

Nga Taonga o Te Urewera

by

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku

Linda Waimarie Nikora

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The writers and researchers

Ahakoā te wheru, te pau o te hau
Ka ngoki, ka ngoingoi
Eke ana ki te taumata, ka titiro iho
Ki te whai o te Urewera
E tu whakarehu mai ra, e pokia ra e te kohu
Kua ea nga wawata
(he waiata na Tuhoe ki Poneke)

Nga Taonga o Te Urewera remain the cultural property of the Tuhoe people. Our heritage endures. This sense of ownership, of connection, is reinforced by the spiritual, psychological and cultural bonds which have persisted, despite government incursion, private purchase and attempted development. It is this sense of connection which originally prompted these writers to contribute to the claims process. Each has her own story to tell.

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What does the notion of cultural property mean for me, as a Tuhoe female? It means that I recall how I found out, for myself, that I was Tuhoe.

I was sixteen, it was summertime, and I had a job as a model with the National Film Unit, on a Tourist and Publicity Department project. The film crew comprised three men – two cameramen, and Ernie Leonard of Ngati Rangiwewehi as the Maori

advisor. There were three of us girls, all very excited by the idea of an adventure in the wild unknown. Heading for Murupara, and then Ruatahuna, and The Bush.

Crammed into an old white jeep, we ventured in to the misty Urewera ranges, seeking out the fabled Rua's Stronghold. The plan was to film going in with leafy scenes of giant forest trees and drapey ponga ferns. We'd stay there only the one night, and then film early in the morning, just pleasant and inviting views around the Stronghold, (populated by us three pretty girls!) with some history scripted in later. Then we'd leave.

We drove into Te Whaiti and the further we went in, the more peculiar I began to feel. Anxious, uncomfortable, apprehensive. Peculiar. Halfway into the colourlessly sorry cluster of dwellings along both sides of the dusty road, the jeep stopped. For a rest, and a look around. I hopped out, wandered over to a crumbling weatherboard villa, its battered porch bending to a tangled garden. The scent of neglected lemons hung heavy in the still morning air. A huge cast iron kettle, its lid still on, poked out of the rubble. I ran over to it, tripped, sliced my ankle on number 8 wire. Blood stained my white trousers. Warned, I hobbled back to the others, feeling frightened and rather foolish.

The jeep continued on its way. I don't recall much of Ruatahuna at all; only the dust, the bluegreen light, and trees, ferns, bush, pressing against the sides, pressing at us, as if it were curious, or hungry. The further in, the more unsettled and anxious I became. I remember thinking a lot about my Kuia at home in Ohinemutu. I wondered what she would tell me to do; I know I felt more and more peculiar.

And then we were on the road to Maungapohatu. It was a timber access road, had only just been opened in the last few months or so. Again, I don't remember much at all, just the green all around the jeep, pushing, resisting, trying to keep us out, and the road, slippery one moment, gravelly and uneven the next. The men were talking noisily about catching some horses, getting shots of June on a horse with her long hair flying; there was a paddock up there full of them. And there were lots of ponies

just wandering around, too. I sank back into the seat, couldn't look out. Felt too peculiar to be bothered.

Clawing and heaving, the jeep tumbled hours later into an open space, banked by raw earthworks, overlooking a scattering of small houses. It stopped. The crew, the girls, all jumped out, laughing with relief. We'd survived a mad bumpy drive. It was early afternoon, and soft veils of mist were falling around us. We were there, almost at Rua's Stronghold.

Something happened to my heart.

I knew right then, as I looked across the mist drifting valley, that I had to get away from the crew, that I had to be by myself. That I could not be in the film. All this made me feel even more peculiar than ever, and it made me feel sick, too. I told Ernie and the main cameraman; then suddenly there were horses. Only two. Well, that was fine with me. I could go and do my own thing; I watched the men, and June and Vicky, charge off to get the horses.

The mist continued to fall, sunless and shadowy.

I ambled along a small sloping road, curious but very careful. My cut had crusted over, just a small red gash, a lesson. Smoke threaded from some of the dwellings, merging with the mist. That meant people were there, but no one came out to talk to us. I looked at the roofs of corrugated tin, well-worn slate, piled scrub and wood. One house with sloping maihi seemed to be growing out of the earth, out of the side of the road itself.

I realized that I was actually coming alongside a marae. Sitting there small and intriguing, was a carved house. Compelling me.

I approached the fence line, and peered over the wire, into the gathering mist. I was still feeling rather peculiar, and also very sad. Though why, I didn't know. I just felt

sad. I remember leaning over the fence, then thinking that I wanted to go onto the grass, have a closer look at the house. Despite what my kuia at home had told me about strange houses in strange places, I went up to the gate. That was when I felt as if someone was watching me. I paused, again feeling even more peculiar, and sad, very sad.

At this moment, I noticed that the mist had lifted away, and I was standing there in bright sunlight, like a kakahu warm across my shoulders. I heard a soft voice behind me, calling out. I turned, blinking back tight, unexpected tears. Two youngish women, one with rusty light brown hair, the other dark and robust, beckoned me over. With them was a tiny, stooped, grey and silver kuia, her moko faded, almost colourless. The sun continued shining. I walked over to them. My heart was pounding.

They greeted me in Maori. I shuffled and mumbled back, it was so hard! They asked my name; I gave them the first one that came in to my head, the one I'd used for all my sixteen years. Holding my hands with her gentle, barky fingers, the kuia shook her head, repeated another phrase. And again. So I mentioned my real mother, and my real father. His name.

Ka whakatangitangi mai te kuia nei; ka maringi iho nga roimata, ka mea atu, "Kua hoki mai koe e hine, kua hoki mai koe." So many tears. And suddenly that peculiar feeling had gone, like the mist, no more. She stroked my cheek, murmuring my father's name – "Na Timi Rawhari koe, aa, na Timi..." and drew me in to her little whare, which glows still, in my mind

The tamped earth floor, with a shallow channel; and the way one side of the single room opened into an unroofed section of freestanding wall. This was the fireplace and kitchen area, like a lean-to, open to the everchanging Tuhoe sky; so the closed dark cosiness of the living space reached in to the kauta, where a small and welcoming table offered tin mugs of tea. I also recall the total absence of paint!!! No colours at all – just the blue blue sky, and the deep heaving green of the forest; the

scoured banks still brownly bleeding, and the silvery textures of old weathered wood. Oh – and the dark tangled manuka broom that leaned by her glimmering fire, in the kauta.

The three of them - and now, thirty eight years later, I am ashamed to admit, I cannot recall their names - took me across to the house. Tanenui a Rangi. Again, the sadness, the homecoming.

Not peculiar any more, but right. I felt all right. Sad. But at home. At home. All right.

So they ushered me in. Again, strong but singular memories. White lace curtains, full and heavy. A big brass bed!!! Covered in white quilts, with plumped up pillows, waiting. There, against the back wall. I was amazed. I'd never seen a bed in a wharenuī before!

Framed and fading photographs lined the walls; people sitting, some in rows, also portraits, people standing; long haired men, cloaked women. And very carefully, methodically, the kuia told me about each one, in a slow murmur of Maori, introducing me to my grand aunts, my koroua, my own old people. My kuia! It was hard not to keep crying. One of the younger woman quietly whispered, “She is telling you this because she knows she will never see you again....” I had so many questions I was too shy to ask.

We returned to the sunlight, softening now, as evening fell, and mist drifted easily up from the valley. Someone had started the jeep. I could hear Vicky and June laughing. It was time for me to go.

Time passed. I did not go back for many years, though I kept the memory of that visit warm and close, and told no one. Eventually, I mentioned it to John Rangihau. He smiled.

“That kuia knew someone had come home,” he told me. “Because of the sun shining, and the mist going away like that. It only happens for the people from there, for the ones that come home after a very long time away. Someone had come home, and it was you.”

So I had come home. After feeling sad and peculiar in a strange landscape that seemed to speak directly to my heart, I found out that I belonged there; which is why I felt sad and peculiar. Did those feelings come from a sense of nostalgia, of recognition? Did I know the place, feel its resonance? And did it really know me, and welcome me home?

"Koina te matemate a one," an elder told me. "it is matemate a one." For decades, I've been thinking about that. And so I am writing this now.

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I remember the early Tuhoe festivals and my uncle Reg's two trucks with their long decks forming the stage; then getting up there too with the haka teams to perform and compete when I got older. Watching the debates! I didn't understand a word of what was being said, but such vivid facial expressions, statements heavy with passion, the laughter, and hand movements soon got the point across. And the golden oldie rugby was always an event – much slower and far more graceful and courteous than the seriously competitive efforts of my own generation...these are Tuhoe moments for me.

I remember crying and crying... until my father eventually agreed for me to go with my uncle to the bush. Clomping along in someone's cast off boots, I set out with my

uncle in his old Holden ute to Ruatahuna. We swerved around cliff sides, avoiding pot holes, mud flying...such excitement for an eleven year old. And, then we were there. Camped out under horse blankets with the stars sharp over head. Strange yet fascinating creatures thumping and whistling in the night. And to wake with a thick layer of frost crusting my blankets. And then we were off. Uncle with gun in hand, long legs wrapped in rubber gumboots, striding down tracks and through bogs and over fallen logs. Easy enough for him!!! Such obstacles for me in an unfamiliar pair of boots ...the track was a motorway compared to the bogs that rose to my knees, and treacherous tree trunks with slime that efficiently dispatched me into the mud and water that they had fallen across. Inevitably, I soon fell far behind my uncle and became lost. But was I really? “Just follow the river, back to camp,” he had said. And so, I listened for the river and it called me to the safety and comfort of my frost burnt horse blanket.

Our house had a picture of Panekire standing sentinel over Waikaremoana. I had always wanted to go to Waikaremoana. I remember the first time I struggled up the Kaitawa pipeline, through the caves at Onepoto, up Ngamoko, and further on to Waikareiti. I remember Rosie Bay and asking who’s Rosie? I remember swinging off a line of wire on the side of Panekiri as I made my way to the hut, and then enduring a night with 30 people crammed into 16 beds; we woke up to bush covered in snow that had fallen in the night. I remember struggling waist deep in mud through swamps. I remember the rubbish holes in the days before “leave only footsteps”. I remember the boaties, their parties, their bottles and cans of beer. I always remember the end of the track and the gasp to be ‘out’ at the road that marked so called civilisation. What I remember most of all is the attitude of others that I encountered. I was always left with the impression that foreign tourists, trampers on holiday, and kiwi boaties didn’t expect to see a ‘real live native’, and it made them slightly uncomfortable. Some even pretended that I simply was not there – an invisible native perhaps, an extinct native perhaps; and not of the land, perhaps, as they claimed ownership of its trails, its forests, its fauna, as theirs to cosset, explore, rename, exploit, and protect.

They could not keep me out. And I never made them unwelcome. Such people soon find a marae in the middle of nowhere when they need one. We'd escaped from the city to Maungapohatu, to Tanenui-a-rangi one weekend, when the rain set in, bringing one hell of a storm. Our own tira had just finished measuring up the food rations and figured we had enough food to last us at least 3 days – comfortably. Suddenly, a convoy of heavy duty 4WD vehicles, a couple laden with fresh kills, roared up to the marae. All the bridges were down. They stayed with us, 28 of them, a deer stalkers club hunting in Te Urewera. Dossing down in Tanenui-a-rangi, with us. They shared one of their deer; but was it theirs to share?

OVERVIEW

Iti rearea, tei tei,
Kahikatea, ka taea....

This report sets out to establish that Te Urewera and Tuhoe - the place, the people - are synonymous. It is argued by two discrete approaches - cultural property and the significance of place. These are both enmeshed in the Tuhoe concept of *matemateaone*, which is defined and demonstrated throughout the text. Issues of Tuhoe heritage and cultural property are positioned within the international indigenous context, and considered in detail with reference to the *United Nations Report on the Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous Peoples* tabled in June 1995.

A Tuhoe response to the nine sections of this document form the basis of this submission, as they clearly reflect the intentions and principles that configure the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Individual case studies are presented and concerns in cultural property and indigenous psychology are raised, emphasising the various factors which have determined today's Tuhoe environment.

Archival and textual research and analysis comprised the principal methodology. Information was accrued from a wide range of written sources, including standard texts, ephemera, relevant publications, newspapers and magazines, and unpublished records such as personal correspondence, minute books, catalogue entries and manuscripts. For primary Tuhoe material, we have referred to *waiata koroua*, as well as contemporary lyrical compositions.

A number of Tuhoe people also shared their ideas and experiences; their brief narratives effectively enhance the assertion of synonymity.

THE TUHOE – TE UREWERA SYNONYMITY

Te Urewera is very much part of Tuhoe. If Tuhoe talks to Tuhoe, then you are talking to Te Urewera as well. You cannot separate the two. We are all around and within it. We have relations here, there and there. And we are all intertwined. Tuhoe and Te Urewera are one. It is incomprehensible to see them as separate. I cannot for the love of me make them separate.¹

It is important to stress the significance of Te Urewera to Ngai Tuhoe and our culture that is embedded in it's landscape, a taonga which was left to us by our tipuna.²

I ki ake ahau, he kainga a TeUrewera ki ahau, oti ia ki a Tuhoe katoa. Ahakoa kua riro tahae te whenua i te karauna, ko te wairua ia ka hono tonu ki nga putea whakanakonako, ki nga maunga karangaranga, ki o matau mate ka ngaro ki te po. No reira, ko taku hiahia, me whakahoki mai te Poari o TeUrewera engari me hawhe o aua mema mo Tuhoe.³

Translation by these writers:

I emphasized that te Urewera is my home, as it is for all Tuhoe. Even though the Crown has unjustly taken the land, the spirit will ever be connected through the wealth of tradition, through the echoing mountains, through the memories of those who have passed on. And so my wish is that the Te Urewera National Park Board be returned to us, with half its members representing Tuhoe.

The relationship that Tuhoe maintains with Te Urewera has ancient origins. It is a position that has been enjoyed and taken for granted over many, many centuries. Of course, Tuhoe has had cause to defend the enjoyment of their homeland but none so vicious, persistent and devastating as that presented by a colonial incursion that continues today in the form of Crown legislation and administration.

¹ Henare Tawhao Nikora, Personal communication 15/05/03 Rotorua.

² TePoroa Heurea, "Letter to Hon. Sandra Lee, Minister of Conservation," (05/09/2001).

³ Korotau Basil Tamiana, "Affidavit of Korotau Basil Tamiana," (05/01/02).

In the context of the continued suppression of Tuhoe with respect to our rightful, intimate, actual, spiritual and psychological relationship with Te Urewera, we now find ourselves entering into another century of stressful and ongoing struggle with the Crown to protect our identity, our taonga, and our essential relationships.

This section deals with the synonymous and essential relationship between Tuhoe and Te Urewera. We have relied heavily on the work of human geographers and psychologists to highlight the contribution the environment makes to moulding and sustaining identities and to transmitting that identity across generations. The fact that identity formation and maintenance is a cultural process explains why the Tuhoe/Te Urewera synonymity persists today and will continue to do so in the future.

A 'place' called Te Urewera

The concept of place has been defined by geographers in a multitude of ways. They include: a bounded location; a space of flows; a locale defined through peoples subjective feelings; the context for social and political relations; and a place created through media images

Each definition represents different ways of approaching human geography, each presenting a specific idea about the type of relationship that exists between people and place.⁴

The vital point to note about Holloway et al's comments is the importance of relationality. People make places just as much as places make people. People and places derive their identities from each other to a significant extent. It is the betweenness that is important – the relationship that is created and sustained.

⁴ L Holloway and P Hubbard, *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life* (Essex, England: Prentice Hall: 2001). p. 7

Te Urewera in our lives

Most people move between and within a limited and localised array of places that are important in their lives. There may be special or unusual events that occur but such are exceptions that punctuate the usual. Focusing on the everyday serves to address the importance of people as more or less autonomous actors who creatively engage with, and shape, their surroundings⁵. Information acquisition and processing that differ between individuals according to their age, bodily ability, gender, social role and so on, serves to mediate the relationships that people have with place.

In the New Year of 2001, Henare Nikora guided his whanau from Ruatahuna to Waikirikiri. Chrissy Ohia was part of that party. During that tramp, others from Tuhoe joined the group, or received the group at different campsites. The group visited many sites of whanau importance and rekindled associations and memories. The weekend following their tramp, members of that party, along with others not so fortunate to go on the walk gathered at Henare's in Rotorua to reflect on their experience and the places they had been reunited with. Chrissy Ohia pointed out how wonderful it was to finally reconcile the physicality of those Te Urewera places – Tarapounamu, Manawaru, Ohaua, Waikare etc, that she had come to know through song and conversations with others. Although the whanau sojourn was a departure from her normal everyday routine as a student and mother, her relationship and identification with Te Urewera was clearly enculturated at a young age and further reinforced by the whanau experience. The former, songs and conversations, life as a student and as a mother, are what were usual for her – everyday. This is the means through which she acquired information and developed her sense of knowing place. The unusual event, the whanau's sojourn, served to reinforced this sense of knowing.

⁵ Ibid. p. 37

Knowing Te Urewera

Holloway and Hubbard define the acquisition of information from our surroundings via the senses as environmental perception. Environmental cognition, however, refers to the way this information is processed and organised by the brain. Information acquired from the environment is built up into environmental images which are relatively stable and learned mental constructs that we use to orient ourselves in familiar and less familiar places.⁶

The following song, put to the melody of 'Baby Blue', was composed for a Tuhoe Festival and given prominence by the Late Tui Teka. If Tuhoe had a TopTen song list, then for the period, this song would have been a major hit, its popularity reflected in repeated renditions on social occasions.

*Haere mai ra nga roopu
Kia ora koutou e,
Waikaremoana, Waiohau
Tawera, Kawerau, Ruatoki, ki Taupo,
Turangi me Te Tira Hou, me Poneke.
Ko Te Rohe Potae o Tuhoe e
Mangapohatu, Panekire, Manawaru
Ko Huiarau me Tarapounamu e, aue
Hui a ra ki Ruatoki kia Taiarahia.*

*No reira Tuhoe, kia kaha ra
Ki enei taonga a o tatou tipuna,
Te whakapono tumanako me te aroha
Ki a u, ki a mau, kia kaha ra.*

The consequence of this song's emergence during a Tuhoe Festival with over a thousand Tuhoe people in attendance, along with its subsequent widespread popularity, is the development of a mental construct that defines and names the physical Te Urewera environment as a space for all Tuhoe where ever they reside, or what ever their point of origin within Tuhoe. Although Holloway and Hubbard⁷

⁶ Ibid. pp 64-65

⁷ Ibid.

refer to mental constructs developed from information gained through direct interaction with an environment, like other researchers⁸ we contend that physical occupation of place is not the only means to the development of such mental constructs, although absence from place certainly compromises the process and makes it difficult. For Tuhoe, our processes of enculturation are essential contributors to our psychology of place.

In some respects, the places mentioned in the above waiata might also be referred to as ‘public symbols’⁹ or from our perspective, symbols of the Tuhoe-Te Urewera synonymity. The relating of the public to places mentioned here is highly unlikely. Some may have heard of Maungapohatu, however, they are highly unlikely to have heard of Ohaua or Taiarahia for that matter. This is our rationale for defining them as “Tuhoe” symbols, rather than “public” symbols. Taiarahia, Manawaru, Tarapounamu – are places that have, for Tuhoe, their own unique spirit and personality derived from our very origins. To that list we might also add Waikaremoana, Ohinenaena, Maungapohatu and many many others throughout Te Urewera. These are highly imageable places that command awe in the human observer. As symbols of Te Urewera, particularly when referred to continuously in waiata, in whaikorero, in ordinary conversation and for those still residing in our homelands, in our ordinary lives, they are tangible and real. As easily recognisable icons, these places are important as they define who we are as Tuhoe.

From Te Urewera symbols, symbols of our iwi identity, we come to an individual’s sense of place. Of being in Te Urewera, Henare Nikora explains...

⁸ R Hay, “A Rooted Sense of Place in Cross-Cultural Perspective,” *The Canadian Geographer* 42, no. 3 (1998).

S Mazumdar and S Mazumdar, “Sacred Space and Place Attachment,” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 13 (1993).

M T Fullilove, “Psychiatric Implications of Displacement: Contributions from the Psychology of Place,” *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 153, no. 12 (1996).

J Dixon and K Durrheim, “Displacing Place-Identity: A Discursive Approach to Locating Self and Other,” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 2000, no. 39 (2000).

⁹ Holloway and Hubbard, *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life*. p. 73

I like it. I enjoy it. I'd rather be out there now with my horses, camped out, billy on, having a cup of tea. I've been all over the country and other places are alien to me. As a young fella I use to hunt with mates from Mokai. I enjoyed myself. ...That was when I was about 17 years old. Aside from Mokai, I didn't take to going anywhere else too much. I have been down the Kaweka, and down to Stewart Island, and I enjoyed myself. But I feel so comfortable back in Te Urewera although it could be a pretty lonely place and there is always the risk of getting lost. But, I just feel comfortable there. I'm quite happy to travel and cruise around all day long.¹⁰

According to Holloway and Hubbard¹¹, an individual's sense of place requires that: one knows the place intimately and reacts to it emotionally. The place, as such, becomes an extension of the individual. Places special to individuals are often difficult to identify as unlike public symbols, there are not necessarily outward identifying inscriptions in the place itself. For the individual, these places are known and cared for from within. For Henare, his sense of place relates to Te Urewera in its totality, not simply Te Urewera symbols such as ranges and mountains. It is some where he, like many Tuhoe, feels comfortable, and at home.

Tuhoe retain a strong sense of being Tuhoe, and a very deep sense of attachment with Te Urewera. This attachment is more than an emotional and cognitive experience. It is both an actual and symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to Te Urewera forged through genealogy, cosmology, pilgrimage, narrative and economics¹². Te Urewera is both a territory of the Tuhoe collective and individual, like Henare above, that contrasts sharply with those territories of others. We know when we are not at home. We know when we are in the territories of others.

¹⁰ Nikora, H T. (15/05/03)

¹¹ Holloway and Hubbard, *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life*. p. 74

¹² Mazumdar and Mazumdar, "Sacred Space and Place Attachment." p. 231

Belonging to Te Urewera

Coming to know our places, to know Te Urewera, is not an easy process. Indeed, it has been made extremely difficult in light of colonial incursion, assimilative policies, and the Crown's avarice. According to Mazumdar and Mazumdar¹³ place identity is 'a complex cognitive structure which is characterized by a host of attitudes, values, thoughts, beliefs, meanings and behavior tendencies' – indeed, far too many ideas to deal with explicitly and comprehensively here. Intertwined with cognitive structures are the 'social definitions of physical settings which consist of the norms, behaviours, rules and regulations that are inherent in the use of these places and spaces'.

The development of place identity begins in the earliest process of child socialization. The important point to note here is the amazing resilience of Tuhoe. We still develop, retain and transfer to our children the vitalness of being Tuhoe, of belonging to Te Urewera. Te Urewera provides the setting for the development of models of our future Tuhoe selves. Te Urewera, as an environment in which we were raised, the objects within and emerging from it, and the events and experiences we are a part of act as psychic anchors, reminding us of where we come from, and provide a symbolic lifeline to a continuous sense of identity. This is clearly illustrated in the news report by Jo-Marie Brown¹⁴. Her report has been included in full as it highlights the feelings, experiences, intentions and struggles of our rangatahi against being displaced and moved on by economic circumstance. Despite these struggles it is clear that these rangatahi are Tuhoe, and strongly tied to Te Urewera as their domain.

¹³ Ibid. p. 231

¹⁴ Jo-Marie Brown, "People of the Mist: Staying-Put Teens Love the Quiet Life," *New Zealand Herald*, Thursday May 15 2003.

People of the mist: Staying-put teens love the quiet life

By Jo-Marie Brown, New Zealand Herald, Thursday May 15, 2003



Relaxing in Ruatahuna are (L-R) Henere Johnson, Serj Johns, Johnson Kapua and Quinton White. Picture / Richard Robinson

With no beaches, no malls, no skateboard parks and no movie theatres, entertainment for those growing up in one of New Zealand's most isolated spots may seem non-existent.

Yet many teenagers who live in communities dotted among the rugged Ureweras in the central North Island will also grow old there.

Faced with a two-hour drive down a winding, shingle road either northwest to Rotorua or southeast to Wairoa, Urewera youngsters develop strong ties to their home towns such as Ruatahuna.

For Henere Johnson, Quinton White, Serj Johns and Johnson Kapua, the Ureweras are paradise and they intend to stay.

"Because I've had a choice childhood," Henere explains.

In a town of 300 where everyone knows everyone else, bushshirts and gumboots replace fancy streetwear and bikes are regarded as "back-up horses" rather than back-up cars.

The boys, aged 14 to 18, say they regularly go hunting for pigs and deer to keep themselves amused in the bush which blankets the steep hills surrounding the town.

"Some fellas go spotting for possums," Quinton says. "And when all the boys are around we'll gather up and go and play a game of rugby or touch."

Every teenager in Ruatahuna can ride a horse and most have several.

The boys clearly appreciate the peace and quiet of the area. They consider local swimming holes to be

overcrowded in summer if more than 10 people turn up at once.

Two of the group have spent time living in Auckland - Serj as a boarder at St Stephens school in Bombay before it closed last year; and Johnson, who went to live with his uncle for a year in 2000.

But Johnson, now aged 14, says he returned home after finding the city was "pretty boring" because he didn't know anyone.

"I missed riding my horses and it was free [in Ruatahuna] to have a swim. You don't have to pay."

"Yeah", Quinton chimes in, "that's another thing about town, eh. You've got to have money."

Despite their isolation, the teenagers can watch the latest movies as several people in the district have Sky television or DVD players which are shared around.

They travel to Rotorua once a fortnight to go shopping and the only thing they agree they miss out on are playing spaces and going to the beach.

Both Quinton and Henere have finished school this year but neither intends to quit the town.

"I won't leave here. I'll just travel backwards and forwards," says Quinton, who was looking for wood processing work in the region.

Henere already has a forestry job, 100km away in Wairoa. He intends to return home to Ruatahuna each weekend and says he won't consider shifting to the East Coast town permanently.

"Nah, too crowded."

When Hay¹⁵ wrote of a ‘rooted sense of place’, this struck a cord with these writers. Rootedness conjures up images of being tied to, and emerging from a place. Rangimarie Pere in articulating her sense of connectedness with Te Urewera clearly demonstrates this sense of rootedness. She refers to the clusters of five leaves produced by the Parapara tree. Each leaf symbolises an aspect of her being Maori, one in particular reflecting her bond with Te Urewera.

*The second leaf symbolises for me ancestral ties, the dimension that determines my physical and psychological existence and heritage. My ancestors have passed on beliefs and traditions that enable me to know who and what I am in terms of New Zealand, and indeed in terms of the world community. I regard myself as a universal person with a strong tap root that reaches back to the Urewera, the home of my Tuhoe ancestors. From this root comes my language and the blood line that helps me to understand my own institutions, and the way they influence my approach to life. The genealogy, the rope of people that links up each generation, the rope that gives me my history also helps to give me a better understanding of myself as a person.*¹⁶

Pere’s position is one described by Hay as “based on cosmology and culture, which rooted [Maori] to their tribal territory spiritually and emotionally”¹⁷. As the opening quotations in this section indicate, Pere’s position is not unique to herself. It is one that is shared across Tuhoe and Te Urewera and expressed in many different ways.

Tamaikoha expressed it in this way...

*Ko nga awa teretere, me nga wharua kuiti aku wao, ko nga tokanui me nga pari tokatoka oku parepare.*¹⁸

¹⁵ Hay, “A Rooted Sense of Place in Cross-Cultural Perspective.” p. 245

¹⁶ Rangimarie Rose Pere, “Taku Taha Maori: My Maoriness,” in *He Matapuna - a Source: Some Maori Perspectives*, ed. New Zealand Planning Council (Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council, 1979).

¹⁷ Hay, “A Rooted Sense of Place in Cross-Cultural Perspective.” p. 245

¹⁸ Tamaikoha cited by Melbourne H, “Introduction,” in *Te Manawa O Tuhoe : The Heart of Tuhoe - Photographs by Terry O'connor* (Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 1997).

The swift rivers and the canyons are my defence, the huge boulders and rock cliffs are my palisades.

Henare Nikora like this...

Living in town ...every now and again, I get really frustrated if I don't get out into the bush. So, I take off to Ohaua or where ever. But with other commitments, business, family etc, that makes it hard. But once I'm up there, there is nothing much that can spoil it. Once I get passed Murupara, all these things that are on me (stress etc) all disappear.¹⁹

Abel Teka accordingly...

...Ruatahuna's radio station has become an important way of strengthening and celebrating Tuhoe's culture. "I want to help capture history while it's still alive around here".²⁰

Te Urewera for Tuhoe, must be understood as the sum of resources, objects and human relationships in a given territory and emerging from it over time. In short, Te Urewera is our cultural property and as such, Te Urewera sets the conditions for our very human consciousness. It provides the physical structures within which Tuhoe relationships unfurl. Te Urewera, is on the one hand, the external realities within which Tuhoe existence is shaped, and on the other hand, the object of our thoughts and actions²¹. It provides us with a sense of belonging and locatedness within the world. For as much as Tuhoe is Te Urewera, Te Urewera is Tuhoe. Each belongs to the other. The cultural resource of Te Urewera does not simply begin and end at its physicality, but inevitably has to include the people of Te Urewera – Tuhoe, Nga Uri o te Maunga.

*Hiki ake te kohu e
Ko Hinepukohurangi*

¹⁹ Nikora, H. T. (15/05/03).

²⁰ Interviewed by Brown, "People of the Mist: Staying-Put Teens Love the Quiet Life."

²¹ Fullilove, "Psychiatric Implications of Displacement: Contributions from the Psychology of Place."

*Tapapapa ana ki nga koawa
Hei kakahu mo Papatuanuku
Hei kakahu mo Papatuanuku*

*Ka hora nei te moenga
Mo te tipua nei a te maunga
Ki runga o Onini e
Ka hono kia Hinepukohurangi
Ka hono kia Hinepukohurangi*

*Huraina nga rarauwhe
Kia puta ko nga Potiki
Nga uri o te maunga
Nga tamariki o te kohu
Nga tamariki o te kohu*

Na, Hirini Melbourne

TUHOE & CULTURAL PROPERTY: DIFFERENT MEANINGS & APPROACHES

On commencing this project, we talked about it very briefly with the learned Hohepa Kereopa. We were at a house opening. "Cultural property?" one of us queried somewhat awkwardly. His instant reply, "He matemate a one."

Of all the different iwi of these islands, only Tuhoe has a unique conceptual term which describes its values and worldview. Matemateaone has many definitions, but each one has a persistent theme - nurturing relationships, between people, and with the environment which nurtures them. It must also be noted that it does not occur in the prolific writings of Elsdon Best; which may well indicate that it was simply taken for granted by the locals he interviewed and it was therefore not noticed by the ethnologist. Another possibility is that the right questions were simply never asked. One may also speculate that as a philosophical idea, it was concealed by its very vagueness, being obtuse and untranslatable to the western mind and subsequently not recorded.

Matemateaone: A Uniquely Tuhoe Conceptual Framework

The term 'matemateaone' has metaphysical beginnings, though the ways that it is lived and honoured are mundane indeed. Pou Temara recounts its origins to Rangianehu Mataamua.

Ka tono a Maui ki tana kuia, "E kui, te taonga i a koe na, homai ki a au kia ora ai te tangata."

Ka whakahokia e te kuia ra, "Kao"

"A tena e koe, me matemate-a-tau te tangata".

"Kao".

A e kui, me matemate-a-marama te tangata, kia pera i te marama"

*"Kao, Ka whakamatea e au te tangata i te ao, i te po, kia tangi ai koutou ki o koutou mate, kia matemate-a-one ai koutou ki a koutou."*²²

Translated by this writer,

Maui asked of his grandmother, "Grandmother, the taonga that you have, give it to me so that humankind will live forever."

The old lady responded, "No."

"Well then, let humankind die as the year turns."

"No".

"Well then, let humankind die as the moon changes."

"No. I will bring death to humankind in darkness and in light, so that you will lament for your dead, and thus relate through matemate-a-one, grieving, with each other."

This narrative reflects the weakness of humankind; the craving for life, the inevitability of death, and the need people have for each other.

Matemateaone is also about context; it is a living philosophy practiced by a living, dynamic community, in which the values sustain the people who continue the values. One of its crucial elements is kinship, human relationships.

Tamaro Nikora elaborates on this element.

*Matemateaone has a number of facets but is essentially a feeling of genuine relationship and behaviour between people, place and property that engenders and demonstrates "whanaungatanga" - a sense of relatedness, commonality, and group belonging. Matemateaone is the product of group membership and participation, as evidenced in the number of people who claim membership in an iwi called Tuhoe. It is evident at the time of tangi and the rapid travel of such news and the speed at which tangi are organized.*²³

²² R Mataamua, "Te Mata O Te Rakau a Tuhoe" (MA, Victoria University, 1998). p. 115

²³ Tamaro Raymond Nikora, Personal communication 08/05/03 Rotorua.

A further definition is offered below by Wharehuia Milroy.

As we understand it, it is a dynamic associated with the manner in which we Tuhoe organise ourselves socially, culturally, politically and spiritually. They are our ideals as an iwi, moral dictates that say how we are to behave. Matemateaone grows from within the group, knowing and getting to know each other. The physical cues such as trees, mountains, rivers and kainga etc. are all factors that activate matemateaone. Everyone of Tuhoe should share a subtle code of knowledge that goes to make up matemateaone.²⁴

The defining experience of kinship is reiterated by another kaumatua, Timi Rawiri, in his comments again to Rangianehu Mataamua.

To matou koroua me to matou kuia i noho tahi i roto i tenei mea ko te whanau, He nui nga whanau i reira he nui o matou koroua i reira. He nui matou i whangaihia e nga koroua, e nga kuia. Kaore he rereke tetahi ki tetahi, He orite katoa. Koira te matemateaone.²⁵

Translated by these writers

Our grandparents lived together as one family There were many families there and we had many grandfathers. Most of us were raised by our grandfathers and grandmothers. No one was different, we were all the same. That's matemateaone.

This sense of place, and affinity with it, is most eloquently expressed by Hirini Melbourne in Terry O'Connor's book titled *Te Manawa o Tuhoe : the heart of Tuhoe - Photographs by Terry O'Connor*.

To Tuhoe people where ever they live, returning home to Te Urewera means a return to a place of refuge, healing and growth. They return to escape the assault of western values and systems and to re-tie the bonds of tribe and kin, and to

²⁴ J. W. Milroy, Personal communication 26/08/03 Hamilton.

²⁵ Mataamua, "Te Mata O Te Rakau a Tuhoe". p. 117

*reinforce the enduring values of turangawaewae,
whanaungatanga, and aroha.*²⁶

As others reflected on human relationships, Hirini describes a place of healing, refuge, and growth, reiterated in the lyrical musings of Rangimarie Rose Pere.

*A conservationist at heart, I am very grateful that the Urewera bush, the ancestral home of the Tuhoe people, is still intact. The bush clad ranges, the mist, the smell of the undergrowth, the company of birds and insects, Panekire - the majestic bluff that stands sentinel over the tranquil or sometimes turbulent waters of Waikaremoana - all give me a strong sense of identity and purpose to life.*²⁷

Rangimarie's gratitude for the enduring beauty of the Te Urewera environment is reinforced by her sense of identity and purpose; her relationship with place, as Hirini also observes. He further comments on the notion of returning home, and to reinforce enduring values, an experience which is probably best illustrated by Timoti Karetu.

*He hiahia noku ki te pupuri i aua mea e kiia ai tatou he iwi,
he tangata. Ahakoa kei tawahi nga mea e tino pai ana ki a
au kei te kaha ke taku pirangi kia mau ano i a au enei taonga
a tatou*²⁸.

Translated by these writers

*My desire was to preserve those things that make us an iwi,
that make us people. Despite all the enjoyable things for me
overseas, I felt passionate about seizing these treasures of
ours once more.*

It is the phrase. "...enei taonga a tatou - these treasures of ours..." which elaborates upon the notion of matemateaone. Treasures - "nga taonga tuku iho a nga tupuna"

²⁶ T O'Connor, *Te Manawa O Tuhoe : The Heart of Tuhoe - Photographs by Terry O'connor* (Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 1997). p. 10

²⁷ Pere, "Taku Taha Maori: My Maoriness." p. 23-25

²⁸ T. S. Karetu, "Ka Tangi Hoki Ko Au," *Te Ao Hou*, no. 69 (1971). p. 10

recounted by Timoti - that in themselves are a manifestation of the concept, and that are cultural property, both tangible, like whakairo and whenua, and intangible, like kinship and language. What is important is the relationship factor - how they all combine, or connect, to make the Tuhoe people, and Te Urewera, as they themselves perceive them; and how matemateaone encapsulates Tuhoe, and the indigenous heritage of Te Urewera, as people, as place.

One notion of Tuhoe land and identity, and the responsibility the living generation has to those yet to come is described in detail by John Rangihau.

This concept of the land is a central aspect of our personal and cultural identity....We emphasise the question of land retention because we believe that the young of the future will need to have some base upon which they can stand - this sense of turangawaewae will be basic to their identity as Maori - as Tuhoe. If we, the people of this generation, allow our lands to pass to strangers then we are depriving our future young people of the chance to stand tall as Maori - on ground which they can regard as their Own²⁹.

Rangihau continues, by commenting on the sense of connection to the land, and what this means to him. Of particular interest is his insistence that for the relationship to remain real, then actual physical retention of the taonga itself must be maintained, because if it is not, then the very substance of ritual is valueless - a farce.

I believe that we have a spiritual tie to the land, that the spiritual and emotional qualities which our lands have for us are central to our being and that the only way by which we can retain these is to retain the land itself. It will not be good enough for us, or for those to come, to stand on the marae calling on our mountains, our lakes, our rivers - acknowledging them as part of our life force, our ethos - when in fact these treasures have passed into the hands of other than Maori people. Calling on their spiritual values

²⁹ John Rangihau, "The Maori," in *The New Zealanders*, ed. J Siers and J Henderson (Wellington: Millwood Press, 1975). p. 158

and associations becomes a farce if we do not in fact retain them physically³⁰.

The dis-ease of being displaced from Te Urewera, as either a fear or a reality, is magnified by the feelings of *matemateaone*. This uniquely Tuhoe worldview, so pervasive in Te Urewera, defines the relationship between people, determined by place.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 158

PERCEPTION AND IMAGING

Kainga rawahia hei kinaki i to kai tuturu
Ko to kai tuturu ko te matauranga o o tupuna
E hika, mahia nga mahi kia rite tona whanui
Ki te whenua, kia tika ai hoki, ko to taumata
Ko te rangi e
E hara he koha kii na taku kuia
Tenei te tangi ake ki a koutou e.....³¹

Knowledge nourishes human growth and prosperity; knowing who you are means you can claim the heavens; this is the sentiment of the lyrics cited above. And gaining such knowledge requires hard work before celebration; the challenge is gaining it, and questioning its sources. And Tuhoe, as a people, would seem to have many. Yet are these sources ours, actually?

Tuhoe was recorded for posterity in the works of one of the English-speaking world's most prolific gentlemen-scholars, Elsdon Best. His friendships with Tutakangahau, Paitini, Makurata, and other notables of that time ensured a recorded legacy that may be challenged, and yet revered as well. And for us all, it provides a starting point for discourse, further research, and earnest, necessary debate. It also provides us with a romantic, preraphaelite name – “Children of the Mist”³² – sometimes queried as his invention, yet as iconic and evocative as “Vikings of the Sunrise”³³.

³¹ Hori Tait, Anituatua Black (composers), and Whirimako Black (performer), *Clouded in the Mist/Hinepukohurangi* (Mangonui: Muscle Music Productions, 1999).

³² Elsdon Best, *Tuhoe, the Children of the Mist; a Sketch of the Origin, History, Myths and Beliefs of the Tuhoe Tribe of the Maori of New Zealand, with Some Account of Other Early Tribes of the Bay of Plenty District*, vol. 1 & 2 (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1925).

³³ Peter Henry Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Lippincott, 1938).

Who owns the work of Best? His descendants and his estate? Or the uri of those from whom he acquired these materials?

And considering their value and rarity as collectable items, to whom does the information – accurate or not – in *Tuhoe, Volumes 1 & 2*³⁴ truly belong? Can we as an iwi claim them...can we, who track our ascending pathways of blood and memory back into the tables of volume 2 have any rights at all?

One is reminded here of an encounter in an inner city second hand bookshop, where the two volumes were visible, but behind the counter. The writers asked the shop manager the usual questions - how much etc – he responded that they were not for sale, they were on layby for "an old Maori lady who comes in every pension day and puts ten dollars on them, and she will have them soon. She was very happy to find them, and she's getting them for her family." We were chastened by this kuia's initiative, and patient acceptance of the fact she was paying for what was effectively already hers, a part of her family's heritage.

Or have we become the victims of our own generosity? Even with our blood...and I am not referring to the killing fields of Orakau, the fatal swamps of Tai Hauauru.

In 1958, with the assistance of Dr Golan Maaka, an eccentric and respected general medical practitioner based in Whakatane, and Jim Milroy (son-in-law of Tamarau Takurua), the medical Doctors John Staveley and Roy Douglas conducted a "blood-grouping survey test among full-blooded Maori in the Tuhoe region". This is recorded in Bradford Haami's 1995 biography, *Dr Golan Maaka*³⁵. After a meeting at Mataatua marae, they solicited the aid of Sister Annie Henry, a retired Presbyterian missionary who had lived at Maungapohatu for over thirty years. They also involved an unnamed Ringatu tohunga who "knew every single individual in the

³⁴ Best, *Tuhoe, the Children of the Mist; a Sketch of the Origin, History, Myths and Beliefs of the Tuhoe Tribe of the Maori of New Zealand, with Some Account of Other Early Tribes of the Bay of Plenty District*.

³⁵ Bradford Haami, *Dr. Golan Maaka : Maori Doctor* (North Shore City, N.Z.: Tandem Press, 1995).

Tuhoe region.” Blood samples were taken from 253 people living in Ruatahuna and Te Whaiti, Taneatua and Ruatoki. The donors were all "full blooded", their singular Maori ancestry having been verified by the appropriate whakapapa experts. They offered unique information about the origins of the Maori, a “map of the Maori gene”. Amazing stuff for nearly half a century ago!!! What are the implications for us now? And what became of this material? It is literally our ancestors' blood. Where is it? Who owns it? What will become of it?

Tuhoe have been the subject of ethnographic scrutiny since Elsdon Best, James Cowan and their contemporaries. Unlike other iwi who have endured the frivolous attentions of the more populist writers, travellers, and amateur historians, in recent years Tuhoe has occupied the attention of serious academics, including Judith Binney³⁶, Steven Webster³⁷, Michael King³⁸, Evelyn Stokes³⁹ and Geoff Sissons⁴⁰.

From the time of Goldie, and the early film maker Gerald McDonald, images of Tuhoe people have been taken by Marti Friedlander, Kristin Zambucka, Harry Sangl, David Cook, Gillian Chaplin, Terry O'Connor, Barry Barclay, James Siers, Hans Neleman and various others. In some ways, these images have defined who Tuhoe have become; and ironically, many have also defined the “Maori As He Was”⁴¹. The Treaty of Waitangi exhibit at the Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa is enhanced by

³⁶ For example, Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs : A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1995)., and Judith Binney and Gillian Chaplin, *Nga Morehu: The Survivors* (Auckland; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

³⁷ For example, Peter Webster, *Rua and the Maori Millennium* (Wellington: Price Milburn for Victoria University Press, 1979).

³⁸ For example, Michael King and Marti Friedlander, *Moko: Maori Tattooing in the 20th Century* ([Wellington,; Alister Taylor, 1972).

³⁹ For example, E. Stokes, J. W. Milroy, and H. Melbourne, *Te Urewera - Nga Iwi, Te Whenua, Te Ngahere. People, Land and Forests of Te Urewera* (Hamilton, NZ.: University of Waikato, 1986).

⁴⁰ For example, J. Sissons, *Te Waimana : The Spring of Mana : Tuhoe History and the Colonial Encounter., Te Whenua Series No. 6* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1991).

⁴¹ Elsdon Best, *The Maori as He Was: A Brief Account of Maori Life as It Was in Pre-European Days*, ed. Zealand New, Science Board of, and Art, *New Zealand. Board of Science and Art. Manual, No. 4.* (Wellington, N.Z.,: Dominion Museum, 1924).

huge iconic, illuminated images of Paitini, taken when Best and the Dominion Museum photographer were in Te Urewera. Also of interest is the inclusion of images of Ruatahuna people, as specific Maori “types” in ethnographic publications, the popular print media of the day and on souvenir postcards.

In other indigenous societies the issue of photography by outsiders is being constantly examined, and the work produced by non-indigenous scholars is being queried and challenged, as well as recognized, and valued. The prevalent and inevitable question is to whom do the images and the knowledge collected belong, and who has primary rights to them? Archival institutions such as the National Library are addressing some indigenous concerns positively, and creatively. They make copies of material, for example photographs and manuscripts, available to uri or hapu groups as part of their Treaty policy. Financial constraints are inevitable, and often the descendants must pay the costs of photographic and electronic processing.

Yet all this documentation is still cultural property, and part of the Tuhoe heritage; so what are the implications for us as uri? How far do we push, to claim back what we have always known, but naively chose to share, and then had stolen? What approaches, in the global context of indigenous cultural property issues, have other indigenous peoples taken? And what exactly is "cultural property", anyway? These issues are addressed in the next section.

TUHOE HERITAGE AND CULTURAL PROPERTY: HE TAONGA TUKU IHO

The term 'cultural property' first appeared at the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in 1954, with reference to those tangible objects that made up a nation's heritage; cultural property is an essential part of that. For our purposes, cultural property and heritage expert, Elazar Barkan provides some salient definitions

Heritage is appreciated and cherished because it enriches life in ways that market economy and monetary compensation cannot. Tangible cultural property manifests the cultural identity of a nation or a group disproportionate to other economic resources....Thus, the heritage of every nation is projected on its own priceless objects and sites. The identity of these objects, even when separated from ownership, manifests the group's history and tradition⁴².

This notion of 'cultural property' as a manifestation of identity has engaged indigenous peoples all over the world. Although there are as many understandings of this issue as there are affected communities, the systematic or casual pillaging of significant heritage objects by the colonizers - traders, settlers, missionaries, government agents, and invading militia - is a familiar experience. Like their value, their loss is incalculable. Barkan also comments on this

The presence and the absence of these objects, which cannot be replicated or renewed, add a further layer to the complexity of the object as signifying the national identity. Often the longing itself for these unavailable objects or sites constitutes an essential component of the group's identity. The restitution of cultural property, therefore, plays a central role in attempts to redress historical injustices⁴³.

⁴² Elazar Barkan, "Amending Historical Injustices: The Restitution of Cultural Property - an Overview," in *Claiming the Stones/Naming the Bones: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of National and Ethnic Identity*, ed. E Barkan and R Bush (Los Angeles: Getty Press, 2002). p. 17

⁴³ Ibid. p. 17

This experience of historical injustice form a commonality of loss, and grief, outrage and invasion; recovery, courage, healing, and resistance, which all occurred in the narrative of Te Urewera, and the relationality of *matemateaone*. We emphasize that *matemateaone* is the longing itself, and the belonging, to the land, to the group, with the land, with the group. It is an experience shared, and articulated, with other indigenous societies and communities as a commonality. It is also an issue which may eventually be resolved.

International Perspectives: "The Commonality of Experience"

'The Commonality of Experience' is considered in a number of examples below. They include a local initiative, a North American native intervention, the acclaimed cultural property report produced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission in Australia, and two projects undertaken by the United Nations. The second of the UN projects presents a framework for the Tuhoe/Te Urewera discussion.

The Mataatua Declaration 1993

In June 1993, 150 representatives from fourteen countries attended the First International Conference on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, convened by The Nine Tribes of Mataatua in the Bay of Plenty Region of Aotearoa, including Tuhoe. The outcome of this meeting was the historic Mataatua Declaration⁴⁴, which issued a series of salient and challenging recommendations to indigenous people, states, national and international agencies. The document opened with the statement proclaiming that the conference...

Declare that Indigenous Peoples of the world have the right to self determination: and in exercising that right must be recognised as the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property.

Acknowledge that Indigenous Peoples have a commonality of experiences relating to the exploitation of their cultural and intellectual property;

Affirm that the knowledge of the Indigenous Peoples of the world is of benefit to all humanity;

⁴⁴ *The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, (Wellington: Ministry of Maori Development, 1995).

Recognise that Indigenous Peoples are capable of managing their traditional knowledge themselves, but are willing to offer it to all humanity provided their fundamental rights to define and control this knowledge are protected by the international community;

Insist that the first beneficiaries of indigenous knowledge (cultural and intellectual property rights) must be the direct indigenous descendants of such knowledge;

Declare that all forms of discrimination and exploitation of indigenous peoples, indigenous knowledge and indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights must cease.

Several issues are raised here, and they are considered again in the recommendations to indigenous peoples. One views this Declaration with a sense of irony, considering current relationships between some of the original nine convening tribes, and their ongoing litigious perambulations. No provision is made for the heterogeneous realities of different indigenous populations that may concurrently inhabit a site, or claim stewardship of a particular cultural object. No mention is made of conflict - historical, contemporary, or potential. Contestation between indigenous peoples is not addressed anywhere in the text at all. We consider this to be a revealing oversight, as it seems to assume a dangerous fiction - that indigenous peoples live in harmony with each other, and conflict occurs only with the non-indigenous intruder or thief. And yet, it is often that very contestation between each other which determines who one is, in relation to cultural object, or significant place - as someone different, more deserving, and distinct from one's neighbours, potential allies, or outright adversaries.

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration: Consultations

Cultural property, however it is defined, lives in the conscious actions of those for whom it is most significant at that particular moment, or for that specific purpose. One notable example of this in practice is the consultation document, *Cultural resources and Consultations with Native American Tribes* prepared for the National

Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, a federal authority in the USA.⁴⁵ The NOAA planned a building in Boulder, Colorado; it incorporated a sacred site. They consulted closely with the local Native American communities, who emphasised that traditional cultural property can be defined by

...its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community. Traditional Cultural Properties -CPs - are essential to maintaining the cultural integrity of many Native American Indian nations and are critical to the cultural lives of many of their communities⁴⁶.

This definition clearly summarizes the Tuhoë position, and notes that which has been threatened by colonial incursion, and the events detailed so graphically by other writers for the claim project. It also affirms that cultural property maintains cultural integrity - which is critical in sustaining a living community.

United Nations Document 28 July 1993

The issue of the appropriateness of the term, cultural property, in describing indigenous interests is further questioned by Erica Irene Daes in her paper titled 'Study on the Protection of the Cultural and Intellectual Property of Indigenous Peoples'. She claims in Paragraph 26 that indigenous peoples

...do not view their heritage in terms of property at all - that is, something which has an owner and is used for the purpose of extracting economic benefits - but in terms of community and responsibility⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ General Services Administration and the Department of Commerce, *Cultural Resources and Consultations with Native American Tribes - Report Prepared for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration* ([cited 1 July 2003]); available from <http://boulder.noaa.gov/updates/tribes.html>.

⁴⁶ Ibid.([cited]).

⁴⁷ Erica Daes, "Protection of the Cultural and Intellectual Property of Indigenous Peoples.," (Draft report table at the United Nations, July, 28 1993). para 26

Cultural practices, active responsibility as a people for the continuation of community identity, and the maintenance of cultural integrity are the critical factors, and the anomaly of cultural "property" is effectively redefined according to indigenous values. In the Tuhoe context, these values are encompassed by the concept of *matemateaone*, and exemplified by its active observation. This observation includes such events as the Hui Ahurei o Tuhoe, the regular periods of rest, pilgrimage and recreation by urban dwellers returning to Te Urewera, the ongoing cultural programmes and *wananga* in the rural and urban contexts, and the pride in simply "being Tuhoe". It is further reinforced by the actual, physical ownership of the taonga itself.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission Report 1998

Issues of indigenous cultural property are also addressed comprehensively in an impressive report prepared for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission (ATSIC) by Terri Janke and others. In the Executive Summary of their report, the writers introduce the notion of *indigenous heritage rights*. They define indigenous Heritage thus

*Heritage consists of the intangible and tangible aspects of the whole body of cultural practices, resources, and knowledge systems developed, nurtured and refined by indigenous people and passed on by them as part of expressing their cultural identity*⁴⁸.

They include a range of human endeavours and other related phenomena within heritage. Obvious examples such as literary, performing and artistic works, music, dance, song, ceremonies, symbols and designs are mentioned first, followed by languages, scientific, agricultural, technical and ecological knowledge, which also

⁴⁸ T Janke, "Our Culture, Our Future. Report on Australian Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights," (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission., 1998). p. xvii

covers cultigens, medicines, and the sustainable use of flora and fauna. Movable cultural property, ancestral remains, and human genetic material are recognized, as is immovable cultural property such as sacred places, burials, and sites of significance. Cultural environmental resources are also mentioned. Much of this section of the Janke report is based on another United Nations document, also the work of Erica Daes, the Special Rapporteur on the issue of Indigenous Peoples. This document will be examined below in considerable detail.

United Nations Document 21 June 1995

Dr Daes' final report was tabled at the UN on 21 June 1995.⁴⁹ Because it emphasises those basic rights being addressed in this paper, the report is included below, and will be duly examined later. It also presents an effective framework for the Nga Taonga o Te Urewera discussion.

⁴⁹ Erica Daes, "Discrimination against Indigenous Peoples: Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous Peoples," (Final report table at the United Nations, June, 21 1995).

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Protection of the heritage of indigenous peoples

Final Report by Erica Irene Daes, Special Rapporteur

Tabled at the United Nations 21 June 1995

Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1995

1. The effective protection of the heritage of the indigenous peoples of the world benefit all humanity. Cultural diversity is essential to the adaptability and creativity of the human species as a whole.
2. To be effective, the protection of indigenous people's heritage should be based broadly on the principle of self determination, which includes the right and duty of indigenous peoples to develop their own cultures and knowledge systems, and forms of social organization.
3. Indigenous peoples should be recognized as the primary guardians and interpreters of their cultures, arts, and sciences, whether created in the past or developed by them in the future.
4. International recognition and respect for indigenous peoples' own customs, rules, and practices for the transmission of their heritage for future generations is essential to these peoples' enjoyment of human rights and human dignity.
5. Indigenous peoples' ownership and custody of their heritage must continue to be collective, permanent, and inalienable, as prescribed by the customs rules and practices of each people.
6. The discovery, use and teaching of indigenous peoples' knowledge, arts and cultures is inextricably connected with the traditional lands and territories of each people. Control over indigenous areas and resources is essential to the continued transmission of indigenous peoples' heritage to future generations, and its full protection.
7. To protect their heritage, indigenous peoples must control their own means of cultural transmission and education. This includes the right to the continued use, and wherever necessary, the restoration of their own languages.
8. To protect their heritage, indigenous peoples must also exercise control over all research conducted within their territories, or which uses their people as subjects of study.
9. The free and informed consent of the indigenous owners should be an essential prescription of any agreements which may be made for the recording, study, use or display of indigenous peoples' heritage.

PROTECTION OF THE HERITAGE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: A TUHOE RESPONSE

We intend to discuss the nine different articles within the Daes report⁵⁰ to the United Nations (21 June 1995), jointly or individually, below. They will be cited in relation to specific Tuhoe examples or case studies, which will illustrate specific breaches of the Daes report, and more importantly, the Treaty of Waitangi. It is worth pointing out that in our view, the articles detailed in the Daes report clearly incorporate and reflect the spirit and intent of the Treaty of Waitangi. The first and second articles of the Treaty of Waitangi are the most relevant. Those principles most violated are discussed below.

Active Protection: The gift of Kawanatanga in exchange for the active protection of Rangatiratanga

Rangatiratanga: Our right to be a self-determining collectivity – to retain, enjoy, nurture and manage our lands, customary resources, lifeways and other taonga including our intangible cultural assets.

Partnership: Known as the partnership principle, this requires that the Crown and Maori act towards each other reasonably and with the utmost good faith.

Article three is relevant to the case studies and examples that follow, but in a less immediate way. Failure to acknowledge and address breaches of article 1 and 2 not only results in a reduced capacity by Tuhoe to equally enjoy the fruits of citizenship and to actively participate in New Zealand society, but also in a continued process of unrelenting marginalization and loss.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Paragraphs One & Two: Protection and Rangatiratanga

1. The effective protection of the heritage of the indigenous peoples of the world benefit all humanity. Cultural diversity is essential to the adaptability and creativity of the human species as a whole.

2. To be effective, the protection of indigenous people's heritage should be based broadly on the principle of self determination, which includes the right and duty of indigenous peoples to develop their own cultures and knowledge systems, and forms of social organization.

These paragraphs address the significance of protecting indigenous heritage for the benefit of all humankind, based on the principles of indigenous self determination. They firmly state that it is the right and duty of indigenous peoples to develop their own cultural, social and creative environments. To realise this ideal, honest and respectful joint partnerships must occur, and be effectively sustained. Certainly, in both the nineteenth century and contemporary Tuhoe context, such partnerships have not been manifest, despite the well meaning and genuine exertions of fondly remembered missionaries, rural educators and gentleman scholars. Their intention was to develop and improve the native lot - their way, thus saving the natives from themselves or an imagined (and sometimes actually threatened) oblivion. For such earnest pioneers, the very notion of native self-determination contradicted their view of the Maori "as he was", and obstructed their course in shaping the Maori as he "could be". Any potential had to be tempered by a benevolent paternalism; self-determination was alien and therefore unmentioned. And yet, in Te Urewera, it happened anyway! Te kotahi na Tuhoe, e kata te po!

Self determination by consistently, fiercely Tuhoe means, was attempted in the robust and muscular initiatives of Rua Kenana and the community of Maungapohatu in the early 1900's. They were vigorously undermined, and the vision all but destroyed, in bloodshed, police invasion, and fatal gunfire merely two generations

ago. Rather than revisit this historical event which is detailed by other writers⁵¹ in the overall project, we prefer to note the initiative here as a lucid and telling exemplar, crushed by the agents of the Crown.

In more recent decades, the Tuhoe environment has been invigorated by the endeavours of an inventive and engaging activist, Tame Wairere Iti. Surrounded by an enthusiastic crew of supporters, he has challenged the Crown, and the descendants, still resident on their well established farms, of the rewarded constabulary. In the latter case, he issued these people with Eviction Notices from the Tuhoe Nation.

Tame Iti also organized a camp at Home Bay, next to the Department of Conservation facility at Waikaremoana, in January 1998. The occupying group, Nga Tamariki o te Kohu, claimed that the Department had breached various clauses in the Deed of Lease signed in 1971, and this justified their re-entry. From this came a Joint Ministerial Inquiry⁵², and although the group's concerns were judged to be unfounded, the energy and resolve of Tuhoe youth to assert their own sense of dominion and self-determination was certainly noted by their elders yet overlooked and avoided by Government Officials.

Paragraph Three: Guardians and Interpreters

3. Indigenous peoples should be recognized as the primary guardians and interpreters of their cultures, arts, and sciences, whether created in the past or developed by them in the future.

⁵¹ See Judith Binney, "Encircled Lands - Vol 2: A History of the Urewera 1878-1912," (Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2002).

⁵² J K Guthrie and J E Paki, "Joint Ministerial Inquiry Lake Waikaremoana - Report to the Ministers of Maori Affairs, Hon Tau Henare, Minister of Conservation, Hon Dr Nick Smith," (Dunedin; Wellington: Solicitor Maori Trustee, 27/08/98).

Paragraph three refers to the recognition of indigenous people as the "primary guardians and interpreters of their cultures, arts, and sciences" suggesting that the methodologies and presentation of those aspects of Tuhoe life should be interpreted and presented primarily and exclusively by Tuhoe, not by educational interests, church instruction, or political agenda.

The Aniwaniwa Visitors Centre and Park Headquarters: A Study

The establishment of the Aniwaniwa Visitor Centre and Te Urewera National Park Headquarters presents a salient case study, particularly in the development of its display facility to interpret Te Urewera to the park visitor, and the general public.

It began with the signing of the lease of Lake Waikaremoana by Tuhoe and Ngati Kahungunu to the Crown in August 1971. This has been since referred to as the "Treaty of Waikaremoana". Following this event, a new park headquarters was envisaged, close to the lake, and firmly within the newly extended Te Urewera National Park. The facility existed for a while in Stan Barret's garage and tearooms at Aniwaniwa. Once finance was available, a new building was designed by John Scott, and construction began in late 1974.

The visitor centre, carefully designed to blend with the bush, was officially opened on 22 February 1976 by the then Minister of Lands, Hon. Venn Young, and was dedicated by Canon Wi Huata of Wairoa.⁵³

Planning and design of this centre presents a vivid illustration of the cross cultural difficulties and ongoing challenges confronted by both sides of this unusual and newly formed Treaty partnership. According to the Te Urewera National Park Board's Chairman A.E. Turley in a memo to T.R Nikora (16/01/1970) on the Visitor Interpretative facility,

⁵³ Department of Lands & Survey Gisborne, *Land of the Mist : The Story of the Urewera National Park* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1983).

It is expected that, when completed, the building will serve as an important national repository for Maori artifacts and make a significant contribution towards a greater understanding of Maori history and culture.

Over a year later, in a further Turley memo of 24 July 1972 an attempt to "brand" Te Urewera National Park was also considered. The other national parks each had a special and marketable feature, for example, volcanoes signified Tongariro, a mountain cone portrayed what was then Egmont, lakes symbolized the Nelson region, glaciers described Westland, and the sounds were Fiordland. In Te Urewera, what made it unique was its Maori history. Turley does acknowledge

Unfortunately the interpretation of intangibles such as historic and cultural values is far more difficult than is the case with physical features such as mountains, lakes, and volcanoes.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, he argues that the architect, John Scott of Haumoana, may have an "obvious ability to understand and respond to the Urewera's Maori influences", as he was of Maori (but not Tuhoe) descent. This optimism is echoed in the words of Mr R Nikora speaking at the sole combined meeting (telling in its being the only time during and after the planning period) of Te Urewera National Park Board and the Tuhoe Trust Board on 16 March 1973.

He expressed their (Tuhoe's) pleasure that the concept and design of the building embodied so much of the spirit of the Urewera and of the history of Maori occupation of the area. Tuhoe were keen to help with the Centre and they would welcome an indication of what areas of the building they could contribute to with murals, carvings, artefacts.

There was no response recorded in the minutes to this generous offer, although it presented a rich opportunity to realise the vision of the 23 September 1971 memorandum.

⁵⁴ p.2

In Te Urewera National Park Board's Annual Report to the National Parks Authority 1973, it is stated of the work in progress

Although the design is modern, in its basic elements of shape and form it reflects traditional Maori culture. The main aim of the building is to provide for visitors a facility which will interpret the Maori history and the unspoilt wilderness character of the Urewera, with its outstanding flora and fauna, rather than the conventional type of information and administration centre (pp 7-8).

By 2 May 1974, an Interpretation Committee was established to consider the issues of the building's display and interpretation of the Urewera. Scott had a particular visual concept,

the mystery of the Maoris in the Urewera. A main focal point would be a carved pole at the entrance to the museum area...concerned with Maori culture and Maori interpretation as it related to the National Park.

It was at this meeting that he first suggested commissioning a large mural by a well known artist, to be funded in part by the Queen Elizabeth Arts Council.

Despite efforts by the two Maori Board members, the concern of local elders, and the interest of a Tuhoe arts professional of considerable reputation, the carved pole, and other carved features never materialised.

With Arts Council assistance, the mural, rejected in its initial form, was commissioned from Colin McCahon. It was in place when the building was opened in February 1976. A massive triptych, it has its own story, forecast by the following comment in the Urewera National Park Board's Minutes of 10 June that same year

The staff felt it had such an overpowering effect that the Maori hall had lost its atmosphere.

By this time, the minutes indicate that the Chief Ranger had taken the design control of the project. Despite this, the 1975-76 Urewera National Park Board's Annual

Report repeats verbatim the paragraph cited above concerning the work in progress when it was tabled in 1973.

The wilderness feature becomes the primary emphasis of the display, and in the absence of Maori from the Interpretation Committee, Maori history as such is increasingly seen and interpreted by Pakeha. A singular example is the instance of the Auckland Museum offering a "model pa". At the Urewera National Park Board's 9 September meeting, Tamaro Nikora informs his colleagues that not all Maori are the same

...it would need to be related to a definite area and that such pas were not common in the Urewera, where the people relied mainly on natural fortifications for defence.

Through a series of engagements with visiting experts and consultants, the Maori dimension of the Visitor Centre and Interpretive Facility became increasingly marginalised, or reduced to a manageable section told and presented by Pakeha experts. The cruelest irony of all is that at this time, the voices of a number of profoundly learned Tuhoe still resonated on the marae atea of Te Urewera. They were approached to check out and confirm place names in the field; but they were not involved in the centre, as the Interpretation Committee Working Party decided at its meeting of 14 November 1978

...local residents had donated artefacts for display. For security reasons these had not been used...and replicas (were) mooted...Maori history (should) be confined to one room with possibly a mural designed for the walls.

Again, the European perspective, the notion of a dominant didactic mural, persisted. Maori concepts of display or presentation are not considered at all, nor are they requested.

The presentation of Maori history and culture continued to engage the working party members, who resolved in their minutes of 17 January 1979.

The first priority was to inform the public of a simple broad outline of Maori history with not too many Maori names.

And a museum ethnologist would be brought in to "fill in the gaps". The next meeting, in March 1979, discussed possible themes, like Rangī and Papa. In timely attendance, Tamaro Nikora reminded them that

...any story illustrated must be peculiar to the Park itself and advised consultation with Mr Arnold Wilson of the Ed Dept who was an expert on carving and murals.

He brought the issue back to the uniqueness of the area, and their role in ensuring its displays were appropriate, in Tuhoe terms. The response to this, recorded in the minutes of the same meeting, was predictable.

Not too much carving was required as it was a museum, and (the speaker) personally favoured a carved door lintel or a fibre glass model with coloured photographs.

At this point, the Working Party resolved to commission a fibre glass model from the National Parks Authority visual production unit based at Nelson. It was to replicate a Tuhoe carving selected by the Dominion Museum ethnologist from the museum's collection. Again, it is ironic. As these matters were being discussed, one very talented young Tuhoe carver was producing carved work of outstanding quality in Paremōmo Prison. Before his recent and untimely death, Pahiri Tari Matekuare, completed several significant projects in Te Urewera. And it was telling that a fibre glass option, a model or replica, but not a genuine work though some had been offered, was preferred by the majority of the decision makers at that time.

Work continued on the display facilities, with the natural history sections almost completed. The McCahon mural drew more attention and funding, as the Interpretation Committee Working Party minutes of 7 August 1979 recognised the need for an expensive false wall to support the mural. On the same occasion, they dismissed bilingual labelling, in Maori and English, of the exhibits because it was

...generally felt that this would not benefit the display sufficiently to render the extra cost worthwhile.

In 1980, the Board itself was about to be restructured, and the National Parks Authority to be reconfigured in a series of new entities. The March meeting recorded a return of interest in the original subject matter of the Maori display - not man in the forest, or man and nature, but more Tuhoe focussed material like Te Kooti, Rua Kenana, and Tuhoe specific history. In the final meeting of Te Urewera National Park Board, held 5-6 March 1981, it was resolved to refer all Interpretation business to the new administration. And this brings us to the current situation.

The change of administration introduced new vision, a new budget, and some intriguing new directions. One most admirable was the purchase at auction of a uniquely, incomparably Tuhoe icon, the RUA TUPUA flag, for \$2600, bid from a reserve of \$350. It was made in 1902 by the Rongowhakaata people of Pakowhai for Rua when he went "to meet the king". The flag was acquired by a Pakeha Public Works Department worker from an unidentified source and unknown location in the early 1960's. The quiet yet momentous repatriation of this flag was a beginning, a shift away from earlier practice and attitudes.

Te Urewera National Park Board had actively dismissed and diminished the Tuhoe voice, through their constant resistance to this perspective in the planning of the Visitor Centre, the thematic design and the material content of the displays; and through their reluctance to engage in any meaningful "interpretation of intangibles", even with Board members for whom these very intangibles were a rational and living reality. The Tuhoe role as primary guardians, as primary interpreters, was usurped and all notions of partnership or protection, of access and sharing, were erased. The colonial process endured, despite the valiant and often solitary efforts of Tuhoe members on the Board to challenge this denial of the one ultimate intangible - that Te Urewera and Tuhoe are the same. And will be so, "in the future".

The Uluru Exemplar

The international literature is scattered with examples of how other governments have treated with indigenous peoples to resolve historic grievances, to reserve rights and to mutually benefit each other. An interesting exemplar, which offers a salient way forward, occurs in Australia.

The Australian Government, having purchased land in the Northern Territory returned that land to the traditional aboriginal owners. Similar to the Lake Waikaremoana Lease, for a fee, the traditional aboriginal owners now lease their land to the Australian Government for management as the Kakadu National Park. The same arrangement is true for Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park also in the Northern Territory and Booderee National Park on the south coast of New South Wales. Unlike Waikaremoana, the lease agreements require the Australian Director of National Parks to take all practicable steps to promote Indigenous management and control of national parks. As such, traditional owners form the majority on boards of management for each park. The leases also allow for the continuing traditional hunting practices by traditional owners and oblige the Australian Government to provide employment and other economic opportunities within the parks.

Joint management of national parks has delivered social, cultural and economic benefits to the indigenous communities involved. Combining the skills of the joint management partners provides optimal environmental results in areas such as, weed management, feral animal eradication and fire regimes. In addition, the experience and understanding of the natural and cultural values of national parks and Indigenous Protected Areas are enhanced for visitors.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Common Wealth of Australia, "Australia Now: Indigenous Australians: Management of National Parks and Protected Areas," (Online: http://www.dfat.gov.au/facts/indg_parksmgmt.html, 2000)., para 13.

Paragraph Four: Customary Practice and the Transmission of knowledge

4. International recognition and respect for indigenous peoples' own customs, rules, and practices for the transmission of their heritage for future generations is essential to these peoples' enjoyment of human rights and human dignity.

This article requires that international recognition and respect be accorded the indigenous knowledge and learning systems of indigenous people, for the transmission of their heritage for future generations. It reinforces the sentiment of the preceding paragraph. Considering the incursions of the education ministry, the rigorous and relentless application of corporal punishment to ensure the speaking of English, and the active dismissal and diminishing of traditional belief and theology systems as irrelevant or regressive, this article has been breached repeatedly in the Te Urewera context. Our taonga have been gravely and consistently and methodically endangered and part of this jeopardy has been caused by the conscious publication of didactic material about the Tuhoe people, in relation specifically to Te Urewera.

The various administrations charged with managing Te Urewera National Park have over time issued or supported a number of publications since its establishment. Authored by a variety of people, they inevitable start out with some statement about Tuhoe. They include the following titles. The *Handbook to the Urewera National Park* was published in (1966) by the Urewera National Park Board⁵⁶, and is an informative account, with a detailed section on Maori history, including colonial encounters. It was reprinted in 1968. This was followed by *Urewera National Park* by Johnson (1976)⁵⁷. A year later, *A souvenir booklet of Waikaremoana, Wairau-moana, Waikare-iti: a concise history of the lakes, the people and the land* by Gallen

⁵⁶ Urewera National Park Board, *Handbook to the Urewera National Park* (Christchurch: Simpson & Williams Ltd, 1966).

⁵⁷ Gordon Wills Johnson, *Urewera National Park* (Christchurch, New Zealand: Bascands Limited, 1976).

and North (1977)⁵⁸ was published, as will be noted later. The final offering in the Urewera National Park Board series was the booklet *Land of the mist: The Story of the Urewera National Park* published by the Department of Lands & Survey Gisborne (1983)⁵⁹.

Apart from the on site commentary offered by generous elders and harvested on occasional field trips, it is highly unlikely that any Tuhoe input or learned contribution was actively solicited or engaged.

In 1975 John Rangihau clearly states the exclusion of specific important places to Tuhoe from Te Urewera National Park.

The environmentalists and ecologists don't want it milled or modified as they are anxious to preserve it in its present state. It is not really suitable for farming development for our young people but because it is our ancient heritage we are not interested in surrendering the title to anyone. Thus we are leasing it to the Crown almost in perpetuity at a token rental in return for the Crown leasing to us land suitable for development on the same basis. Prior to our discussions on the actual lease we negotiated the exclusion of our urupas or burial sites, pa sites, battle sites, sites of general historical interest and those of historical interest only to Tuhoe. We have kept these aside so that we can speak with authority on the marae, referring to the ancestors lying there, confident that we still retain the physical aspect of their being in those lands⁶⁰.

What is ironic is that two years later the Urewera National Park Board authorised and published the souvenir booklet written by Gallen and North (1977).⁶¹ In that

⁵⁸ R. G. Gallen and A North, *A Souvenir Booklet of Waikaremoana, Wairau-Moana, Waikare-Iti : A Concise History of the Lakes, the People and the Land* (Wellington: Urewera National Park Board, 1977).

⁵⁹ Department of Lands & Survey Gisborne, *Land of the Mist : The Story of the Urewera National Park*.

⁶⁰ Rangihau, "The Maori." In Siers 1975 pp 158-159

⁶¹ Gallen and North, *A Souvenir Booklet of Waikaremoana, Wairau-Moana, Waikare-Iti : A Concise History of the Lakes, the People and the Land*.

booklet, Gallen and North in specific detail identify, name and locate (with map coordinates) the very sites, including those on privately own Tuhoe land, which Rangihau stressed to be an exclusively Tuhoe controlled heritage.

This was a dramatic breach - a failure to protect and preserve, it is an unwarranted and ill advised exposure, a violation of Tuhoe property rights and the sanctity of waahi tapu.

Tuhoe Wananga and Te Hui Ahurei a Tuhoe

Tuhoe, as a people, have nevertheless ensured that traditional knowledge and values continue to be passed on to those whose economic circumstances cause them to live away from Te Urewera. Wananga for the youth (and those not so young) in contemporary times were occurring in Te Urewera from the 1960's. Some were for specific hapu or extended whanau, others for particular purposes. These may be the learning of waiata and haka, the gathering of plant resources for raranga and whatu kakahu, and the subsequent hui for weaving instruction, or in more recent years, the training in traditional martial arts at those very sites where past generations had learned the warrior's skills. Tuhoe have made an active commitment to the transmission of knowledge with each other, as an iwi.

In her journal of 10 April 1985, one of the writers recorded a trip to Ruatahuna with a large and memorable group from the city.

As the shadows deepened, we reached the marae of Mataatua, and the sumptuous embrace of Te Whai a te Motu. Magnificent. Settled in early, preparing for the next day's hike. With us in the house were three busloads of Auckland people - Te Tira Hou- on a what they called a "pilgrimage with and for their children, absorbing the myths and beauty of Hinepukohurangi, coming home." What a crowd! So much laughter and energy and innocent hope, everyone so excited! Morning dawned misty and pale. Off we all tramped - yes, all of us, the Aucklanders didn't want to miss out on anything - to Ohaua. Six hard walking miles of ridges, forest and creeks - for us soft city people - from the nearest telephone, instant hot water, and electric light. The little wharenuui welcomed us all, radiant with newly carved panels and bright kowhaiwhai

*rafters, the poutokomanawa a challenging female figure.
Just getting there, on foot, was a lesson for us all.*

Every Easter break, every summer holiday, Te Urewera is resonant with such laughter and excitement, people coming home; the call of *matemateaone* strong indeed. Such events are usually funded by *whanau*, and casually undertaken.

There is a much more broadly organized, and costly undertaking that engages all of *Tuhoe*, on a regular basis -usually biennial, and at Easter weekend. *Te Hui Ahurei a Tuhoe* is a splendid demonstration of the transmission of knowledge, the celebration of traditional language, values and culture, the retention of heritage; and the dynamic reality of being *Tuhoe* in today's world. The first ever *Tuhoe Festival* took place at *Mataatua Marae* in *Rotorua* on *Queen's Birthday weekend 1972*; they hosted it again the following year, and then the event was held at *Rewarewa marae* in *Ruatoki*. Competitions in the traditional performing arts, and winter sports like rugby and netball drew teams from all over the country, and one of the most diverting activities was the debates, in *te reo Tuhoe*, about pithy issues of the day. Through every successive gathering, this *whakatauki* prevailed, with a sense of purpose.

*Hokia ki nga maunga kia purea ai koe e nga hau o
Tawhirimatea*

*Return to the mountains, that you may be revived by the
winds of Tawhirimatea*

More recent years have seen thousands in attendance, with people travelling from Australia, Japan, and the United States. The intention of this festival, renamed the *HuiAhurei a Tuhoe* in 1993, is most lucidly expressed by the Chairman of the *Tuhoe Trust Board*, *Aubrey Tokawhakea Temara* in the 1999 souvenir booklet for *Waimana*

*Kua tae ano nei tatou ki te wa
E whakawhanaunga ano ai a Ngai Tuhoe i ana hapu
E whakamahanahana ano ai tatou i a tatou
E whakahakoakoa ano ai tatou i a tatou
E whakangahau ano ai tatou i a tatou*

*E matemateaone ano ai tatou tetahi ki tetahi
I raro I nga manaakitanga a ratou ma....*

Translated by these writers

*Once again we have reached the time
For Ngai Tuhoe to reconnect with their hapu
To warm each other again
To delight each other again
To entertain each other again
To experience matemateaone, one on one,
With the blessing of those who have passed on...⁶²*

These sentiments are reiterated by Wena Tait, a young mother whose views and wishes on the future of Ahurei are published in the most recent souvenir booklet. She reflects on matemateaone, and its meaning for the young.

Kia haere tonu nga Ahurei puta noa I te rohe potae. Kia pakari ko nga mahi ma nga tamariki. Kia mau te matemateaone I roto I te Ahurei. Kia kaha ake te whakato I te matemateaone ki roto I nga uri whakaeke, e taea ai e ratou te pupuri I a Tuhoe mo ake tonu atu....

Ahurei should continue throughout te rohe potae. The young ones must be more involved. Retain the idea of matemateaone within Ahurei. Instil matemateaone more strongly in the younger generations, so that they are staunch, as Tuhoe, forever....⁶³

Tuhoe, as a people, have successfully and despite or perhaps because of socioeconomic, urban and cultural pressures, retained customary practice and ensured the transmission of heritage though under severe threat. This has been achieved by the visionary and energetic initiatives of an earlier leadership; but the community cultural activists of today's te Urewera continue to be productive, and compellingly positive.

⁶² Aubrey Tokawhakaia Te Mara, in *Tuhoe Ahurei Te Waimana Ko Koeau, Ko Au, Ko Koe, Ko Taua 2-5 Poututerangi* (Waimana: Komiti Whakahaere, 1999). p. 2

⁶³ Wena Tait, in *Te Hui Ahurei a Tohue Toku Ora, Toku Tuhoetanga 2003 Souvenir Booklet* (Ruatoki: Te Komiti Matua o Te Ahurei, 2003).

The capacity, the vision, the management skills and the tenacity are clearly demonstrated; what the Crown has so often neglected to do is recognize and respect these attributes, choosing instead to treat Tuhoe as the other, as the managed subaltern.

Paragraph Five: Nga Taonga Katoa

5. Indigenous peoples' ownership and custody of their heritage must continue to be collective, permanent, and inalienable, as prescribed by the customs rules and practices of each people.

This article prescribes indigenous people's ownership and custody of heritage, insisting that it be collective, permanent, and inalienable, according to the customary practice of each people. Recalling how *matemateaone* defines the Tuhoe concept of cultural property and heritage, this area remains fraught with contention, as so much of our material cultural heritage is no longer in our actual possession. The theft and looting of cultural property for personal profit or morbid curiosity continues to this day, though in the earlier times of the land wars, and the ensuing decades, such behaviour went unnoticed and uncontrolled. Huge boundary markers, gateways, carvings, simply disappeared.

William Colenso remarks on the unique approach to Onepoto - as seen for possibly the very first time through pakeha eyes, and certainly recorded thus -

*The gateway was, as is often the case, embellished with a pair of huge and boldly carved human figures, besmeared with shining red pigment, armed with spears, and grinning defiance to all comers. These were not only seen to advantage through being elevated above the horizon, but their eyes (or rather sockets), instead of being set with glittering *Haliotis* shell (according to the usual national custom), were left open, so that the light of the sky streamed through them, and this was yet more particularly manifested owing to the proper inclination given to the figures, looking*

down, as it were, on all toiling up the steep ascent into the well fenced village⁶⁴.

What became of this gateway? In the Te Maori catalogue, Entry number 90, a mask from the gateway of the pa, is attributed to Ngati Manawa. Mead and Simmons assert that this is so, having been mentioned by Colenso in relation to a "Ngati Manawa pa on the Whirinaki River in 1842." I have found no such record, and suggest that this is speculation and error on the part of the Te Maori researchers. It is now in the collection of the Otago Museum, and it is just as likely that this mask was removed from Onepoto by colonial militia, and dropped near Whirinaki, to be discovered again, collected, and duly reprovenanced by the dealer or museum.

During the hunt for Te Kooti, and the rigours of the scorched earth policy detailed by other writers in this Inquiry, villages and hamlets were systematically sacked and destroyed. Of one, at Tauaki near Maungapohatu, only the tahuhu of the whareniui remains; of the great runanga house recorded as being at Matuahu, at Waikaremoana, there is nothing, though Gallen & North describe it in their souvenir booklet thus:

There were 15 or 20 wharepuni as well as Te Kooti's Runanga (council) House, a large and elaborately carved building within the palisades⁶⁵.

What became of this building, of its ornamentation? In May 1870, the colonial militia established their headquarters at Matuahu; which Te Kooti and his people had abandoned. Did they conceal the carvings? Were they submerged in the lake? Or hidden in caves? Or were they bundled up and quietly disposed of by the invaders? As one Pakeha participant in the early encounters near Waikaremoana records...

⁶⁴ William Colenso, "Notes and Reminiscences of Early Crossings of the Romantically-Situated Lake Waikaremoana, County of Hawkes Bay, of Its Neighbouring Country, and of Its Peculiar Botany; Performed in the Years 1841 and 1843.," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 27 (1894)., p. 366.

⁶⁵ Gallen and North, *A Souvenir Booklet of Waikaremoana, Wairau-Moana, Waikare-Iti : A Concise History of the Lakes, the People and the Land.*, p. 30.

*I got some very fine specimens of Maori trappings one figurehead to a Maori war canoe, tomahawk, spear, paddle and some greenstone.*⁶⁶

Currently there are hundreds of artefacts with Tuhoe attribution or confirmed provenance in public collections. Carved panels, basketry, weapons, greenstone ornaments, and textiles from Te Urewera feature in the storage areas and display cases of Te Papa and Auckland Museum, as well as the more regional locations like the Whakatane District museum, and the Aniwhaniwa Centre, Waikaremoana. They include materials in stone, bone and wood, acquired during the expeditions of Best and his contemporaries, as well as works commissioned by collectors. They are also state gifts, presented at those occasions mentioned in other reports, where "mats" and other items were presented to honour the visitor, and indicate the genuine goodwill of the Tuhoe people. One remarkable gift, which the writers have not yet located in any public or private collection, is that made to the Prime Minister Seddon on the occasion of his "Trip Through the Native Districts of the North Island" in 1894.⁶⁷

After many hours of lively debate with the people of Ruatoki, Seddon persuaded a number of the assembled chiefs that he was a genuinely caring father figure, concerned only with fixing their problems, protecting them from the incoming tide of settlers, and looking after them. He makes the following dramatic offer

*If you cannot telegraph, send someone down to me so I can dispel the trouble as the sun dispels the mist that sometimes comes on your mountain tops.*⁶⁸

⁶⁶ G H Stoate, "From a Letter from Lieut. G H Stoate Rn Hms Brisk, Napier, Saturday 20 September 1865," *Historical Review - Whakatane District and Historical Society* 20, no. 2 (1972).

⁶⁷ R J Seddon, *Pakeha and Maori : A Narrative of the Premier's Trip through the Native Districts of the North Island of New Zealand, During the Month of March, 1894* (Wellington N.Z.: Govt. Printer, 1895). p. 61

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 61

This is a clever and manipulative use of Tuhoe's own imagery; we even suggest against Tuhoe themselves. The result was significant; the chief Kereru presented Seddon with his own taiaha, explaining that it

Belonged to the ancestor who formerly owned the Ruatoki block, and it is called Rongokaeke (sic) after him....the flagstaff will bear the same name as this taiaha, as also the large house in the course of erection. The fact of the old chief, the head of his tribe, handing over to the Premier the sceptre of that tribe is in itself very significant....From a Maori point of view such a gift means perfect submission, and is symbolical of an intention to abandon all unfriendliness and to live in peace in the future.⁶⁹

We also argue that the presentation of the taiaha Rongokarae was actually a reminder to Seddon of his responsibility to the Tuhoe people; that his promises must be kept, for the "sceptre" was a symbol of trust, not submission at all. This is a superb example of the utter misreading of the giver's intention, by the recipient. Sir James Carroll, as the Prime Minister's interpreter and cultural expert, chose to ignore the subtlety of Kereru's gesture. The current demise of this important taonga also raises questions. What did this gesture mean, for the people of Tuhoe who witnessed this giving away of such a loaded and iconic taonga? Where is it? What became of Rongokarae, if it meant so much to the Crown?

A contrasting example to that of the taiaha Rongokarae, is the journey of the personal walking stick of the Hon Minister, Duncan McIntyre. This story has its roots in a peace-making hui between Tuhoe and the Crown at Ruatoki on September 25, 1870. Best records the event.

Major Mair met Te Whenua-nui and others of Tuhoe at Te Unu-o-Kaiawa, Rua-toki, ... where the natives submitted and cried enough. As a token of their being in earnest, and to bind the peace, two greenstone weapons (one of which was named Tuhua) and three native cloaks were handed over to the Government representative. In return, Mair gave the

⁶⁹ Kereru in Ibid. p. 61

*natives a watch, a gold pin, a gold ring, and a shawl. The watch was named Maunga-rongo (peace-making).*⁷⁰

T R Nikora told these writers about the Tuhoe preparations for the visit of the Hon Minister Duncan McIntyre to Ruatahuna to hear and discuss with Tuhoe those concerns of the iwi. Prior to the actual hui on May 24, 1971, T R Nikora told us that a message was sent to McIntyre's office to alert him of Tuhoe's desire to have the gifts of 1870 returned to Tuhoe and that the May hui would be an appropriate time. At the May hui, Tuhoe presented to McIntyre a watch, a gold pin, a gold ring, and a shawl. McIntyre had been unsuccessful in finding the greenstone weapons and kakahu received by the Crown in 1870 and therefore was in a rather awkward position. Instead, he apologised to Tuhoe and presented his own personal walking stick. The Tuhoe recipients recognised that McIntyre's walking stick was in fact a valuable Scottish heritage piece that was immediately deposited for safe keeping in the Tuhoe Trust Board Office in Rotorua. A year or so later, McIntyre had the opportunity to return to Ruatoki for the occasion of the kuia Ngaperera Black's investiture. At that time, Tuhoe felt that it was timely and appropriate for McIntyre's stick to be returned, which it duly was.⁷¹

This magnanimous gesture was in stark contrast to Pakeha practice, and recognizes the significance of material objects in a ceremonial or negotiating context. Physical possession, and ascribed value, and caring for the object then become the issue. Again, the words of Elazar Barkan are salient here

There are those who, in hindsight, justify the removal of cultural artifacts from their place of origin as contributing to their preservation, and hence, to contemporary indigenous culture, although they saw it as preserving a dying and disappearing stage of human evolution.... The imperial agents were, however, mostly interested in the kind of

⁷⁰ Best, *Tuhoe, the Children of the Mist; a Sketch of the Origin, History, Myths and Beliefs of the Tuhoe Tribe of the Maori of New Zealand, with Some Account of Other Early Tribes of the Bay of Plenty District.* p. 665

⁷¹ Nikora,

*personal enrichment and institutional glory that pervaded other facets of imperialism and voyages of discovery*⁷².

By whatever route or human agency these taonga ended up in museum collections, the reality is that they are there, out of Tuhoe reach, and Tuhoe ownership, even if, as in one instant, they may be only a few miles away, in a local museum. The Whakatane District Museum & Gallery - Te Whare Taonga o te Rohe o Whakatane is the repository for a significant number of well provenanced and unique examples of traditional Tuhoe cultural property.

The Sister Annie Collection

Sister Annie Henry, MBE, and Deaconess of the Presbyterian church, opened the first school at Maungapohatu in 1917, with Miss A. Monfries. Within a year, the school was taken over by the Education Department, but Sister Annie chose to stay and continue her missionary work. She was appreciated as a teacher, confidante, nurse and special friend, by the Maungapohatu people, with whom she remained until retiring to Ohope in 1948. She received many beautiful tokens of their affection over the years. These include two splendid feather cloaks, one a complex ornamental kahukura with kereru and pigeon, the other a lush kahukiwi fringed in kereru. The taha huahua is also one of the finest in a public collection, and there are three tokotoko, all carved, and one of finely detailed design. Many pieces from this collection are on display at the museum; Sister Annie was a member of the Whakatane and District Historical Society, who gratefully accepted this bequest as a basis for their museum project. She died in 1971, a year before the museum opened its doors; she would be pleased to know that many descendants of her cherished friends and the Maungapohatu community look at the taonga, with wonder, and with sadness, too. For where else can they, the taonga, be contained and cared for?

⁷² Barkan, "Amending Historical Injustices: The Restitution of Cultural Property - an Overview.", p.

The Grant Collection, Museum of New Zealand

Although not as commercially active as their Te Arawa neighbours, a few Tuhoes were approached by dealers and collectors, and pieces sold and uplifted. Roger Neich notes that District Constable Grant based at Te Whaiti offered to sell various pieces to the Dominion Museum, and received £29.10 for two carved pou, various door posts and a tekoteko. He also mentioned a very old pare done with stone chisels, "but the natives want £12 for it." Neich also records that the practice of removing carvings from the Urewera at this time occurred:

...since Rua was taking the tapu off old carvings they had become easier to obtain. In his diary for Wednesday 3rd August, 1910, A. Hamilton wrote, "Grant of Te Whaiti...has secured more carvings. It has appeared that Maoris have destroyed all tapu in the Urewera country and are quite anxious to sell anything and Rua has sent out the things he can get hold off for sale"⁷³.

These practices clearly indicate acute social and cultural crisis or change; the very idea of destroying all tapu is both radical and dramatic. Is this what actually happened? Or are these the words and perceptions of outsiders - pakeha concerned with their own issues of access and acquisition? Was the practice confined to particular areas? Who did the selling? And to what extent was it prompted by poverty and despair, and the glittering leadership of Rua Kenana, a charismatic figure who offered the people a new and prosperous, trouble free future?

Certainly, some of the finest works were acquired by the Dominion Museum at this time, amongst them five poupou treasured primarily for their presentation of Tuhoes carving style, in an actual temporal sequence, beginning with ME 1983, a finely executed panel in low relief on a thin flat slab. This is a female figure whose complex patterning was worked only with stone chisels; the other four, ME 1982, 1984 and 1986 indicate both stone metal tool work, and ME 1985, while being of comparable aesthetic quality to ME 1983, is probably the most recent. These poupou

⁷³ R. Neich, "Some Early Maori Wood Carvings from Ruatahuna, Urewera District, New Zealand," *National Museum of New Zealand Records* 1, no. 8 (1976). p.129

originate from the Ruatahuna area; Neich suggests that ME 1982, 1984 and 1986 may have come from the house Te Puhi o Mataatua, which once stood near the great house, Te Whai a te Motu at Mataatua Marae. The Dominion Museum also acquired further carvings, purportedly discarded, from this latter whare runanga during its restoration process in 1932.

Sir Clutha Mackenzie and the "Fighting Pa"

Sir Clutha Mackenzie was among the many hundreds who attended the opening celebrations of the restored house, Te Whai a te Motu in 1933. He attended on the invitation of Sister Annie, as part of his campaign to raise funds for an Institute for the Blind. He befriended Rehua Te Wha, a blind elder from Ruatahuna, and took advantage of the opportunity to acquire some Maori artefacts. His travelling companion Martyn Spencer records in his unpublished journal:

Sunday 2 July. ...picked up Rehua and went to look at the old fort site and the carvings all lying on the ground rotting....We see the old chief regarding buying the old carvings. After some talking, a deal was made⁷⁴.

These carvings became part of the garden décor of Sir Clutha's family home. His summer house, "Wharematoro", carved mainly by Tene Waitere, of Ngati Tarawhai, stood amidst the hydrangeas of his Manurewa estate. Over the years, it was dismantled; and some of the carvings are now in the Auckland Museum.

They include the few surviving pieces from the "Model Pa" at Ruatahuna, alluded to in Best's *The Pa Maori*⁷⁵, and undertaken as a unique exhibition project in the 1890's. This is probably "the old fort site" Spencer mentions above. It has been speculated that this was constructed for the tourist traffic anticipated by the opening of a

⁷⁴ Typescript held in the Auckland Museum, p.1

proposed road between Rotorua and Waikaremoana, two celebrated scenic wonders of the burgeoning colony. The newspaper, *The Otago Witness* reported that the idea was raised on a visit to Te Houhi with Sir James Carroll⁷⁶. This same Minister of Native Affairs later reminds Tuhoe that they had not finished it by Lord Ranfurly's visit in 1904 to Te Whai a te Motu

...regarding this pah. It is true that I made the suggestion that you should build it, but you have abandoned the work half finished. What justification have you for your ancient boast - "Tuhoe, the people - Ruatahuna, the land"? Look at your handiwork, it is not finished⁷⁷.

All that remains of this potent curiosity is a series of photographs in the popular press, of a long raised mound surrounded by a single pallisade with an elaborate gateway, and carved sentinel figures. The memorable upper section of the gateway, with its remarkable eyes but minus the horizontal name plank, was acquired by Clutha Mackenzie and is now in the Auckland Museum. Like the "fighting pa", the name plank, Te Tahī o te Rangi is no longer around.

Crucial to this whole episode is the fact that the road was never feasible; that the tourists never came; that Tuhoe themselves actively challenged the development of Te Urewera on any conditions but their own, and although they demonstrated the initiative and ambition to undertake the project, the business failed to appear. And was unlikely to; but predictably, again, the Crown turned their initiative around, and judged their considerable achievement as inadequate and unfinished. And so it fell back into the earth, to be collected years later by Sir Clutha Mackenzie, campaigner for the blind, and avid collector of Maori antiquities.

⁷⁵ Elsdon Best, *The Pa Maori : An Account of the Fortified Villages of the Maori in Pre-European and Modern Times, Illustrating Methods of Defence by Means of Ramparts, Fosses, Scarps and Stockades* (Wellington: A. R. Shearer Govt. Printer, 1975).

⁷⁶ *The Otago Witness*, 19 March 1886. p. 17

⁷⁷ Malcolm Ross, *Through Tuhoe Land - Lord Ranfurly's Fairwell to the Maori People*, Christchurch Press (Christchurch: 1904). pp. 45-46.

Tuhoe: Children of the Mist - the Exhibition

There has been a recent initiative to modify any sense of loss, by sharing in the museum experience on Tuhoe terms. In June 1987, a catalogue of *Artefacts from Te Urewera* was compiled by Leith Watt⁷⁸ when he was working as a volunteer researcher at the Auckland Institute and Museum. It included over 200 pieces, with summarised notes from the original museum catalogue entries. This catalogue became the foundation of an exhibition currently mounted at Te Papa Tongarewa/The Museum of New Zealand. It is part of the institution's ongoing iwi exhibition programme, and is entitled "Tuhoe Children of the Mist", taking the rather curious sub-text from the whakatauki

Tuhoe mōumou kai we give you our stories
Tuhoe mōumou taonga we give you our treasures
Tuhoe mōumou tangata ki te po we give you our lives.

An elder whom we accompanied to the show the day after it opened snorted at this, but his innate courtesy restrained him from any further comment.

Some outstanding examples are on view - their stories deserve our attention. One is the Kahukura catalogue no. 5975 from the Auckland Museum Collection. Measuring in length 105 cm, and width 136 cm, this kahukura -red feather cloak - is a peerless and extraordinary example of textile manufacture in the Urewera. It is the work of Makurata Paitini of Ruatahuna, wife of Paitini and informant of Elsdon Best. A noted weaver, she was commissioned by Charles Nelson, the Rotorua hotel owner, in about 1900 to make a feather cloak. His family sold the garment for seventy pounds to a Mrs Brett who presented it to the museum in about 1914. This garment is a classic exemplar of the pinnacle of Tuhoe fibre art, comprising kaka and rarer kakakura feathers plaited into a fabric of finely processed flax. It confirms that whatu kakahu, and the creation of fibre works of excellence, were part of the Ruatahuna tradition. Makurata herself signed this work in the taniko border, with the

⁷⁸ Leith Watt, "Artefacts from Te Urewera," (Auckland Museum, June 1987).

letters MA at one side, and KU at the other; a visionary and unusual gesture. Yet how many Tuhoe people – and particularly weavers – know that this taonga is there? And how many realize that there was an active weaving tradition, not just of functional textiles, but also garments of style and colour, as recorded by Robert Price, a journalist who accompanied Samuel Locke, Native Land Purchase Commissioner on his 1874 visit to the Urewera. Price noted that

*Very few of them had any European clothing; native manufactured mats being as common as the blanket, and they were handsomely designed and beautifully made...*⁷⁹

Another fine piece was the rakau Whakapapa, catalogue no. 5480, not measured, in totara, from the Auckland Museum Collection. Described as a "genealogical tree", this was formerly the property of Hapurona Kohi, "an Urewera chief who led his tribe into the battle of Orakau". His valour is noted in Paitini's vivid account of this battle. The taonga came into the possession of Reverend Preece, whose daughter sold it to the museum. This is a rare mnemonic device; there is one other which belonged to Te Hapuku of Heretaunga, and is in the Hawkes Bay Museum. Like the kahukura, this raises questions about knowledge, traditions, and lost or dormant practices.

Another artefact related to Orakau in an especially poignant way is the Teki, Auckland Museum catalogue no. 741. This is a carved cartridge maker, "used by Paratene of Tuhoe at the Orakau and Te Tapiri fights." Its actual ownership is accorded to Paora Wi Tapeka.; it is significant as a survivor of those historic and transforming events.

One further item of immense significance is the putatara, Te Umu kohukohu. This is a univalve volute shell (*Charonia capax euclioides*) with a wooden mouthpiece, whose carved manaia face shines with a deep brown patina, indicating generations of

⁷⁹ Robert Price, *Through the Urewera Country* (Napier: Daily Telegraph, 1891), p. 37

handling. Te Whenuanui II presented this taonga to the Major Alexander in 1904, when Lord Ranfurly visited Ruatahuna. What did this act of generosity mean?

Te Umu kohukohu was sounded by Te Hira Waikite to rally Tuhoe resistance at Te Pua-rakau pa, as the colonial forces moved up the Whakatane river in the incursion of May 1868 to Ruatahuna. This is therefore one of the most singularly meaningful taonga extant for Tuhoe, and the issue of access and ownership is raised once more. In the case of such significant gift giving, there was an implied expectation that it would eventually, at the appropriate time, be returned, as objects like this circulate, and in their circulating, their mana, and their history, is shared and celebrated.

A further significant piece is the Koruru catalogue no. OLD 143 Height 55 cm totara, acquired in 1948, from the Oldman Collection. It was provenanced to the "Tuhoe tribe of Mataatua". This gable figure dates from the early 1800's, and indicates the lofty artistic achievement occurring in Te Urewera at that time; again the question is raised. Which house did this come from? Does the provenance infer Mataatua the marae, or Mataatua, the tribal region?

There is an important tewhatewha also on display. Numbered ME 383 and measuring 128.9 cm long, it is made of maire, ornamented with hawk feathers. The museum catalogue states this is named Te Mautaranui after a "famous chief of Ngati Awa", but in the exhibit the label reads Te Maitaranui of Tuhoe. It is believed to be the one with which Tuakiaki dispatched Te Maitaranui in 1832. It was given to Gilbert Mair in 1866 by Wepiha Apanui, a well known Ngati Awa carver and a descendant of Te Maitaranui. What is intriguing in this case is the claiming of this taonga by two different parties which raises once again the questions of heritage, whakapapa, and rightful claim.

On a much smaller level, again in the Auckland Collection, is a tiny kaka poria of tangiwai. This delicate transparent ring was allegedly collected in Te Urewera; it was used to keep a pet bird captive by inserting one of the bird's legs through the ring which was attached to a muka cord. This reveals not only the domestication of

birds as companion pets, but suggests relationships that we know nothing about today. Was the creature used as a lure? How can we find out? How did it come into the museum collection? Who collected it? And when? Such birds were kept for pets, and for lures. When in Ruatahuna, New Year's day 1841/42 William Colenso recounts...

Several of the natives of this village were engaged in making and carving poukakas, i.e., parrot-stands; which they use in catching the large brown New Zealand parrot...decoyed, by means of a tame one fastened to a perch...They are fond of taming these birds, which if taken young will soon talk, but they are mischievous, and their bite is hard...(Their) red feathers are in great request for ornamenting their hanis, i.e. carve-headed staffs, which they use as weapons of defence⁸⁰.

Poukaka, originating in the Tuhoe region, are found in the collections of this country's major museums; they are light, portable, and were easily given, and easily replaced, unlike other taonga, for example, taha huahua.

Robert Price recalls his party's congenial encounter with a group of leading chiefs,

Pukenui, Whenuanui and Pairau, the two former had been to Napier. On going with them into the whare, we were shown ten large and very handsomely carved calabashes containing preserved pigeon and tui. Pukenui, addressing Mr Locke, said, "We have more than once been down to Napier, and there received every hospitality both from the Government and the Europeans, as well as from Tareha and other Heretaunga chiefs. We are now sending this present down to Napier as a token of our appreciation of the kindness we have received ...⁸¹

Reciprocity was a cardinal principle in the Tuhoe world; one was always aware of obligations, and the meaning of kindness. Tuhoe, in meeting and making new friends, were noted for their generosity, even beyond the scorched earth times, and

⁸⁰ William Colenso, "Excursion in the Northern Island of New Zealand in the Summer of 1841-42," (Launceston: Office of the Launceston Examiner, 1841). p. 47-48

⁸¹ Price, *Through the Urewera Country.*, p. 37

into the last century. Strangers were welcomed, fed, taken care of, and one of the most poignant and colourful accounts is of Ohaua, in 1924. Edgar Burton, a keen hiker, recalls:

About 30 people were living at Ohaua....The grassy marae was ringed with the village buildings. There was the meeting house, several living whares, two or three pataka, and also some whare punis or warm houses, built into a bank to give some additional warmth in the severe winters. Against one pataka stood an arawhata. Someone climbed up and brought out the treasures of Ohaua for display. There were feather cloaks, gourds, patus, meres, feather kits, flax-plaited bags, and magnificently carved waka huias (feather boxes) shaped like canoes...the head man was Waewae Te Kotahitanga⁸².

What became of "the treasures of Ohaua"? Let us hope that they are with their rightful families, still loved, still enjoyed...but not as frequently and generously brought out for the admiring or covetous gaze of passers by.

In more recent years there has been great concern expressed by other sectors of the community, notably the members of the Whakatane & District Historical Society who organized regular "field trips" into Te Urewera, escorted by Tuhoe members. They commented in their journal:

At a recent meeting of the Urewera National Park Board Mr Bernard Teague, Wairoa, voiced concern at the unauthorised removal of Maori artefacts and botanical specimens from the park area, and as a result the Board decided to print warnings in its booklets telling people that they cannot take such objects from the park⁸³.

On a field trip to Maungapohatu, they were privileged to be shown into a dwelling by a local, who was also a Society member.

⁸² Edgar Burton, "Tramping through Tuhoe land: Reminiscences of a Journey in 1924," *Historical Review - Whakatane District and Historical Society* 13, no. Sept/Dec (1965). p167-168

⁸³ *Historical Review - Whakatane District and Historical Society* 11, no. 3 (1963).p. 162

The building was roofed in traditional manner by totara and framed with adzed timber; raupo facings completed the porch. Hanging from the eaves was a pigeon trough employed by hunters in luring birds. A pataka (food store) on traditional stilts stood near by. It is objects like these that make the Urewera so interesting...and it is pleasing to learn that the Urewera National Park Board will take active steps to protect them for future generations⁸⁴.

...a single furrow plough, cast-iron cooking pots and pit saws... were collected and stored in one of the buildings, but various other items showed evidence of vandalism⁸⁵.

It is significant that the journal comments on the role of Te Urewera National Park Board, an agency which will later be discussed in more detail. Because the village of Maungapohatu, and its dwellings and treasures and memories, stand on privately owned land, the Board took no active responsibility, apart from publishing warnings, and pleading to the trampers', hunters' and Park visitors sense of respect and morality. Which seemed sadly lacking, as recorded by an unnamed writer who visited the maunga in the 1970's, about ten years after the Historical Society's field trip. She recalls

(They seemed) to have left for good....The iron bedsteads they had to leave, the furniture, the kohua (cooking pots), and tin trunks containing their personal possessions. Because the house was tapu they knew nothing would be touched by Maoris. In the early 1960s there were still Bibles in every room and documents and photographs in the trunks.⁸⁶

By now they had all vanished, purloined by casual visitors and deer hunters as souvenirs. Only the beds remain, and the tin trunks, mute witnesses to the looting.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Ibid.p. 162

⁸⁵ Ibid.p. 162

⁸⁶ Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin, and C. J. Wallace, *Mihaia the Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1979). p. 170

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 170

Few Tuhoe will comment publicly on this loss. In an interview with Tu Tangata Maori News Magazine, John Rangihau had this to say.

Locals had been so fed up with theft and vandalizing they'd burnt the meeting house, with the remaining artefacts inside, to the ground about four years ago. Tuhoe people had also had trouble keeping vandals and souvenir hunters away from a burial cave high on a hill. "New Zealanders have not inherited a feeling for the qualities of history," Mr Rangihau said.⁸⁸

That a community would consciously choose to destroy a meeting house rather than risk its desecration is a damning indication of the severity of the trespass, and the depth of their feeling. It is such a final, absolute comment on their experience.

Much of the pillaging would have occurred after the opening of the Bayten timber milling road which linked Maungapohatu almost to State Highway 38. This auspicious event, presided over by Sir Eruera Tirikatene former Minister of Forests, occurred on 29 February 1963; over a thousand people attended. Locals were still living in the village, and the milling operation afforded some prosperity for a few years, and vehicle access for as long as the road was useable. Farming of the Maungapohatu Block continues and the village itself still draws its many families home, for healing, recovery from the city, birthing children, and just time out. Thus the circle of matemateaone completes itself, for wherever we may be, the maunga always calls us home.

In and of itself, Maungapohatu, and the various sacred sites that it shelters, is a taonga indeed, and illustrates the intention of the next paragraph.

Paragraph Six: Te Whenua, Te Urewera

6. The discovery, use and teaching of indigenous peoples' knowledge, arts and cultures is inextricably connected with the traditional lands and territories of each people. Control

⁸⁸ *Tu Tangata Maori News Magazine*, no. 4 (1982). p. 26

over indigenous areas and resources is essential to the continued transmission of indigenous peoples' heritage to future generations, and its full protection.

Examining Te Urewera in the present day, it is clear that the acts of colonial invasion, land acquisition, and economic subjugation have displaced Tuhoe. We now reside in small pockets within Te Urewera, or in the small towns and cities of New Zealand. An increasing number are migrating overseas. The Crown, its agents, and the public interest have severely threatened the Tuhoe/Te Urewera relationship.

Within Te Urewera, even the trees declared the relationship of people and place. Two specific examples may be considered here; one is still a strong feature of Tuhoe narrative and imagination. The others had voices, silenced forever.

Te Iho o Kataka is a hinau tree on the hill, Te Kohuru, near Ohaua. An ancestor of a millenium past placed the umbilicus - iho - of the newborn Kataka into the body of the tree, thus naming it. Some time later, Tane-atua repeated this gesture, placing another iho into its crevice, remarking, "Ka whakairihia ahau, ka whakato tamariki ahau - let me be suspended, so that I may ensure that children arrive..." Even in recent times, this tree has been revered for ensuring conception in previously infertile women.

The second example are two totara whose hollow, aged trunks had a singular function.

Totara-pakopako stood near Te Kakau, and visitors would strike it, announcing their arrival. Another, unnamed, was mentioned by Gilbert Mair in conversation with Elsdon Best. This tree stood at Te Apu, near Harema pa, one of the most significant locations in the scorched earth saga. Mair's invading militia rendered it mute and voiceless. Had they not, the Harema story may have been different indeed. Best describes it

This tree gong was a hollow totara tree, one side of which was open, but down the middle of the open space was a long

*tongue of wood....this was struck with a wooden mallet..the sound could be heard for a long distance. The tongue was adorned with carved designs.*⁸⁹

Such a taonga was inspiring, protective, rallying, magical, resonant in its significance and function. This pahu filled the valleys with its voice of warning, of vigilance. Compared with other iwi of these islands, this practice, this use of a tree was utterly singular and unique to Tuhoe. And on that raid in May, 1869, it was destroyed. This act of callow destruction is a vivid metaphor for the patterns of displacement and silencing that followed. The voice of that place was no more.

People strive for a sense of belonging to a place. This sense of belonging arises from the operation of three psychological processes: familiarity, attachment, and identity. Displacement, however, ruptures the emotional connections formed. The ensuing disorientation, nostalgia, and alienation serve to undermine a sense of belonging in particular, and mental health, in general⁹⁰.

After studying a variety of instances where people had been relocated from their lands, Micheal Cernea (2000)⁹¹ in a paper titled: *Risks, safeguards, and reconstruction: A model for population displacement and resettlement* identified seven major characteristics of a displaced people. They are:

- Landlessness,
- Joblessness
- Homelessness
- Marginalisation
- Food insecurity, morbidity and mortality
- Loss of access to common property resources, and community disarticulation.

⁸⁹ Elsdon Best, *The Maori* (Wellington: Harry H Tombs, 1924). pp 168-169

⁹⁰ Fullilove, "Psychiatric Implications of Displacement: Contributions from the Psychology of Place." p. 1518.

⁹¹ Michael Cernea, "Risks, Safeguards, and Reconstruction: A Model for Population Displacement and Resettlement," in *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*, ed. M M Cernea and C McDowell (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2000).

Land confiscation, relocating from adverse conditions, unlawful land sales, and the like, are all processes that result in displacement, that is, where people have had little or no choice but to relocate to some other place. In the case of Tuhoe, we have, and continue to manifest and suffer those symptoms of a displaced people. Because the consequences of displacement can be substantial not to mentioned devastating, it is worthwhile describing those things here. To do this, we have borrowed substantially from the work of Michael Cernea (2000), in particular those descriptions that he provides of displacement and its consequences.⁹² Whilst this framework has been derived from refugee experience, the parallels are remarkably similar and familiar. A colleague and researcher in the field of immigrants and refugees, Dr Bernard Guerin remarked to us:

*refugees get forced away from their culture and way of life—colonized and oppressed people have their culture and way of life forced out of them while remaining in the same place.*⁹³

Landlessness

Expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems, commercial activities, livelihoods and community fibres are constructed. This is the principal form of decapitalization and pauperization of displaced people, as they lose both natural and man-made capital. Landlessness is the starting point from which other characteristics of displacement arise.

Although Tuhoe has been displaced from our lands, we are not totally landless, but that land we do possess is still compromised by access difficulties⁹⁴, landuse

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ B Guerin, Personal communication 03/07/03 Hamilton.

⁹⁴ P Cleaver, "Urewera Roding," (Wellington: A report for the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2002).

prohibitions⁹⁵, isolation from services, and the like. Indeed, if the Crown had been true to its word and provided, for example, adequate and sensible roading⁹⁶, then Tuhoe may have been in a far better position to productively exploit our landbased resources. As it is, we are hard pressed to protect those resources that we currently have –the consumption and destruction of trees by Crown approved pests is one example⁹⁷. The infestation of our lands by Crown introduced noxious plants is yet another⁹⁸. The poaching of deer stock by outsiders is one such attack (see insert). The person charged, Doug Tamihana, was subsequently found not guilty by a jury in Rotorua on 23 May 2003. This may be seen as a victory not just for him, but for the Tuhoe people, as it suggests that the jury understood the concerns and aspirations of Tuhoe in protecting their land, and responded accordingly.

⁹⁵ R. P Boast, “The Crown and Te Urewera in the 20th Century - a Study of Government Policy,” (2002).

⁹⁶ Cleaver, “Urewera Roothing.”

⁹⁷ B Coombes, “Scoping Report: Land-Based Environmental Impacts in the Urewera Inquiry District,” (Auckland: University of Auckland, 2001).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

Residents determined to take on deer poachers

By Jo-Marie Brown, New Zealand Herald, Thursday May 15, 2003

Central North Island landowners are making no apology for threatening suspected deer poachers with guns, and say they will continue doing so to protect their property.

A 46-year-old Ruatahuna man faces seven charges, including recklessly discharging a firearm and threatening to kill, after he allegedly fired shots at a helicopter on Sunday and seized firearms from its four passengers at gunpoint.

But Ruatahuna resident Ivan White, whose father used to farm the area known as Whites Clearing where the incident occurred, said locals were frustrated that poachers continued to shoot deer on their land.

At least two helicopters have been shot at in the area this year and numerous hunters confronted.

Ruatahuna residents, who jointly own farmland south of the Urewera National Park, say poaching has increased since export prices for venison rose in September.

In March, locals strung wire across one end of Whites Clearing to deter poachers from landing in helicopters. The wire has since been removed after police raised concerns it could cause a serious accident.

Detective Sergeant John Wilson said tension over deer poaching had been building for months.

"They're justified in taking action but not to the point where they're stringing up wires or shooting people."

The four Auckland men confronted on Sunday were also likely to face charges of unlawful hunting, he said. They had intended to shoot meat for themselves but landowners did not distinguish between commercial and private poachers.

Another Ruatahuna landowner, who did not wish to be named, said poachers were taking a valuable food resource from residents.

"The nearest supermarket is two hours away. People here still live off the land so it's not about lost income because no one here sells deer, they eat it."

Poachers in helicopters also posed a danger to locals hunting on foot because people could be shot accidentally, she said.

Aubrey Temara, chairman of the Tuhoe Trust Board, which administered land including Whites Clearing, said there was no justification for shooting at helicopters, but people were doing so out of frustration.

He plans to seek a meeting with Ruatahuna residents, police, Department of Conservation staff and other parties over the issue.

Having land, does not necessarily equate to being able to use that land for productive outcome. A quick scan of the *Atlas of Socioeconomic Difference*⁹⁹ published in 2000 by Peter Crampton and his colleagues is revealing. In using the term social deprivation, Crampton et al note a distinction between material and social deprivation. Material deprivation involves the material apparatus, goods, services, resources, amenities and physical environment and location of life. Social deprivation is more about the roles, relationships, functions, customs, rights and responsibilities of membership of society and its subgroups. While a primary distinction is made between material and social deprivation, sub-categories of both concepts contribute to the overall social deprivation measure employed¹⁰⁰. In areas Ruatahuna, Ruatoki, Waimana, Taneatua, Maungapohatu, Waiohau – wherever there are major Tuhoe settlements and land enclaves the ‘red’ (in contrast to green) colour coding, being the highest level of social deprivation, is blindingly apparent – and with critical implications that simply reflect displacement outcomes.

We will return to these matters of social deprivation later. For the moment, it is sufficient to say that the Crown has decapitalised and pauperised Tuhoe, a situation which has been eloquently and effectively described and documented in other reports for the Wai 36 Claim¹⁰¹.

Joblessness

When one’s means of survival is alienated, and one’s economy overtaken and dictated to by another then the only options for survival are to travel to find work, to relocate to find work, or be resigned to a government benefit¹⁰². Of Ruatahuna,

⁹⁹ P Crampton et al., *Degrees of Deprivation in New Zealand - an Atlas of Socioeconomic Difference* (Auckland: David Bateman, 2000).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 13

¹⁰¹ For example, see Boast, “The Crown and Te Urewera in the 20th Century - a Study of Government Policy.”, and Binney, “Encircled Lands - Vol 2: A History of the Urewera 1878-1912.”.

¹⁰² Joan Metge, *A New Maori Migration : Rural and Urban Relations in Northern New Zealand* (London : Parkville, Vic.: University of London Athlone Press ; Melbourne University Press, 1964).

McCreary and Rangihau¹⁰³, in their field study of the area in 1958, identified that over the following 15 year period, few school leavers from Ruatahuna would find work in the district due to a lack of jobs. Work opportunities in the area were simply inadequate to sustain the resident population over that period, and the same has continued through to 1990's¹⁰⁴.

In the present day, remaining in our tribal homelands and finding work to support oneself and family is a difficult challenge. As our tribal homelands are ranked as areas of high social deprivation, this means that there is a high probability that people in these areas are:

- unlikely to have easy access to a telephone
- highly likely to be receiving a means tested benefit or be unemployed
- living in a household below an income threshold
- no or limited access to a car.

With these factors operating against Tuhoe job-seekers the likelihood of continued unemployment is inevitable. As Micheal Cernea (2000) notes, unemployment or underemployment often endures long after land and job loss have occurred¹⁰⁵. The outcome is invariably cyclical and intergenerational, with one symptom being compounded by others.

Homelessness

Being displaced will often result in a lack of shelter, although Micheal Cernea notes that this tends to be only temporary. However, for some, homelessness or a

¹⁰³ J. R. McCreary and J. I. Rangihau, *Parents and Children of Ruatahuna* (Wellington, NZ.: University of Victoria, School of Social Science, 1958).

¹⁰⁴ Bryan Poulin and Brenda Tahi, "A Study on Community Services and Development for Ruatahuna," (Hamilton: Management Development Centre, University of Waikato, 1991).

¹⁰⁵ Cernea, "Risks, Safeguards, and Reconstruction: A Model for Population Displacement and Resettlement."

worsening in housing standards remains a lingering condition. Cernea (2000) also notes that in a broader cultural sense, loss of a family's individual home and the loss of a group's culture space tend to result in alienation and status deprivation. Homelessness and placelessness are intrinsic by definition¹⁰⁶. Earlier we noted the concept of a 'rooted sense of place'¹⁰⁷ and its application to Tuhoe, our connectedness, sense of identity and relationality with Te Urewera. For Tuhoe, being without shelter is not so much the issue in the present day, even though some of us as desperately engaged in this struggle. Rather, the major challenge is dealing with the continuing threat of placelessness – that is, feeling as if we belong nowhere. For those living outside of our Tuhoe homelands, there is the constant trial of responding to being an oppressed group in the broader dominant Pakeha New Zealand society, and even more difficult, in someone else's iwi territory. The consequences of being positioned in this way are elaborated by Cernea (2000) under what he calls 'marginalization'.

Marginalization

Economic marginalisation is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalisation expressed in a drop in social status, in loss of confidence in society and themselves, a feeling of injustice, and deepened vulnerability. The marginalized person and peoples develop what psychologist Glenis Breakwell¹⁰⁸ terms a 'threatened identity'. Breakwell is referring to the human want for a positive sense of self based not only on achievements, but on social group membership – in this instance being Tuhoe. How a person acts and reacts is maintained by making comparisons and contrasts with other people and groups. When these comparisons are favourable, our social identity is said to be positive. When they are unfavourable, both our social and personal identities are threatened.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Hay, "A Rooted Sense of Place in Cross-Cultural Perspective."

¹⁰⁸ G. Breakwell, *Coping with Threatened Identities* (London: Methven & Co. Ltd, 1986).

No more is this true that when one traverses the main road from Taneatua to Ruatoki across the confiscation line. Throughout our lives, we have crossed this line many times. The comparisons from one side of the line to the other have been astounding. One could not help but notice the marked transition; from colonial and architecturally designed homes to low cost housing and one room dwellings; from well fenced and lush farmland to ragwort and gorse; the more technically advanced cowshed to more primitive arrangements; and from the Taneatua Squash Club to the marae of Ruatoki. The neighbours across the line are the beneficiaries of raupatu, not us. The legacy that remains unravels below.

Food insecurity, morbidity and mortality

Being landless, homeless or placeless, jobless and marginalised unsurprisingly impacts physical and mental health, and wellbeing. In 1999, David Russell and his colleagues reported on the New Zealand National Nutrition Survey, 1997. Survey results indicate that those at greatest risk of inadequate intakes of vitamin A, riboflavin and folate are among those living in the highest areas of deprivation. People living in those areas were also the most likely to express concern about 'household food security' – the ready availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods, and the assured ability to acquire personally acceptable foods in a socially acceptable way. What follows from this is increased illness and reduced life expectancy.

Loss of access to common property and service, and community disarticulation

Marae, whare tipuna, urupa, mara, awa, ngahere – all those natural and man made resources and services that people afforded to each other are alienated under processes of displacement. This affects livelihood levels and they cannot be made up for, in the same way, in new locations. Hence the need for Tuhoe to return regularly to Te Urewera.

As Michael Cernea¹⁰⁹ asserts: displacement tears apart the existing social fabric. It disperses and fragments communities, dismantles patterns of social organisation and interpersonal ties; kinship groups become scattered as well. Life-sustaining informal networks of reciprocal help, local voluntary associations, and self-organised mutual service are disrupted. This is a net loss of valuable “social capital” that compounds the loss of natural, physical and human capital. The social capital lost through social disarticulation is typically unperceived and has long-term consequences.

Summary

Te Urewera for Tuhoe brings a sense of comfort, security, belonging, community, livelihood, health and wellbeing. It allows a context and place for our Tuhoe selves and heritage to be discovered, nourished, protected and inspired. Without Te Urewera, our tribal homelands and resources, the consequences of displacement will continue to shackle future generations.

Paragraph Seven: Te Reo Tuhoe

7. To protect their heritage, indigenous peoples must control their own means of cultural transmission and education. This includes the right to the continued use, and wherever necessary, the restoration of their own languages.

Language and education form the basis of this paragraph. Te Urewera was one of the last regions to have schools established throughout its scattered communities; some of which were extremely isolated. Despite the sturdy efforts of pioneering educators in the twentieth century, Maori remained the household language, and despite peculiar penalties, it was the language of the playground, though school instruction was strictly in English. Only one community, Ruatoki, supported a high

¹⁰⁹ Cernea, “Risks, Safeguards, and Reconstruction: A Model for Population Displacement and Resettlement.”

school, which was closed for a number of years. Secondary students attended boarding schools, or travelled to nearby towns like Rotorua and Whakatane. In the early 1970's, in response to popular and activist pressure, a shift in government policy occurred in two key sectors, broadcasting and education. To promote and preserve the Maori language, and accommodate the needs of Maori school children, a concerted effort was made to recruit first language speakers of Maori into the teaching profession. Scores of Tuhoe became qualified, and moved into the preschool (Te Kohanga Reo), and high school sectors. Many are active in the development of kura kaupapa and bilingual schools, and some outstanding achievers were employed at the tertiary level, as senior academic staff specialising primarily in language and customary practice. In this instance, the proverb's second phrase, "Tuhoe moumou taonga" comes to mind in the unflagging generosity and enthusiasm Tuhoe have given to the Maori language movement over the last thirty years. As an iwi of modest material and financial means, as survivors of poverty, famine, and severe physical hardship, Tuhoe has nevertheless shared what they have been left with, he taonga te reo.

Training and recruitment of Maori journalists, particularly in television, was occurring at the same time, and over the last twenty years, the Tuhoe face and voice has featured strongly; that which was once devalued and vilified is now a desirable asset. Observing the current crisis in Maori television, it seems salient to ask, desirable on whose terms; and who decides what gets funded and broadcast? Another issue is the dynamic Tuhoe contribution to Maori language and iwi-based radio - stations in Auckland, Waikato, Rotorua, Wellington, to name a few, are staffed by Tuhoe presenters. All over the country, on any day, at any hour, the distinctive sound of the Tuhoe dialect will be heard on air. Yet there is no active ongoing Tuhoe radio service currently broadcasting throughout Te Urewera.

One may also reflect upon a more immediate irony raised by Hakopa McGarvey at a hui with Tuhoe ki Waikato and Te Hono a Te Kiore on 5 April 2003, concerning this Wai 36 claim process. He suggested that the language of presentation or negotiating should be te reo o Tuhoe, and only that; this stimulated considerable discussion.

Nevertheless, the vernacular remains English, and in some contexts, a standardized contemporary Maori, which raises the question, who is privileged by this? Despite the finest efforts of appropriately qualified interpreters, those for whom te reo Tuhoe remains a first, and ongoing household language, are still disadvantaged in the privileging of English. They are compelled to engage in what for them is a foreign or second language; yet the issues on which they are engaged touch their hearts, and their lives.

Paragraph Eight: Kimihia, rangahau...

8. To protect their heritage, indigenous peoples must also exercise control over all research conducted within their territories, or which uses their people as subjects of study.

This paragraph offers a particular irony. In recording and publishing authoritative Tuhoe history, where are the Tuhoe voices? Is it more appropriate and challenging that the message is transmitted via traditional media - waiata, haka, performance, whaikorero, for ourselves, for each other? Do we say, the voices are there, and who determines what is authoritative, and what is not? There are two recent doctoral dissertations concluded by Tuhoe men; other dissertations and theses are currently in progress. Yet even for an exercise such as the claims process, who is doing most of the research and commentary, and who is authorizing it and which media are the most valued and validated by the process itself, and its particular requirements? What eventual publications will emerge, and to whom will the copyright belong? And where will the royalties income go?

In February 1931, Te Rangi Hiroa to his friend Sir Apirana Ngata,

*Kua mutu te wa kia Te Peehi ma, kua riro ma taua, ma te Maori, taua korero.*¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Apirana Ngata and Peter Henry Buck, in *Na to Hoa Aroha = from Your Dear Friend : The Correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, 1925-50*, ed. M. P. K. Sorrenson

Translated by these writers

The time for Best is over, we as Maori should take responsibility for researching our world for ourselves. It is left to us to straighten up what has been written by our Pakeha pioneers.

These two scholars and thinkers, esteemed in both the Maori and Pakeha worlds for their visionary achievement and academic calibre, raised the issue of Maori research by Maori, for Maori, three generations ago.

That we have yet to realise their hopes for us, and to continue in the tradition of their own impeccable and productive example, is a sorry reflection of a range of issues, in education, in opportunity, in privilege, in poverty, and in isolation. What has happened, within Tuhoe, that the knowledge, the resources, the material and immaterial wealth of experience, of narrative, of memory, have been harvested so successfully by those outside? How is it that an Auckland academic held hundreds of Tuhoe songs for many years, and on choosing to publish them recently, overlooked the offer of scholarly contribution from the descendants of their composers? These descendants were deeply concerned by the book's errors and omissions; they were effectively sidelined from the process, and their perspective was simply ignored. Many Tuhoe people, unaware of this background, were alarmed that such misinformation was let through. They have wondered what their elders have been doing. Sadly, the elders have done their best.

Perhaps one answer may be found in the case history, detailed above, of planning the displays at Aniwaniwa Visitors Centre, and the systematic and institutional diminishing of a Tuhoe perspective of knowledge and its appropriate presentation.

Paragraph Nine: Te Pae Tawhiti

9. The free and informed consent of the indigenous owners should be an essential prescription of any agreements which may be made for the recording, study, use or display of indigenous peoples' heritage.

This article considers te ara ki te pae tawhiti - the way forward, based upon the free and informed consent of indigenous owners, with regard to the recording, study, use, or display of their heritage. A major element of this consent lies within the acknowledged ownership of the material - the taonga - the intangibles involved, or at issue. Repatriation, particularly of tangible objects, but also in the reclaiming and re-assumption of the stewardship of land resources, must be considered. Two significant repatriation initiatives which involved Tuhoe people and Tuhoe provenanced material are discussed below.

The Joan McKenzie Collection 1983

Aniwaniwa Cat. Numbers 983-1-1 to 983-1-44.

The first repatriation in which Tuhoe were not initially involved occurred in 1983. It was an arrangement that emerged from the generous concern of the collection's owner, Joan McKenzie of Ashburton. Her father was W.H. Gregory, who worked on the construction of the Tuai Power Station, and she inherited a considerable number of Maori artefacts from him. She deposited these in the Canterbury Museum, but was aware that many had been collected in the Northern Hawkes Bay area. She approached Beverley McCulloch, an official at the Canterbury Museum, and suggested that the objects be returned to the Aniwaniwa Visitor Centre,.

The official replied on 27 July 1983

I see no reason why a selection of pieces should not be loaned to the Urewera National Park headquarters for display purposes.

They arrived in August, with no ritual observation, karakia, or appropriate ceremony. When we visited Aniwaniwa in May 2003, staff told us that the atmosphere in the storage area and whole building was very heavy, "freaky" and caused "strong feelings" during this time. The Aniwaniwa Visitor Centre and Park headquarters had yet to formally accept them. Conscious of the importance of community liaison, and Maori sensibility, the Chief Ranger told us that he discussed the matter with the local elders. The taonga were duly taken and laid out on the marae at Tuai. After this was done, the elders were supportive of the taonga being held at the Centre. They were thus taken back to a building that immediately felt much lighter and easier to work in.

There are some intriguing and beautiful pieces in this collection, as well as some with very dubious attributions indeed. The latter include two poorly balanced whalebone hand weapons, one with an unlikely local urupa provenance. There are also a number of very eccentric whalebone fish hooks and needles that are oddly shaped, with no obvious function. Two superb hei tiki also enhance this collection. They are 983 -1-30 a small tangiwai example, very rare, "collected in the area", and 983-1-31, a kawakawa piece crafted from a toki pounamu, or recycled adze. Also "collected in the area", this has a lovely sideways face, and two perforations, one worn through indicating considerable age.

Though the legal "ownership" may still remain with Joan McKenzie, or her heirs, or the Canterbury Museum Trustees, for Tuhoe the taonga are there, they are home, and they are there to stay, embellishing the sense of belonging, of continuity with the tupuna, with Te Urewera.

The other example of repatriation is very recent, having occurred in 2000.

The Irene Paulger Collection

This collection consists of five boxes which have yet to be catalogued. It includes textiles and fibre (korowai, kete), and whakairo - koruru, unusual karetao, tokotoko, small waka. They belonged to Miss Irene Paulger who taught at Maungapohatu for

over twenty years and received many gifts from locals. She retired due to illness in late 1940s, but remained deeply enamoured of her Te Urewera years, and many friends. On Miss Paulger's death in June 1966, her sister Charlotte (of New Plymouth) deposited the collection in the Taranaki Museum. Many years later, as the Taranaki Museum underwent structural changes, and a new regionally and Te Ati Awa specific facility was planned in New Plymouth, it was arranged for the taonga to be returned to Te Urewera. The requirement was "providing museum protocols were met."

In 2000, a significant group of Tuhoe people including specialists in karakia and ritual travelled to New Plymouth and brought the taonga home. The records in the Aniwaniwa archives emphasise that the collection belongs to the Tamakaimoana people of Ruatahuna and that it is "kept at the Aniwaniwa Museum for safekeeping only." Arrangements are to be reviewed every twelve months, and thus they have been neither accessioned nor catalogued.

This repatriation is very much in the spirit of traditional Maori gift giving and returning - the cyclical nature of reciprocity, and sharing the mana of a special and significant object by having it move in the community. It is about the protection of heritage. It also recognizes the importance of Tuhoe values, and the relationship, the sense of *matemateaone* experienced by those Tamakaimoana who travelled with these taonga, and conveyed them back to Te Urewera. Such treasures, like the land, and from the land, are a tangible link to the intangible, a manifestation of the past, here for the people now, but also likely to be positioned in the future, for those yet to come.

Summary

The Daes Report and its relevance to Tuhoe within the context of the Treaty of Waitangi, are summarized in the following table.

Table 1 Relevance of the Daes Report to Tuhoe

	<i>Daes Report to the United Nations</i>	<i>Relevance to Tuhoe</i>
1	The effective protection of the heritage of the indigenous peoples of the world benefit all humanity. Cultural diversity is essential to the adaptability and creativity of the human species as a whole.	This is an argument for the valuing of Nga Taonga o Te Urewera and protecting them against harm and destruction.
2	To be effective, the protection of indigenous people's heritage should be based broadly on the principle of self determination, which includes the right and duty of indigenous peoples to develop their own cultures and knowledge systems, and forms of social organization.	Denial of Tuhoe self-determination leads to ineffectual recognition and protection of Nga Taonga o Te Urewera, it inhibits and threatens the capacity of Tuhoe to develop and move forward.
3	Indigenous peoples should be recognized as the primary guardians and interpreters of their cultures, arts, and sciences, whether created in the past or developed by them in the future.	Tuhoe are the living faces, transmitters and voices of Nga Taonga o Te Urewera. One cannot exist without the other.
4	International recognition and respect for indigenous peoples' own customs, rules, and practices for the transmission of their heritage for future generations is essential to these peoples' enjoyment of human rights and human dignity.	Nga Taonga o Te Urewera are essential to the existence, values, wellbeing, customary ways and future of Tuhoe.
5	Indigenous peoples' ownership and custody of their heritage must continue to be collective, permanent, and inalienable, as prescribed by the customs rules and practices of each people.	Tuhoe are the rightful owners and custodians of Nga Taonga o Te Urewera. Interference with this right has significant negative consequences.

Table 1 Relevance of the Daes Report to Tuhoe (continued)

	<i>Daes Report to the United Nations</i>	<i>Relevance to Tuhoe</i>
6	The discovery, use and teaching of indigenous peoples' knowledge, arts and cultures is inextricably connected with the traditional lands and territories of each people. Control over indigenous areas and resources is essential to the continued transmission of indigenous peoples' heritage to future generations, and its full protection.	Nga Taonga o Te Urewera and Tuhoe are synonymous. Interference with this synonymity has significant negative consequences.
7	To protect their heritage, indigenous peoples must control their own means of cultural transmission and education. This includes the right to the continued use, and wherever necessary, the restoration of their own languages.	Denial of Tuhoe self-determination leads to ineffectual recognition and protection of Nga Taonga o Te Urewera both inhibits and threatens the capacity of Tuhoe to develop and move forward.
8	To protect their heritage, indigenous peoples must also exercise control over all research conducted within their territories, or which uses their people as subjects of study.	Tuhoe are the living faces, transmitters and voices of Nga Taonga o Te Urewera. One cannot exist without the other.
9	The free and informed consent of the indigenous owners should be an essential prescription of any agreements which may be made for the recording, study, use or display of indigenous peoples' heritage.	Tuhoe are the living faces, transmitters and voices of Nga Taonga o Te Urewera. One cannot exist without the other.

CONCLUSIONS

In this report we have furnished evidence and argument to demonstrate the Tuhoe-Te Urewera synonymity as reflected in the uniquely Tuhoe concept of *matemateaone*. Because the concept is intimately tied to Te Urewera, only Tuhoe name and manifest *matemateaone*; it is an exclusively Tuhoe *tikanga*. Without Te Urewera, without Tuhoe, the concept ceases to exist, and to some extent, so will the people. Such is the fragile balance of relationality between land, people and heritage.

Of Te Urewera, we pointed out the psychological importance of having a sense of place and belonging – a sense of identity rooted in and nurtured by Te Urewera. And the worth of an identity should not be underestimated. People with threatened identities are more prone to feeling insecure, marginalised, worthless and insignificant. From here, the pathway towards crime, poor health, pathology and even suicide is a short one.

Yet Te Urewera affords us a sense of origin and community that motivates purpose. The Tuhoe leaders in the generations before us attempted to retain our lands and our cultural property in the face of extreme aggression. We have retained a small yet threatened measure of land, surrounded by the much vaster acreages that were unjustly and wrongfully taken from us. Nowhere is this more obvious than in what is now known as Te Urewera National Park. National Park signage is simply a reminder of the marginalised and tenuous nature our Tuhoe/Te Urewera synonymity.

When these researchers went in search of *Nga Taonga o Te Urewera* and asked questions about who owns, who cares for, who protects and who has access to our Taonga, the results were revealing. Much of the intellectual property right is possessed by photographers, writers (and their descendants) and publishers who are not Tuhoe. Research on Tuhoe continues to be authorised and negotiated by others, including Crown agents who are not Tuhoe. Except for a few items and collections,

all of our taonga held in museums or private collections (excluding hapu and whanau collections) are owned and managed by non-Tuhoe entities. The major land mass that constitutes Te Urewera is Crown owned and managed, not on behalf of Tuhoe, but for the nation as a whole. This effectively marginalises any Tuhoe contribution to the management process.

We did however, note some examples of the repatriation of taonga to their rightful owners, or to institutions within the Te Urewera rohe. We also noted how taonga are currency and their intended circulation as valued objects rather than collectible. Where items have been collected, we noted the recent attempts at participatory and joint management, particularly by some museums and by Te Aniwaniwa. With regards this latter arrangement with Te Aniwaniwa, the example is exceptional and probably more a reflection of particular staff and their individual relationships with Tuhoe, rather than a result of institutional will.

Tuhoe shares a 'commonality of experience' with indigenous communities around the globe. The experience of historical injustice, displacement and struggle against identity loss, fragmentation, marginalisation and community disarticulation is a continuing one and unlikely to be completely resolved in the immediate future. Resolution will be a long process during which it is hoped that many of the issues raised in this report will continue to be remembered and satisfactorily negotiated to rest.

Ways forward

Much needs fixing. Where there is a will to make reparation and to put things right, there is a way. In this report we have pointed to examples of indigenous ownership, control and joint management. The return to Tuhoe, in the same condition at the time of alienation, as the rightful inheritors, owners and custodians of those things that we have defined as Nga Taonga o Te Urewera, including those lands and taonga

within Te Urewera National Park, should be the starting point for the resolution of Tuhoe grievances. Models exist to make this a possibility.

Kua kiia nei e te koroua ra,

Kaore te po nei morikarika noa!

Te ohonga ki te ao, rapu kau noa ahau.

Ko te mana tuatahi ko te Tiriti o Waitangi

Ko te mana tuarua ko te Kooti Whenua

Ko te mana tuatoru ko te Mana Motuhake;

Ka kiia i reira ko te Rohe Potae o Tuhoe.....

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