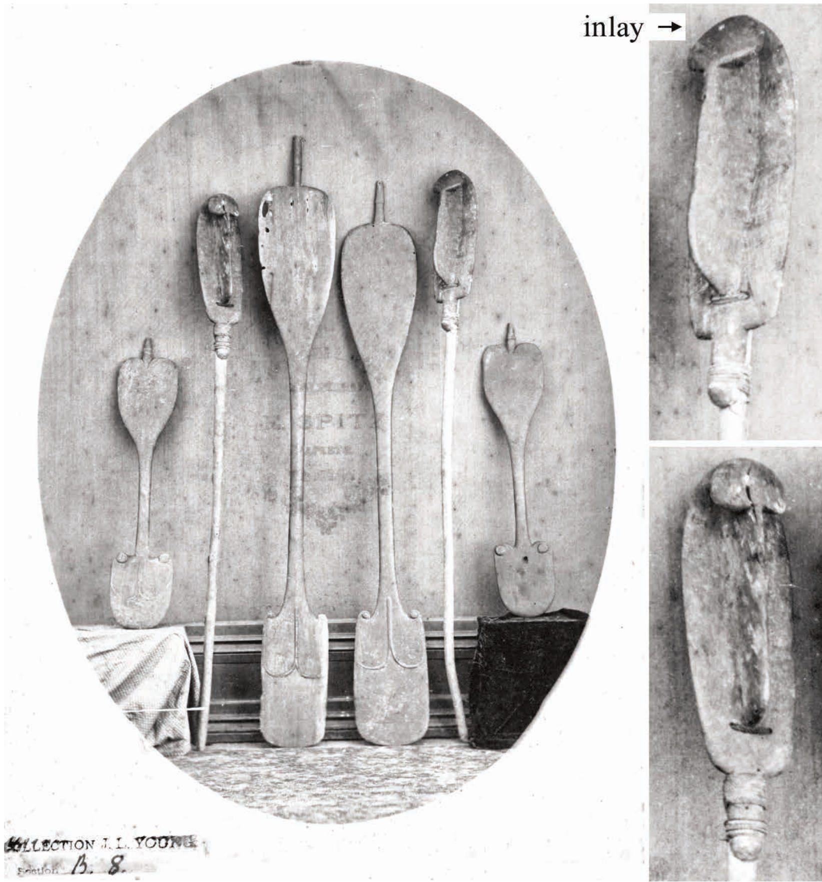

Figure 7. Rapanui paddles from the J.L. Young collection ("Six wooden panels", n.d., Spitz Photographic Studio, Pape'ete, Tahiti, P1998-067-003, Hocken Collections | Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago). Close-ups of pararaha blades permitting identification with the paddles documented by W. Safford in 1886: (top) compare with Fig. 2c, (bottom) with Fig. 2d. (Image courtesy of Hocken Collections | Uare Taoka o Hākena, University of Otago.)

The unusual geometry of pararaha blades has received different interpretations in the literature, being considered as an ingenious piece of ancient engineering designed to achieve more efficient paddling or offering other remarkable functions:

> The blade itself has a high median flange … This crest terminates in a round and flattened knob somewhat compressed in front. This knob (*ponga kekepu*), probably intended to give a pendulum swing to the paddle, rejoins in a continuous curved line the surface of the front side. (Métraux 1940: 209)

> The propulsion of these small pirogues was performed, fundamentally, with oars of the paddle type called Matakao with shaft (Kukuro) and relatively narrow blade (Pararaha) provided, along its entire central line, with a high and sharp fin, with a slightly convex border that served to facilitate the oblique forward raising of the oar after the stroke or, in the opinion of other informants, it was constructed in this way with the aim of allowing, by striking the water [surface], [one to make] an intense noise that attracted fish. (Cea Egaña 1979–1981: 85, translated from Spanish by the authors)

THE LA MERCED SPECIMENS

La Merced Paddle Blade 21.1D

Questions about pararaha designs obtain a straightforward, unexpected and effective solution with analysis of the paddle blade 21.1D from Museo de La Merced (Fig. 3b, c). This specimen was overlooked in the literature until publication of front and back views of it by Ramírez-Aliaga (2008: 45). The paddle blade is very carefully shaped, suggesting the dedicated work of an experienced craftsman. Its front side has an upright that continues as a narrow low ridge over the entire ponga kekepu. The back side of the paddle features a deep sunken channel and the external edges of the blade are bevelled.

Métraux (1940: 209) mentions that paddles had “a very light depression in the middle which is more accentuated, almost a groove, in the modern pieces”. We can safely assume that this side of the paddle blade was directed towards the stern of the canoe. To begin with, historical drawings specifically document this orientation of pararaha during the forward paddle stroke (Fig. 1d). The curvature of the paddle shaft also supports such an interpretation (Figs 2a, 7). The sunken back sides of the pararaha cave stones K-T 1530 (Fig. 5C) and K-T 1531 (Fig. 6b) evoke a shallow spoon. Careful optimisation of this shape in modern racing wing paddles serves for boosting their forward thrust. It may be that the ancient Rapanui were experimenting in this direction by modifying one side of the blade for more efficient paddling. However, further evolution of this shape went in a completely different direction.

The shank on the back side of the La Merced paddle blade features a flat-bottomed concavity for receiving the paddle shaft. There is a marked stopper against which the shaft was propped; surprisingly, the shank continues with

a long conical-shaped appendage. The apex of the cone is placed on top of a deep longitudinal channel that goes along the middle of the blade down to its tip. The general appearance of this side, in accordance with iconographical canons of Rapanui art is that of stylised female genitalia, *komari* in Rapanui language (Englert 1948: 463): the paddle flanges correspond to the labia and the conical piece under the shaft represents an elongated clitoris. This shape was not seen as an exaggeration in ancient Rapanui society, which had special rites and procedures for the enhancement of female private parts (Kaeppler and Van Tilburg 2020).

Even more astonishingly, the channel seen on the back side of the paddle blade 21.1D continues through the entire pararaha, piercing it at an angle and surfacing on the front side of the shank, just under the central upright (Fig. 8a–c). It is unclear how this channel was formed; its cross-section is markedly round with a diameter of about 3 cm. It may be that the pararaha was initially pierced by drilling and further channel expansion and smoothing achieved via a tool that could be rotated (e.g., a stick wrapped in a shark skin), ensuring the round section of the channel. Mechanical stress produced by drilling would have been considerable, and indeed one of the channel walls at the base of the central upright opens up into a large fissure (Fig. 8a). Remarkably, the front side of the shaft is also round and sunken (Fig. 8b, d).

The channel-bearing La Merced pararaha 21.1D is unique. The need for this channel—as well as its possible use—is completely unclear. The inner surface of the channel observed from the back side of the paddle blade is rather smooth, with perpendicular marks or cuts that were likely produced using carving or polishing tools (Fig. 8e, f). It may be that the channel was made for inserting the paddle shaft, perhaps because the sunken area on the back side of the shank was not considered deep enough for firm shank fixation. At the same time, the technical effort and skill required to perforate the paddle blade with a channel running at an angle to its long axis[1] are far superior in complexity and labour demand in comparison to the job required for hollowing the back side of the shank to a greater depth. Moreover, there is no apparent threshold within the channel against which the shaft could be propped; it would be very unusual if the shaft had to extend beyond the lower edge of the paddle blade. On the other hand, if one considers the channel as a part of a komari motif, it becomes apparent that its spatial position in relation to other parts of the same design is completely correct anatomically, further reinforcing the hypothesis that the back side of this blade was purposefully shaped as female genitalia.

But are we perhaps dealing with a ceremonial object and not a utilitarian paddle, such that the uniqueness of its shape should be taken for granted? To answer this question, we studied the wear patterns of La Merced pararaha 21.1D. The wooden shaft (kukuru) was expected to be placed into the hollowed area at the back side of the paddle shank. Although traces of tool

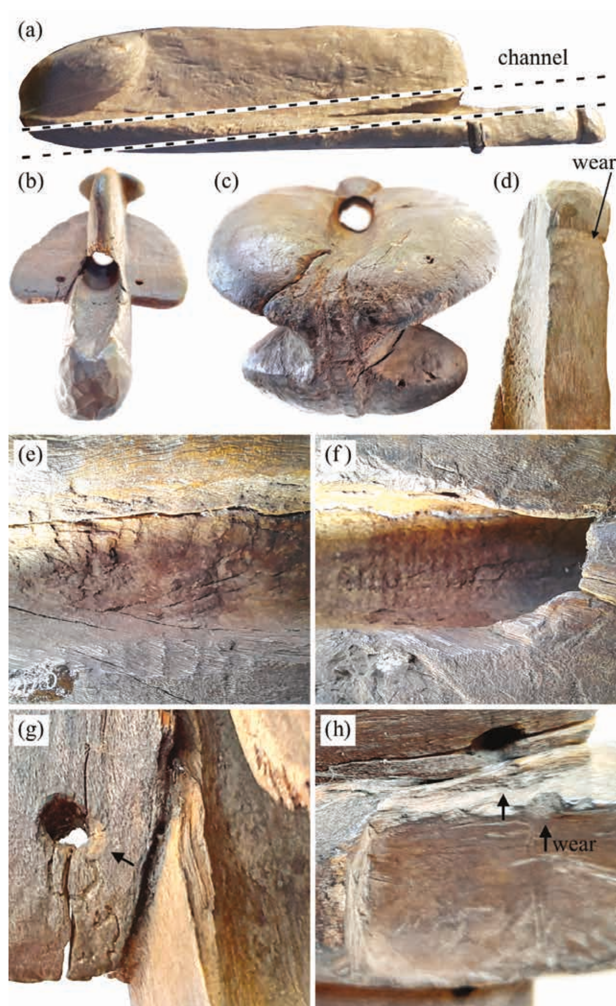

Figure 8. La Merced pararaha 21.1D (images courtesy of Museo de La Merced; photographs by José Miguel Ramírez-Aliaga): (a) side view marking the position of the channel cutting through the paddle blade; (b, c) views from the shank (front side) and ponga kekepu (back side) showing the channel with round cross-section cutting through the pararaha lengthwise; (d) shank with traces of wearing produced by lashing cord under the knob; (e, f) tool marks inside the channel, observed from the back side of the paddle; (g, h) erosion of lashing holes and their surroundings (marked with arrows) proving that this pararaha was once fastened to a shaft.

marks in this area can be discerned (suggesting a quite short active period for the object), it is also apparent that the wood is eroded in the central part of the shank close to the propping edge (Figs 3c, 8h), which is a completely expected wearing pattern. The shaft has to be held in place by lashings, with at least one turn of a cord passing through perforations at the base of the shank. It is important to note that La Merced blade 21.1D has the central upright extending up to its shank (Fig. 3b), so that there is no way of passing the lashings from one hole to another along the flat surface, as is the case, for example, on the Berlin paddle VI 4919 (Fig. 3a). Instead, the lashing cord would have gone around the back vertical ridge of the central upright, rising at an angle from the lashing hole. Namely this kind of localised erosion characterises the lashing hole at the pararaha's front side (Fig. 8g). On the back side of the paddle, cord erosion marks can be seen at the edge of the hole and at the sides of the shank (Fig. 8h). The second lashing cord was likely tied around the upper part of the shank just under the knob (Fig. 2a, c, d); wearing traces induced by lashings can be distinguished in the very same spot of La Merced pararaha 21.1D (Fig. 8d). In other words, the paddle blade in question was indeed fastened to the shaft for some time. Moreover, the tip of the paddle shows traces of compressive damage and fissures (Fig. 8c), as would be expected to form when the paddle hits rocks (Orliac and Orliac 2008a: 253) either on shore or in shallow water. The presence of erosion patterns consistent with paddling activities suggests that this pararaha was not made as a ceremonial object. At the same time, the degree of erosion on La Merced blade 21.1D is not very prominent, arguing for its short utilitarian life prior to collection.

Identification of the paddle's back as depicting female genitalia offers a straightforward explanation for the upright carving on its front side—that it is male genitalia or *ure* in Rapanui (Englert 1948: 509). The motif is directed downwards, terminating at the tip of the paddle blade. In this way, both organs are shown in anatomically correct orientation when the paddle is held with its blade pointing downward, as when it is submerged into water during paddling. This iconographic analysis provides a direct explanation for the rounded shape of the ponga kekepu bulge. The upright on which it is set emphasises the design, making it three-dimensional. It becomes clear that the flat or rounded ponga kekepu (Figs 3a, b; 2a) represents the same phallic motif. This difference in shape is not based on the functionality or hydrodynamic properties of the paddle: the principal purpose of the upright with the ponga kekepu is not structural but symbolic. This predominance of symbolism over utility is also illustrated by the fact that several pararaha developed fissures running along the bottom of their central uprights (Figs 3a, 11d); such damage would not form if the presence of the central upright were dictated exclusively by hydrodynamic performance. The stylistic difference

observed on La Merced pararaha 21.1D, where the upright continues as a thin low ridge over the bulge (Fig. 3b), also receives a straightforward iconographic explanation: here the corresponding body part is shown from its underside, while pararaha with smooth ponga kekepu depict the top view thereof (Figs 2, 3a). Such an iconographic interpretation completely matches the artistic canons of Rapanui phallic imagery seen in fire-rubbing devices (Heyerdahl 1975: pl. 144 and especially pl. 145a, catalogue no. 22853, Ethnological Museum, Vienna). This identification also agrees with the iconography of the ʻao and rapa ceremonial paddles, which represent extremely stylised images of human beings (Fig. 4): the upper blade corresponds to the head with face and feather headdress, while the lower blade corresponds to the body/abdomen, ending with a phallic appendage pointing downward, just like pararaha's upright does. Thus, both ceremonial and functional paddles on Rapa Nui had their bottom part shaped as male genitalia. In the case of the pararaha sculptures K-T 1530 and K-T 1531 (Figs 5, 6), their upright ends at the middle of the ponga kekepu, which is carved in the form of two halves. This may yet be another stylisation of male genitalia seen from the underside; alternatively, when viewed from the proper paddle blade orientation (Fig. 6c), the carving resembles an erect phallus with a scrotum. In any case, these specimens are also related to the stylised depiction of male reproductive organs.

The stylised female genitalia, komari, are very prominent in rock art with more than 560 petroglyphs registered island-wide (Lee 1992: 64). Komari can be carved in isolation, in groups (Fig. 9a–c) or closely associated with or superimposed over other motifs, most notably birdmen (Fig. 9d); komari was also the design of choice for portable stones and pillow-stones (Ramírez-Aliaga 2016). The abundance of komari in rock art is indicative of a fertility cult developed in the late period of the island's history. Perhaps an intensified preoccupation with fertility was connected to the precarious demographic situation in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The paddle blade 21.1D from Museo de La Merced is remarkable in that it features both male and female sides. It can be interpreted in a wider sense as a generalised image of a human being, one side of which is male and the other female—an indivisible unity and duality, literally rendered as two sides of a coin—or a paddle blade, so to speak. This, perhaps, is the only balanced depiction of such duality in Rapanui art. One can name a few other examples, but they were not conceived as a single image composed of two equal parts. A few komari petroglyphs are carved on moai maʻea, the monumental stone statues (Van Tilburg 1994: 143 fig. 115), which themselves represent prominent phallic imagery (Englert 2006: 91, 95), but in their case the komari carvings are secondary and were not originally planned as a part of the moai.

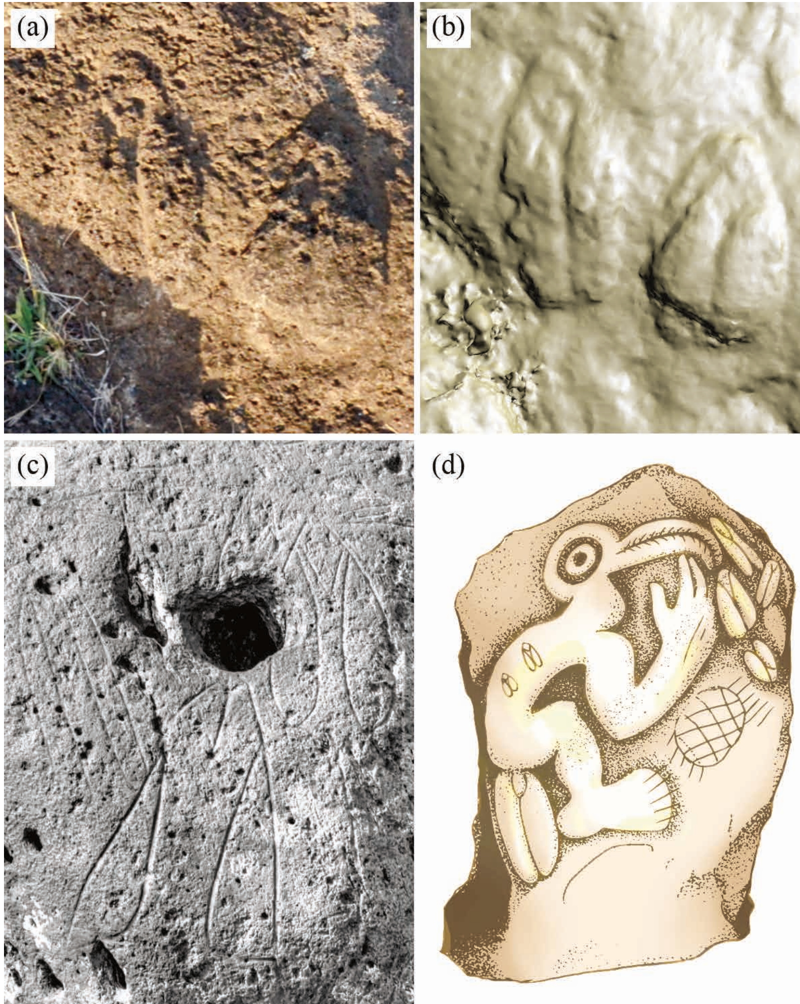

Figure 9. Stylised depictions of female genitalia (komari) in Rapanui rock art: (a) two bas-relief carvings at Papa Tataku Poki; (b) 3D model of the same, rendered without texture to emphasise their shape; (c) incised komari on the hollow stone Pū o Hiro, where they are associated with a blowing hole; (d) superimposition/association of komari with a bas-relief birdman carved on the stone 05-2-70/64851, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge (after Lee and Horley 2018: 68 fig. 4.38).

Figure 10. Moai tangata moko, carved figure, Rapa Nui. Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum 14554. (Image courtesy of Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum.)

The Rapanui wooden figurine of a lizard—*moai tangata moko* or simply *moko*—is often replete with phallic imagery (Wieczorek 2016: 17); the design of its head, neck, body and backbone (Fig. 10; Edge-Partington 1904) has clear anatomical correspondences when analysed with a foreknowledge of the underlying iconography. The prototypes of this carving design, the tiny geckos *Lepidodactylus lugubris* and *Gehyra mutilata*, are still partially feared on the island: some women believe that the lizards might run up their legs and impregnate them. This procreative association might have been emphasised through suggestive gestures made with moko figurines during dances (Orliac and Orliac 1995: 83). Modern woodcarvers also exploit the apparent sexual overtones for moko (Lee 2006: 119–20). A few moko figurines have a komari motif carved in low relief on the underside of the jaws, with the moko's hands reaching towards it (Fig. 10). The labia of these komari may feature fine hatching, which possibly was used to denote their colour as red (Davletshin 2021: 128). Although the harmonious placement of komari clearly suggests that it was a planned addition to the figurine, there is a marked difference in the treatment of the two designs: the moko is based on a phallic prototype, which is "camouflaged" with recognisable body parts of a lizard/man hybrid; in contrast, the komari motif is stylised but not disguised with any further elaborations; its size is smaller in comparison to that of the lizard figurine.

In contrast to the aforementioned examples, the pararaha 21.1D from Museo de La Merced features both designs of the same size and apparently of equal importance, showing them as a dualistic unity—which by definition is a procreative unity. This suggests that the paddle blade as a whole was thought to be endowed with procreation powers. The pararaha paddles were utilitarian, that is, they were used for propelling canoes. It is very likely that the monotonous and rhythmical action of paddling performed with a blade featuring procreative imagery (either male + female or purely male in earlier pararaha) was seen as an act of "fertilising" of "inseminating" the sea to make it more bountiful. It can be envisioned that fish, lobsters, turtles and other sea animals would multiply faster after such paddling. Thus, the simple act of canoe transportation was augmented with a ritual action, improving the fertility of the sea by using the proper type of paddle blade.

This interpretation provides a partial answer to another question. It was commonly thought that the composite nature of Rapanui paddles had its roots in the scarcity of wood (Métraux 1940: 208), that is, the islanders were unable to produce single-piece paddles for their canoes. Although wood was indeed rare, it was nevertheless sufficient for carving about a dozen large ceremonial paddles (Orliac and Orliac 2008a: 179), which can be over two metres long, and about 80 dance paddles (p. 160), which were shorter but still quite wide. Importantly, these numbers correspond to the specimens

still surviving today in public or private collections; the total number of ceremonial paddles produced on the island was likely considerably higher. If the Rapanui fleet in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries consisted only of a few canoes, the number of paddles required would also have been modest. In other words, there is a considerable chance that the islanders would have been able to produce single-piece paddles if doing so had been a real priority for them. Thus, the reasoning behind the composite nature of Rapanui paddles may have been different.

If pararaha blades were endowed with a ceremonial/magical function, as suggested here, one can envision that some blades were more potent than the others. It is not far-fetched to assume that certain ceremonies or spells were required to improve the *mana* 'sacred power or efficiency' of paddle blades. If this was the case, it was important to have a mechanism for transferring especially powerful blades from one canoe to another. This could be easily achieved if the blade, as the principal component of the paddle, was a separate object. This, in turn, might have permitted the use of shafts of different lengths and thicknesses, according to particular requirements of the paddlers or the size of the canoe they were navigating. The idea of the paddle blade serving as a vessel for mana is further emphasised in the observation that "[t]he terminal knob [of Honolulu pararaha B3631] has a piece of bone or tooth incrusted [inlaid, embedded] in the wood. [Fish]hooks were sometimes incised on the flanges" (Métraux 1940: 209).

La Merced Paddle Blade 21.2D

The second paddle blade in the Museo de La Merced collection is most remarkable in that it features a similar ornamental inlay in the very same place as that described by Métraux. The La Merced pararaha 21.2D is quite eroded, with a broken shank and clear traces of pronounced use wear (Fig. 11a, b). Its wood with clearly visible growth rings is markedly different from that used for paddle blade 21.1D. The orientation of the wood fibres suggests that the long axis of this pararaha roughly corresponds to that of the log from which it was extracted. The shank is convex on the front side of the paddle; on the back side, it is concave, perfectly serving for a firm fixation of the paddle shaft. The propping edge of the shank is continued as a small conical protrusion, far shorter in comparison to that of the other La Merced pararaha. There is no rounded channel, but a shallow groove runs along the axis of the paddle starting from the aforementioned conical protrusion. In other words, the back side of this paddle also can be interpreted as a stylised depiction of a komari.

On the front side of the paddle blade, traces of erosion produced by a cord connecting two lashing holes can clearly be seen. A long fissure runs along the base of the central upright; the tip of the blade is considerably

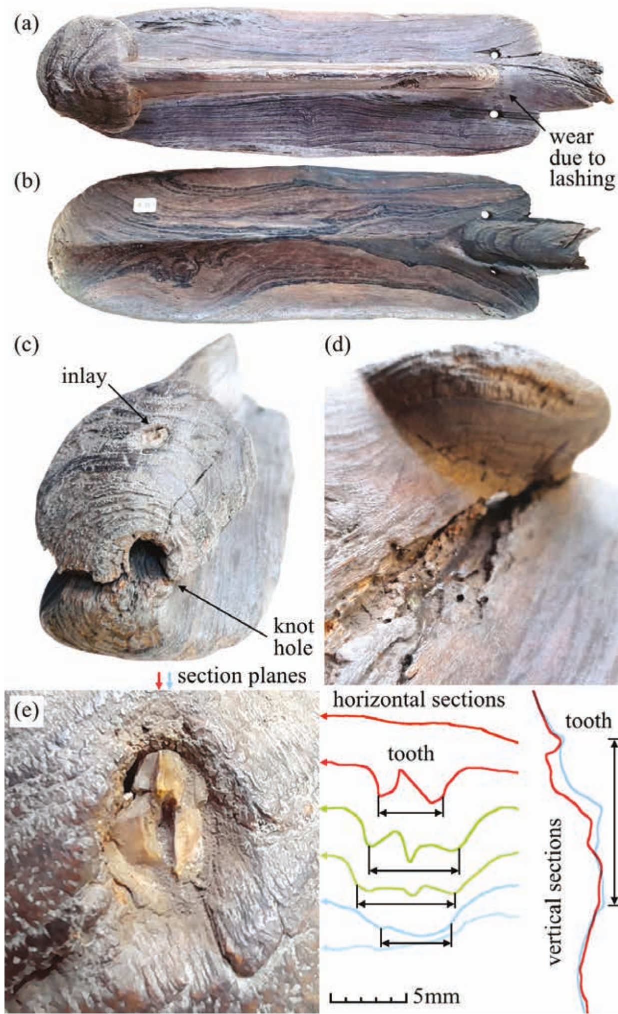

Figure 11. La Merced pararaha 21.2D (images courtesy of Museo de La Merced; photographs by José Miguel Ramírez-Aliaga): (a, b) views of the front and back sides of the paddle blade, the latter featuring a marked central groove; (c) ponga kekepu with inlay element and a large hole; (d) fissure at the base of the central upright, further damaged by insects; (e) inlaid tooth and its cross-sections; positions of the section planes marked with arrows.

damaged and split (Fig. 11c). The large hole in the ponga kekepu pierces the wood, opening into the aforementioned fissure at the base of the central upright. Wood fibres form concentric rings around this defect in the wood, suggesting that it may represent a knot that was damaged or knocked away. Apart from purely mechanical damage, the wood was much affected by sustained attention from insects (Fig. 11d). When this paddle blade was collected its central upright was close to breaking away; this deep fissure was consolidated with resin.

Remarkably, the small indentation in this paddle blade's ponga kekepu contains an inlay (Fig. 11c). With the exceptional support of Museo de La Merced, it was possible to carry out detailed photographic documentation of this detail, building a 3D model of it by photogrammetric reconstruction. MeshLab was used here for advanced visualisation and calculation of planar sections (Fig. 11e). The inlaid material is a broken single-rooted tooth. According to María José Manneschi (pers. comm., 2021), this tooth is not human but, judging by the high bone density around the root, likely belonged to a marine animal. The overall tooth shape suggests a canine, but precise identification is difficult because the tooth is badly broken. The inlay was achieved by inserting the root of the tooth into a prepared cavity; the process was possibly completed by pushing (hammering?) the tooth deeper into the wood with some tool, proceeding gently in order to avoid inlay damage. The crown of the tooth would have projected above the wood surface; X-ray imaging could be very useful for determining the length of the embedded part of the tooth by providing a clear distinction between wood and bone tissue (Orliac and Orliac 2008a: 160 fig. 102). Eventually—and perhaps as a consequence of heavy use of this pararaha—the embedded tooth was fractured. The breakage likely occurred in several stages (through the paddle striking rocks?), leaving a sharp bone ridge above the exposed root channel. The remaining tooth fragment no longer projects above the wood surface; this explains why neither further tooth damage nor any marked erosion occurred, preserving the breakage edges as crisp and sharp. The tooth is about 7.3 mm wide. Although the fragment measures approximately 11 mm vertically, it should be noted that this section plane is not perpendicular to the body of the tooth. The root channel is about 1 mm thick; the walls surrounding the root channel are about 3 mm thick. The upper point of the sharp broken edge projects about 3.7 mm above the bottom of the root channel.

Identification of the species from which this inlay derives will be of particular importance. If it is of human origin, its use would fit well with the Polynesian tradition of using human bones—especially those of powerful ancestors—as receptacles of their mana (Thornton 1992: 81), which could be of benefit to the present generation if these bones were placed or secured

in a proper way. On Rapa Nui, skulls of chiefs were adorned with carvings and placed in stone chicken coops to improve the fertility of the poultry (Englert 2006: 143). A human tooth was inlaid into the apex of a Rapanui authority staff (*ua*), catalogue no. 2435, Etnografisk Museum, Oslo (Orliac and Orliac 2008a: 154). In New Zealand,

> Human skulls and bones placed in a field were looked upon as being highly desirable: they either caused crops to flourish or protected the vitality of such crops. A flute made from a human bone had most beneficial effects in cases of difficult parturition, and a skull is useful as "guardian" of a tree on which birds are snared. In his paper on *mana* Colonel Gudgeon tells us how a rough sea was calmed by placing in the waters the bones of a famed ancestral wizard. (Best 1924: 377)

The power of a pararaha blade could be equally augmented by a piece of bone or a tooth coming from a powerful ancestor. Conversely, as seagoing activities are frequently associated with fishing, this relic might have come from an extremely successful fisherman, whose bones contained exceptional mana and were sought for making fishhooks (Orliac and Orliac 2008a: 41).

If the tooth inlay comes from a marine animal—perhaps an elephant or leopard seal, which are known to visit Rapa Nui (Hucke-Gaete *et al.* 2014: 748–50)—then it may represent the "target" to which the paddle action is supposed to be directed. Perhaps the use of a paddle inlaid with a seal tooth was expected to stimulate pinniped reproduction or favour more frequent appearances of seals on the island's shores.

Further evidence for interconnections between the fertility cult and the sea comes from stone artefacts and rock art. Fishermen frequently went out with special stones serving as fishing amulets; these were usually small water-worn pebbles with incised designs. One such amulet, inventory no. 1056, is preserved in the Fonck Museum, Viña del Mar (Fig. 12a). It measures 18.1 × 11.4 × 9.4 cm and is remarkable for featuring three *ika* 'fish', two of which are apparently based on the komari motif, hence the name of the stone, *ika-komari* (Ramírez-Aliaga 1990). This combination of designs may have been considered important for increasing the catch:

> The magic was helping to make fishing more abundant. The [fishing] amulets were stones of a fish shape or decorated with carved fish, which received the *mana* (supernatural power) of *ariki* ['chiefs'] or priests, *ivi atua*. At the north coast there is a stone called *Te Pu o Hiro*—the trumpet of Hiro—carved with *komari* (vulvas) [Fig. 9c] and pierced by natural holes that produce sound when blown. According to the lore, [this stone] served for attracting [fish] shoals to the shore. (Ramírez-Aliaga 1990, translated from Spanish by the authors)

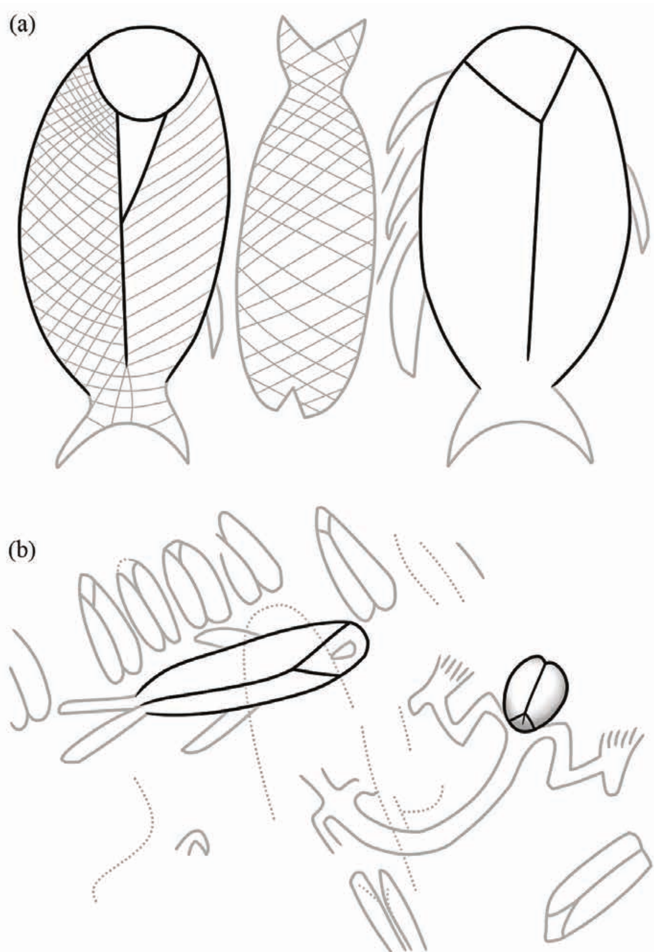

Figure 12. Petroglyphs associating komari motifs and fish: (a) roll-out tracing of fish–komari carvings covering a rounded fishing amulet stone (ma‘ea ika-komari) 1056 (after photographs by José Miguel Ramírez-Aliaga taken with the kind permission of the Museo Fonck); (b) multiple incised motifs inside house 44 at Mata Ngarahu, ‘Ōrongo (Lee and Horley 2018: fig. 6.29), including numerous komari, large fish merged with a komari outline and a curved anthropomorph with bas-relief komari between its legs. Dark contours are provided as guides for the eye, marking the outlines of the corresponding komari motifs.

In petroglyphs, fish outlines can be combined with those of female procreative organ komari (Fig. 12b); alternatively, a fish may be surrounded or closely associated with komari motifs—yet another example where the juxtaposition of two images was likely expected to produce a beneficial effect on fishing.

Importantly, in addition to magical or ritual means, the ancient Rapanui—and Polynesians in general—paid considerable attention to the conservation of sea resources. People depended on the sea and knew it intimately; they respected the sea, managed the sea and harvested the sea carefully to avoid depletion of its riches. Throughout Polynesia, *tapu* and *rahui* 'sacred prohibitions' (Bambridge 2016) were established to avoid overharvesting:

> To conserve the supply of all resources was constantly in the Hawaiian mind. When plants were taken from the forest, some were always left to replenish the supply. … Fishing grounds were never depleted, for the fishermen knew that should all the fish be taken from a special feeding spot (*ko'a*) other fish would not move in to replenish the area. When such a spot was discovered it was as good luck as finding a mine, and fish were fed sweet potatoes and pumpkins … and other vegetables so that the fish would remain and increase. When the fish became accustomed to the good spot, frequented it constantly, and had waxed fat, then the supply was drawn upon carefully. Not only draining it completely was avoided, but also taking so many that the rest of the fish would be alarmed. At the base of this action to conserve was the belief that the gods would have been displeased by greediness or waste. Tabus were an instrument in the conservation programme. … Besides the rule of taking only part of a supply of fish, fishing was prohibited during the spawning seasons. (Titcomb 1977: 12–13)

On Rapa Nui, certain fishing zones (*hakanononga*) were associated with particular tribes, which also reduced stress on the biota. Although applied and enforced by ceremonial means as sacred prohibitions, these conservation actions were most likely based on generations-long observations by dedicated specialists, who established the most relevant time frame for proper use of marine resources. The effect of conservation was crucial, because the procreative power of fish varies greatly with age and size:

> The most important reason for establishing marine reserves is to allow the resident fishes to grow to full reproductive maturity. The larger the female, the far larger the egg production. One study showed that one 61-cm Red Snapper produced the same number of eggs as 212 Red Snappers of 42-cm size (Birkeland & Friedlander, 2002). Another study of a jack of the genus *Caranx* found 84 times more eggs in a 70-cm fish compared to a 30-cm one (Birkeland, 1997). (Randall and Cea 2011: 14–16)

* * *

This study identifies new dimensions of interaction between ancient Rapanui society and the sea, and suggests these relationships were more intimate and profound than previously recognised. In addition to protecting marine resources from overharvesting with a system of sacred prohibitions, the islanders developed special paraphernalia—such as paddle blades shaped as human reproductive organs—which transformed common paddling activities into a ritual aimed at increasing sea productivity and enhancing fishing success.

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NOTE

1. We made a 3D model of the part of the channel opening to the back side of the paddle blade, which confirmed that channel angle is constant, as illustrated in Figure 8a. The slanted views of the pararaha (Fig. 8b, c) also illustrate this.

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EXPLORING THE PROGRESSION FROM GAMES TO GAMBLING IN TONGA

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ABSTRACT: Until recently there has been little research on gambling in Tongan communities. While it is not clear when and how games with elements of gambling were introduced to Tonga, the longstanding presence of competitive gaming in Tonga is evident. This paper explores traditional games that were played by noble chiefs, like sika and lafo, and the introduction of Western games by missionaries, such as card games and darts. These include Tongan people's initial gambling participation through card games with parents and other family members in Tonga. Over time, new forms of gambling evolved which included the exchange of cash and different kinds of goods. The motives which lead individuals to engage in gambling activities are also explored.

Keywords: sika, lafo, bingo, card games, talanoa research method, Tonga, gambling, Polynesian games

This article examines the relationship between traditional Tongan games and gambling in contemporary Tongan society. Problem gambling is defined as a preoccupation with gambling which leads to a continuous or periodic loss of control over time or money spent on gambling resulting in adverse impacts for the gambler, and perhaps for their family or affecting their vocational pursuits and which may extend into the wider community (McMillen 1996). This article is part of a wider study that explored Tongan male perceptions and experiences of gambling in New Zealand—research that was aimed at understanding how gambling and problem gambling behaviours were learnt and transferred intergenerationally (Fehoko 2020). The aim here is to consider the social and political contexts of Tongan games, both those of ancient times and historically introduced ones such as cards and bingo, and how those contexts link with the emergence of problem gambling in New Zealand.

Some traditional Tongan games have very deep histories. For example, games feature prominently in the underpinning legend of the origin of the Tuʻi Tonga, a tale well known today in Tonga. As one might expect, aspects of politics and hierarchy in this myth encapsulate chiefly understandings and values (Kolo 1990). This is evidenced in most if not all existing written versions of this myth (Lātūkefu 1968). The myth of the origin of the Tuʻi Tonga explains why the Tuʻi Tonga should be the one ruling in Tonga. It is a central

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myth, as every chief traces his or her origin back to the first Tuʻi Tonga—the "first king", the son of the sky god, Tangaloa ʻEitumatupuʻa (Gifford 1929).

The story goes that the greater god Tangaloa ʻEitumatupuʻa was captivated by an attractive woman on earth, Vaʻepopua (Rutherford 1977). Tangaloa came down several times to court Vaʻepopua, and eventually they had a son whom they called ʻAhoʻeitu. Initially Vaʻepopua kept the identity of her son's father a secret, but as ʻAhoʻeitu grew up he continuously begged to know who his father was, wanting to meet him. Eventually Vaʻepopua gave in and revealed the secret. She pointed him to a *toa* ʻironwood' (*Casuarina*) tree that reached the sky and directed him to climb until he achieved the top. There he would find his father waiting for him. ʻAhoʻeitu ascended the tree and indeed found his father, who was happy to greet him. Tangaloa held a feast in his honour, and ʻAhoʻeitu was then introduced to his elder brothers.

ʻAhoʻeitu's celestial half-brothers were filled with jealousy and annoyance when they saw him. When playing *sika ʻulutoa*[1] ʻspear throwing' (Gifford 1929: 27), instead of aiming at the target, they aimed at ʻAhoʻetiu, killing him, and then cutting up his body and eating it. They then lied to their father about what had happened, but Tangaloa, knowing the truth, ordered them to vomit into a *kumete* ʻkava bowl'. Tangaloa resurrected ʻAhoʻeitu in the kumete and directed ʻAhoʻeitu to descend to earth as his representative and rule the people of Tonga as the Tuʻi Tonga. The brothers, feeling remorse for what they had done, pleaded for their father's forgiveness and for approval to join their youngest brother on earth, promising they would serve him. Tangaloa honoured their change of heart and commissioned them as attendants and advisors (*falefā*) of ʻAhoʻeitu and his descendants. Furthermore, he ruled that the descendants of the eldest brother, Talafale, would continue the line if ʻAhoʻeitu had no descendant, but Talafale himself must not become king (Māhina 1993). This legend highlights the antiquity and importance of the traditional game of sika, played by sons of chiefs in ancient Tonga. While these competitive games are clearly part of traditional Tongan society, I ask what, if any, relationship these activities have to contemporary problem gambling.

While my doctoral study focussed on Tongan male elders' experiences of gambling, and problem gambling in New Zealand, it was also an opportunity for these elders to reflect on traditional games that they had played with their families while growing up in Tonga, experiences they saw as "fun and social times". But it was also clear that as these games became tied to money they bordered on gambling. For example, during a *talanoa* ʻinformal discussion' at a *faikava* ʻinformal kava ceremony' the general secretary of the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Rev. Dr Tevita Havea, described how card games and bingo were played for money, and along with the lottery, were rapidly increasing in Tonga during the 1960s and 1970s (pers. comm., 7 July 2016). He described how Tongan men would cluster together at the

markets and engage in and bet on card and board games to win additional money to meet family needs. Furthermore, bingo is played over the radio, attracting a wide audience in both urban and rural areas in Tonga. Havea shared how he would listen to the radio with numbers being called out and hear people calling in to say that they had won. The anecdotal evidence shared by Tongan community leaders generated interest in considering whether traditional games played in Tonga were the precursors of today's forms of gambling. These activities and games with monetary rewards are considered to be a form of gambling.

METHODS

This study employed an interpretative phenomenological approach (Smith and Eatough 2007) using the lens of a Tongan worldview to determine what is of value and how it is known and shared. The cultural research tool of talanoa (Vaioleti 2006) was also employed as a way to collect and share stories for this study. The project aims were to bring these stories together in the Tongan norm of *fono* 'meetings' and in a process of co-construction of knowledge.

A qualitative approach also fits the Tongan value of *fetokoni'aki* 'reciprocity' or the core principles of "fair and ethical exchange", whereby the researcher and participants engage in a reciprocal sharing process (Daly 1992). Thus a qualitative approach allowed for this study to connect with multiple ways of knowing and engage in knowledge co-construction based in a Tongan worldview, which contributed to the cultural validity and integrity of the study (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2001).

Participants

Recruitment of participants was through snowball sampling, from churches, kava-drinking circles, and other community spaces. A total of 22 *Mātu'a*, defined here as 'elders' (see Churchward 1959), participated in two focus group talanoa (FGT), with 10 Mātu'a in the first FGT and 12 in the second. Eight Mātu'a were in their 40s, seven in their 50s, four in their 60s and three in their 70s. Six Mātu'a participated in individual talanoa. All Mātu'a were Tongan men born in Tonga before migrating to New Zealand in the 1970s or 1980s, the majority as young men. Some participants were born in the outer islands of Tonga, and they mentioned early accounts of playing traditional games there before migrating to mainland Tonga and then to New Zealand.

Data Collection

Both English and Tongan were used in the FGT and individual talanoa, as preferred by the Mātu'a. Several Mātu'a in the individual talanoa used Tongan only. All talanoa were audio-recorded. Opening and closing prayers are an important part of any Tongan gathering (Lātūkefu 1968). After prayers and a formal welcome with opening remarks in Tongan, both the English

and Tongan versions of the participant information sheet and consent form were outlined and given to all talanoa participants to sign.

Sharing food and acknowledging the linkages between people are common practices in Tongan contexts (Lātūkefu 1968). Food was critical as a means of expressing reciprocity and acknowledging Tongan people for the time and space given to this study. This was vital in building and maintaining relationships, as the sharing of food plays a significant role in *tauhi vā* 'nurturing relationships' with Tongans (Fehoko 2015). Snacks were offered throughout the session and a meal was served at the end of the talanoa. *Me'a 'ofa* 'gifts' were offered in the form of gift vouchers. It is important to note that all Mātu'a were unaware of the gift vouchers beforehand, to ensure that this provision would not influence their decision to be involved in the study.

Data Analysis

As a fluent Tongan speaker, I carried out transcriptions of the FGT and talanoa and translation into English of any proceedings in Tongan. Thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006) provided a highly flexible approach, which enabled me to gain a rich, detailed and complex understanding of the talanoa data. For this study, several themes emerged which were coherent, consistent and distinctive amongst both the FGT and the six individual talanoa.

A particular challenge with the Mātu'a was the prevalence of the Tongan practice of *heliaki*, a metaphorical level of communication where one says one thing but means another. It requires skill based on cultural knowledge, and many readings, to unravel the meanings underpinning heliaki. Following several intensive discussions with a Tongan expert in the use and the meaning of heliaki, I believe I was able to understand the hidden meanings of the metaphoric language and expressions used.

FINDINGS

When discussing gambling in Tonga, several of the Mātu'a referred to social activities such as card games, darts and billiards. While these games are not indigenous Tongan games, they have come to play an influential role in social engagement within the immediate family and with wider and extended family. The elements and values commonly shared by the Mātu'a and associated with these activities included having fun, relationship-building with family and a time for bridging generations (e.g., elders and young interacting together), and developing a sense of belonging as well as the learning and transfer of knowledge.

By way of contrast, when talking about gambling in modern times, more than half of the Mātu'a described the positive aspects of gambling in terms of monetary gains, such as winnings, that contributed to the greater good of the family, church and community. This was followed by socialisation

with friends and family and time out from responsibilities. While activities such as card games, darts and billiards may be perceived and experienced as social pastimes, it was clear that, for some, these social activities had elements of gambling, that is, playing for rewards such as money.

Some of the Mātuʻa said that it was important for Tongans to understand and know their limit and "only spend what you can afford". However, almost half of the Mātuʻa commented that their winnings from their gambling behaviours were an equivalent to "hard work".

> ʻOku ʻi ai pē lelei ʻoku maʻu mei heʻeku vaʻinga paʻanga. Taimi lahi ʻoku maʻu ai hoʻo sēniti, hangē kuo ʻoatu hoʻo ola lelei mei he ngāue lahi kuo ke fai.
>
> There are some positive results of gambling. For example, the winnings feel like getting a reward from the hard work that you have done.

The following subsections present the experiences of gambling on the part of Mātuʻa and how these behaviours were learned. These include the collective nature of games in Tonga, such as card games and traditional Tongan games. While these games were used for social bonding and fostering relationships, they also had gambling elements, which were later amplified after migration to New Zealand and being exposed to the betting systems of the Totalisator Agency Board (TAB) and electronic gaming machines (EGMs) in casinos and sports bars.

Traditional Tongan Games

It is possible that the social atmosphere and rewards of the traditional games tends to lure people into engaging in contemporary gambling activities. *Lafo* is an ancient Tongan throwing game, using *tupe* ʻdiscs made from coconut shells'. The sons of village chiefs would often throw the tupe in an attempt to land on the *paenga*, a long, narrowly folded mat specifically designed for this game. Rewards in traditional times consisted of yams, poultry or land.

> Ko e vaʻinga lafo ko e taha ia e ngaahi vaʻinga naʻe manakoa ʻaupito ʻi Tonga ke maʻu ai ha paʻanga pe ko ha moʻui.
>
> The lafo game was very popular in Tonga as it was a way of earning money and surviving.

In this game, competitors sitting at each end the paenga slide or throw the tupe along the length of the paenga, so that they come as close as possible to the end without falling off (see Figure 1) and at the same time knock the opponent's tupe off the paenga. The word paenga is hardly used today because the game of lafo is rarely played by Tongans anymore, although the word lafo is used metaphorically to mean the tossing around of ideas.

It is important to note that such games were played by males and did not appear to be a female pursuit.

The story goes that there was a man named Tefuli who lived in Feletoa with the great Vava‘u chief Fīnau ‘Ulukālala-‘i-Feletoa and who was a master at lafo (Mariner & Martin 1827). One day, Tefuli was selected by the Tu‘i Tonga to be on his team for a game of lafo. During the game, the opposite team started winning. Tefuli was scared because if he lost the game, he would be punished by the Tu‘i Tonga. In his last throw of the disc Tefuli won the game. Tefuli’s technique for throwing the disc was new and impressed everyone, and that move came to be called *‘aufua ‘a Tefuli*.

Lafo is also present in Sāmoa, known there as *lafoga*, where chiefs played for status and rank in the village. Figure 2 illustrates the equipment used for this game.

Several Mātu‘a commented on how they had participated in games like lafo and *piliki*, lit. ‘bricks’, a game where children compete to collect the most coconuts in a given period of time. Everyone in the focus groups agreed that these games had elements of gambling, such as risk, chance, luck

Figure 1. Men playing a game of lafo in Vava‘u, Tonga, ca. 1890s. Photograph by Thomas Andrew, Union Steam Ship Company. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, ref: PAColl-5426-15.

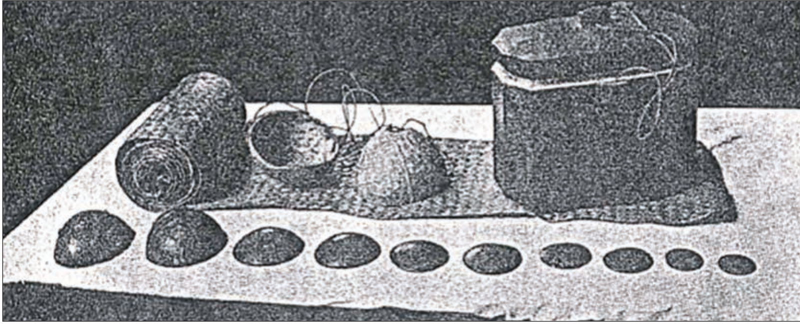

Figure 2. Lafoga, a Sāmoan game played by chiefs. Shell money is thrown (*lafo*) onto a mat (*falalafo*). Players are called *aulafo*. Photograph by A. Henry and F. Faletoese, 1980.

and competition. Of the 22 Mātuʻa, more than a quarter of the participants commented that their fathers, uncles, siblings or grandfathers had engaged in dart games and billiards, which also included gambling behaviours. Some spoke of social pastimes such as piliki and sika as traditional activities that had been transmitted to them by their elders.

> Ngaahi vaʻinga kimuʻa he haʻu ʻa e kau pālangi naʻe kau ai ʻa e sika. Ka ko e meʻaa ko e vaʻinga pē ia ʻa e tamaiki ʻa e kau nōpele. Ka naʻe ʻi ai ʻa e vaʻinga ʻa e kakai tuʻaa ne u faʻa vaʻinga ai heʻeku kei siʻii ko e lafo ʻa ia ʻoku hangē ko e sipoti ʻoku faʻa ʻasi he TV ko e … lawn bowls.
>
> There were games in the pre-Christianity era that had gambling aspects, like sika. It was only played by the sons of nobles and chiefs. But there was also a game that was played by commoners, called lafo, which is like the sport that usually comes on TV … lawn bowls.
>
> Hangē ko hoʻo talanoa ʻave ʻa e piliki pea to e vakaiʻi ha founga ke fakafoki mai ke maʻu ha sēniti.
>
> Like your piliki story, it was all about finding ways of stealing back your coconuts after selling them to someone for money or cakes and reselling them to get more money.

The majority of the Mātuʻa recalled how card games were a central part of their social life while growing up in Tonga. The notion of having fun in a social setting was said to bring a sense of belonging and connection with immediate and wider family. The playing of card games such as *talamu*

'a form of whist' and *suipi* 'a mathematical game' was identified by most Mātu'a as a social activity, which not only contributed to the socialisation of their immediate and extended families but also provided a space where open talanoa and laughter was supported and exchanged.

> Card games in Tonga was fun. It was not gambling, you know, because we had no money to gamble with when playing cards. But it was a good social activity that brings everyone together … from all ages as well.
>
> Ko hono mo'oni, ko e me'a ko e va'inga pa'anga ko e fo'i va'inga na'e ma'u ai 'a e fiefia 'a e kakai tokolahi tautefito ki he finemātu'a 'i 'api.
>
> To be honest, gambling is an activity where it's all about having fun, especially when there are a lot of people involved.
>
> Card games, *tokoua* ['brother'], was awesome in Tonga, especially in the village. It was something that gathered us together under the mango trees enjoying the breeze and playing some talamu and suipi [laughs].
>
> It is not like the cards today where it is a competition, but it was something that bought my family together to socialise, catch up you know … to talanoa. It was awesome.

The playing of suipi and talamu was noted by several Mātu'a to be evident in learning styles of local secondary schools in mathematics class. For example, one Mātu'a shared how his teacher would shuffle the deck of playing cards and then invite two students to the front of the classroom. The teacher would place two to four cards face down and then have the students flip the cards over. The teacher would then say "multiply, subtract, divide or add" the numbers shown on the cards. This unique style was a popular method with the male students in teaching and learning mathematics.

> Ko hono mo'oni, na'e kamata 'eku manako ki he me'a ko e va'inga pa'anga me i he ako 'i he taimi ne u lautohi ai pea u toki 'alu ai ki he kolisi, ne mau fa'a va'inga pele ai mo e tamaiki pea mo e kau faiako tautefito ki he kalasi fika. Ko e fakalata 'aupito pea mahalo ko e me'a ia ne u toutou ma'u ai 'a e kalasi fika koe'uhī ko 'eku manako he me'a ko e va'inga … 'ilonga lelei 'eku ha'u ki Nu'u Sila 'eku 'alu 'o kasino, 'eku fiefia he sio ki he va'inga tēpile he ko e me'a ne u manako ki ai, pea 'e ma'u ai 'eku silini [laughs].
>
> To be honest, my love for gambling originated when I was at primary school before I entered high school. We often played cards with our teachers, especially our maths teacher during our maths class. I really enjoyed that playing time and that may be the reason why I always topped the maths class. The funny thing is, when I moved to New Zealand and went to the casino for the first time and saw the games like blackjack and roulette played, I was really

happy because they were games I did enjoy and I knew it was something I would be good at and possibly win money [laughs].

Playing *pele pa'anga* 'card games with a monetary reward' was said to be a highly influential social activity for many Tongan families. Other cultural and familial activities were kava drinking and planting of crops for the family, church and village. Some Mātu'a described how immediate and extended families would come together, socialise and talanoa over card games such as talamu and suipi.

> Manatu 'eku kei 'i Tonga, me'a eni ia 'i he valungofulu, ko 'eku tangata'eiki, ko e motu'a ko e pele pa'anga fau. Me'a eni 'i he pongipongi Tokonaki hono kotoa, kuo 'asi mai ki homau 'api 'eku fanga tamai mo 'eku fanga fa'ētangata. Talu mei ai ko e me'a pē ia'oku ou fai mo hoku fanga tokoua.
>
> I still remember when I was in Tonga. During the 1980s, my father was really into playing card games for money. Almost every Saturday morning my uncles on both my dad's and mom's sides came to play cards for money with my dad. Since then, my brothers and I became hooked on the game.

> Tokoua, na'e hangē pē 'a e pele pa'anga ha va'inga 'oku fai ai 'a e feohi mo e fakamokomoko mo e pō talanoa mo e kakai kehe. Ko e feitu'u na'e lata ki ai 'a e mātu'a koe'uhī na'e 'ikai pē toe 'i ai ha me'a ke fai ko e 'ā pē, kai, fakamaau 'api pea hangatonu ai pē ki he lalo 'akau na'e fa'a fai ai 'a e pele.
>
> Brother, a card game was like a place where you could socialise and chill out of the sun and catch up with different people every day. It is a place where Tongan elderly men enjoyed socialising because there was nothing else to do. You wake up, eat, clean up the house and then retreat under the tree and carry on playing with the men.

Main Motives for Gambling

The majority of the Mātu'a said that the value of *feinga pa'anga* 'fundraising' was giving to, donating to or fundraising for a specific need or goal. As noted earlier, the value of fetokoni'aki is an integral part of Tongan society. Further, the likelihood is that what is given will be reciprocated with the same or higher value. The terms "fundraising" or "voluntary donations" were perceived to describe another form of gambling, particularly through activities such as raffle tickets and bingo. Money raised from the activity is then distributed, with a small proportion going towards prizes and the rest going to the church, the family or a community cause.

> Kiate au, ko e gambling ko e ngaahi feinga pa'anga pe ko e feitu'u 'oku fai ai ae va'inga pa'anga.
>
> To me personally, gambling is fundraising or any place where gambling is conducted.

> Gambling activities can be viewed as people playing with their money. I guess with Tongans there are gambling activities that have specific goals and needs, for example, supporting families in Tonga, churches and all of that stuff.

While card games were a form of family and group socialisation in Tonga, over time other activities were also introduced, such as billiards and bingo (see Figure 3). As with card games, the added incentive of money raised the level of competition. In fact, some spoke about the rise of dedicated spaces where Tongan males would engage in billiards competitions, where the prize money would be T$50 to T$100.[2] Some Mātu‘a also commented on how the prizes would often be more tangible rewards, such as boxes of meat, land or everyday necessities.

> Ko e pele pa‘anga ‘oku fai lahi ‘i Tonga. Kau ki ai pea mo e bingo pea mo e falehoka.
>
> Card games for money are big in Tonga. Also big is bingo and pool tables where Tongans play for money.
>
> For example, in Nuku‘alofa, I saw the pool table where men will be competing for prizes and, as kids, we would come and watch people play pool or in the main shopping areas for smaller villages. It was there where I saw people looking at this kind of game as a way of raising money, but at the same time, people were losing more money because obviously, out of the competition, there would only be one winner.

Figure 3. One of many bingo venues in Nuku‘alofa’s CBD. Author’s photograph, 2018.

DISCUSSION

Until recently there has been limited research on traditional games and contemporary gambling in Tonga and by Tongan people abroad (but see Fehoko 2020). However, Dale (2006) indicated that in early ethnographic writings it was reported that such activities were used for socialisation and building and establishing relationships with nearby villages and hierarchies. Dale (2006) also reported that sons of noble chiefs in ancient Tonga competed in traditional games, such as piliki and lafo, for tangible rewards such as poultry and land. Reflecting on their younger days in Tonga, several of the now New Zealand–based Mātu'a indicated that through engaging in these games they socialised with other young Tongans. These social activities varied, however, in terms of participation, motivations and rewards. For example, lafo requires certain equipment and is only played by sons of noble chiefs, whereas piliki is played by commoners. The motivations are different. With lafo, the motivation is driven by the elevation of social status, whereas piliki players seek the survival and betterment of the family and village. Similar aspects and experiences are also evident in the socialisation and competitive nature of *jekab* 'checkers' in the Marshall Islands (De Voogt, 2020).

The majority of the Mātu'a indicated that piliki was also a form of "survival". For example, several of the Mātu'a reflected on how they were told by their parents to collect a lot of coconuts in order to get something in return from a family member or someone in the village. These included *keke 'isite* 'doughnuts', meat, taro and, at times, money. Although this is not "gambling" per se, the collecting of coconuts in any way possible was definitely risky, there was an intense sense of competition, and the Mātu'a referring to "survival" suggests this "game" had a serious side. It is human because of the drive to achieve something regardless of the situation and circumstances, and it is cultural as it is done to advance individual needs and family status.

There was a sense of an agreement among Mātu'a across the talanoa that, in contributing to family, church and community events, winnings from gambling elevated the status and rank of that individual, their family and their village within Tonga's traditional social structure. However, this elevated status and rank only depends on the contributions one makes to familial or cultural responsibilities. This finding fits with earlier Pacific gambling studies, where Pacific peoples were reported as resorting to gambling to try to meet and fulfil cultural demands and obligations (Guttenbeil-Po'uhila *et al.* 2004; Perese and Faleafa 2000; Urale *et al.* 2015). Furthermore, these cultural and financial responsibilities have seen young people leave the traditional churches in search of spiritual healing in other spaces (Schoone 2010).

The arrival of early missionaries and settlers in Tonga led to an introduction of games to Tongan society, including card games (Goodale 1987). While card gambling is commonplace across many ethnic minorities and indigenous communities (MacLean *et al.* 2019; Maltzahn *et al.* 2019; Zimmer 1987), this study highlights the transition from card games in settings such as home and community, without any added incentive or monetary aspect, to these games later being intensified with the introduction of money and a sense of monetary gain in the late 1960s. Tongan male elders have noted a clear transition from socialisation and fun games to individualistic gambling behaviours, especially when rewards are monetised. Further research is needed to explore the links between traditional game playing and monetised gambling activities across the Tongan diaspora.

For a majority of the Mātu‘a, their initial gambling experiences were in Tonga through card and other social games with immediate and wider family members in a social environment. Card games in Tonga are a fun activity where a sense of belonging and connection with the immediate and wider *kāinga* ‘extended family’ are fostered. In fact, card games have become both a socialising tool, bridging generational divides in family and society settings, and a method for learning and counting “on the spot”.

Apparently religious leaders increasingly overlook such activities, even if they do not contribute directly to church tithings. For example, Niumeitolu (2007) shared how money may be given for a prayer instead of valuables if the purpose reflects modern secular life; one young man in his early twenties, a member of the Free Church of Tonga, came with an envelope with some cash inside and asked Niumeitolu to pray for him and his studies. Niumeitolu posited that the focus is often more on the amount of money and less on how one worships God through his or her giving: the end can so easily justify the means. The traditional church practice, for example, is to call out loud from the front the donor’s name and how much they have given, thereby motivating people to contribute a lot. The church is seen to be more concerned about hierarchy, status, money, programmes, projects, buildings and reputations than the needs of the people (Niumeitolu 2007).

Niumeitolu (2007) also shared how ministers are often blamed for putting unnecessary *kavenga* ‘obligations’, financial or otherwise, on families in the name of the church. Sometimes members expressed this ironically, saying the minister would not visit when they were ill but only to collect money for the church. The people are in general more than willing to do anything that the church, as represented by the minister, requests of them. It is common for some if not most families to postpone paying rent, loans, monthly bills or children’s school fees just to save money for the demands or kavenga *‘o e lotu* ‘of the church’.

* * *

This article highlights the potential progression from traditional games (such as sika, lafo and piliki) to introduced Western games (such as card games, bingo and billiards) through to full-fledged gambling in modern-day Tongan communities, where it sometimes becomes problematic. Three themes have emerged. First, competitive, status-enhancing games have a deep history dating from the mythical past, and are amplified by Tonga's traditional monarchical, hierarchical and familial systems. Second, nearly all interviewed elders commented on the social and fun aspects of card games and bingo at home with family members during their childhood. However, they also reflected on the pervasive use of such games in the wider Tongan community as easy ways to win money. Similarly, whilst game-based fundraising contributes to families, churches and villages in Tonga and Auckland today, it was also viewed by the study participants as a form of gambling. Overall, the historical accounts of traditional games in combination with the childhood reflections of the interviewed Mātuʻa suggests possible origins of contemporary problem gambling, which can have such detrimental impacts on families, churches and communities if left unchecked.

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NOTES

1. Sika was a game that involved two or more players. Ribbons were tied at the end of spears and the furthest throw would win. Traditionally, this game was carried out by sons of chiefs (Tongilava 1994).
2. T$ is the symbol of the Tongan currency, the paʻanga.

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WHAKAMOANA-ED (SET ADRIFT)? TŪHOE MĀORI CONFRONT COMMODIFICATION, 1894–1926

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ABSTRACT: Between 1894 and 1926 the people of the Te Urewera mountain wilderness, the *rohe pōtae* 'sanctuary' of the Nāi Tūhoe Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand, confronted a series of colonial policies that potentially had the historical effect of commodifying their land, kingroups and ancestors. Significantly, these policies were sincerely intended to establish Tūhoe home-rule until about 1908, when they became increasingly predatory in a Crown purchasing campaign intended to put Māori "wastelands" to better farming use by new settlers. By the time of the 1921 Urewera Consolidation Scheme the new policy had become a sophisticated form of commodification intended by some Māori as well as Pākehā 'European' innovators to modernise Tūhoe still refusing to sell. This particular ethnohistory will be reviewed by focusing on the colonial dynamics of commodification as it was taking shape in terms of Māori land and kingroups in New Zealand, and some of the ways in which it was effectively resisted by the Tūhoe. Their triumphant statutory recovery of control over their Te Urewera sanctuary in 2014 still faces the embedded contradictions of this history.

Keywords: Māori; colonisation; indigeneity; ethnohistory; commodification; fetishism

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My study of Nāi Tūhoe Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand 1915–1926 revealed a strikingly clear case of the colonial government's systematic effort to commodify their lands and even their kinship groups. At that time consolidation schemes were seen by Crown officials and some Tūhoe as modernisation or assimilation but, as will be described, they were frankly put in terms of opening their remaining lands to national farming, mining and conservation interests while breaking down their kin-based resistance to this sort of modernisation. Certain aspects of the particular scheme that was deployed by the Crown at that time, the Urewera Consolidation Scheme, could even be seen to exemplify Marx's theory of the fetishism of commodities: that is, the illusory naturalisation of persons as commodities and commodities as persons. Significantly, some Tūhoe at the time saw that the scheme would *whakamoana* 'set adrift' their ancestral land rights from the specific history on which those rights were based.

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This implication began to dawn on me in my research for the Waitangi Tribunal's inquiry into the history of the Crown's dealings with the Tūhoe and their Urewera mountain sanctuary between the Bay of Plenty and Poverty Bay in the North Island of New Zealand (Fig. 1). Since then, I have worked on a wider ethnohistory of Nāi Tūhoe and their effort, between 1894 and 1926, first to consolidate their traditional refuge in Te Urewera and finally to retain the remnants of it against the Crown's subversive policies. Meanwhile, backed by the Tribunal's exhaustive research, in 2014 the Tūhoe themselves finally succeeded in recovering statutory control over most of the original 656,000 acres of their sanctuary, still a spectacular mountain wilderness that had been conserved since the 1950s as Te Urewera National Park, one of the largest in New Zealand.

My own effort to reconstruct details of a small portion of this history resulted in two volumes, the first examining the establishment of the Urewera District Native Reserve (Fig. 1) 1896–1915, and the second examining the Crown's betrayal of it 1915–1926 in a persistent purchase campaign and final resort to a scheme consolidating and relocating the land rights retained by the stubborn Tūhoe "non-sellers" (Fig. 2; Webster 2020a, 2020b). My social anthropological foray into historical research in rich archives resulted in a relatively empirical account focused on description and interpretation of the data. My more theoretical bent so far has been largely limited to two published essays based on this research. The first of these essays examined the kin-based influence of Tūhoe *hapū* 'ancestral cognatic descent groups', whose leaders largely controlled or even exploited the benevolent patronage of the Crown, in the statutory establishment of their sanctuary under their own home-rule (Webster 2017). The second essay examined the Crown's subsequent betrayal of their Urewera sanctuary in terms of the capacity of this kin-based power to resist these colonial policies (Webster 2019a). The latter essay is focused on one hapū cluster controlling an interior area that had been visited by the renowned New Zealand social anthropologist Raymond Firth while they were at the climax of these struggles.

Now, with these commentaries completed, I want to return to the more ambitious theoretical implication that capitalist colonisation works not only in the ambiguous terms of benevolence, patronage or predation, but also in Marx's terms of commodification and, tentatively, commodity fetishism. In the present essay I want to re-examine Nāi Tūhoe[1] in the Te Urewera era 1894–1926 for evidence of this particular ethnohistorical process. With regard to contemporary Māori in general, I have outlined commodity fetishism, and in the past urged its application in the work of social anthropology colleagues whose influential approaches to Māori indigeneity may converge in different ways with my own efforts (Webster 2016, 2019b). Here I want to explore its emergence between Tūhoe and the Crown over a century ago.

EARLIER NINETEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

In earlier research on Māori hapū I argued that already by the 1850s many aspects of hapū social organisation were integrated into early New Zealand capitalist development and described Māori culture as "a whole way of struggle" (following the historian E.P. Thompson; Webster 1998). Although I did not extend my argument to the nature of commodities and commodity fetishism, drawing on early observers (and critiquing Firth's assumption of assimilation) I concluded that Māori labour in flax and timber production throughout the regions of colonial settlement, and in sealing, whaling and kauri gum collection in more remote regions, had long since taken on the forms of "putting out", commodity peonage and debt that had transformed Britain and was being extended to its other colonies. Manufacturers as well as traders had developed these forms of garnering surplus labour as well as surplus production from hapū through their leaders and middlemen as well as directly from widespread itinerant workers. By the 1850s such surpluses in pigs, fruits and vegetables were being brought long distances by Māori in their own ships as well as canoes to feed the growing colonial settlements. I argued that well before the 1860s land wars and alienation methods of the Native Land Court, surplus value in this same sense was being extracted from Māori land by Māori leaders as well as Crown purchase officers, by asserting rights established through marriage, adoption or gifting but lapsed in customary terms, as well as by selling land out from under its rightful occupants.

Reviewing this information now, I would point out that Marx's distinction between the specific social form of labour that was the source of the ordinary use-value of commodities and the abstract form of labour-power that was the source of the marketable exchange-value of these commodities enabled this extraction of surplus labour and surplus production among Māori that was the basis of capitalist colonisation in New Zealand (McLellan 1987: 421–43; Webster 2016: 3–4). By the 1850s this precarious ambivalence of labour had already penetrated many hapū as well as Māori individuals, involving them at all levels of the emerging colonial social class structure.

The illusory but naturalised role of commodity fetishism in this ambivalence probably already ran deep. The "labour" creating use-value is ordinary work, sensuous activity, the "doings" one sees accumulated, redistributed and used again in one's domestic group, children, land and leaders. It could be glimpsed when the flax that had been prepared and rolled upon one's thigh became part of a nameless commodity in the bundle delivered to a nameless agent at the dock, or the suckling piglet that one's children had played with and that had been fattened with the family's *kūmara* 'sweet potato' became a nameless commodity in the herd driven across familiar country to the strange chaos of the marketplace. At such turning

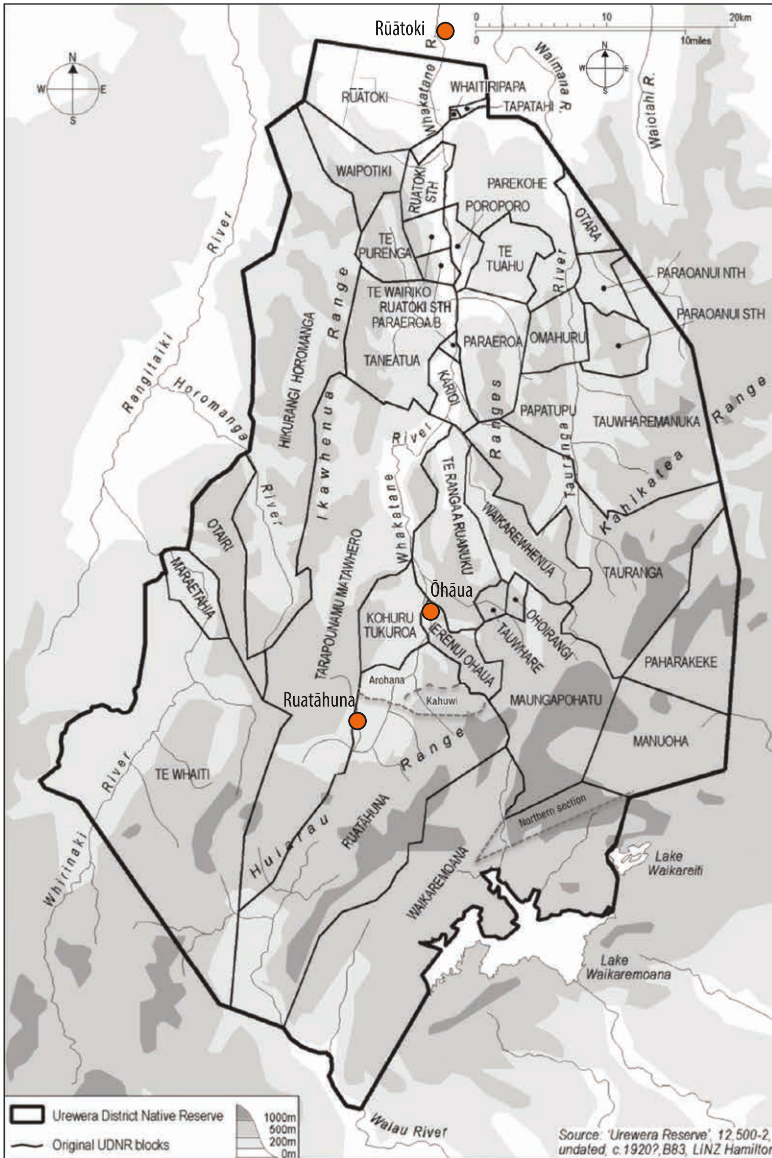

Figure 1. Urewera District Native Reserve showing topography and original blocks (1907). Adapted from "Urewera Reserve", 12,500-2, undated (1920?), B83, held at LINZ, Hamilton, New Zealand.

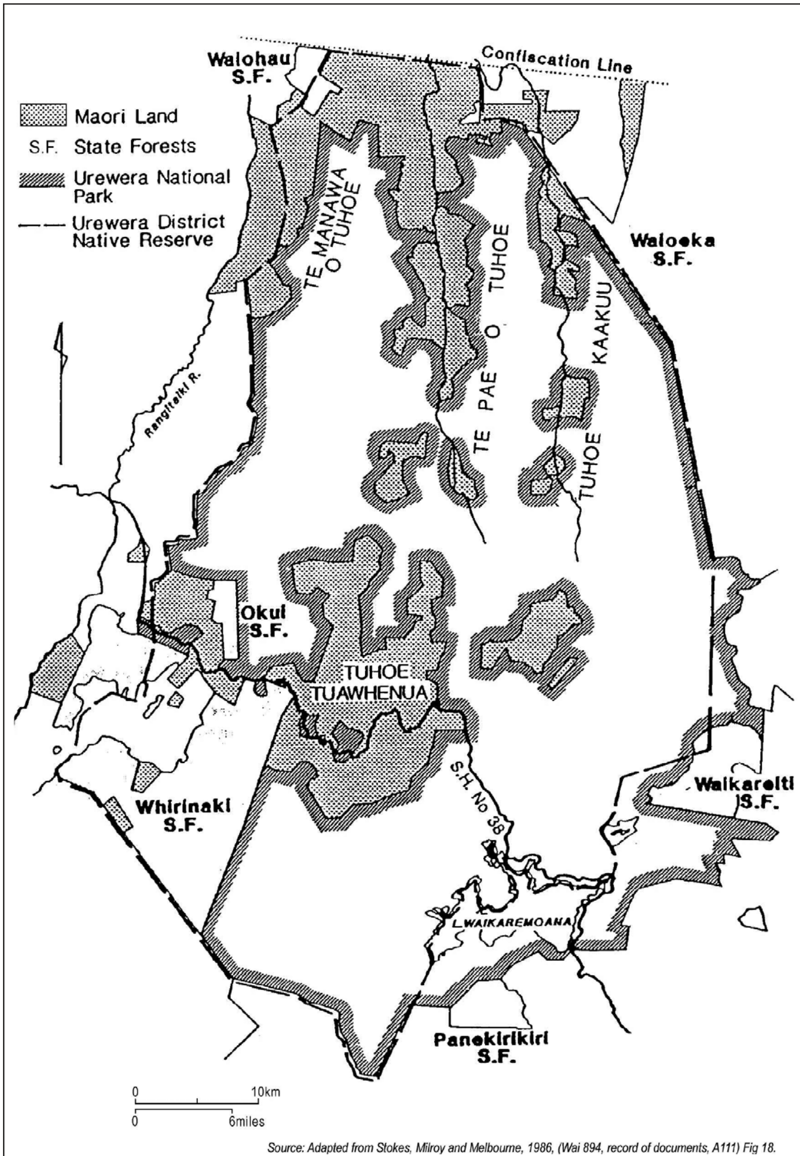

Figure 2. Tūhoe pupuri whenua land rights relocated in the new Crown "A" block under the Urewera Consolidation Scheme 1921–1926. Adapted from Stokes *et al.* (1986: fig. 18).

points between use-value and exchange-value of labour the producers themselves might be seen as commodities. The piece of land to which one's people had once had a right through marriage of a common ancestor, or received as a gift in reconciliation of an offense, became estranged when shillings had been exchanged and its occupants were viewed as interlopers. In moments of self-doubt, the sellers too might have become momentarily estranged or alienated from themselves as well as their relatives.

However, as with the similarly ambivalent labours of their Pākehā 'European' settler colleagues in the marketplaces, the displacement and alienation of the ordinary social use-value of their own labours survived behind the illusion that these things and persons had become mere commodities traded on the basis of their market exchange-values. The ambivalence is literal. In previous articles (2016, 2019b) I argued that under the right historical conditions, at least momentarily but perhaps more enduringly, this apparently "dead" or alienated but restive labour and its real use-value can be restored to life by the real persons and true owners of the labours that had produced them. This new life might or might not reinforce Māori culture "as a whole way of struggle". While their Pākehā colleagues were more likely to have become inured to the illusions of commodity fetishism, the presumed subservient role of Māori as well as the relative recency of their colonisation may have enabled many of them to see through these illusions.

An important test of this aspect of Māori resistance has been the survival of hapū as the foundation of their social organisation (Webster 1975, 1998, 2017). The following sections attempt to trace the deployment of kin-based power by Tūhoe hapū in three successive stages of their struggle against the commodification of their own and their ancestors' labours. The potential resurrection of these labours from commodity fetishism will be raised tentatively, in hopes of further research and activism.

ELECTORAL ROLES IN THE UREWERA DISTRICT NATIVE RESERVE 1894–1908

In my 2004 report to the Waitangi Tribunal, contrary to the conclusions of Judith Binney and Jeff Sissons regarding the establishment of the Urewera District Native Reserve (UDNR), I argued that the Tūhoe commissioners and other Tūhoe leaders tended to control the investigation and establishment of their Te Urewera sanctuary 1899–1907 (Binney 2002: 213–62; Sissons 2002: 100–119; Webster 2004: 14–60; 2020a: chh. 1–3). My belated examination of Cathy Marr's careful account of the lead-up to the enactment of the UDNR Act in 1896 supports my case—as did, interestingly, the Crown's defense (Marr 2002: 6–118; Edwards 2004). Nevertheless, Marr's account of the subsequent delays 1896–1899 and investigation 1899–1907 agrees

with Binney and Sissons that, contrary to the negotiations with Tūhoe, the Pākehā commissioners acted in the pre-emptory way of the Native Land Court and tended to override control by the Tūhoe majority of commissioners, weakening their hopes for home-rule (Marr 2002: 118–98). I agree with Marr's as well as Binney's and Sissons's conclusions that amendments and other acts increasingly subverted the 1896 Act's original intentions and Tūhoe control *after* the UDNR was finally established in 1908, but contend that until that time the Act had sincerely represented and enforced Tūhoe intentions. What can explain our radically divergent reading of the evidence 1899–1908?

Marr's insightful analysis of the negotiation and enactment of the 1896 Act, and even her own ambivalence, reveal that two different points of view among participants may have obscured a contradiction that had the earmarks of commodification and even its fetishism. What appeared to Prime Minister Seddon, Native Minister Carroll and the Tūhoe negotiators as legislation supporting Tūhoe intentions of home-rule appeared to opposition leaders as a potential individualisation of Tūhoe control over their lands that would facilitate their alienation (Marr 2002: 63, 89–90, 101). In response to popular pressure increasingly demanding that Māori "wasteland" be "opened up" for Pākehā farmers, the Liberal party policy was giving up its paternalistic appearances. Marr herself emphasises there was "a very fine line" between the Prime Minister's and the opposition's different points of view (2002: 89–90).

Crucially, Seddon's good faith with the Tūhoe was guided by Carroll's better understanding of Māori hapū, leadership and customary land rights; this might best explain the trust that Marr concludes overcame some Tūhoe doubts about the Act. Meanwhile, to the contrary, opposition and hardening Liberal party leaders were reassured that the Act would be essentially deceptive, and that the Tūhoe would "find before long that all they have wished to avoid has come upon them, and that [Pākehā] settlement will follow upon subdivision" facilitated by individual shares in the titles awarded by the commission (Russell, quoted in Marr 2002: 111). It is ironic but significant that Binney, Sissons and even Marr also came to this conclusion, Binney condemning the Act as "designed to deceive" and its implementation by the investigative commission as "creat[ing] bitter internal quarrels and arguments" (2002: 213, 475). Quite to the contrary, I argued that the implementation of the 1896 UDNR Act was largely carried through under the control of the five Tūhoe commissioners and other *rangatira* 'respected leaders' supported in good faith by the two Pākehā commissioners as well as the Act. The result of their investigation was an interlocking network of carefully defined and graduated hapū rights that extended throughout 34 blocks entrenching the customary Tūhoe organisation of labour, land and leadership throughout their sanctuary.

An even finer line than that appreciated by Marr regarding individualisation lay behind Seddon's insistence that home-rule be based in block committees that were elected by individual owners of the block (Marr 2002: 63, 101). Seddon's (and perhaps even Carroll's) apprehension of Tūhoe leadership had apparently misunderstood it, assuming it was authoritarian rather than consensual. His insistence on election of their representatives by all members of a hapū apparently arose from the popular but misleading assumption that hapū "chiefs" would autocratically appoint committee representatives. Quite to the contrary, especially when confronted externally, Tūhoe hapū tend to close ranks consensually (Webster 2020b: chh. 6–9). This was interestingly expressed in 1928 by a frustrated Presbyterian church leader who had been working closely with the Tūhoe:

> One thing we have to contend with is the communistic social habits of the Maori. Nowhere does the ancient communism of the Maori maintain to-day as in Tuhoe. These people still think and move en masse. The most private domestic affairs are brought to the meeting-house and discussed and settled by the tribe. Everyone is a member of the tribe rather than a separate entity, and anyone who refused to go the way of the tribe is considered a bad Maori. (Presbyterian Church, quoted in Keesing 1928)

Although by 1894 the Crown had been dealing with what had long been seen as this "troublesome" Tūhoe solidarity, Seddon apparently assumed it arose from autocratic leadership that would best be brought into line with Crown sovereignty through democratic elections. He was also careful to present what the Tūhoe saw as "home-rule" to Parliament as "local government" limited in various ways by ministerial oversight, which resulted in further ambiguities explored by Marr.

From my point of view, many of these ambiguities arose from the common assumption that Māori land could be partitioned on the basis of their ownership by discrete hapū, and the committee representing each block would thus represent a discrete hapū. However, as I explained in my examination of how Tūhoe hapū, land rights and leadership were actually organised at this time, the rights of any particular hapū in the UDNR extended in the form of descent groups representing it into many of the 34 blocks finally established, where their rights were recognised as relatively superior or inferior to those of other hapū, and with ranked differences of particular descent groups discernible between most blocks (Webster 2010; 2020a: chh. 2–6). Within a given block, these rights were furthermore intricately ranked according to successive generations of sibling groups in each descent group, the contribution of any rights in that block from the other parent in each generation, relative seniority of wives

and associated half-siblings, and birth-order among siblings, often with younger descendants of *mātāmua* 'first-born' or *tuakana* 'older sibling' lines overriding older generations of *teina* 'younger sibling' lines in terms of this interlocking network of formal rights. Indeed, it is unlikely that the Pākehā commissioners, or even Elsdon Best, understood the full implications of the "electoral" system of relative shares that the Tūhoe had worked out for their own purposes.

Reflecting his support of Seddon's insistence on elections of representatives, Percy Smith, as commission chairperson 1899–1901, at least twice emphasised that quite unlike investigations by the Native Land Court, the UDNR blocks were intended to be electoral regions ensuring that each person's right to the land of that block established his or her right to vote for their representatives (Smith *et al.* 1899: 165; 1900: 136–37; Webster 2020a: ch. 2). Nevertheless, far from Seddon's assumption of chiefly autocracy, Tūhoe leadership or *mana tangata* 'personal prestige' arose from this network of *mana whenua* 'landed prestige' but had to be continually reaffirmed by one's followers in a given hapū who, moreover, could shift their support, as well as to other leaders in the same hapū, to other hapū where they also maintained active rights. Under the relatively benevolent colonial policy toward Tūhoe 1894–1908 this resulted in confrontations between hapū deploying their kin-based power in attempts to gain independence from or dominance over one another, often by manipulation of the Crown's patronage (Webster 2017). However, after 1908, when colonial policies toward Tūhoe became predatory, hapū were often—but not always—successful in together closing their ranks against the Crown's subversions (Webster 2019a).

If colonising policies were commodifying Tūhoe social organisation at this time, how might these developments have reflected it? Tentatively, I would argue that the intricate organisation of Tūhoe labour, land and hapū described above was their way of meeting *both* Seddon's requirement that their land rights be the basis of an individualising electoral role *and* entrenchment of their own traditional relationship to ancestral lands. But, characteristic of commodity fetishism, this ambiguity might come to obscure from the Tūhoe themselves the illusory equivalence of the use-value of their labours with its exchange-value. Thus, as Seddon's opposition had sensed, the potential subversion of commodity fetishism may have lain in the Tūhoe's tactical equivocation of their traditional land rights with individual electoral rights. Any shift in the balance of power could result in the emergence of this ambivalent individualism, displacing the ordinary use-values arising from their ancestors' as well as their own daily labours on their lands by the abstract exchange-value of that land established in markets.

INDIVIDUAL SHARES IN THE CROWN PURCHASING CAMPAIGN 1910–1921

Whether or not the development described above was a commodity fetishism that remained inchoate in the UDNR, the potential of commodification to reduce the daily labours imbedded in Tūhoe lands to the market exchange-value of abstract labour-power was brought to the fore by colonial policies 1908–1926. In disregard of the 1896 Act, the new Herries administration treated the electoral rights as individual land ownership rights, circumvented the statutory control over alienations that the elected Tūhoe committees held, and organised an elaborate purchase campaign in pursuit of individuals that was sustained for a decade (Webster 2020b: chh. 2, 3). These violations of the Act were later legalised retrospectively. The careful entrenchment of hapū organisation in the land by the UDNR commission 1899–1907, along with the generations of ancestral labours this represented, were reduced to exchange-values paid to individuals convinced to sell their "shares" for shillings in their hands.

By the end of the purchasing campaign in 1921 the Crown had obtained about 53 percent of the UDNR, and by the end of the following Urewera Consolidation Scheme (UCS) in 1926 it had obtained over 75 percent of the UDNR. The illusory transformation of the use-values of one's daily labours into the seductive magic of exchange-values in one's palm had of course been familiar to everyone for years, but suddenly this apparently innocent transaction "alienated" a portion of the irreplaceable use-values of ancestral land. The echo of Marx's conception of human alienation in the legal phrase may have been a bitter taste probably sensed by many Tūhoe, *hoko whenua* 'land-sellers' as well as *pupuri whenua* 'land-withholders'.

Nevertheless, the Crown's purchasing campaign was confronted by the very complexity of customary rights entrenched in the block titles by the UDNR investigative commission in 1903 (Webster 2020b: ch. 3). Although the tireless purchase officer was backed by a wide network of ministries, banks and agents, sorting out the array of over 2,000 individuals' land rights scattered in over 30 different block lists with over 14,000 individual entries, and having these details ready to hand when that individual was encountered or tracked down, required a mobile card-catalogue that was itself several years in the making. Largely because the UDNR appeals commission in 1907 had no Tūhoe members and irresponsibly resolved many appeals simply by including all appellants in the block list with token shares, many Tūhoe were unaware of these token rights and more ready to sell them when informed of them. On the other hand, most Tūhoe refused to sell at least a few their most valued ancestral rights in at least one their most familiar blocks, with the result that even by 1921 the Crown had been unable to buy 100 percent of the shares in any one of the 34 blocks, thus preventing it from declaring even one of the 34 Te Urewera blocks as Crown land.

Doubling the irony, this passive or quiet triumph of interwoven hapū histories was as much a result of government oversight as Tūhoe resistance: it was the Solicitor General who pointed out that because the UDNR block titles were held in undivided shares in common, the Crown's purchased shares in *every location in every block* were inextricably mixed with those retained by the pupuri whenua. If this oversight is seen as confusing persons with commodities, perhaps the Crown itself had been fooled by the commodity fetish illusion that the Tūhoe had successfully straddled between electoral rights and individual "shares" of land.

A striking example of active rather than passive Tūhoe resistance against this commodification of their lands was the developing tactics of Kahuwī Hakeke, a grandson of the famous war leader Tamaikoha Te Ariari (Webster 2010; 2020a: ch. 4; 2020b: ch. 2). It turns out that Kahuwī's role can be traced from the investigation of the UDNR in 1903 through the Crown's purchasing campaign to the climax of the Urewera Consolidation Scheme in 1926. As will be described later, it was significant that Kahuwī had probably been named after his ancestor Kahuwī, Tamaikoha's great-great-grandfather. According to Tamaikoha's testimony in 1900, this ancestral Kahuwī had been named in memory of his father, Tawhakamoe, who had died in the battle of Rotoiti before his son was born and whose dead body was found covered in a "cloak" (*kahu*) of reeds (*wii*) (Webster 2017: fig. 5; 2020a: ch. 5).

By 1903, when the block lists for the UDNR were finally published, Tamaikoha's grandson Kahuwī was one of some 20 grandsons (and even more granddaughters), at which time he was about 22 years old. Kahuwī was of relatively high birth-order status in the descent group, being a son of Hakeke Tamaikoha, the mātāmua of Tamaikoha's five children by the most senior of his three wives (and thus ranked more highly than Tamaikoha's other six children by his junior wives). Kahuwī was also mātāmua among Hakeke's six children by the second-ranked of Hakeke's three wives. While many of his kinsmen had given in to the Crown's persistent purchase campaign and sold most of their shares by 1920, Kahuwī had remained among the most stubborn of pupuri whenua (non-sellers). Nevertheless, in November 1920 he apparently asked the Crown purchase officer, William Bowler, to inform him regarding his shares in the UDNR blocks. Bowler's reply (in Māori, translated here by Himaima Tumoana) is revealing of both Bowler's persuasive purchase strategy and Tūhoe resistance to it:

> To Kahui Hakeke,
> Greetings friend.
> Your letter of the 15th of this month about Tūhoe land has arrived.
>
> There are different rates for different blocks. However, the fixed rate for most blocks is 10 shillings per acre.
>
> Therefore perhaps it would be accurate to say that your total shares of the Urewera [lands] are nearly 500 acres.

> But here is the problem—these shares cannot be gathered together by a person. The shares are scattered like the tapu [‘sacred’] footsteps of man. How should this be settled? How should we arrange some good provisions which suit you?
>
> So far as I know, there is only one road open. Sell these shares to the Government, so you will have money for other goals away from the troublesome land.
>
> Now, so far as those others living at your settlement are concerned, I can say with certainty that they have sold most of their shares. There are very few acres that remain for your near relatives there, that is, for the descendants of Tamaikoha, of Hakeke, of Tiopira.
>
> To my knowledge, Tauwharemanuka is your [plural] true land [home]. From this [fact] perhaps follows my words to you. Hang on to all your shares in Tauwharemanuka [block]. As for all those other lands, and shares too, sell them. Reply. If you say “yes” I will come there so that these matters may be settled. In that case the shillings will appear [you will be paid] immediately.
>
> Salutations to you. From your friend,
> From Te Bowler (signed W.H. Bowler)
> Māori Land Purchase Officer

Neither Kahuwī’s enquiry nor any reply to Bowler have been encountered. However, the striking fact that Kahuwī did not sell any shares, and furthermore by 1923 became a leading contributor in the Apitihana ‘oppositionist’ movement resisting the UCS, suggests that his enquiry may have been probing Bowler for some reason. In any case, Bowler’s response reflects the clarity of his understanding of Tūhoe land rights as well as his professional effectiveness as the Crown’s purchase officer. He would have realised that Kahuwī’s land rights were unusually extensive, and probably already had been watching for such an opportunity as this. Although Bowler struggled with the complexity and dispersion of all Tūhoe land rights throughout the UDNR (for instance, Kahuwī actually held far more shares than Bowler had estimated) he probably often knew more than his prospective clients, especially regarding the token shares widely awarded by the appeals commission to simplify their task.

Most revealingly, Bowler’s trenchant phrase “The shares are scattered like the tapu footsteps of man” encapsulated both the essence of ancestral use-value and the abstraction of this essence as a mere market exchange-value. The “use-value” of labour (by which Marx meant the human blood, sweat and tears alienated or left “dead” by its reduction to exchange-value) was here knowingly described by the Crown purchase officer as sacred ancestral “footsteps” that were the traditional grounds for rightful claims by descendants. Playing on the ambiguity of *pānga* ‘shares’ of land, Bowler encouraged the illusion that each share could be separated from all the other

shares with which it was entwined in the whole social history of a specific area of ancestral land. Thus could persons, even in the form of the labours of one's ancestors, appear as a commodity and, indeed, the same commodity appear as "the tapu footsteps of man".

Although Bowler's emotive description of such transactions invokes the contradiction between the use-value of ordinary labour and its reduction to the exchange-value of abstract labour-power in ancestral lands, he might have been less aware of this contradiction than Kahuwī. Albeit less poetic, Bowler's reassurance that "shillings will appear immediately" and encouragement to sell so that "you will have money for other goals away from the troublesome land" also reflects the seductive and even invisible play of commodity fetishism in obscuring these realities of the marketplace. On the other hand, his mention that the other descendants of Kahuwī's father, Hakeke, and uncle, Tiopira, had sold most their shares was probably consciously tactical: both had been retail store-owners in the lower Tauranga/Waimana basin. A few other Tūhoe (including the prophet Rua Kenana since 1910) had even made it their business to facilitate Bowler's purchases as his local agents, and sales had been especially extensive in the Tauranga/Waimana valley, where Tamaikoha's descendants had most of their shares.

Nevertheless, between the ambiguity of customary Tūhoe land rights intricately entrenched as electoral rights and the determination of Tūhoe pupuri whenua to retain at least a few of their most valued ancestral rights, the Crown purchase campaign was finally stultified in 1921. Even where it had purchased 95 percent of the shares in a block, the unique form of undivided tenure-in-common that had been established under the UDNR prevented the Crown from separating its shares from the pupuri whenua hold-outs. Bowler's urgings of outright expropriation went too far, even for the Herries administration. Partitioning out its shares from each block through the Native Land Court posed the likelihood that some of the Crown's claims would fail, as well as excessive costs and further delays. More legal quagmires were raised as late as November 1921 by Chief Judge Jones of the Native Land Court who advised that all the Crown's purchases were invalid either because the UDNR titles were invalid or because they had reverted to customary Native land (Webster 2020b: ch. 4). These Catch-22s for the Crown were aggravated by the actual increase of non-sellers to more than the original number of owners by a high birth rate, customary birth rights to all children and successions to rights of the deceased.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that what I argued in the previous section was Prime Minister Seddon's sincere intentions for the Crown to establish Tūhoe control throughout their sanctuary under the 1896 Act, later prevented the same Crown from subverting the new form that control had taken when left to Tūhoe leadership 1899–1908.

NON-SELLERS "SET ADRIFT" BY THE UREWERA CONSOLIDATION SCHEME, 1921–1926

The UCS is the clearest illustration of commodification imposed systematically throughout Te Urewera lands. Yet this was done by well-meaning government leaders who, as well as extracting the Crown's purchased but undivided shares for Pākehā settlers, intended to reorganise the Tūhoe non-sellers' remaining shares for modern small-farming methods. Native Minister Coates's explicit intention that such consolidation schemes would result in "the extinction of existing titles and the substitution of another form of title that knows no more of ancestral rights to particular portions of land" (Campbell 1998: 46, citing O'Malley 1996: 100) assumed that land should be freed from such restraints and, like any other private property in a modern society, should instead be bought and sold at a fair exchange value in an open market. Characteristic of commodity fetishism, what from one point of view appeared to be benevolent paternalism or modernisation from another could be revealed to be exploitive. Leah Campbell astutely understates the purpose of the 1921 Urewera Lands Act: "[T]his Act repealed all legislation relating to the operation of the Urewera District Native Reserve since 1896. Another important aspect ... was that Native freehold titles were to be issued for the Maori interests. This meant the individualisation of title with all its resulting implications", including the jurisdiction of the Native Land Court and its procedures facilitating alienation by the owners (Campbell 1998: 47).

As with the purchase campaign, behind this political motive was the continuing popular demand that surplus Māori land be put to good use and, implicitly, likewise with any resulting surplus Māori labour. In addition, Coates's intention to extinguish ancestral rights was a frank attack on Māori hapū, whose kin-based deployment of power to resist such policies had always plagued the Crown. Moreover, the sincerity of the Crown's initial motives to modernise the farming methods of the Tūhoe non-sellers was to prove hollow: by 1923 the government's plan to settle Pākehā farmers on the better land was belied by reports of poor agricultural potential even in the lower valley basins, and alternative mining, conservation and scenic uses were being promoted instead.

Apirana Ngata, who devised the procedure for consolidation schemes and later organised them throughout the North Island, intended them to consolidate the scattered fragments of Māori land, surviving decades of purchases and successions in the Native Land Court, in one location where they could be efficiently farmed by their owners (Campbell 1998). Ngata would have known that since the Tūhoe had lost their best agricultural lands north of Te Urewera to the Crown's confiscations in the 1860s, they

were dependent upon hunting and gathering throughout the mountains and upper valleys to supplement the poor productivity of the remaining valley bottoms, but he hoped to develop ongoing government support for his Māori small-farming programme. Most tellingly, he would have been uncomfortably aware that, in the case of the Urewera, the purpose of his consolidation schemes was being perverted to consolidate and extract the Crown's undivided interests rather than consolidate those of the Tūhoe non-sellers. However, despite his key role in the purchase campaign (Binney 2002: 442–48), not only had he apparently convinced himself that the Tūhoe could benefit from a consolidation of their remaining land shares, he also played down the predicament in which the Crown had found itself.

When in early 1921 the Crown finally resorted to the consolidation scheme, it nevertheless sought to convince the Tūhoe that they were "in a worse position than the Crown" (Webster 2020b: chh. 4, 5). At the preliminary meeting in Rūātoki in May 1921, the Minister of Lands as well as Apirana Ngata dramatically exaggerated the extent of its purchases by displaying them proportionately in each block on a sketch plan of the UDNR as though they could be separated spatially from the non-sellers' shares, which were furthermore depicted in red. Quite to the contrary, and as both the Minister and Ngata would have well understood, the Crown had already been informed by the Solicitor General that the purchased shares remained held uncomfortably in common with the Tūhoe non-sellers in "every part" of every block. Indeed, this realisation was probably the final straw that broke the back of the Crown's purchase campaign.

The duplicity of the Crown's approach was also implied by the studiedly informal way in which the whole scheme was arranged by fiat, with only ministerial authority, in a single three-week gathering in Rūātoki in August 1921. What came to be called "the Tauarau gatherings" were candidly described by Harry Carr, an officer of the Native Department later to be officially appointed as one of the two UCS commissioners, in the following way:

> The informal Commission made its proceedings quite informal, so as to get into direct touch with the representatives and leading men, dispense with intermediaries, conductors and lawyers, and ran as it were with the mood of the people. It was wonderful to see how they responded. They entered readily into the spirit of the game. (Webster 2020b: 119)

Like Ngata, Carr was an East Coast Māori, and other officers at the Tauarau meetings were East Coast colleagues, many of whom later continued to work with Ngata in consolidation schemes elsewhere in New Zealand.

Revealingly, the earlier meeting at Rūātoki the preceding May had been much more formal and encountered signs of Tūhoe scepticism as well as support. The studied informality of the Tauarau meetings in August was probably encouraged by Coates on the advice of Ngata, who was personally familiar with the Tūhoe. The informality of the Crown's arrangements apparently also overrode the usual government principle of conflicting interests insofar as Ngata, who had been accepted by the Tūhoe at the May meeting as their representative (Campbell 1997: 49), had become the Crown's de facto representative in the organisation of the scheme during the Tauarau meetings. His dual role or conflict of interests was also obscured by subordinating his concluding commentary as a "memorandum" to the final official report, while it was signed off by R.J. Knight of the Ministry of Lands, H. Carr of the Native Ministry, and Ngata's personal assistant, H.R.H. Balneavis.

These ambiguities are all aggravated by a further implication of this informality: aside from often opaque or inconsistent correspondence between the officers and the Native Ministry there are few records of the gathering or its aftermath until the final report to Parliament two months later. I have been able to fill out in some detail Campbell's suspicion that a great deal more was going on than was admitted in the report (Campbell 1997: 52; Webster 2020b: chh. 6–9). Indeed, the report systematically overlooked or played down steadily rising Tūhoe resistance to the scheme. I was able to show that the report obscured the compromises the Crown had to make in its plan to take the entire lower Tauranga/Waimana basin for the sake of continued Tūhoe cooperation, and that such back-downs from the Crown's plan continued; that contrary to the Minister's promise to discontinue individual purchases, they were continued with its covert approval; and that there was little evidence it had ever been made clear to the Tūhoe non-sellers that the cost of surveys and promised roads would be taken in land from each of their allotments, let alone that these deductions would reduce their allotments by an average of 40 percent.

However, it was Campbell's identification of the particular way in which Tūhoe suspicions and insight were first expressed at the Tauarau meetings that alerted me to the possibility that they had grasped the ambiguities of commodification as it was emerging most clearly in the UCS. Suggesting that "not all [non-sellers] were aware of what they had apparently agreed to", according to the official report on the Tauarau meetings, Campbell quotes the Crown officer Balneavis's report that many Tūhoe were alarmed "that the land-marks settled after generations of quarrel and bloodshed and later protracted litigation were to be wiped out. Their expressive way of stating the position was that the titles were to be 'whakamoana-ed' (literally put out to sea)" (Campbell 1997: 52).

That is to say, many pupuri whenua saw that the specific land rights they had struggled to retain for the last decade might themselves be cast off or cast adrift from the security and support of their ancestral location and the kin-based labours and political power that had successfully maintained it over generations. Although a sea-faring tradition, they might have also come to view the sea into which their remaining land and labour rights would be cast adrift as the lonely anarchy of the national marketplace.

The implications of the procedure the Tūhoe identified as whakamoana-ing or setting adrift their remaining ancestral land rights displayed how thoroughly the illusions of commodity fetishism had penetrated colonial policies by this time. The transformation of their Te Urewera lands was to be strikingly systematic. First, the value of unsold shares each non-seller still held in any UDNR blocks was tabulated for each block in pence (pennies) of pounds sterling at the price paid by the Crown during its purchase campaign in that block. Then the pence-value of his or her shares in each of these blocks was totalled. Then the total pence-value of that person's land rights throughout the UDNR was added to the totalled pence-value of all the persons in the group to which he or she was affiliated. Finally, that group was allocated an acreage in the block that the group proposed anywhere in the UDNR (unless pre-empted by the Crown) equivalent to the price paid per acre in that block during the purchase campaign. Furthermore, when the resulting allocation was finally confirmed, each individual would own his or her individual share in Native freehold title alienable in the Native Land Court. The transformation of land "shares" in this way would have been mystifying from the point of view of many Tūhoe who, despite the subversions of the purchase campaign, may have still thought of their land rights as electoral rights not unlike their ancestral roots.

On the face of it, this procedure at Tauarau appeared as innocently social as bartering goods at a local market or bazaar where no money need be exchanged. Carr's enthusiasm suggests the gatherings had been arranged with a pretence of the same innocent spirit. Behind this appearance, of course, the Crown had set all the exchange-values during its protracted and subversive purchase campaign. However, there was much more hidden behind the rueful metaphor whakamoana-ed or set adrift. These exchanges of pence-values had routinely transformed the customary use-value established over generations in the name of particular ancestors and hapū deploying this kin-based power to derive their living from that specific piece of land, and extend hospitality on it as well as defend it, into an impersonal, unlocated and ahistorical exchange-value summed up in pennies of pounds sterling. Although the shillings remained invisible throughout all these transformations, their ambivalent but potent symbolism was probably reassuring to many Tūhoe. With bitterly ironic humour, Marx had described such exchange-values as

obscuring the continuing extraction of the ordinary use-values of social labour, indeed, ultimately becoming alienated or "dead" labour, and with the "set-adrift" metaphor some Tūhoe had seen this in a similarly dramatic way. Perhaps even this early in the scheme, they had come upon a slogan that exposed the illusion of fairness in the transformation, whether they accepted its goal of modernised family farmsteads or not.

Compounding this radical reduction of ancestral land to an abstraction, the group would be allocated a single piece of Urewera land of equivalent pence-value that might not be in any of the locations in which their surviving unsold ancestral shares had been located. Although the group was allowed to propose a location, in practice allocations to non-sellers usually had to defer to the Crown's pre-emption of more promising locations for settlers and accept what was left after the Crown prioritised and allocated allotments to other non-sellers. The long-standing promise of roads down both the major valleys from the interior tempted many groups to relocate their totalled exchange-values to the vicinity of the planned roads and consequent neglect of their favoured ancestral lands elsewhere. By the time deductions for anticipated roading as well as survey costs were finally taken in land from each allotment, that sacrifice was usually irrevocable. Later in the 1930s it had become clear that the roads might not ever be built after all, and abandonment of their new homesteads as well as the already whakamoana-ed ancestral rights did begin to appear to many Tūhoe like "dead labour" indeed. By the 1960s the remnants of their lands had become surrounded by Te Urewera National Park. Although this appeared to ensure their continued isolation, by 2014 it was to leverage the Tūhoe recovery of control over their sanctuary.

In any case, it is clear that many or even most Tūhoe non-sellers continued to resist the seductive tactics of the UCS in various ways. Quiet deployment of their kin-based power was evident in their stubborn disregard of key intentions of the UCS plan *during* the Tauarau gatherings in August. Although other reports doubted that the Tūhoe had been fairly represented, my examination of the 38 representatives gathered at Tauarau showed that the majority of them had strong rights to speak for several of the 31 hapū found to control the UDNR by the Tūhoe commissioners in 1899 (Webster 2020b: ch. 4, 134–42). Half of these representatives had themselves been leaders in the investigation and establishment of the UDNR, or close kin succeeding to the *mana* 'prestige' of their roles. The social organisation of many consolidation groups also appeared to evade both Coates's determination to extinguish the ancestor-based solidarity of hapū and Ngata's goal of establishing small "family" farms (Webster 2020b: ch. 5, 180–87). Examination of the consolidation groups showed that they were usually even larger than a *whānau* 'extended family', and based primarily on two to four

generations of sibling groups sharing descent from a common ancestor and allied in marriage. These groups were also usually headed by one of the 38 Tūhoe representatives involved in the Tauarau gathering. In this way, these groups disregarded the UCS pressure to form family households, instead retaining the descent group structure of their hapū while also including a few married couples on the Pākehā model of the family farm.

There is also evidence that the scheme's pre-emption of the promising agricultural valley bottoms for settlers was frustrated by Tūhoe already occupying these locations refusing to cooperate, sometimes furthermore backed by supporters loyal to the mana of particular leaders (Webster 2017; 2020b: ch. 6). Although it was nowhere admitted explicitly in the UCS minutes or final report, it is clear that the Crown had to give up its plans to pre-empt extensive areas of the lower Waimana as well as Tauranga/Waimana river basins for these reasons, instead quietly settling for the pre-emption of much less promising settlement locations in the upper basins. It was clear that many of these compromises had to be negotiated with influential Tūhoe descent groups whose mana and support from other Tūhoe posed a potential threat of more widespread resistance or scandal for the commissioners if not for the Crown. If many Tūhoe had come to understand being whakamoana-ed in terms of commodification of their customary land rights, some were simply refusing to raise the anchor of their kin-based deployment of power.

However, the UCS commissioners sometimes responded subversively. Backed by the Native Minister in at least two striking cases revealed in the minute books, they carefully set up confrontations between Tūhoe that were intended to "weaken the opposition" of the most successful and sustained form of resistance to the UCS. By 1923 an expanding and increasingly uncompromising movement refusing to cooperate with the UCS had taken shape in the Apitihana 'opposition'. The UCS commissioners, in their disregard or ignorance of the reach and integration of Tūhoe hapū organisation across Te Urewera, assumed this opposition movement was centred in Ruatāhuna while supporters of the UCS were centred in Rūātoki, and carefully arranged a confrontation between them (Webster 2020b: chh. 7, 8). In 1922 the commissioners furthermore arranged a purchase of most of the lands of an outspoken Apitihana leader, taking advantage of his whānau in the midst of their grieving for several deceased members. This particular "weakening of the opposition" actually had the explicit support of the Native Ministry despite its repeated promise to discontinue all purchases during the arrangement of the UCS, a promise that continued to be repeatedly broken while the Ministry turned a blind eye.

The subversive effects of whakamoana-ing were most successful in facilitating the government's plans to evacuate Waikaremoana block for conservation (tourist and hydroelectric) purposes and Te Whāiti block

for forestry purposes (Webster 2020b: ch. 5, 155–67). When this plan for Waikaremoana became apparent at the Tauarau gatherings, Tūhoe outrage threatened to capsize the UCS plan. Ngata rescued the situation by offering equivalent shares in other blocks to all those agreeing to sell their shares in Waikaremoana. In terms of commodification or whakamoana-ing, "equivalent shares" would be, roughly, fair exchange-value for all the accumulated use-values of labours in one's ancestral Waikaremoana lands. This resolution of the crisis also potentially benefitted the Crown by splitting Tūhoe ranks not only between those selling and those refusing to give up their shares in Waikaremoana, but also in the blocks into which Waikaremoana shares were relocated. This proved to be especially troublesome in Ruatāhuna, closely tied with Waikaremoana through marriage alliances (Webster 2020a: ch. 7).

However, by 1923 these potential splits in Tūhoe ranks were often overcome by rapidly rising support for the Apitihana movement. When the Crown's commissioners organised the confrontation between assumed supporters of the UCS from Rūātoki and the Apitihana movement in Ruatāhuna, those refusing evacuation from Waikaremoana block attended and supported the Apitihana. The confrontation also lost the momentum hoped for by the commissioners when the shareholdings represented by each side were publicly tabulated and the Apitihana was found to control almost as many pence-shares as those appearing to support the UCS. Although the following approval of allotments was used by the commissioners to reward their presumed supporters, the supposed antagonists had frequently cooperated behind the backs of the commission, neutralising their effort to weaken the Apitihana.

The closing of ranks in support of the Apitihana movement was all the more surprising because it was strongest in Manawarū, the northern end of Ruatāhuna block. Manawarū had been split into two blocks in 1913 as part of the partitioning of the whole Ruatāhuna block into different hapū interests led by Numia Kererū. Numia's skills as one of the five UDNR commissioners had been used to weaken the dominant influence of Te Urewera hapū and its leader Te Whenuanui II in Ruatāhuna, and build the influence in that block of his own hapū, Nāti Rongo, based in Rūātoki and Ōhāua te Rangi (Fig. 1; Webster 2017; 2020a: chh. 9, 10). The part of Manawarū that Numia won for Nāti Rongo was thereafter called Kahuwī (often misspelled "Kahui"), while the part retained by Te Urewera hapū was named after Arohana, Kahuwī's adoptive father. Although this was the culmination of a confrontation between these two hapū since the 1890s, only 10 years later, by 1923, the solidarity of these two hapū had become the keystone (or rather anchorage) of resistance by the Apitihana against the UCS's deployment of whakamoana-ed shares throughout Te Urewera (Webster 2017; 2020b: ch. 8). Redoubling this

irony, Numia Kererū's claim to Manawarū was in the name of his ancestor Kahuwī, while the contemporary Kahuwī Hakeke, grandson of Tamaikoha and described above as one of the leading "non-selling" pupuri whenua despite Bowler's best efforts to subvert him, had control over 760 shares (260 more than Bowler had been able to find). By 1925 this Kahuwī Hakeke, along with his sister Hopaea, had dedicated most of their extensive shares to support the Apitihana movement.

Finally, in 1925 in the face of uncompromising Apitihana solidarity, the UCS commissioners relented and allocated all its supporters the pence-equivalent of their retained shares in the same area they had continued to dominate against all other non-sellers: most of Manawarū (that is, most of the Arohana and Kahuwī partitions of northern Ruatāhuna) and adjacent central Tarapounamu (Fig. 1; Webster 2020b: ch. 9). Although in three partitions, the Apitihana block was the second-largest UCS block, second only to all of Rua Kenana's followers' shares allocated to Maungapōhatu. The UCS commissioners may have actually had little choice but to allow the Apitihana to retain the lands of its stronghold, insofar as the extent of behind-the-scenes cooperation between it and the supposed supporters of the UCS may have meant that few others dared to lay claims to this area.

* * *

Although the Tūhoe finally recovered their Te Urewera sanctuary in the 2014 settlement with the government, the lands of the pupuri whenua non-sellers who resisted both the purchase campaign and the UCS still lie unquietly. In terms of the global history of commodification, the "dead" or alienated labour of past generations retains the potential to rise up against the illusions of exchange-value that displaced its generations of ancestral use-values. However, in the resurrected Te Urewera, the dead or alienated labour of the pupuri whenua, systematically converted into exchange-values by the UCS, may be deluded to arise against its own ancestors.

The irony is bitter, but the vulnerability of ordinary Māori freehold land enforced under the UCS continues to cast its shadow over the recovered Te Urewera sanctuary. The National Park was only the 70 percent of the UDNR lost to the Crown in its purchase campaign and the UCS. The other 30 percent of the Tūhoe's traditional sanctuary had remained roadless and scattered in over 200 small blocks throughout the Park for nearly a century, emerging as four different traditional enclaves (Fig. 2). Consequently, the Tūhoe are still left with the problem of restoring the wholeness of their traditional sanctuary against the potentially divisive illusions of commodified exchange-values legislatively entrenched in these blocks.

Throughout the several intervening decades, although the new legal status of many of the non-sellers' blocks remained much the same (often under the names of long-dead ancestors), the status of many diverged under the changing vulnerabilities and opportunities of the Māori Land Acts. For example, in the 1970s an effort was made by the Tūhoe-Waikaremoana Māori Trust Board to amalgamate all the blocks in each of the four traditional UCS enclaves so that their pupuri whenua shareholders could manage them jointly as forestry, farming, tourist or other enterprises (Fig. 2; Fraser 2004; Murton 2004; B. Tahi 2004). The frank confrontation between business interests and "traditional" commitments that emerged in this context continues in terms of hapū conflicts and reconciliations that have been underway since the 1890s (Webster 2019a: 212–21). Although these conflicts led to judicial quashing of the 1970s amalgamation plan, some of these four enclaves were subsequently formed into separate trusts for business purposes while some blocks pursued other possibilities under the new acts, or reverted to Māori freehold under the UCS Act. Since 2014, all the divergent legal statuses of the non-sellers' UCS blocks, referred to as "adjacent lands" in the 2014 Acts, continue independently of the newly protected legal status of the Te Urewera sanctuary that surrounds them, at least in technical terms.

On the other hand, much as the National Park had surrounded the non-sellers' remnant blocks, the resurrected Te Urewera is a potentially dominant presence, representing the even older sanctuary and *mana motuhake* 'separate authority' of Nāi Tūhoe. Beneath this variety of new legal statuses—deeper in the ground of the sanctuary as well as memories, family papers and official archives—lies their still older histories of the UCS purchase campaign, Rua's prophetic movement, the UDNR, Te Kooti's refuge, the Crown's confiscations following the 1860s land wars, and the divided or reconciled ancestral loyalties these successive struggles had created. The sanctuary awaits its resurrection among the contemporary Tūhoe diaspora, scattered across New Zealand for over three generations. As one of their current leaders said, wisely balancing this contemporary reality against hopeful traditionalism, "Koia mārika" (So it shall be; Kruger 2017). As Marx said, "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past" (Marx 1852).

Similarly, as the Te Urewera leader Hikawera Te Kurapa cautioned: "Ka kore e tika e pono tō tuku, te kōrero, ka hoki mai ki te ngau i to tou" (If the stories you tell are not true, they will come back and bite you on your ass; Webster 2020a: xvii).

The ambivalent illusions of commodification and commodity fetishism embedded in this history can be turned either way. While the threat of exchange-values entrenched since colonisation continues to lie in the

recovered as well as retained lands of Te Urewera, the much longer history of ordinary daily use-values embedded in the mountains, forests, rivers and very soil of their sanctuary by the labours of the ancestors, sustained against all odds, has been reawakened. It lies quietly, but is ready to stand firm against the subversive values that continue to threaten them. A promising sign of it is the ordinary defiance of young Tūhoe who, following the example of Rongonui Tahi's predecessors in Ōhāua Te Rangi, simply declare that Te Urewera had always remained theirs regardless of the illusions of colonisation (R. Tahi 2015). The alienation of the ancestors' "dead" labours in exchange-values is no more dead than was Kahuwī's namesake, lying bloody beneath his cloak of reeds after the battle of Rotoiti.

NOTE

1. Nāi Tūhoe is consistent with the orthography preferred by this *iwi* 'tribe'.

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REVIEWS

HARRIS, Aroha: *Te Ao Hurihuri: The Changing World, 1920–2014*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2018. 176 pp., biblio., illus., index. NZ$59.99 (softcover).

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Te Ao Hurihuri: The Changing World, 1920–2014 is one of three paperback volumes that collectively draw from the award-winning *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, authored by Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, originally published by Bridget Williams Books in 2014. The first volume in the series is *Te Ao Tawhito: The Old World, 3000 BC–AD 1830* and the second is *Te Ao Hou: The New World, 1820–1920*.

In the third volume, Aroha Harris with Melissa Matutina Williams take the readers on an historical *hīkoi* 'journey' from 1920 through to 2014. An opening preface and introduction contextualises the volume acknowledging its roots in the epic *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History.* The introduction also acknowledges and provides a moving tribute to the late historian Emerita Professor Dame Judith Binney (1940–2011).

The first section, "Persistence and Resilience" (1920–1945), focuses on the resilience of Māori communities as they "emerged from the shadows of war and influenza" and continued to engage in a range of social, cultural and political activities. Black-and-white photographs provide a visual discourse of the period, from everyday social occasions such as *whānau* 'family' celebrations, sport and entertainment through to land development. This section concludes with a robust discussion on Māori and the Second World War and the formation of the 28th Māori Battalion. One of the central themes of the first section is the promotion of equality and citizenship for Māori with reference to the work of Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata (1874–1950). Ngata was a well-known advocate regarding the protection and promotion of Māori culture and language. His commitment to his "treasured *Māoritanga* ['Māori practices and beliefs']" is well documented in the text.

A short intervening section, "Across Time: Rugby", discusses Māori rugby and notes the *haka* 'posture dance' was first performed by the Native team in 1888 following a match in Surrey, England. It provides an appropriate segue into the second section, "Māori Affairs, 1945–1970", which focuses on postwar initiatives and the development of the Department of Māori Affairs. This section also examines urbanisation, where many Māori migrated to urban areas, leading to the growth of Māori social organisations such as the Māori Women's Welfare League. Many of these organisations were interested in preserving and maintaining Māori culture as urbanisation and integration began to impact on Māori identity and language.

An exciting initiative for many young Māori urbanites was the new wave of Māori entertainers and show bands, such as the Māori Volcanics and the Māori Quartet. Black-and-white photographs of the bands convey the euphoria of this period. These bands clearly brought fun and enjoyment into the lives of both Māori and Pākehā 'New Zealand European' fans. This period also saw the growth of pan-tribal urban *marae* 'Māori community centres' and faith-based marae such as Te Unga Waka Marae, which opened in 1966. These and other initiatives could not turn back the tide of integration, which accelerated after the Hunn Report, released in 1961. This section provides an analysis of the effects of the Hunn Report, which argued that "integration was a natural process". One of the central themes of the second section is the backlash to the policy of integration as Māori strove to assert *te ao Māori* 'Māori world view' and *tikanga* 'Māori customs' in new ways within an urban context. The establishment of pan-tribal marae is one example of these endeavours.

Another short intervening section, "Across Time: Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei", written by Margaret Kawharu, highlights the restoration and enhancement of Māori cultural identity, providing an apt segue into the third section, "Rights and Revitalisation, 1970–1990". The section focuses on the Māori Renaissance social movement and Māori activism and the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* 'Māori language'. The 1975 Māori Land March is positioned as a fundamental moment during this era as Māori sought to strengthen *iwi* 'tribal' authority and gain reparation for historical breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. This section also provides a broad overview of Māori performing and creative arts and literature. The work of Māori writers such as Witi Ihimaera and Patricia Grace, comedian Billy T. James, artist Emily Karaka and others are acknowledged. One of the central themes of the third section is the seeding of an optimistic relationship between Māori and the state as historical grievances were in the process of being heard and settled through the Waitangi Tribunal.

A further short intervening section, "Across Time: Te Reo", provides an overview of the importance of te reo Māori to Māori culture. The work of the *kōhanga reo* 'Māori language preschool' movement is acknowledged while signalling that ongoing sustained vigilance is needed to augment earlier language revitalisation strategies. This short but pivotal piece leads into the fourth and final section, "Tangata Whenua, Tangata Ora, 1990–2014", which focuses on the achievements of the Māori Renaissance, the revitalisation of te reo Māori and an invigoration of Māori identity and culture. This section argues that Māori, for the most part, can look forward to the future with more confidence consolidating aspirations and the ambitions of Māori development. However, this section also recognises that Māori continue to face challenges, justifying indigenous knowledge and maintaining cultural stability. Without replicating the tired, deficit narrative it provides sobering insights into disparities between Māori and non-Māori around income, housing, education and health. This final section also provides further examples of Māori performing and creative arts, literature, sporting and other achievements. The overall theme of the final chapter, richly populated with both colour and black-and-white illustrations, is one of optimism albeit contextualised in a complex and often challenging environment.

A "Postscript: The Past Matters" concludes the volume and summarises the importance of knowing our history to understand our present as the "deeds and drive of tūpuna ['ancestors'] guide our future". The appendices—covering statistics,

maps and figures, te reo in the text and endnotes—complement and enhance the text. A detailed index is also provided, enabling an accessible roadmap optimising the location of data in the text.

Te Ao Hurihuri: The Changing World, 1920–2014 is an eloquently written, thoroughly researched social history framed within a te ao Māori perspective. Chronologically organised, the historical hīkoi through which readers journey highlights the importance of Aotearoa New Zealand's history and society via the lens of *tangata whenua* 'people of the land'. While clearly linked to its parent book, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History,* this third volume in the series can be read without reference to the other publications. It integrates the voices of ordinary Māori with those of iwi and *hapū* 'subtribe' leaders and politicians, entertainers, sporting legends and activists.

The text is written in accessible, user-friendly language, suitable for both academic and non-academic readerships. The illustrations contribute a further layer of meaning and insight, providing detailed depictions of Māori in a range of contexts. As it provides a comprehensive background to our recent history from 1920 to 2014 it will also be a useful for local and international readerships and for new migrants wanting to understand the social, cultural and political history of Aotearoa New Zealand and the relationships between Māori and Pākehā and *tauiwi* 'immigrants'.

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KAA, Hirini: *Te Hāhi Mihinare: The Māori Anglican Church*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020. 248 pp., biblio., glossary, index, notes, map, photos. NZ$49.99 (softcover).

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Hirini Kaa presents an informative and perceptive study of Te Hāhi Mihinare 'the Māori Anglican Church' from its inception early in colonial Aotearoa New Zealand up until 1992. This is doubly an insider history: written by someone who is a Māori historian with strong ties to several *iwi* 'tribes, people' as well as a *minita* 'minister' in Te Hāhi Mihinare who descends from a *whakapapa* 'genealogy' of influential Ngāti Porou minita. From this privileged position Kaa is able to guide readers through the complexities and challenges of *iwi tikanga* 'tribal cultures' and Anglican religious ideas, practices and internal politics. At its heart, *Te Hāhi Mihinare* describes the dynamic, creative, often conflict-ridden engagement between the *mātauranga*, "traditional knowledge and ways of knowing" (p. 9), of various iwi, and an Anglican Church shaped by long-held assumptions of religious ascendancy over any other belief systems as the established church of the English people. Both sides to this relationship were ultimately changed in different ways. How and why they changed is really the subject of this book. There are five core chapters.

Chapter One sets the scene, describing the foundational elements of the nineteenth-century Te Hāhi-ā-Iwi (Tribal Church). Kaa describes how the influential evangelical dream of strong native agency was expressed in Aotearoa New Zealand

through the Māori *kaiwhakaako* 'teachers' and minita who spread the Christian message to iwi. This ideal was later weakened by the effects of colonial war and a growing settler church. Nonetheless, within those post-1860s constraints, new diocesan Hui No Te Hāhi Māori 'Native Church Boards' provided spaces for Māori issues to be aired, including efforts to reclaim Mihinare 'Māori Anglican' communities alienated in the wars.

Chapter Two concerns the long campaign to create a *pīhopa* 'Māori bishopric' that for Mihinare began as far back as the 1870s. While Pākehā Anglicans remained deaf, international developments pointed the way, with first an African bishop, Samuel Ajayi Crowther, and then the Indian bishop Vedanayagam Azariah, who visited Aotearoa in 1923 and inspired Mihinare by supporting their distinctive identity and their ambition to be led by one of their own. Tortuous negotiations for a pīhopa ensued as Mihinare aspirations, powerfully articulated by Apirana Ngata, encountered the obdurate racism of Pākehā 'New Zealand European' bishops who could not entertain a Māori in that office. The outcome in 1928 was a compromise: a Māori minita as pīhopa, but with limited authority and subordinate to the other bishops.

Chapter Three recounts the evolution of the pīhopa into a nationally recognised Māori leader alongside growing assimilationist thinking within the church, as exemplified in English-born Bishop Simkin's campaign to destroy a distinctive Mihinare identity in his Auckland diocese. With new bishops the Mihinare renewed their search for a distinctive place and voice in the church, helped by wider political and social changes from the 1960s. Te Hāhi Mihinare achieved a stronger pīhopa and Māori representation within church policy-making structures, enabling them to argue for a root-and-branch reform of the church to reflect bicultralism and the reality of a Treaty of Waitangi–based partnership. The result was a new Anglican constitution in 1992, organising the church into three distinctive *tikanga* 'cultural models', including one that recognised the wider Pacific dimension of the church. *Mana motuhake* 'self-determination' appeared to have been achieved; nonetheless, Kaa notes that financial resources were largely retained by the Tikanga Pākehā.

Chapter Four covers several interrelated narratives, all connected through the struggle against the dominant ideology of assimilation that drove the Anglican Church for much of the twentieth century. An important counter to that ideology came from international developments: new ideas criticising the injustices of dominant economic and cultural systems and arguing for the disconnection of religion from Western cultures so as to permit a flowering of Indigenous forms of Christianity. The first narrative concerns the struggle to educate minita within the Hāhi Mihinare worldview. Partially achieved up to 1925 through study at Te Rau Kahikatea, subsequent minita were required to endure the English Anglican-dominated curriculum of St John's College. Few graduated. Instead, Mihinare searched for Māori alternatives, notably the successful iwi-centred training of *minita-ā-iwi* 'local Māori ministry' in the 1970s. Only in 1990 did St John's fully embrace a Māori-centric education. A second narrative concerns the place of Māori women. Barred from ministry, they worked through lay organisations, many with progressive or reformist philosophies, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Māori Women's Welfare League, until ordination became possible in the later 1970s, although Kaa points

out that certain iwi cultural constraints limited the roles available for Māori women priests till the twenty-first century. The third narrative concerns the emergence of ecumenism during the twentieth century, giving Mihinare more opportunities to draw ideas from other Indigenous churches, starting with the coalition of Māori scholars who revised *Te Paipera Tapu* (*The Holy Bible* in Māori) in the late 1940s, and including the work of the Māori Section of the National Council of Churches (later Te Runanga Whakawhanaunga i Nga Haahi), which criticised social inequities, particularly racism in New Zealand, and advocated in the 1980s for the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Chapter Five explores the various translations of the *Book of Common Prayer*, arguably the central text of Anglican worship, and known by Māori as Te Rāwiri (after King David). An abridged translation was first published in 1839, followed by the first comprehensive translation in 1852, and a revised translation in 1878, which remained in print until 1951. These versions were all translated by bilingual Pākehā, many missionaries, though they did correspond with a range of expert Mihinare; thus the texts came into being through an exchange of cultural knowledge. The chapter examines the formation of this text, particularly how various key Christian concepts were translated into *te reo* 'Māori language' to reflect the mātauranga of iwi. The language chosen also reflected changing Anglican theology and practices, particularly the growing prominence of ritual. Te Rāwiri was enormously popular and influential in Te Hāhi Mihinare, but iwi modified how they used the book and asserted an ownership by requesting changes and additions intended to ensure the work better reflected their own cultural context. The second half of the chapter relates the development of a new, partially bilingual prayer book for New Zealand Anglicans, finally published in 1989, and in particular, the debates and the translations developed to reflect contemporary Hāhi Mihinare thinking. This resulted in many Māori metaphors, concepts and practices being included, although the use of Io for God proved too contentious.

The publishing team should be complimented for the attractive presentation of the book, including its cover design, which links well with the book's subject. I only noticed a few minor errors: identifying Gibraltar as an island (p. 84), writing "i aua at ae noa mai" instead presumably of "i aua a tae noa mai" (p. 160), and "practiced" instead of "practised" (p. 166). Kaa provides a useful glossary explaining both key religious and Māori terms. Groups of photos are helpfully located at intervals throughout the book illustrating key people, texts, churches or religious activities mentioned in the surrounding chapters. A map at the back demarcates New Zealand Anglican diocesan boundaries in 1928.

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